



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. **Place additional certification comments, entries, and narrative items on continuation sheets if needed (NPS Form 10-900a).**

### 1. Name of Property

historic name George Washington Birthplace National Monument  
other names/site number Wakefield, Popes Creek Plantation, VDHR File #096-0026

### 2. Location

street & number 1732 Popes Creek Road  N/A not for publication  
city or town Colonial Beach  vicinity  
state Virginia code VA county Westmoreland code 193 zip code 22443

### 3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this  nomination \_\_\_ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property  meets \_\_\_ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

national  statewide  local

Signature of certifying official/Title

*[Handwritten Signature]*  
National Park Service

Date

*[Handwritten Date]*  
October 28, 2013

State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property  meets \_\_\_ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting official

*[Handwritten Signature]*

Date

*[Handwritten Date]*  
11/2/13

State Historic Preservation Officer  
Title

Virginia Department of Historic Resources  
State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

### 4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

entered in the National Register

determined eligible for the National Register

determined not eligible for the National Register **Additional Documentation Approved**

removed from the National Register

other (explain:)

*[Handwritten Signature]*  
Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

*[Handwritten Date]*  
12.18.13

**5. Classification**

**Ownership of Property**  
(Check as many boxes as apply.)

- private
- public - Local
- public - State
- public - Federal

**Category of Property**  
(Check only one box.)

- building(s)
- district
- site
- structure
- object

**Number of Resources within Property**  
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
11	22	buildings
0	0	district
13	0	sites
10	2	structures
1	1	objects
35	25	<b>Total</b>

**Name of related multiple property listing**  
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

N/A

**Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register**

N/A

**6. Function or Use**

**Historic Functions**  
(Enter categories from instructions.)

- LANDSCAPE/park
- RECREATION AND CULTURE/monument/marker
- RECREATION AND CULTURE/outdoor recreation
- FUNERARY/cemetery
- AGRICULTURE/agricultural field

**Current Functions**  
(Enter categories from instructions.)

- LANDSCAPE/park
- RECREATION AND CULTURE/monument/marker
- RECREATION AND CULTURE/outdoor recreation
- FUNERARY/cemetery
- AGRICULTURE/agricultural field

**7. Description**

**Architectural Classification**  
(Enter categories from instructions.)

- LATE 19<sup>th</sup> AND 20<sup>th</sup> CENTURY
- REVIVALS/Colonial Revival

**Materials**  
(Enter categories from instructions.)

- foundation: BRICK, CONCRETE
- BRICK, CONCRETE, WOOD/Log,
- walls: Weatherboard
- roof: ASPHALT, ASBESTOS
- other:

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### **Narrative Description**

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance of the property. Explain contributing and noncontributing resources if necessary. Begin with a **summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, setting, size, and significant features.)

#### **Summary Paragraph**

George Washington Birthplace National Monument is located near the northwest end of Virginia's Northern Neck peninsula, in Westmoreland County. The National Register district boundary encompasses 550 acres of federal land within two non-contiguous parcels that are separated by privately owned land. These lands are a portion of the extensive plantation that George Washington's father, Augustine, owned at the time of George's birth in 1732. Bounded on three sides by the waters of Bridges Creek, the Potomac River, and Popes Creek, and lightly settled lands to the southwest, the district's rural setting remains remarkably intact from the period of significance. The district contains a total of 35 contributing resources and 25 non-contributing resources. Resources associated with the period of the Washington family's ownership of the land during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries include historic-period archeological sites, agricultural ditches and landscape features, and burial grounds. Other contributing resources are associated with efforts to preserve and commemorate the birthplace site during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. These include the George Washington Monument, a granite obelisk erected by the Federal Government in 1896; the Memorial House, Colonial Kitchen House, and Log House Tea Room and Lodge constructed under the auspices of the Wakefield National Memorial Association (Wakefield Association); and buildings, structures, and a designed landscape developed by the National Park Service after George Washington Birthplace National Monument was established and incorporated into the National Park System in 1930. In addition, three pre-contact period archeological sites provide evidence of the Native American use of the property from the Late Archaic through Late Woodland periods.

George Washington Birthplace National Monument was established by an act of the United States Congress on January 23, 1930, to preserve the birth site of the nation's most celebrated founding father. As a historic area within the National Park System, George Washington Birthplace National Monument was administratively listed in the National Register of Historic Places on October 15, 1966, after the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). Although two separate draft nominations were prepared for the area (in 1994 and 1997, respectively), no National Register documentation has ever been formally approved for the area. The National Park Service has attempted to identify contributing and non-contributing resources within the park through other means, including consultation with the Virginia State Historic Preservation Officer on the park's List of Classified Structures (LCS), Cultural Landscape Reports, Cultural Landscape Inventories, and Section 106 compliance projects, but no comprehensive accounting of historic resources has thus far been compiled. This National Register Nomination Form, therefore, constitutes the original documentation for George Washington Birthplace National Monument and supersedes all previous evaluations and determinations of eligibility for resources within the district.

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### **Narrative Description**

#### **Setting**

The George Washington Birthplace National Monument National Register Historic District (referred to hereinafter as the "district") is located in a predominantly rural section of northeast Virginia, on a tidewater peninsula known as the Northern Neck, approximately 40 miles east of Fredericksburg and 75 miles south of Washington, D.C. The Potomac and Rappahannock rivers form the long and narrow peninsula as they flow southeast into the Chesapeake Bay. Forty miles upriver from the bay, where the district is located on the Potomac side, the neck is only eight miles wide. Numerous creeks cross the low, flat landscape and spread into marshlands near the rivers. The irregularly shaped district occupies 550 acres in two non-contiguous parcels on a roughly triangular spit of land at the mouth of Popes Creek. The main parcel is over 460 acres bounded by Popes Creek on the east, privately owned property and the Potomac River on the north, and privately owned land on the west and south. The smaller Bridges Creek edges the northwest boundary. The second parcel spans 82 acres along the Potomac River northeast of the main parcel and includes a portion of Longwood Swamp.

Rural agricultural land uses, patterns, and features dominate the district and its surrounding landscape. Large expanses of open fields support small grain and soybean crops, truck crops such as tomatoes, livestock pastures, and some ornamental tree and shrub nurseries. Extensive drainage ditch systems and rows of mature trees (Eastern red cedars and other old-field pioneer plant species) separate the fields, which are interspersed with pine plantations and woodlots. Hard-packed earth, crushed stone, and grass farm roads provide access from the fields to wood-frame residences and outbuildings. State Route 204 connects the district to State Route 3/Kings Highway, the Northern Neck's circulation spine that links up with major north-south routes further northwest. The closest area of denser development is Colonial Beach, a late nineteenth-century resort town approximately six miles to the northwest with a year-round population of about 3,500.

## CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES<sup>1</sup>

The 35 contributing resources within the district fall within the period of significance defined in Section 8 and retain sufficient integrity to convey their historic associations with the areas of significance defined in Section 8.

The **George Washington Birthplace National Monument Designed Landscape (contributing site)** encompasses the entire National Register district. It includes both the eighteenth-century agricultural landscape created by George Washington's ancestors as well as the memorial landscape superimposed on the plantation lands in the 1930s. More recent developments within the district have respected the historic spatial arrangements, view sheds, and character of the earlier development. The resulting landscape conveys the range of activities that have shaped the district over time and preserves the significant aspects of those activities.

The site's topography is characterized by level plateaus of prime farmland with interspersed drainage ways, swamps, and marshes. The boundaries of the site are defined by Bridges Creek on the northwest, the Potomac River on the north, Popes Creek on the southeast, and a line that runs south of Bridges Creek Road on the southeast. Agricultural fields are predominant in the northern and western portions of the district, and the central portion contains a dense forest. The developed areas are clustered in the southern portion of the district. A loblolly pine plantation covers a large part of the non-contiguous parcel of land in the northeast part of the district. Wetlands within the district consist of a fresh water pond near the end of Bridges Creek Road in the northwest corner, Digwood Swamp along the northeast corner of the border with the privately owned Muse property, Longwood Swamp at the south end of the non-contiguous northeast parcel, Dancing Marsh between the historic core and the Log House area, and three springs. The site also contains two man-made ponds: the Ice Pond along Bridges Creek Road and an unnamed pond within the non-contiguous northeast parcel.

The spatial arrangement of the district reflects the site's historic origins as a colonial Virginia plantation. A sophisticated network of hand-dug, single- and double-line **Agricultural Drainage Ditches (LCS No. 080452, contributing structure)** crisscrosses an extensive area of the site between Dancing Marsh and Bridges Creek. Dating from the first half of the eighteenth century, the ditches are approximately four feet wide and vary in depth from approximately six inches to three feet. They are evident in successional tree stands throughout the district as well as in maintained fields and help to delineate the layout of the historic plantation landscape. Five contributing archeological sites (described below) and two burial grounds located within open fields document the earliest European settlement of the land. George Washington's great-grandfather John established the Washington Family Burial Ground near his dwelling in the late seventeenth century, although the site's present appearance dates to the 1930s as described below. The **Muse Family Cemetery (contributing site)** is located within the district boundaries southwest of the privately owned Muse family property, although the full extent of the cemetery is not known. Six small granite headstones with rounded or squared tops and carved text are set within an open hay field. A large black walnut tree stands at the southeast end of the plot, with two headstones in its shade. The other four headstones are arranged in a straight line several feet to the northwest, at the edge of the field. The cemetery has been in use since the eighteenth century by the Muse family, which retains the

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<sup>1</sup> Portions of the resource descriptions are adapted from the *George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Westmoreland County, Virginia, Cultural Landscape Report Volume 1: Site Physical History and Existing Conditions Documentation*, OCULUS, John Milner Associates, Inc., and Farmer Puckett Warner Architects, National Park Service, Philadelphia Support Office, Philadelphia, PA, 1999, and the *Memorial House and Colonial Kitchen, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Westmoreland County, Virginia, Historic Structures Report, 95% Draft*, Historic Architecture Program, Northeast Region, National Park Service, Lowell, MA, 2009.

right to access and maintain it. The dates carved on the extant gravestones range from 1900 to 1946. Remnants of earlier occupation on the non-contiguous northeast parcel include a dammed pond, the ruins of a spring house, the Longwood Swamp Midden archeological site, and an abandoned house site.

The more densely developed area at the southern end of the district dates primarily from the 1920s and 1930s creation of a commemorative site to mark George Washington's birthplace. The entrance to the site from the southwest forms a focal point around the 1896 George Washington Monument and continues northeast toward the area referred to as the "historic core." Dense groves of trees to the south, southeast, north, and northwest frame a series of rectangular open spaces delineated by worm and split-rail fencing. Much of the worm fencing was constructed in the 1930s, although some sections have been removed or replaced. Openings in the tree cover allow expansive views northeast toward Popes Creek and southwest toward the George Washington Monument and the park's entrance. Near the east edge of the historic core, buildings, structures, and circulation features are oriented within the open spaces along northwest-southeast and southwest-northeast grids, consistent with the orientation of the excavated Building X foundations. The hay fields, pastures, paddocks, garden plots, and building clusters are arranged to represent a typical eighteenth-century Tidewater plantation. An open grass lawn covers the area between the Memorial House and the water. Slightly northwest of the historic core, the employee residences are clustered at the edge of an open field and partially screened from view by vegetation. To the northeast, a large grove of cedars shelters the Log House Tea Room and Lodge as well as a mown-grass picnic area with tables and grills along the banks of Popes Creek.

Later functional areas added to the historic landscape are concentrated in three clusters of buildings and structures largely screened from view. The park's maintenance complex, which reuses buildings constructed in the late 1960s for a horse farm, is located in a clearing near the center of the district, adjacent to Digwood Swamp. A much smaller clearing in the woods northwest of the employee residences contains utilities associated with a water supply system installed in 1975. Finally, the 1976 Visitor Center complex occupies the southernmost tip of the district, on a plateau slightly lower than the historic core. Recent construction within the district has been confined to these areas.

The expansive open fields that characterize much of the landscape within the district create long views across the site, as well as views of and across the three adjacent water bodies. Development on the Maryland side of the Potomac River, including the construction of a large coal-fired power generating station along with several communication towers, has altered the water views in recent years, in particular those across the agricultural fields from Bridges Creek Road. Additional communication towers are also visible to the south. However, the panoramic views to and across Popes Creek from the Memorial House and from Burnt House Point Trail remain largely unobstructed. Several other designed vistas created during the 1930s development of the site are also intact, including the axial view of the George Washington Monument from the Approach Road, the long views toward the Memorial House from the Circular Drive and along the Road to Birthplace, the views from the Log House across Dancing Marsh to the Memorial House, and the straight view framed by canopy trees along the Walk at Washington Family Burial Ground.

The diverse vegetation throughout the site consists of approximately 400 plant species ranging from naturally evolving successional stands to managed agricultural lands and ornamental plantings and includes two globally rare (G-1) plant communities. Eastern red cedar predominates in the dense groves on Burnt House Point and Duck Hall Point. Cedars also line Bridges Creek Road, form a canopy over the Washington Family burial ground walk, and are scattered around the site as ornamentals. Rows of cedar and other pioneer tree and shrub species that have grown up in the historic agricultural drainage ditches edge the open hay fields. Cedar, cherry, walnut, oaks, mulberry, and persimmon line the Road to Birthplace. A large hackberry tree with two large clusters of fig shrubs beneath that stands just west of the Memorial House is believed to date from the Washington family ownership of the land. Ornamental plantings in the historic core include boxwood hedges along the brick walkways and fruit trees in display plots south of the Utility Building, as well as the trees and shrubs within the Colonial Garden.

Various circulation features connect the separate resources and functional areas within the district and contribute to the designed landscape. For the purposes of this description, the circulation features are categorized into three distinct systems according to their function: primary roads, secondary roads, and trails and paths. The **System of Primary Roads (contributing structure)** includes the main roads within the district that were initially designed for public automobile use. Visitors enter the park along State Route 204, known as the **Approach Road (LCS No. 256931, historic associated**

**feature).**<sup>2</sup> This two-mile paved spur road, constructed in 1923 and altered in 1932, runs northeast from State Route 3, a major highway that connects the Northern Neck to Fredericksburg. Approximately 75 feet of Route 204 fall within the district boundary. Residences and agricultural fields border the rural roadway, which is edged by wire and wood-post fencing. As it nears the park, an allée of red maple trees frames the road and a view of the George Washington Monument, which is set on a circular grass lawn within the paved **Circular Drive (historic associated feature)** at the end of the road. Constructed in 1931, the 25-foot-wide drive forms a circle approximately 100 feet in diameter. The lawn at the center is edged by white granite curbing with a cobblestone gutter. A triangular traffic guide at the approach to the drive was added in 2002. Three roads branch from the traffic circle, described traveling counter-clockwise. A short paved spur road, constructed in 1976, leads southeast to the main visitor parking lot and Visitor Center. The one-way loop system is edged with a concrete curb and gutter, mown grass, and wood worm fencing. The crushed stone **Road to Birthplace (LCS No. 256346, historic associated feature)** leads northeast to the Memorial House through hay fields and pastures on either side where cattle graze. Designed and built from 1895 to 1897 as the original access road to the George Washington Monument (in its original location), the road was altered from 1930 to 1931 when the monument was relocated and the Memorial House was constructed in its place. An allée of various types of trees lines the 8- to 10-foot-wide by 1000-foot-long road, which is no longer open to vehicular traffic. The third road that branches from the traffic circle is **Bridges Creek Road (LCS No. 080329, historic associated feature)**, which leads northwest to the remainder of the park and to abutting private properties, and terminates in a tear-drop-shaped turn-around and parking area near the entrance of Bridges Creek to the Potomac River. Likely laid out c. 1651-1657 (or earlier) as an American Indian trail, this road was realigned and paved between 1931 and 1935. Traces of its earlier alignment are still in use on adjacent farm property to the west of the district. Drainage ditches and Eastern red cedars parallel the 16-foot-wide roadway, which includes a small pullout for parking opposite the Washington Family Burial Ground. Two access points on Bridges Creek Road form a Y-shaped turnout entrance to **Duck Hall Road (LCS No. 256758, historic associated feature)**, a paved road leading to the Log House and picnic area. Likely constructed by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) in c. 1932, the road curves in a wide sweeping arc to the northeast through successional woodland, paralleling Dancing Marsh, and terminates in a one-way loop.

The **System of Secondary Roads (contributing structure)** within the district provides access to areas off the primary roads. Near the Memorial House complex, the **Road to Utility Building (LCS No. 257026, historic associated feature)** extends northwest from the northeast end of the Road to Birthplace toward the Utility Building. The crushed stone road, constructed in 1932 and altered in 1974, is approximately 10 feet wide by 350 feet long. The U-shaped **Old Wagon Road (LCS No. 256323, historic associated feature)** forms an arc from the junction of the Road to Birthplace and the Road to Utility Building, past the southwest entrance to the Memorial House, and back to the Road to Utility Building. Constructed in 1931, it is primarily a hard-packed earth road, but a portion adjacent to the Memorial House coincides with the Brick Walks (described below). Outside the historic core, several secondary roads branch off the spine of Bridges Creek Road, described in order heading northwest from the traffic circle. The **Employee Residences Road & Parking Areas (LCS No. 251871, historic associated feature)** consist of a paved road that curves southeast from the Y-shaped entrance to Duck Hall Road to a one-way parking loop encircling the two employee residences. The road, built in 1932, is 20 feet wide to the loop then narrows to 10 feet wide around the loop. Paved walks lead from the loop to the front and rear doors of the two residences. Further along Bridges Creek Road, **Muse Road (LCS No. 256914, historic associated feature)** runs approximately 300 feet due northeast to the district boundary with the Muse family property. The 10-foot-wide gravel road lined with ditches is believed to date from the early nineteenth century (1801-1813) but could have provided access to the Muse land holdings as early as the late 1600s. Where it approaches the edge of the district, the road splits into three branches, with an earth-and-grass driveway trace leading northwest to the Muse farm and rutted grass paths heading north to the river and the non-contiguous park property along the water and east to Longwood Swamp. A network of **Farm Roads (LCS No. 256903, historic associated feature)** lead northeast from

<sup>2</sup> "Historic associated feature" is a term used to enumerate and describe small-scale component features of a landscape, or a system of features, that are not individually countable according to National Register guidelines but that collectively constitute a single countable resource. The term was developed to reconcile the requirements of the National Park Service List of Classified Structures (LCS) and Cultural Landscapes Inventory (CLI) with National Register documentation guidelines. The LCS is an evaluated inventory of all historic and prehistoric buildings, structures, and objects that have historical, architectural, and/or engineering significance. The CLI is an evaluated inventory of all cultural landscapes within the National Park System that have historical significance. All LCS and CLI entries must be included in National Register documentation either as a countable resource (building, district, site, structure, or object) or as a historic associated feature.

Bridges Creek Road, between Muse Road and the burial ground parking area, to circumnavigate and access the former agricultural fields. These approximately 10-foot-wide unpaved roads likely existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and were incorporated into the park by 1932. The road to the National Park Service maintenance complex follows one of the farm road alignments. The park also has an agreement with the nearby Dahlgren Naval Weapons Testing facility to allow them access to the Farm Roads for the purpose of monitoring their activities at the Potomac River. Additional secondary roads within the district include the **Maintenance Access Road at Washington Family Burial Ground (LCS No. 256892, historic associated feature)** and the **Log House Service Road, Walks & Parking Area (LCS No. 257052, historic associated feature)**, both of which date to c. 1932. The latter resource consists of a crushed stone spur road from Duck Hall Road to the Log House, a three-foot-wide concrete sidewalk around the Log House, a small concrete parking pullout along the road just past the Log House, and a larger gravel parking area adjacent to the picnic area. The Maintenance Access Road is a 10-foot-wide by 400-foot-long mown route heading west from Bridges Creek Road to the north side of the Washington Family Burial Ground.

The district also contains a **System of Trails and Paths (contributing structure)** for pedestrian use only. **Brick Walks (LCS No. 081431, historic associated feature)** laid out between 1932 and 1935 connect the Memorial House, Colonial Kitchen House, Colonial Garden, Restrooms, and Pump House. The walks around the Memorial House and within the Colonial Garden are paved with a bordered herringbone pattern, while elsewhere a basket-weave pattern dominates. Some of the walks have been re-laid as needed. **Burnt House Point Trail (LCS No. 256195, historic associated feature)** begins at the south side of the Colonial Garden and winds around Burnt House Point to continue north along the curvilinear edge of Popes Creek past the Memorial House, terminating at the brick path near the Pump House. Laid out in 1931, the trail follows the alignment of an earlier road and provides continuous views of the water. Its surface material, currently crushed oyster shells, has changed over time. Similar oyster-shell paths laid out in the late twentieth century follow the Popes Creek embankment from the Visitor Center to the historic core. The earth-tread **Trail between Residences & Historic Core Area (LCS No. 255663, historic associated feature)**, laid out in 1932, begins due east of the employee residences and leads south to a point west of the Rockefeller Barn. A more extensive earth-tread **Nature Trail (LCS No. 256864, historic associated feature)** forms a 1.2-mile loop through the woods near the Log House. Constructed between 1934 and 1935 and altered in 1974, the trail crosses Duck Hall Road in two locations.

The descriptions of the contributing resources that follow begin with the George Washington Monument at the entrance to the park and continue north along Bridges Creek Road to the Washington Family Burial Ground before returning to the three distinct areas created when George Washington Birthplace National Monument was established in the 1930s.

John Crawford & Sons of Buffalo, New York, designed the **George Washington Monument (LCS No. 007778, contributing object)** and constructed it in the spring of 1896 on the current site of the Memorial House. In 1930, contractors for the Wakefield Association and the National Park Service moved the 42-foot-high granite obelisk approximately 1350 feet southwest to its present location at the center of the Circular Drive, where they placed it on a redesigned base. The granite base consists of a nine foot, four inch high pedestal atop a twelve-foot-square, three-stepped base with a twenty-inch plinth, canted edge, and cap molding. The shaft and base together rise 51 feet from the ground, approximately one-tenth the size of the similar Washington Monument in Washington, D.C.

The earthen **Ice Pond Dam (LCS No. 080338, contributing structure)** approximately 250 feet north of the George Washington Monument forms a pond on the east side of Bridges Creek Road by crossing a stream that empties into Dancing Marsh. The dam, originally constructed between 1725 and 1799 and rebuilt multiple times since then, is approximately 6–8 feet tall, 135 feet long, and 8 feet wide. The National Park Service most recently restored the structure in the fall of 2011, and a post-rail worm fence runs along the top of it. The **Ice Pond Pump House (LCS No. 080337, contributing structure)** is built into the slight rise at the south end of the dam. The CCC constructed the one-story brick structure in 1933 following Park Service designs to supply water to the historic core area. It measures approximately eight feet square and faces northwest. The end-gable roof with overhanging eaves is clad in wood shingles. The brick walls are laid in a Flemish bond, and weatherboards cover the gable ends. A single wood door is centered in the northwest elevation, and a six-over-six double-hung window is centered in the southwest wall.

The **Bridges Creek Road Fence (LCS No. 080328, contributing structure)** lines Bridges Creek Road. Originally constructed c. 1934, the wood post-and-rail worm, or zigzag, fencing begins at the George Washington Monument and

runs approximately 1500 feet along the west edge of the road, almost to the burial ground, and 350 feet along the east edge to a point north of the Ice Pond. The National Park Service repaired the fence from 2001 to 2002, replacing much of the material in kind. The **System of Culverts (contributing structure)** associated with the road systems in the district includes numerous concrete culverts with brick facing constructed by the CCC between 1931 and 1935. These culverts are located at the Ice Pond, the Circular Drive, the Road to Birthplace, the Employee Residences Road, the Y-shaped intersection of Bridges Creek Road and Duck Hall Road, and along the latter road. Some of the culverts have been rebuilt as needed.

The **Washington Family Burial Ground (contributing site)** in the northwest corner of the district, approximately one mile north of the George Washington Monument, is the burial site of several of George Washington's ancestors, including his great-grandfather John Washington. The **Walk at Washington Family Burial Ground (LCS No. 255835, historic associated feature)** leads southwest from Bridges Creek Road to the burial ground beneath a canopy of mature trees. Laid out in 1931, the five-foot-wide crushed oyster-shell path measures approximately 360 feet from the road to the edge of the **Washington Family Burial Ground Wall & Gate (LCS No. 253523, historic associated feature)**. The 5.5-foot-high wall, constructed in 1930-1931 of red brick laid in a Flemish bond, encloses a 70-foot-square grassy area. It is capped with a decorative band of chamfered molded bricks and corbelled in places. The top of the northeast side curves gradually upward toward the center to meet a pair of six-foot-high square gate pillars with extended capitals that flank the entrance opening. Two picketed cast-iron frames finished with Colonial Revival pediments form the gate. Inside the wall, seven **Washington Family Grave Markers (LCS No. 007779, historic associated feature)**, five raised and two grade-level sandstone sarcophagi, are arranged in two rows amid some ornamental exotic shrubs and small native trees. The lids on the raised markers measure approximately three feet by six feet, and the grade-level markers are approximately five feet by three feet. The remains of Washington ancestors exhumed in 1930 were reburied beneath the tallest raised sarcophagi at the center of the row. The tablestone on it is inscribed:

In memory of/Colonel/John Washington/Son of/Lawrence Washington A.M. (Oxon)/Rector of Burleigh, Essex, England/Born in 1632. He came to Virginia/in 1656. A Justice of Westmoreland/County and a Burgess of the Colony/of/Virginia/Died in the year 1677/And/of his first wife/Ann Pope/mother of all his children/Born in St. Mary's Parish/Maryland,/Died, 1668/9

The two tablestones to the right are inscribed:

In memory of/Captain/John Washington/Son of/John and Ann (Pope) Washington/Born in Washington Parish in 1661/A Vestryman of this Parish/He died near this spot/in February of the year 1697/8/and/of his wife/Ann Wickliffe/She departed this life/in the year 1704.

In memory of/Colonel/Augustine Washington <sup>JR</sup>/Son of Augustine and Jane (Butler)/Washington. Born in 1719-20 at/Pope's Creek Virginia/A Justice/of the County of Westmoreland/and a Burgess of the Colony of/Virginia. He died in May 1762/at Pope's Creek. And of his/only wife,/Ann Aylett/She was born in Westmoreland/County, Virginia. Died at Wake-/field in April 1774.

The two tablestones to the left are inscribed:

In memory of/Captain/Augustine Washington/Son of Lawrence & Mildred (Warner)/Washington. Born near this spot/in the year 1694. A Justice of/Westmoreland County and a Burgess of the/Colony of Virginia/Died April 12<sup>th</sup> 1743/and/of his first wife/Jane Butler/Born at Pope's Creek Virginia/December 21, 1699. Died there/November 24, 1729. And of/his second Wife/Mary Ball/the mother of/George Washington./She was born in Lancaster County/Virginia in 1708. Died August 25, 1789./Buried at Fredericksburg Virginia.

In memory of/Major/Lawrence Washington/eldest son of/John and Ann (Pope) Washington/Born in this Parish in September 1659/A Justice and Sheriff of Westmoreland/County and a Burgess of the Colony of/Virginia/Died in March 1697/8/and/of his wife/Mildred Warner/Buried January 30/1700-1/at/St. Nicholas Church/Whitehaven/England

The two grade-level sarcophagi near the southwest side of the wall are inscribed:

Here lyeth the body of/John Washington eldest/son to Cap. Lawrence/Washington who departed/his life  
ye 10 of January 1690/aged 10 years 10 months/also Mildred Washington/eldest daughter to  
said/Washington who departed/ye 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1696/aged 6 months

Here Lyes y body of Jane/Wife of Augustine Washington/Born at Popes Creek Virginia/Westmoreland y  
24<sup>th</sup> of X<sup>ber</sup>\1699 & died y 24<sup>th</sup> of 9<sup>ber</sup> 1729\Who left behind her two Sons\& one daughter

### Historic Core

The buildings constructed in the 1930s that define the historic core are scattered in small clusters amid the fence-lined fields and garden plots, interspersed with several later buildings and structures (described under “Non-contributing Resources” below). The spatial arrangement of the Memorial House, Gazebo, and Colonial Kitchen House in an ell adjacent to the Colonial Garden reflects the commemorative landscape conceived of by the Wakefield Association and their architect Edward W. Donn, Jr.

The **Memorial House (LCS No. 007776, contributing building)** is a one-and-one-half story rectangular brick building that faces northeast toward Popes Creek and the Potomac River. Architect Edward W. Donn, Jr. designed the Georgian Revival house, constructed in 1931 by J. J. Jones and Conquest builders. The building measures approximately 62 feet long by 35 feet wide. It has a side-gable roof covered with asbestos cement, rounded butt shingles; red brick walls laid in a Flemish bond with alternate shades of brick used between the headers and stretchers; and a raised red brick foundation laid in an English bond with a molded brick water table. Each gable end has two exterior brick chimneys partly detached from the main building, typical of Georgian high style. Characteristic Georgian Revival detailing consists of a heavy cornice with modillion blocks along the eave elevations and simple molded door and window surrounds. Paired paneled wood doors are centered on the northeast and southwest elevations beneath segmental brick arches. A small one-story brick vestibule attached to the west end of the northwest side elevation contains a ground-level cellar entrance with a vertical pine batten door beneath the closed pediment of the gable roof. The eave elevations have four regularly spaced windows on the first story containing nine-over-nine double-hung sash with wide shallow muntins, six-paneled shutters, and decorative crowns. Six-over-six windows with a single shutter flank the northeast entrance. Narrow gabled dormers with closed pediments and four-over-four wood windows line each roof slope. Two narrow four-over-four windows are centered in the second story of each gable end elevation between the chimneys, and slatted wood vents provide light and air to the basement.

The interior layout of the Memorial House follows a typical Georgian double-pile plan on the first floor, with two rooms on each side of a central hall that extends the width of the building. An enclosed staircase at the northeast end of the hall leads to the second story, which has four rooms opening onto a smaller hall. The building functions as a historic house museum, with representative eighteenth-century period furnishings arranged in a Colonial Revival interpretation in each room. Interior finishes consist of plaster ceilings and walls; pine tongue-and-groove floors; wood paneling, wainscoting, and curvilinear cornices on the first story; and beaded baseboards and chair rails on the second story. The basement is not accessible to the public and contains the building’s geothermal HVAC system, installed in 2011. Aside from general maintenance and repairs, including restoration of the wood window sash in 2001-2002, no other alterations have been made to the Memorial House.

The **Gazebo (LCS No. 007777, contributing structure)** is a small, one-story, wood-frame structure located between the Memorial House and Colonial Kitchen House. The structure, built in 1930-1931, measures nine feet square. Its four wood corner posts support a pyramidal roof sheathed in asbestos cement shingles. The roof has a wide board cornice and a concrete finial at its apex. Diagonally latticed panels form the walls, and full-height rectangular openings are centered on each elevation. The brick paving of the walk connecting the two buildings extends beneath the Gazebo.

The **Colonial Kitchen House (LCS No. 000439, contributing building)**, also designed by Edward W. Donn, Jr. and built in 1931, is a one-and-one-half story, rectangular, masonry building located 80 feet southwest of the Memorial House. It measures approximately 42 feet long by 20 feet wide and is oriented perpendicular to the Memorial House. The steeply pitched side-gable roof has asbestos cement, rounded butt shingles like the Memorial House; and the above-grade

cinder block walls are sheathed in white-painted beaded clapboards. The basement walls are constructed of brick laid in an English bond, and the building sits on a concrete pad foundation approximately seven-and-one-half feet below grade. Large brick exterior chimneys are centered on each end wall; the southwest chimney is non-functional. Typical Colonial Revival trim consists of a simple molded wood cornice along the eave elevations and similar window and door surrounds. The building has three entrances with vertical tongue-and-groove board doors, two on the northwest wall (the west one added in 1976) and one at the east end of the southeast wall. Each long wall also has a single six-over-six double-hung window, and an identical window is located on the northeast end wall. Three narrow pent-roof dormers on the northwest roof slope and two on the southeast slope contain four-over-four double-hung windows. A basement entrance with a paired vertical batten door opens into a small one-story wood-frame vestibule attached to the southwest end wall that has a gable roof with a closed pediment.

Each story of the Colonial Kitchen House has two primary rooms, with an enclosed staircase in the southwest corner of the east room. The east room on the first story, which has a large brick fireplace, is used to demonstrate eighteenth-century cooking practices, while the west room has been furnished as slave quarters since c. 1930. The upper story houses National Park Service offices and an employee restroom. Interior finishes consist of plaster ceilings and walls with a beaded chair rail and baseboard. Herringbone-patterned brick covers the reinforced concrete floor on the first story, and carpet or vinyl tile is on top of tongue-and-groove pine floors over reinforced concrete on the second story.

A four-foot-high wood **Picket Fence (LCS No. 080334, historic associated feature)** encloses the rectangular **Colonial Garden (contributing site)** designed by National Park Service landscape architect V. Roswell Ludgate and laid out in 1931 directly southeast of the Memorial House. The unpainted fence is built of notched posts, fitted rails, and nailed sawn-cut pickets and has four rustic wood gates. The garden presents a Colonial-period aesthetic, organized into two sections of **Geometric Planting Beds (historic associated feature)** containing small trees, shrubs, vines, and herbaceous plants separated by brick walks. The Brick Walk from the Memorial House extends across the southwest end of the Garden and forms a T-intersection with a second walk that bisects the northeastern two-thirds of the space. An ornamental **Sundial (LCS No. 080335, historic associated feature)** is placed just west of the intersection, composed of a bronze sundial set in the top of a four-foot-high Classical cast-stone urn on a circular stone pedestal.

Two small wood-frame buildings are located north and slightly west of the Memorial House, at the other end of the Brick Walk from the Colonial Garden. The **Pump House (LCS No. 080330, contributing structure)** is a one-story structure built in 1931 to provide water to the adjacent public **Restrooms (LCS No. 080331, contributing building)** constructed the following year. The National Park Service converted the Pump House, originally designed by the same architect as the Memorial House and Colonial Kitchen House, to a storage shed c. 1976 and then to a restroom in 2011. The ten-foot-square structure has an asbestos cement-shingled pyramidal roof with overhanging eaves and a simple box cornice, weatherboard cladding with two-inch corner boards over concrete-block walls, and a concrete foundation. The only entrance is a single unpaneled door in the center of the northeast wall, and the only window is a tall rectangular louvered vent with a molded wood sill in the center of the southwest wall. The original Restrooms building, designed by the National Park Service and constructed by Allen J. Saville, Inc., became a demonstration facility known as the Spinning and Weaving Rooms c. 1976. The one-story side-gabled building, measuring 21 feet long by 12 feet wide, is oriented parallel to the Colonial Kitchen House (northeast-southwest). The roof has asbestos cement shingles, the wood-framed walls are clad in weatherboards, and the poured concrete foundation has brick facing. Colonial Revival trim consists of flush rake boards in the gable ends, ogee molding on the overhanging eaves, and simple molded door and window surrounds. The long northwest and southeast walls are mirror images of each other, with a six-paneled door at one end and two narrow four-over-four double-hung windows. A third six-paneled door is placed off-center on the northeast end wall, and a four-over-four window is centered on the southwest end wall.

The **Utility Building (LCS No. 080339, contributing building)** is a larger one-and-one-half story, rectangular, wood-frame building located approximately 350 feet to the southwest of the Restrooms and oriented on the same axis. Also built in 1932 to National Park Service designs, it originally measured 39 feet long by 22 feet wide but was extended approximately 18.5 feet further to the southwest in 1935. The building has a wood-shingled side-gable roof with a steep pitch, weatherboard siding, and a poured concrete foundation with brick facing. An off-center brick chimney at the roof ridge marks the location of the original southwest wall. Decorative wood cutouts over the fascia corners simulate typical Colonial Revival molding sections. The building has five ground-level exterior doors of varying sizes: three along the rear (northwest) wall and one each on the southeast and northeast walls. Vertical board doors providing access to the

upper-level loft are centered on each gable end. Small rectangular louvered wood vents are spaced regularly along three walls, and the rear wall has four larger windows containing four-over-six, four-over-four, or six-over-six double-hung sash. The building functioned as storage space for park utility and maintenance supplies until c. 1976, when the Park Service converted it to a demonstration building known as the Farm Workshop.

Near a grove of trees northwest of the Utility Building, the **Rockefeller Barn (LCS No. 080336, contributing building)** is a one-story wood-frame building with a U-shaped plan, constructed in 1938-1939 to stable horses. The central section, measuring 78 feet long by approximately 13 feet wide, is oriented along the same northeast-southwest axis as most of the other buildings in the historic core and has a side-gable roof. Perpendicular wings measuring approximately 25 feet long by 14 feet wide are attached to the east and west end walls, with open passages cut laterally through each wing to the interior paddock. The building has wood-shingled roofs, weatherboard walls, and concrete-strip footings. Multiple board-and-batten doors, single and paired, line the interior walls. Small six-paned casement windows on the exterior walls provide light and air to the twelve stables.

### **Employee Residences**

The National Park Service designed the four Colonial Revival buildings in the employee residences area (two houses and two garages) and hired Allen J. Saville, Inc. to construct them between 1932 and 1934. Both houses, **Quarters #1 (LCS No. 102190, contributing building)** and **Quarters #2 (LCS No. 102192, contributing building)**, are one-and-one-half story wood-frame buildings that face southwest, approximately 200 feet apart from each other within a paved loop. They have wood-shingle roofs, weatherboard walls, and brick foundations. Quarters #1, the southern building, has a gambrel roof, while Quarters #2 has a steeply pitched side-gable roof. Both roofs feature three pediment-topped dormers on each slope, flush rake boards on the end walls, and an exterior buttressed brick chimney. The architectural trim differs slightly between the two houses, with Quarters #1 featuring a modillioned cornice beneath the extended eaves and a five-light rectangular transom above the main entrance. Quarters #2 has a simpler molded cornice and door surround, with no transom. The main entrance on Quarters #1 is in the first bay of the facade, reflecting a side-hall plan on the interior. Quarters #2 has a center-hall plan with a corresponding center entrance. The first-story windows on both houses contain six-over-six double-hung wood sash. The upper-story windows, including the dormers, contain six-over-nine sash. Each house has an enclosed one-story shed-roof porch attached c. 1950-1960 to the rear (northeast) elevation, clad in vinyl siding and lined with one-over-one vinyl windows. Quarters #1 also has a small one-story gable-roofed projecting bay on the northwest side wall, and a small projecting shed-roof vestibule with a basement entrance on the southeast side wall.

The **Quarters #1 Garage (LCS No. 102191, contributing building)** is located in a clearing southeast of Quarters #1, across the loop road that encircles the two houses, although it originally stood behind the house (where a concrete slab foundation remains) and was relocated sometime between 1968 and 1974. At the same time, the original single-bay garage was also expanded to the present two-bay building with a pyramidal roof. It has wood roof shingles, wood flush-board siding, and a poured concrete foundation. Paired vertical tongue-and-groove board doors fit into the two wide shallow-arched openings on the northwest wall. Additional openings include a single vertical board door in the northeast wall and two six-over-nine double-hung windows. A shed-roof addition attached to the southwest wall during or after the garage relocation has a rolled felt roof covering, vertical board-and-batten siding, a single board door, and louvered vents. The **Quarters #2 Garage (LCS No. 102193, contributing building)** is a smaller single-bay outbuilding located directly behind (northeast of) Quarters #2, across the loop road at the end of a short concrete slab driveway. It has a front-gable roof with wood shingles, wood flush-board walls, and a poured concrete slab foundation with brick facing. Flush rake boards trim the gable ends, and a simple molded cornice lines the overhanging eaves on the side walls. An open garage bay fills the southwest wall beneath the gable end, and a single vertical board door is located in the northwest side wall. The garage has one six-over-nine double-hung window on the southeast side wall.

### **Log House and Picnic Area**

The **Log House Tea Room and Lodge (LCS No. 080332, contributing building)**, built in 1932 by J. J. Jones and Conquest, is sited immediately south of the Duck Hall Road loop on a slight rise overlooking Dancing Marsh and Popes Creek to the southeast. Edward W. Donn, Jr. designed the building as a guest house and restaurant for tourists visiting the Memorial House. It is presently used for meetings and conferences and as lodging and offices for National Park Service visitors and staff. The one-and-one-half-story Colonial Revival building has an L-shaped footprint with a side-gabled

main block oriented northeast-southwest and a perpendicular end-gabled ell attached to the northwest wall. Both roofs are steeply pitched and covered with asphalt shingles. Brick exterior end chimneys are centered in the gable ends of the main block, and the ell has an interior brick ridge chimney. The walls of the main block are formed from whitewashed rough-hewn boards and logs; the upper gable ends and the ell have weatherboard siding. The building has a stone foundation. A shed-roof porch extends the full width of the facade (southeast) elevation. The ell also features a shed-roof porch along the northeast wall, pedimented dormer windows in both roof slopes, and a small gable-roofed vestibule with a basement entrance projecting from the rear (northwest) wall. The main entrance to the building is centered on the facade of the main block, and a rear entrance opens onto the ell porch. The ell has two first-floor entrances on the northeast wall (onto the porch), a single first-floor entrance on the southwest wall, and a modern second-story entrance accessed by an exterior wood staircase. All the window openings in the building contain six-over-six wood double-hung sash. The main block of the Log House encloses a single large room that retains the original interior finishes: an exposed post-and-beam ceiling, wood-paneled walls with multiple built-in cabinets, and wood floors. The interior layout of the ell has been reconfigured to accommodate offices on the first story and an apartment on the second story.

The **Log House Storage Shed (LCS No. 080333, contributing building)** is a 10-foot-square, one-story, wood-frame building located slightly northwest of the Log House, adjacent to the gravel driveway. Constructed c. 1935-1937 in the Colonial Revival style of the other park buildings, it has a wood-shingled pyramidal roof with a molded box cornice, weatherboard siding with beaded corner boards, and a brick-faced concrete foundation. A double vertical board door is centered on the northeast wall facing the driveway, and the shed has no windows.

#### Archeological Sites

**NOTE:** The following information printed in bold-face type contains location information for sensitive archeological sites at George Washington Birthplace National Monument. Under the authority of Section 304 of the National Historic Preservation Act, **this information should be redacted** from the document before it is released to the public.

[Redacted]

### Collections Statement<sup>3</sup>

The artifact collection at George Washington Birthplace National Monument supports the park's primary interpretive themes and assists with its research and resource management programs. Archeological, archival, and historical materials form the core of the collection. A small number of natural history specimens, primarily biological and paleontological, have also been collected and accessioned.

The archeological collection has approximately 125,000 items in the database. These objects range from Paleo- and Woodland-period Indian artifacts to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century historic artifacts related to Anglo-American and African-American settlements within park lands. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, archeological materials were collected at the park, mostly through non-scientific means with little or no documentation. Beginning in the second half of the twentieth century, however, scientific methods were used in the recovery of this material. NPS archeologists or contract archeologists working with park staff have been responsible for the recovery of the most recent materials. The archival materials came to the park through a variety of means and number almost 210,000 items. These documents and manuscripts relate primarily to the interpretive period of the site and include administrative records of George Washington Birthplace National Monument and the Wakefield Association as well as park records generated during the course of managing the site since the 1930s. Some notable documents in the collection date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The approximately 800 historical objects in the collection consist of generic period furniture, ceramics, domestic wares, and other decorative arts items used to furnish the Memorial House and Colonial Kitchen in a Colonial Revival style. Members of the Wakefield Association donated the majority of these objects in the first half of the twentieth century. In more recent years, commemorative items honoring George Washington and his legacy were added to the collection.

The relatively small number of natural history materials in the collection is represented by biological specimens collected while conducting park research and paleontological materials obtained through various methodologies, mainly surface collection. A herbarium collection of vascular plants with approximately 385 species identified is currently stored at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia. A partial collection of faunal remains from reptiles and amphibians is housed at Northern Virginia Community College in Annandale, Virginia. Some of these early biological specimens may also be housed at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia. A collection of 31 specimens, representing 8 species, was created through the 2002/2003 NPS Inventory and Monitoring program, assigned NPS accession and catalogue numbers, and also accessioned into the Frostburg State University mammal museum in 2004. An extensive entomological collection from 2009–2011 is housed and curated on-site.

### NON-CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

The district's 25 non-contributing resources consist of visitor facilities, interpretive exhibits, and maintenance/administrative buildings constructed primarily during the 1960s and 1970s after the period of significance. These resources are described with respect to the areas in which they are located.

### Historic Core

Two small rectangular buildings are located near the northwest side of a picket-fenced enclosure between the Utility Building and Exhibit/Tobacco Shed and the Restrooms and Pump House. The **Western Fowl House (non-contributing building)** is a wood-frame hen house built in 1968. It has an end-gable roof clad in wood shingles and topped with a vented cupola centered on the ridge line. The beaded clapboard walls rest on a concrete pad foundation. Decorative wood cutouts over the fascia corners simulate molding. A small rectangular latticed vent is centered in the southeast gable end above a vertical board door. A small square opening is adjacent to the door but closer to the ground, and two additional vent openings are located in the rear (northwest) wall. The **Eastern Fowl House (non-contributing building)** may have been constructed initially in 1939 as a gate house/contact station and moved after 1976 to its current location, where it

<sup>3</sup> This information comes from the 2011 George Washington Birthplace National Monument Scope of Collection Statement.

was converted to a hen house.<sup>4</sup> The building has an asymmetrical side-gable roof that, like the Western Fowl House, is clad in wood shingles and topped with a vented cupola centered on the ridge line. It also has beaded clapboard walls, wood cutouts over the fascia corners, and a concrete pad foundation. The entrance is a vertical board door in the center of the southeast wall, with a small square opening adjacent. Rectangular latticed openings are roughly centered in the side walls, and a square awning window is centered in the rear (northwest) wall. Although this building is believed to have been constructed during the period of significance, its relocation and alterations have compromised its integrity, resulting in its evaluation as non-contributing.

The National Park Service constructed another wood-frame hen house in 1968 directly northeast of the Western Fowl House and relocated it in 2010 to its current site approximately 110 feet southwest of the Oxen Shed. Known as the **Central Fowl House (non-contributing building)** and currently used as a tool shed, it has a side-gable roof with wood shingles and beaded clapboard walls resting on wood sills. The northeast wall features a vertical board door and a small square awning window of vertical boards. Identical windows are centered in each of the other three walls.

The **Exhibit Shed (non-contributing building)** is a one-story rectangular building constructed c. 1968 from unpainted rough-cut boards as a demonstration building for drying tobacco and other farm-related exhibits. It is located immediately adjacent to the northeast corner of the Utility Building and faces southeast. The side-gable roof is clad in wood shingles and has exposed rafters. The southeast elevation is open to the interior, and two sets of paired wood doors are located in the rear (northwest) wall.

The **Storage Shed (non-contributing building)** is a small wood-frame building in the mown field northwest of the Utility Building. Constructed at an unknown date between 1976 and 1996, the building is used to store maintenance equipment. It has an end-gable roof with wood shingles and white-painted board-and-batten walls. Its only entrance is a pair of board-and-batten doors spanning most of the northeast wall.

The **Log Corn House (non-contributing building)** is a small unpainted notched-log building located approximately 80 feet southeast of the Rockefeller Barn's southeast corner. The National Park Service constructed it c. 1970 to serve as a corn crib for the working farm. The building has an end-gable roof covered with rough-cut planks, and the log walls rest on short log posts. Openings consist of a small square board window centered in the northwest gable end and a rectangular doorway framed into the center of the southeast wall.

Three small Hog Pens are arranged in a row along the southeast edge of the Rockefeller Barn paddock. The National Park Service built the **Western Hog Pen (non-contributing building)** and the **Eastern Hog Pen (non-contributing building)** c. 1968 and added the **Central Hog Pen (non-contributing building)** in 1970. Each is a rectangular shed-roof shelter constructed of rough-cut planks, with wood roof shingles and open southeast sides. A combination of stockade and worm fencing form enclosures in front of each shelter. The Western and Central pens remain in use as shelters for pigs. The roof of the Eastern Hog Pen caved in during a 2011 storm and is awaiting repair.

Constructed c. 1968 approximately 100 feet southwest of the Utility Building, the **Oxen Shed (non-contributing building)** is a rectangular wood-frame storage building for farm-related vehicles. It has a shed roof with wood shingles and exposed rafters and unpainted vertical board walls. A wide board fascia supported by simple angled brackets frames the two open bays in the southeast elevation.

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<sup>4</sup> The 1999 Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) prepared for the park states that, following the construction of the Visitor Center in 1976, the National Park Service moved a gate house/contact station constructed in 1939 to a new location near the Restrooms and converted it to a fowl house for the park's working farm (Building No. 136/Eastern Fowl House in the CLR). The folder on the contact station in the park's archives contains a file dated December 15, 1950, that refers to a "Contact Station" located at the "Entrance of walk to Memorial Mansion," built in 1939 and no longer used by 1950. The sketch plan in this file shows an approximately six-foot-square building with a single entrance centered in one wall that could correspond to the extant Eastern Fowl House. The same folder also contains a photograph taken in December of 1960 of a pyramidal-roofed contact booth with a window and door in the front elevation, located east of the traffic circle around the George Washington Monument at the entrance to the park. This building does not resemble any of the extant fowl houses in the district (all of which have gable roofs) and appears to have been removed. Other Park Service reports contain conflicting information regarding which of the extant fowl houses was originally the contact station. The 2009 Administrative History indicates that the Central Fowl House, now located south of the Utility Building, was the former entrance station (Page 304).

## **Picnic Area**

The **Picnic Shelter (non-contributing structure)** is located near the western edge of the cleared picnic area, approximately 60 feet from the Duck Hall Road parking loop. The National Park Service constructed the rectangular post-and-beam structure in the 1980s to replace a 1939 picnic shelter destroyed in a 1958 fire. It has a wood-shingled hip roof supported by wood posts with angled brackets and a concrete slab floor. The three-bay by two-bay shelter is oriented so that the long sides face southeast toward the water.

The **Comfort Station (non-contributing building)** northeast of the Picnic Shelter is a one-story rectangular masonry building constructed in 1975 that houses three public restrooms. It has a wood-shingled hip roof with overhanging eaves, concrete block walls sheathed in vertical board siding, and a concrete slab foundation. Three metal doors and three rectangular louvered vents line the northwest wall, which faces the gravel picnic area parking lot. A single metal door is centered on the rear (southeast) wall, flanked by two rectangular louvered vents. A vertical board privacy fence encloses most of the concrete patio in front of the building.

## **Maintenance Complex**

The **Morgan Horse Barn (non-contributing building)** is a long rectangular building constructed in 1968 as a horse barn and converted in 1976 to a maintenance building. The wood-frame building has a side-gable roof clad in asphalt shingles, clapboard walls, and a concrete foundation. Three small vented cupolas are regularly spaced along the roof ridge, and three narrow cinder-block chimneys are attached to the rear (northwest) elevation. The building retains some of its architectural trim, including a molded cornice along the facade (southeast) eaves, decorative cutouts at the fascia corners, and flat pedimented window and door surrounds. Entrances consist of a single garage door near the west end of the facade wall and two garage doors in the northeast side wall, as well as several modern pedestrian doors. A vertical board door is located on the rear wall, and round-arched loft openings containing paired vertical board doors are centered in both gable ends. The majority of the rectangular windows lining the southeast, southwest, and northwest walls are one-over-one double-hung sash with multi-paned storms. A few of the openings contain six-over-six double-hung sash.

Directly southwest of the Morgan Horse Barn, the National Park Service constructed a **Collections Storage Facility (non-contributing building)** in 2009. The double-height, single-story, rectangular building has an end-gabled roof; and a one-story shed-roof wing spans the length of the northwest elevation. The overhanging roofs are clad in asphalt shingles, and the clapboard walls rest on a concrete slab foundation. An awning roof supported by large triangular brackets extends across the northeast wall above two single metal doors and a larger set of paired metal doors. A single metal door in the northwest wall opens into the east end of the wing, which contains offices on the interior lit by single and double vinyl casement windows along the northwest wall. The main block of the building contains a large climate-controlled storage space with a high ceiling.

Two of the six pasture sheds built in 1968 for the park's Morgan horse program are extant at the northwest edge of the fields adjacent to the maintenance complex. **Pasture Shed #1 (non-contributing building)** and **Pasture Shed #2 (non-contributing building)** are both rectangular post-and-beam buildings set on concrete slabs, with shed roofs clad in rolled felt and unpainted board-and-batten siding. Pasture Shed #1 is slightly larger, with six bays and an open northeast end wall, while Pasture Shed #2 has only three bays. Open storage bays line the southeast elevations, and the easternmost bay of Pasture Shed #2 is fitted with double plank doors. Both sheds are in relatively good condition, although they appear to need minor maintenance and repairs.

A cluster of four buildings occupies the northeast corner of the maintenance area. The **Hay Storage Building (non-contributing building)** and **Equipment Storage Building (non-contributing building)**, both constructed in 1968, are rectangular post-and-beam buildings with low-pitched side-gable roofs. They are oriented northeast to southwest and parallel to each other, with the Hay Storage Building to the north of the Equipment Storage Building. The roofs of both buildings are covered with rolled felt over plywood and are supported by angled brackets at the top of wood posts set directly into the ground. Plywood walls partially enclose the buildings, which also have rows of open storage bays. The **Gasoline House (non-contributing building)** located at the edge of a concrete pad directly southeast of the Equipment Storage Building is a small wood-frame building constructed sometime between 1976 and 1996 to store fuel. It has a

wood-shingled hip roof with exposed rafters, vertical board-and-batten siding painted white, and a concrete foundation. A single plywood door is positioned off-center in the southwest wall, and a rectangular window opening in the center of the northwest wall contains a piece of plywood trimmed with wood "muntin" strips. A slightly taller wood-frame structure shelters several fuel tanks and supply containers in a rectangular concrete basin adjacent to the building. The shelter has a wood-shingled side-gable roof with exposed rafters and vertical boards covering each gable end. All four sides are open. The National Park Service recently constructed a large **Compost Shed (non-contributing building)** southeast of the Gasoline House. The rectangular post-and-beam building has an asphalt-shingled end-gable roof with overhanging boxed eaves and vertical board sheathing on the gable ends. The supporting posts are set directly into the ground with angled buttressing. Wide boards applied to the interior of the posts form three-quarter height walls for three long storage bays. The space between the boards and the roof is open.

### **Utilities Complex**

Two non-historic resources are located in a small grassy clearing in the woods south of Muse Road. The **Water Purification/Pump Station (non-contributing building)** is a small one-story masonry building constructed in 1975 to house a new water treatment plant that replaced the water pump by the Ice Pond. The front-gabled roof with overhanging eaves is clad in asphalt shingles. The utilitarian building has painted concrete block walls and a concrete foundation. A pair of metal doors with louvered vents is placed off-center in the northwest wall, and a small metal shed is attached to the southwest corner. A low chain-link fence encloses the **Water Tower (non-contributing structure)** across the clearing, an elevated metal structure with a 50,000-gallon water tank at the top.

### **Visitor Center Complex**

The National Park Service completed the Visitor Center complex located at the southernmost end of the district in 1976. The complex includes a large paved parking area landscaped with concrete sidewalks, grass berms and lawns, and mature trees and shrubs, in front of two buildings on a paved plaza. The **Visitor Center (non-contributing building)** is a long, low concrete building set into a slope overlooking Popes Creek. Its two adjoining rectangular sections form an irregular footprint oriented north to south. Each section has an asymmetrical side-gable roof clad in asphalt shingles, and a single brick interior chimney rises near the ridge line. The walls are faced with pale brick laid in a stretcher bond, and the building has a concrete foundation. A shed-roof portico supported by square brick piers spans most of the facade (west) elevation. Two sets of double glass doors beneath the south end of the portico serve as the main entrance. Glass doors in the rear (east) elevation open onto a wood railed deck with a ramp leading off the north end. Recessed entrances to the restrooms are located on the north wall. Shed-roof clerestory windows project from the east and west roof slopes, and the south side elevation features two groupings of three vertical casement windows. The front portico on the Visitor Center connects at the northwest end to the side-gable roof of the **Concession/Gift Shop (non-contributing building)**, a smaller rectangular building constructed of the same materials. The asymmetrical roof of the smaller building merges with a shed-roof portico across the east elevation, which is lined with large glass storefront windows. Double glass doors open into the north and south ends of the building. Stamped concrete paving replaced the original brick and granite cobble surface of the open plaza between the Visitor Center and the parking area and beneath the two porticos. Rectangular planting beds framed by wooden strips and brick planters adorn the plaza. The **Visitor Center Flagpole (non-contributing object)** was erected in 1932 adjacent to the parking area along the Road to Birthplace (no longer extant) and relocated in 1976 to a spot at the south end of the plaza.

The Visitor Center's interior has a bi-level main room with a reception desk, interpretive displays, and a small theater. The building additionally houses park administrative offices, a library, a small gift shop, and public restrooms. The Concession/Gift Shop functioned as a park store until 2012, when interpretive staff offices replaced the concessions.

### **STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY**

George Washington Birthplace National Monument Historic District retains historic integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association and clearly conveys its significance as a commemorative site created within a well-preserved eighteenth-century agricultural environment. The district retains the key components of its historic setting that determined the area's development from the seventeenth through the twentieth century. These components include its relatively isolated location on a level plateau where Bridges Creek and Popes Creek empty into

the Potomac River, views to and across the three waterways, predominantly rural and agricultural surroundings, and bucolic plantation landscape. The overall spatial organization and landscape characteristics of the agricultural fields and ditch systems dating to the early colonists' settlement and cultivation of the land are maintained, along with two early burial grounds and several early roadways. Recent forest growth does not detract from the historic natural setting, and the long views created by the expansive open fields remain intact.

The 1896 George Washington Monument retains integrity of design, materials, and workmanship, since the original granite obelisk designed to resemble the Washington Monument in Washington, D.C., remains largely unaltered. Its relocation and placement on a new base in 1930 reflects the early twentieth-century evolution of the site from a single commemorative object to a larger memorial landscape that evokes a colonial Virginia plantation. The monument continues to serve as a prominent focal point on the landscape and symbolizes the commemorative tradition initiated by Washington's ancestors in the early nineteenth century. The Memorial House, Colonial Kitchen House, and other buildings and structures constructed by the Wakefield Association and the National Park Service in the early 1930s remain relatively unaltered. They have been restored as necessary but retain large portions of their original materials and continue to express the original design intent. Buildings added to the site since the period of significance are compatible in design with the over-arching Colonial Revival aesthetic or are located in isolated areas outside the view shed of the historic core. Recreational trails, roadways, and other natural features added in the 1930s also convey the landscape design intentions of Edward W. Donn, Jr. and Charles Peterson.

**HISTORIC DISTRICT DATA SHEET**

**CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES**

RESOURCE NAME	ALTERNATE NAME	LCS ID/ ASMIS ID	VA SHPO #	DATE	PHOTO #
<b>BUILDINGS – 11</b>					
Colonial Kitchen House	Colonial Kitchen	000439	096-0026-0001	1931	1
Memorial House	n/a	007776	096-0026-0002	1931	2
Restrooms	Spinning and Weaving Rooms	080331	096-0026-0003	1932, converted to demonstration building c. 1976	none
Log House Tea Room and Lodge	Log House	080332	096-0026-0004	1932	4
Log House Storage Shed	n/a	080333	096-0026-0005	c. 1935–1937	none
Rockefeller Barn	n/a	080336	096-0026-0006	1938–1939	5
Utility Building	Farm Workshop, Craft Shop	080339	096-0026-0007	1932, west addition 1935, converted to workshop building c. 1976	6
Quarters #1	n/a	102190	096-0026-0008	1932–1934	7
Quarters #1 Garage	n/a	102191	096-0026-0009	1932–1934, altered and moved 1968–1974	7
Quarters #2	n/a	102192	096-0026-0010	1932–1934	8
Quarters #2 Garage	n/a	102193	096-0026-0011	1932–1934	8
<b>STRUCTURES – 10</b>					
Gazebo	n/a	007777	096-0026-0012	1930–1931	1
Pump House	Restroom	080330	096-0026-0013	1931, converted to storage shed c. 1976 and restroom 2011	none
Ice Pond Dam	n/a	080338	096-0026-0014	c. 1725–1779, rebuilt 1933, 2011	9
Ice Pond Pump House	n/a	080337	096-0026-0015	1933	9
Agricultural Drainage Ditches	n/a	080452	096-0026-0016	c. 1700–1750	10

RESOURCE NAME	ALTERNATE NAME	LCS ID/ ASMIS ID	VA SHPO #	DATE	PHOTO #
Bridges Creek Road Fence	n/a	080328	096-0026-0017	c. 1934	10
System of Primary Roads	n/a	none	096-0026-0018	various	10-12, 14
<i>Historic Associated Features</i>					
Approach Road (State Route 204)	n/a	256931	096-0026-0018	1923, 1932 altered	none
Circular Drive	n/a	none	096-0026-0018	1931, 2002 altered	14
Road to Birthplace	n/a	256346	096-0026-0018	1895-1897, altered 1930-1931	11
Bridges Creek Road	n/a	080329	096-0026-0018	c. 1651-1657, realigned 1931-1935	10
Duck Hall Road	n/a	256758	096-0026-0018	1932	12
System of Secondary Roads	n/a	none	096-0026-0019	various	7-8, 13
<i>Historic Associated Features</i>					
Road to Utility Building	Road to Farm Workshop	257026	096-0026-0019	1932	none
Old Wagon Road	n/a	256323	096-0026-0019	1931	none
Employee Residences Road & Parking Areas	n/a	251871	096-0026-0019	1932	7-8
Muse Road	n/a	256914	096-0026-0019	1801-1813	none
Farm Roads	n/a	256903	096-0026-0019	By 1932	13
Maintenance Access Road at Washington Family Burial Ground	n/a	256892	096-0026-0019	c. 1932	none
Log House Service Road, Walks, & Parking Area	n/a	257052	096-0026-0019	1932	none
System of Culverts	n/a	none	096-0026-0020	1931-1935	none

RESOURCE NAME	ALTERNATE NAME	LCS ID/ ASMIS ID	VA SHPO #	DATE	PHOTO #
System of Trails and Paths	n/a	none	096-0026-0021	1931-1935	2-3
<i>Historic Associated Features</i>					
Brick Walks	n/a	081431	096-0026-0021	1932-1935	2
Burnt House Point Trail	n/a	256195	096-0026-0021	1931	3
Trail between Residences & Historic Core Area	n/a	255663	096-0026-0021	1932	none
Nature Trail	n/a	256864	096-0026-0021	1934-1935	none
<b>OBJECTS – 1</b>					
George Washington Monument	n/a	007778	096-0026-0022	1896, relocated 1930	14
<b>SITES – 13</b>					
George Washington Birthplace National Monument Designed Landscape	n/a	none	096-0026-0023	1929-1935	3, 10-16
Colonial Garden	n/a	none	096-0026-0024	1931	15
<i>Historic Associated Features</i>					
Sundial	n/a	080335	096-0026-0024	1931	15
Picket Fence	n/a	080334	096-0026-0024	1931	15
Geometric Planting Beds	n/a	none	096-0026-0024	1931	15
Washington Family Burial Ground	n/a	none	096-0026-0025	1665, 1930-1931	16-17
<i>Historic Associated Features</i>					
Washington Family Grave Markers	n/a	007779	096-0026-0025	1930-1931	17
Washington Family Burial Ground Wall & Gate	n/a	253523	096-0026-0025	1930-1931	16-17

RESOURCE NAME	ALTERNATE NAME	LCS ID/ ASMIS ID	VA SHPO #	DATE	PHOTO #
Walk at Washington Family Burial Ground	n/a	255835	096-0026-0025	1931	16
Muse Family Cemetery	n/a	none	096-0026-0026	c. 1700	18
Henry Brooks Site	n/a	GEWA00010.000	44WM0205	c. 1651-1750	none
Popes Creek Plantation House and Outbuildings Site	n/a	GEWA00002.000	44WM0089	c. 1662-1779	none
John Washington Site	n/a	GEWA00009.000	44WM0204	c. 1655-1677	none
Field Slave Quarter Site 218	n/a	GEWA00011.000	44WM0218	c. 1743-1779	none
Original Brown Farmstead	n/a	GEWA00037.000	44WM0272	c. 1650-1720	none
Field Slave Quarter Site	n/a	GEWA00024.000	44WM0259	c. 1750-1779	none
Native American Midden Site	n/a	GEWA00016.000	44WM0251	Late Archaic- Early Woodland	none
Longwood Swamp Midden Site	n/a	GEWA00001.000	44WM0024	Middle-Late Woodland	none
Duck Hall Point Site	n/a	GEWA00004.000	44WM0091	Middle Woodland-1832	none
<b>TOTAL CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES = 35</b>					

**NON-CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES**

RESOURCE NAME	ALTERNATE NAME	LCS ID/ ASMIS ID	VA SHPO #	DATE	PHOTO #
<b>BUILDINGS - 22</b>					
Collections Storage Facility	n/a	none	096-0026-0027	2009	19
Morgan Horse Barn	Maintenance Building	none	096-0026-0028	1968, rehabilitated 1976	19
Hay Storage Building	n/a	none	096-0026-0029	1968	none
Equipment Storage Building	n/a	none	096-0026-0030	1968	none
Pasture Shed #1	n/a	none	096-0026-0031	1968	none
Pasture Shed #2	n/a	none	096-0026-0032	1968	none

RESOURCE NAME	ALTERNATE NAME	LCS ID/ ASMIS ID	VA SHPO #	DATE	PHOTO #
Gasoline House	n/a	none	096-0026-0033	1976-1996	none
Water Purification/ Pump Station	n/a	none	096-0026-0034	1975	none
Comfort Station	Picnic Ground Restrooms	none	096-0026-0035	1975	none
Visitor Center	n/a	none	096-0026-0036	1976	20
Concession/Gift Shop	Interpretive Staff Offices	none	096-0026-0036	1976	20
Exhibit Shed	n/a	none	096-0026-0037	c. 1968	6
Oxen Shed	n/a	none	096-0026-0038	c. 1968	none
Log Corn House	Corn Crib	none	096-0026-0039	c. 1970	5
Western Hog Pen	n/a	none	096-0026-0040	1968	5
Central Hog Pen	n/a	none	096-0026-0041	1970	5
Eastern Hog Pen	n/a	none	096-0026-0042	c. 1968, damaged 2011	5
Western Fowl House	n/a	none	096-0026-0043	1968	6
Eastern Fowl House	Contact Station	none	096-0026-0044	1939, relocated and altered after 1976	none
Central Fowl House	n/a	none	096-0026-0045	1968, relocated 2010	6
Storage Shed	n/a	none	096-0026-0046	1976-1996	6
Compost Shed	n/a	none	096-0026-0047	Post-1996	none
<b>STRUCTURES - 2</b>					
Water Tower	n/a	none	096-0026-0048	c. 1975	none
Picnic Shelter	n/a	none	096-0026-0049	c. 1980s	none
<b>OBJECTS - 1</b>					
Visitor Center Flagpole	n/a	none	096-0026-0036	1932, relocated 1976	none
<b>TOTAL NON-CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES = 25</b>					

**8. Statement of Significance**

**Applicable National Register Criteria**

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

**Criteria Considerations**

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- A Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- B removed from its original location.
- C a birthplace or grave.
- D a cemetery.
- E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- F a commemorative property.
- G less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years.

**Areas of Significance**

(Enter categories from instructions.)

POLITICS/GOVERNMENT

CONSERVATION

ARCHEOLOGY – HISTORIC/NON-ABORIGINAL

LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

ARCHEOLOGY – PREHISTORIC

ARCHITECTURE

**Period of Significance**

4200 B.C. – 1779 A.D.

1813 – 1815

1858 – 1941

**Significant Dates**

1732, George Washington's birth

1735, end of Washington's occupancy in district

1779, end of Washington family's occupancy

1813, separation of birthplace site and burial ground from surrounding parcels

1815, erection of first commemorative marker 1858, transfer of property to State of Virginia

1882, transfer of property to Federal Government

1896, erection of George Washington Monument

1930–1939, development of National Monument

**Significant Person**

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

Washington, George

**Cultural Affiliation**

Late Archaic – Late Woodland

Euro-American

African-American

**Architect/Builder**

Donn, Jr., Edward W., architect

Peterson, Charles E., landscape architect

Ludgate, V. Roswell, landscape architect

John Crawford & Sons, designer/builder

**Period of Significance (justification)**

The George Washington Birthplace National Monument Historic District has several periods of significance. The period of significance for archeological resources within the district is circa 4200 B.C. through 1779 A.D., which encompasses the documented occupation of the area by American Indians from the Late Archaic through Late Woodland pre-contact periods and the displacement of the Indians by English settlers during the post-contact period, after about 1650. The post-contact period includes the settlement of the site by English patentee Henry Brooks and subsequent owners (c. 1651–1725), including John Washington and his heirs (c. 1664–1725), and the development of the Popes Creek plantation (c. 1716–1779). This period of significance also includes the period of significance under Criterion B, 1732–1735, which begins with George Washington’s birth and ends in the year he moved with his family to Little Hunting Creek Plantation. The period between 1813 and 1815 marks the first efforts undertaken by Washington family members to preserve and commemorate the birthplace site. The period between 1858 and 1941 encompasses the events and resources significant under Criteria A and C that are associated with actions undertaken by the Commonwealth of Virginia, the federal government, and the Wakefield Association to preserve and commemorate the site for public enjoyment. Significant events include the transfer of the birthplace site to the Commonwealth of Virginia in 1858, acquisition by the federal government in 1882, and the authorization in 1879 and subsequent erection in 1896 of the George Washington Monument. The final phase of historic development occurred between 1923 and 1939, when the Wakefield Association and National Park Service undertook to develop the commemorative landscape that characterizes the property today, and includes the construction of the Memorial House in 1931. The end date of the period of significance coincides with the definitive assessment of National Park Service archeologists in 1941 that the remains of what was referred to as Building X are in actuality those of the house where Washington was born. That event marked the culmination of a series of significant archeological investigations that made important contributions to the interpretation of the site in particular, and to the important role that archeology would assume in the development and management of national parks in general.

**Criteria Considerations (explanation, if necessary)**

The district meets Criteria Consideration C as the birthplace of George Washington (1732–1799), a person of outstanding importance in the history of the nation. The district comprises a portion of the lands associated with the extensive Colonial-period plantation owned by Washington’s father, Augustine. Included are the remains of the house in which Washington was born and lived for the first three years of his life. Nationally significant historic properties associated with other periods of Washington’s life include his Childhood Home Site, generally known as Ferry Farm, in Fredericksburg, Virginia, where he lived from c. 1738 to 1754 (National Register [NR] 1972, National Historic Landmark [NHL] 2000) and Mount Vernon, near Alexandria, Virginia, his home from 1735 to 1738 and again, during the period when he achieved significance, from c. 1754 until his death in 1799 (NR 1966, NHL 1960). Resources associated with Washington’s military career during the Revolutionary War include Washington’s Headquarters in Newburgh, New York (NR 1966, NHL 1961); the Longfellow House-Washington’s Headquarters National Historic Site in Cambridge, Massachusetts (NR/NHL 1966); the Isaac Potts House (Washington’s Headquarters) at Valley Forge National Historical Park, Pennsylvania (NR 1973, NHL 1972); and the Ford Mansion (Washington’s Headquarters) at Morristown National Historical Park, New Jersey (NR 1966).

The district meets Criteria Consideration F for commemorative properties because the contributing resources associated with that aspect of the property’s significance are more than 50 years of age and have achieved significance in their own right for their association with important trends and events in the history of the United States. The significance of those resources, including the 1896 George Washington Monument and the Memorial House and its surrounding landscape constructed in the 1930s, arises from their value as expressions of contemporary thought regarding the commemoration and interpretation of properties associated with American Colonial and Revolutionary War history. The veneration of George Washington as the preeminent national hero was a central element of the so-called Colonial Revival movement, and efforts to commemorate his life through the construction of monuments and the preservation of places he lived were among its first and most significant manifestations.

**Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph** (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance and applicable criteria.)

The George Washington Birthplace National Monument Historic District is significant at the national level under Criteria A, B, C, and D. It derives its primary significance at the national level under Criterion B as the site where George Washington, a transcendent figure in American history, was born and lived between 1732 and 1735. Under Criterion A, the district is nationally significant in the area of Conservation as the site of several seminal events in the history of historic preservation in the United States. The district also is nationally significant under Criterion A in the area of Archeology – Historic/Non-Aboriginal. Investigations undertaken by National Park Service archeologists in the 1930s and early 1940s firmly established the important role that the nascent field of historical archeology subsequently played in the interpretation of National Parks. The investigations were also key events in the transition of the field from its antiquarian origins in the late nineteenth century to its theoretical and academic maturation in the latter half of the twentieth century. The district also has national significance under Criterion C in the area of Landscape Architecture. Combining the planning principles developed for the western wilderness parks with prevailing interpretive concepts, the National Park Service, with the Wakefield Association, created a historic designed landscape incorporating the setting and surviving features of Popes Creek Plantation within an overlay memorializing Washington's association with the birthplace and providing visitor access. Charles E. Peterson (1906–2004), one of the National Park Service's most important and prolific early landscape architects, contributed many characteristic aspects of the landscape design.

The district has additional significance under Criterion D at the state level in the areas of Archeology – Prehistoric and Archeology – Historic/Non-Aboriginal. Archeological sites within the district have yielded and have the potential to yield important information related to American Indian occupation and early European settlement of Popes Creek Plantation.

The district also contains resources that are significant at the local level under Criterion C in the area of Architecture. The Georgian Revival-style Memorial House, constructed in 1931, was intended to be a conceptual recreation of the type of Tidewater plantation house that George Washington's family may have lived in at the time of his birth. Representative of the work of Washington, D.C.-based architect Edward Donn, Jr., the building reflects national trends in its application of Colonial Revival-style elements as well as the influence of Josephine Wheelwright Rust, the founder of the Wakefield Association. Donn also designed the adjacent Colonial Kitchen House and the Log House Tea Room and Lodge at Duck Hall Point for the Wakefield Association, and both buildings possess local significance as examples of his work. The George Washington Monument reflects the general popularity of the obelisk form in commemorative monuments constructed during the nineteenth century.

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**Narrative Statement of Significance** (Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

#### **CRITERION B – POLITICS/GOVERNMENT**

The national significance of George Washington Birthplace National Monument under Criterion B is derived from its association with one of the most celebrated individuals in American history. The significance of that association is established by the legislation that created George Washington Birthplace National Monument in 1930. Through its location, setting, landscape features, and surviving remains of the Popes Creek Plantation, the district has the capacity to illustrate the cultural context and material circumstances of Washington's immediate family at the time of his birth. Regarded by both his contemporaries and modern historians as the most significant leader of the American Revolutionary generation, Washington's accomplishments are central to our national experience. As commander-in-chief of the Continental Army from 1775 to 1783, Washington masterfully molded a citizen army into a fighting force that defeated the professional British Army, thereby securing American independence from Great Britain. He then presided over the writing of the Constitution in 1787 and was unanimously chosen to serve as the new country's first president. During his term in office (1789–1797), he established many of the forms and rituals of the current United States government,

including the cabinet system and the inaugural address. For his central role in the founding of the United States, Washington is universally known as the “Father of his Country.”<sup>5</sup>

### **George Washington’s Association with the Popes Creek Plantation**

George Washington was born in the family house at Popes Creek (on the property that is now the George Washington Birthplace National Monument Historic District) on February 22, 1732, and spent the first three years of his life there. The wealthy and well-connected Washington family owned multiple tobacco plantations and, as part of colonial Virginia’s provincial gentry, relied heavily on indentured servants and, later and to a much greater degree, on an enslaved labor force to maintain its status. George’s ancestors first became associated with the property in 1664, when his great-grandfather John Washington (c. 1631–1677) established his primary residence on a parcel of land near Bridges Creek, where the **John Washington House Site (ASMIS ID GEWA00009.00, contributing site)** is located. By the following year, the **Washington Family Burial Ground (contributing site)** was established on a ridge overlooking wetlands of the southeast branch of Bridges Creek. A path following the general alignment of present-day **Bridges Creek Road (LCS No. 080329, historic associated feature)** may also have been in use during this period. It connected the John Washington property to inland sites and possibly also to the Potomac River and potentially followed earlier Algonquin trails. The overall spatial arrangement of the **George Washington Birthplace National Monument Designed Landscape (contributing site)** also reflects the plantation landscape developed on the site beginning in the mid-seventeenth century. The types of crops and vegetation changed over time, but the agricultural land use and the configuration of the fields were established early on. John became a powerful man in the community and amassed a significant amount of land in the region, generating income from agriculture, livestock, and timbering on his property. At the time of his death in 1677, his estate consisted of more than 8,500 acres with at least nine separate plantation seats, as well as a mill on Rosier’s Creek and other interests.

Upon his death in 1677, John Washington’s two eldest sons, Lawrence and John, inherited most of his holdings. Lawrence (1659–1697) received lands, including the Lisson estate along Bridges Creek (outside the district), and John (1661–c. 1698) inherited the Bridges Creek plantation where the family house was located. After Lawrence died in 1697, he left the Lisson estate to his second son Augustine (1694–1743), who moved to the property with his wife, Jane Butler (1699–1729), after their marriage in 1715. Three years later, Augustine expanded his holdings by purchasing a 150-acre tract on Popes Creek from Joseph Abbington. The property was an established plantation that included “houses, edifices, buildings, tobacco houses, fences, orchards, and garden” (Hudson 1956:12, quoted in Beasley 2001:198). Augustine may have moved his family, which at the time consisted of Jane and the couple’s first child, Lawrence (1718–1752), into the Abbington House shortly thereafter. Two additional children, Augustine Jr. (1720–1762), and Jane (1722–1735), were born during the early 1720s. By that time, Augustine had become involved in the local community, serving in a variety of local government capacities. At the age of 22, he was named justice of the peace and vestryman of Washington parish and was involved in administering estates, caring for orphans, and taking the list of tithables (those who were liable to pay taxes) for the Lower Washington precinct. In 1721, Augustine was one of three people nominated to Virginia Governor Spotswood as candidates for sheriff of Westmoreland County. He was not appointed at that time but subsequently served in that capacity for one or two years. He also served as a captain in the local militia and as a church warden during his years at Popes Creek. The growing family may have been the reason behind Augustine’s decision to construct a larger house on the property sometime between 1722 and 1726. The appearance of the Augustine Washington house is unknown, and it is unclear whether he built an entirely new building or simply added to the existing Abbington House. Whatever the case, an inventory of its contents taken in 1762 suggests that it was a fairly large residence. Other

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<sup>5</sup> Except where noted, information used to develop the historical contexts, background, and historical development of individual resources contained in this document was compiled from existing cultural resource management reports prepared for George Washington Birthplace National Monument. The main sources include the *Cultural Landscape Report: George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Westmoreland County, Virginia*, OCULUS, in association with FPW Architects and John Milner Associates, Volumes 1 and 2 (1999); *Memorial House and Colonial Kitchen, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Westmoreland County, Virginia, Historic Structures Report, 95% Draft*, Historic Architecture Program, Northeast Region, National Park Service (2009); *A Master Plan for George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Virginia*, U.S. Department of the Interior (1968); and *George Washington Birthplace National Monument: Administrative History 1930-2000*, Seth C. Bruggeman (2006).

accommodations on the property included a kitchen, a pantry, a laundry, storerooms, a dairy, a stable, barns, tobacco houses, and slave quarters (Beasley 2001:198; Hatch 1968:53–58; Hatch 1979:47; OCULUS 1999:4-7).

With his new “mansion” house (represented in the district by the **Popes Creek Plantation House and Outbuildings Site [ASMIS No. GEWA00002.00, contributing site]**) on Popes Creek, Augustine Washington joined other prosperous planters in the area who built more permanent houses and furnished them with an array of imported items that demonstrated their rising economic status. Although not among the top tier of Virginia’s wealthiest planters, Augustine skillfully pursued a strategy to ensure the position and security of his family, increasing his landholdings in Westmoreland County in 1725, 1728, and 1742. Through the latter transaction, Augustine acquired his grandfather John’s plantation on Bridges Creek from his cousin John Washington III. His holdings by that time consisted of some 1,300 acres extending from Popes Creek to far west of Bridges Creek. His plantation included a precinct of gardens, fencing, and crop land (tobacco, grains, and corn), in addition to the outbuildings listed above. Visible remnants of agricultural development that took place during Washington’s ownership of the property include a series of **Agricultural Drainage Ditches (LCS No. 080452, contributing structure)** located within the district (primarily along Bridges Creek Road) that are believed to date to the first half of the eighteenth century (Bragdon 2009; Hill 2006; OCULUS et al. 1999:2-30).

Jane Butler Washington died in 1729, and Augustine married Mary Ball in 1731. After George Washington’s birth a year later, the couple had two other children, Elizabeth (1733–1797) and Samuel (1734–1781), while living at Popes Creek. Few records survive of George’s first three years. By this time, his father had acquired, in addition to his Popes Creek lands, four other farms, a mill, and iron-furnace interests. In 1735, Augustine relocated the family to his Little Hunting Creek plantation (later renamed Mount Vernon) in Prince William (now Fairfax) County, Virginia, possibly to be closer to his iron businesses. The Washingtons moved again in 1738, this time to a plantation across from Fredericksburg, later called Ferry Farm. This farm was conveniently located between Popes Creek and other Washington properties and was in close proximity to the Accokeek iron furnaces. When Augustine Washington died in 1743, he willed his various properties to his sons. George, who was only 11 years old at the time, received Ferry Farm and continued to live there with his mother and younger siblings until about 1754. During that time, he established his career as a surveyor and soldier. His older half-brothers, Lawrence and Augustine Jr., received the Mount Vernon and Popes Creek properties, respectively (Hatch 1968:79–89).

Although George Washington did not reside permanently at Popes Creek after 1735, records show that he spent lengthy periods of time there until about 1748 and maintained a connection to the site even after that date. His half-brother Augustine Jr. (Austin) inherited the Popes Creek plantation, where as a teenager George visited Austin and his wife Anne, who had no children at that time. At both Ferry Farm and Popes Creek, George was exposed to nature and learned to handle horses and dogs, to ride and shoot, to recognize animal tracks, and to trail blaze, among other skills. Interested early on in surveying, he prepared a survey at Popes Creek of the area between Digwood Swamp and Mattox Creek. Later documented visits to Popes Creek occurred in March of 1752, May of 1768, and May of 1771. In 1752, after the death of his eldest half-brother, Lawrence, George inherited Mount Vernon and continued its development into one of the region’s most successful plantations. In 1759, after serving as an officer in the colonial forces fighting the French and Indian War (1754–1762), he married Martha Dandridge Custis and brought her to Mount Vernon (Hatch 1968:90–98).

Augustine Washington, Jr. died in 1762, leaving the Popes Creek property to his son William Augustine Washington (1757–1810). William renamed the estate Wakefield and lived there with his family until, according to local tradition, a fire on Christmas Day 1779 destroyed the house where his uncle George had been born. William subsequently moved his family to property located west of Bridges Creek, where he established a new plantation seat named Haywood, along with a new burial ground. His father was one of the last interments in the original Washington Family Burial Ground. William continued to work the land at Popes Creek, but, owing to the abandonment of Wakefield after the loss of the main house, it no longer possessed the importance it once had as a Washington plantation seat. By the time of William Augustine Washington’s death in 1810, all that remained of the central core area of Popes Creek was a chimney and the charred remains of the plantation house where George Washington was born (Beasley 2001:199; Hatch 1968; Hill 2006).

## CRITERION A – CONSERVATION

George Washington Birthplace National Monument is nationally significant under Criterion A in the area of Conservation for its association with important events in the history of historic preservation in the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The initial effort to preserve the birthplace site occurred between 1813 and 1815, when Washington descendants set aside the Washington family burial ground and a small plot containing the remains of the house where Washington was born from the general sale of the surrounding property, and erected a crude commemorative monument to mark the house site. The donation of the property to the Commonwealth of Virginia in 1858 coincided with other significant efforts in the 1850s to commemorate Washington through the preservation of places associated with his life. Subsequent efforts to preserve and commemorate the site were made within the context of renewed interest in Colonial and Revolutionary War history following the 1876 Centennial and continuing into the twentieth century. The federal acquisition of Washington's birth site and the authorization by the U.S. Congress to construct a monument there in 1879, along with the actual construction of the George Washington Monument at the site in 1896, were significant events in the early history of the federal government's involvement in the preservation of historic properties and essentially established the place as one of the nation's first national monuments. The formation of the Wakefield Association by Josephine Wheelwright Rust in 1923 set in motion events that led to the expansion and commemorative development of the property in anticipation of the bicentennial anniversary of Washington's birth. The federal government, which retained ownership of the birthplace site, authorized the construction of what became known as the Memorial House in 1926 and in 1930 provided an appropriation that allowed for its completion. At the same time, the U.S. Congress established George Washington Birthplace National Monument under the administration of the National Park Service, making it the first historic site added to the National Park System in the eastern United States and ushering in a period of substantial growth that resulted in the truly national system of historic and natural parks that Americans enjoy today.

The park as it exists today is largely the product of the combined efforts of the Wakefield Association and the National Park Service during the 1920s and early 1930s, a watershed period in the history of historic preservation. The effort to recreate the house and setting where Washington was born was undertaken within the context of the last major phase of the Colonial Revival movement, which reached its broadest appeal during the period in response to rapid industrialization, anti-immigrant nationalism, urbanization, and other factors that characterized post-World War I society. The Wakefield Association followed the model established by the Mount Vernon Ladies Association and subsequent preservation organizations composed of dedicated amateurs, primarily female, interested in preserving properties associated with American colonial history. At the same time, ambitious, privately sponsored, architectural restoration programs like those at Colonial Williamsburg and Greenfield Village along with the entrance of the National Park Service into the arena of historic preservation resulted in an influx of trained professionals to the field that subsequently shaped its development. The Wakefield project exemplified the significant roles that both volunteer women's groups and the federal government played in the formulation of a national historic preservation policy. It also demonstrated the inherent tensions that arose between the related but fundamentally different goals of commemorating history on the landscape and preserving the physical evidence of it.

### **Initial Preservation and Commemoration of Birthplace Site, 1813–1815**

The memorialization of Washington's birthplace in Virginia began in the early nineteenth century, not long after Washington's death, and marked a significant moment in the history of American public memory, as it was likely the first time that any formal acknowledgement and demarcation of a birthplace occurred in the United States. In 1810, George Washington's grandnephew George Corbin Washington (1789–1854) inherited the lands of the former plantation at Popes Creek from his father, William Augustine Washington. Three years later, he sold almost the entire property to John Gray, a Fredericksburg lawyer who farmed the land through tenants. However, George Corbin Washington took measures to protect the original Washington Family Burial Ground along with "sixty feet square of ground on which the house stood in which General Washington was born" by subdividing out those parcels and retaining ownership. These small parcels remained in the Washington family and were held specifically as memorials to their famous ancestor. While the family burying ground was still clearly visible on the landscape, the remains of the house were not, and consequently the

preserved ground was centered on a dilapidated chimney stack located more than 60 feet north of the actual Popes Creek Plantation House and Outbuildings Site. Later research would show that the chimney was part of a kitchen dependency at Wakefield rather than evidence of the house itself, but this early misattribution dictated the locations of subsequent memorials on the property for over 100 years (Hatch 1979:63).

In June 1815, George Washington Parke Custis (1781–1857), Martha Washington’s grandson by her first husband (whom George Washington later adopted), traveled to the birthplace site and placed a stone slab engraved with the text “Here/The 11<sup>th</sup> of February, 1732, (Old Style)/George Washington/Was Born” on a site within the extant ruins of the burned house. Custis determined that the location where he placed the stone was “just inside the window of the room in which George Washington was born.” He wrote that “we gathered together the bricks of an ancient chimney that once formed the hearth around which Washington in his infancy had played, and constructed a rude kind of pedestal” (cited in Hatch 1968:110). The exact placement of the stone was never clearly identified but undoubtedly lay within the confines of the “sixty feet square” set-aside, thus perpetuating (and literally setting in stone) erroneous information about the Popes Creek Plantation house site. The vagueness of its origins, however, did not prevent popular memory from lending to the Custis Stone “the preciseness of valid, explicit gospel” and “the enduring truth of first interpretation” (Linenthal 1999, quoted in Beasley 2001:201).

Custis’ account of his visit to George Washington’s birthplace states that he was “desirous of making the ceremonial [*sic*] of depositing the stone as imposing as circumstances would permit.” Historian Seth Bruggeman has argued that Custis created his own pilgrimage narrative replete with object rituals to properly consecrate the site. Custis wrapped the stone in an American flag, directly indicating his patriotic motivations. Coinciding with the end of the War of 1812, the first major test of the new nation’s ability to defend itself against foreign powers, the act occurred within a period of heightened patriotism that evoked the memory of the founding fathers. Custis venerated his famous ancestor in many other ways, including filling his own home at Arlington, Virginia, with Washington memorabilia, encouraging the public to visit, and writing plays and essays about him. The commemorative imprint of the Custis Stone at George Washington’s birthplace, however, implied that the physical setting of George Washington’s birth directly contributed to his exemplary character and eventual success as a great leader, which was a novel idea in 1815. The stone set the precedent for future uses of the site as a shrine for pilgrims that derives authority from the presence of historical objects and links the American landscape with those who were born on it (Bruggeman 2008:26–31).

### **Public Preservation and Commemoration of George Washington’s Birthplace, 1858–1922**

Despite the general interest in commemorating George Washington that grew during the nineteenth century (see the additional historic context information provided at the end of Section 8), his birthplace site at Popes Creek remained largely out of the public eye for decades. The surrounding lands owned by John Gray continued in agricultural use. In 1846, John F. Wilson of Maryland purchased Wakefield Farm and 1,336 acres from Gray. Wilson built a new residence for his son, John E. Wilson, southwest of the birthplace site on the western bank of Popes Creek. In 1850, nearly two-thirds of Wilson’s property was listed as “unimproved,” while Wilson raised wheat, corn, and potatoes on 500 acres. By 1860, Wilson had improved another 150 of the surrounding acres as cultivated fields. In the late 1850s, Washington’s descendants approached the Commonwealth of Virginia about assuming ownership of the birthplace site at Popes Creek for the purpose of preserving it as a public shrine. Contemporaneous well-publicized projects aimed at preserving sites associated with George Washington’s life may have influenced them. In addition, a number of published accounts had appeared between 1815 and 1858 that drew attention to the deteriorating condition of the site and the lack of an appropriate monument to mark its location. The Custis Stone was broken into three pieces by 1857, moved around, and disappeared by 1870. An 1835 *Gazetteer* report warned that in a few years “the scarcely distinguished remains ... will have become obliterated... and not a stone be left to point the inquisitive patriot to the place that gave birth to the ‘Father of his Country.’” An 1836 biography of George Washington written for children drew strong parallels between his birthplace and his later virtues. By 1851, an article in the Richmond *Whig and Public Advertiser* described the birthplace site as “an old chimney, a mammoth fig tree, and a freestone slab...broken in two” amid the larger agricultural landscape and scolded that, “The neglected condition of the spot bears record of shame against his country for neglecting to lift up a monument there, to his memory” (quoted in Beasley 2001:201; Marling 1988:97,102).

On September 18, 1858, George Corbin Washington's son Lewis William (1812–1871) transferred ownership of the 60-foot-square lot presumed to be the site of George Washington's birth and the nearby family burial ground to the Commonwealth of Virginia. The title stipulated that both sites be "permanently enclosed with an iron fence based on stone foundations together with suitable and modest (though substantial) tables, to commemorate to rising generations these notable spots" (quoted in Hatch 1968:121). The execution of this deed and the promise of the State to maintain and commemorate the site marked the event as being one of the earliest examples of publicly sponsored historic preservation in the country's history. In 1859, the year after they accepted the title to the birthplace site from Lewis Washington, Virginia's General Assembly appropriated \$5,000 toward development that would comply with the deed. Governor Henry Wise visited the site, and a survey of the land was conducted. John E. Wilson, the owner of the adjacent lands who was actively interested in protecting the historic ruins on his property, donated rights-of-way on land surrounding the burial ground and the birthplace site to Virginia. However, the onset of the Civil War precluded any further efforts by the state to commemorate the site (National Park Service 1941:10).

In the years following the Civil War, as the nation strove to reestablish the historical bonds between the North and the South, the centennial anniversary of American independence in 1876 became a focal point for public celebration and commemoration. Highlighted by the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876, which drew nearly 10 million people over the course of its year of operation, the rolling series of ceremonies to mark the 100-year anniversaries of battles and other Revolutionary War events during the years between 1876 and 1883 ushered in a new and intensive period of interest in the Colonial and Revolutionary War periods and were important to the national healing process. Federal participation in major commemorative projects commenced in 1876 when Congress voted to assume control over the stalled Washington National Monument project and appropriated \$200,000 to restart construction. Shortly after that decision, the federal government also became involved with Washington's birthplace site (Bodnar 1993:21; Bruggeman 2006; Bruggeman 2008:53–59; Marling 1988:44,151–152; West 1999:3).

In June 1879, U.S. Congressman John T. Harris of Virginia introduced a joint resolution in the House of Representatives requesting funding for a monument at Washington's birthplace. The Commonwealth of Virginia had failed to make good on its promises to the Washington family after acquiring the property in 1858, and Harris hoped that the federal government would assume its responsibility. While the initial resolution called for an appropriation of \$30,000, the total was subsequently reduced to \$3,000 and the resolution was passed by unanimous vote on June 14. At that time there was no agency in the government specifically equipped to handle the task, so Congress assigned the management of the project to Secretary of State William Evarts. The following October, Evarts and William T. Sherman, Commanding General of the U.S. Army, conducted a visit to the site. Upon their arrival at Bridges Creek, the party was joined by John E. Wilson, who directed them to the crumbling chimney and foundation remnants within the small parcel owned by the Commonwealth of Virginia. During the visit, cartographer Henry Lindenkohl drew a sketch map showing the property's features, including vegetative cover, roads, gates, springs, house sites, property owners and boundaries, and river access landings for the entire Wakefield Farm (*St. Paul Daily Globe* 1879; U.S. Secretary of State 1881:50; Bruggeman 2008:90).

Upon his return to Washington, Evarts determined to expand the scope of the project to include the preservation of what he believed to be the remains of George Washington's birthplace site. In May 1880, he wrote to Representative Samuel R. Randall, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, recounting his visit to the site and outlining his vision for the monument:

In order to be able to carry into effect more intelligently the desires of Congress I made at the earliest practicable moment a visit to the birthplace of Washington in Westmoreland county, in the State of Virginia. I found that all which now remains of the home in which Washington was born is a ruined hearthstone and chimney, a considerable portion of which still maintains its form.

The selection of a proper design for the structure has since received my most careful and thoughtful consideration. Monuments commemorative of great and good men have in the history of art been of

either triumphal or sepulchral character. In the present case, the occasion and the object of the monument preclude any imitation of such examples, and indicate that the designation of the parental home in which Washington was born and the preservation of all that time has left of it should shape the architecture of the monument.

The neglected birthplace of the immediate ancestry of Washington close to the homestead suggested the protection of their remains from further exposure and dishonor as in harmony with the reverential spirit of the proposed monument, and this purpose is included in my choice of the plans of the structure (quoted in *Richmond Dispatch-Sunday* 1893).

Evarts, who obtained the services of the Boston architectural firm of Howe & Dodd to develop concept plans, proposed to construct what he referred to as a “memorial building” over the site. The building was to be 20 feet square and about 30 feet tall. It consisted of granite side walls with bronze doors and a grill that would allow visitors to see the enclosed chimney remnants and a vault containing the remains of Washington’s descendants, which were to be relocated from the family burial ground. After Howe & Dodd provided an estimate for the work, Evarts approached Congress in early 1881 with a request to increase the appropriation for the monument to \$30,000. A lively debate over the propriety of spending such a large sum of public funds for commemorative purposes was held in the Senate before an “unusually full” gallery on Washington’s birthday, February 22, 1881. Those opposed suggested that Washington would have opposed the ten-fold increase for an elaborate monument in his honor. Kansas Senator John Ingalls thought that a simple memorial stone, as proposed under the 1879 resolution, was sufficient and objected to Evarts’ plan to substitute what he described as “a sort of cottage or bird-cage of some kind with delicately stained glass windows” (quoted in *National Republican* 1881a). Others criticized the measure for not specifying the architectural style of the monument and the fact that the remote location of the site would make visitation and maintenance difficult. The resolution finally passed by a vote of 40 to 10 and, after a similar debate in the House, a joint resolution was approved on February 26. The resolution carried a stipulation that no funds could be expended before the Secretary of State secured federal title to the land on which the monument was to be constructed and a public right of way to access it (*National Republican* 1881a and 1881b; Secretary of State 1881:519).

On April 24, 1881, Evarts’ successor, Secretary of State James G. Blaine, formally approved Howe & Dodd’s concept design for the memorial building and requested that the firm prepare detailed working plans and estimates. In advance of the proposed construction, F.O. St. Clair, a “practical civil engineer” with the Department of State, supervised excavations at the presumed “birth site plot” for the purpose of determining “the character of the substrata on which to base an estimate as to the cost of constructing a suitable foundation” for a planned memorial. The character of those substrata remains unclear as field documentation of the excavations is non-existent. Contemporary anecdotal accounts by visitors to the site, however, place the excavations over, or very near, the current Memorial House site and claim that “A little digging reveals massive brick foundations... indicat(ing) a noble residence” (Powell 1968:9). The foundation was identified at a depth of two feet, eight inches below ground surface near the remains of a dilapidated chimney and was considered to be part of the house where Washington was born. Initial plans called for the incorporation of the foundation into the memorial building, but several local residents, including John E. Wilson, sent a letter to Blaine that stated the chimney around which the memorial building was planned was “never a part of the original building; and is 45 to 50 feet from the nearest point of the foundations of the old mansion” (quoted in Rodnick 1941:29–30).

Meanwhile, on April 21, 1882, Virginia Governor William E. Jameson officially conveyed the state-owned parcels to the United States government. In 1883, \$2,500 of the authorized appropriation for the monument was used to purchase from John E. and Bettie W. Wilson an additional 11.88 acres of land, including an area surrounding the birthplace site and a strip about 50 feet wide and 1.6 miles long for a roadway between the site and the Potomac River at the mouth of Bridges Creek. The Wilsons also granted additional rights-of-way that increased the area under federal control to about 20 acres (*National Republican* 1881b; *Daily Evening Bulletin* 1883; Albright 1932:5–6).

The remote location of the site was a significant problem that ultimately hindered the implementation of the plans for the memorial building. It was about 42 miles from the nearest railroad depot in Fredericksburg, and it took two days to reach

the site via the overland route from that point. Travel by boat on the Potomac River was the quickest option, but sandbars and shallows that stretched far out from the south bank of the Potomac prevented all but shallow-draft, flat-bottom boats from reaching the shore near the birthplace site. The closest steamboat landing was six miles distant, and there were no adequate roads to the site from that location. To allow for the economical transport of construction materials and provide the public access required by the 1881 resolution, a wharf and roadway leading from the Potomac River to the site would be required. In early 1884 Colonel Thomas Lincoln Casey of the Army Corps of Engineers was dispatched to develop plans and construction estimates. He found that the wharf would need to be more than 1,000 feet in length to reach water of sufficient depth. In a letter to Secretary of State Frederick Frelinghuysen dated April 18, Casey submitted designs for several types of piers and recommended a durable cast iron screw-pile version at an estimated cost of \$9,403.62. Frelinghuysen chose one of the less expensive options and forwarded a request to President Chester A. Arthur asking him to transmit to the House of Representatives a request for an additional \$6,000 appropriation for the pier and roadway. The House, however, refused to act on Arthur's request, and the project was put on hold for nearly a decade (*Richmond Dispatch-Sunday* 1893).

During the intervening ten years, Congress further established its commitment to public commemoration by providing funding assistance to a number of Revolutionary War battlefield monument projects initiated by private monument associations. Many monument associations founded during the antebellum period re-formed in the early 1870s with the goal of completing, or at least starting, their projects on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the event they intended to commemorate. The persistent problem of raising funds from private sources for these large projects, especially during the economic depression that ensued after the Panic of 1873, forced them to petition Congress for assistance. Ultimately, Congress responded by appropriating a total of \$244,000 during the years between 1881 and 1884 for major monuments, including those for the Bennington, Yorktown, Saratoga, Cowpens, Monmouth, and Oriskany battlefields. These actions, according to National Park Service historian Ronald F. Lee, marked the first significant steps toward the development of a national preservation policy (Lee 1973).

The effort to mark Washington's birthplace resumed in July 1892 when Senator John W. Daniel of Virginia introduced a resolution to use part of the \$30,000 in funds voted for the monument in 1881 for the construction of the pier and roadway. Daniel incorporated Colonel Casey's 1884 recommendation for a cast iron pier and requested that a total of \$11,136 be appropriated. A joint resolution approving the appropriation was passed in February 25, 1893. The Army Corps of Engineers undertook construction of the pier and roadway under the direction of Colonel J. M. Wilson, Commissioner of the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds. In early August 1894, Wilson reported to Secretary of State Walter Q. Gresham that the work had been completed (*Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser* 1892; Secretary of State 1893:756; *National Tribune* 1894).

Expenditures for the pier, roadway, and other improvements took up about half the funds appropriated for the monument and required that the memorial building plans be scrapped. In his report to Gresham, Williams stated that he favored a simple shaft monument, which could be erected for the approximately \$15,000 that remained. Gresham subsequently initiated a design and bid competition specifying that the proposed **George Washington Monument (LCS No. 007778, contributing object)** be "a shaft of American granite, high enough to be plainly visible from passing vessels, [at] a distance of 5 miles" (*New York Times* 11/28/1894, quoted in Hatch 1968:129).

Despite lingering concerns over the accuracy of the location, the intended site for the monument remained the same as originally identified by Secretary of State Evarts in 1879. A second round of excavations, overseen by John Stewart of the War Department in 1896, was conducted in advance of the installation of the monument that resulted in the re-identification and expansion of portions of a two-room brick structure measuring 36.5 by 20 feet. These structural remains, of which two plan maps survive, were the same features identified during the 1892 excavations and were interpreted similarly as the remains of the main house at Popes Creek Plantation.

Out of 34 monument design proposals, Gresham selected one submitted by John Crawford & Sons of Buffalo, New York, for a 51-foot-tall monument comprising a monolithic obelisk shaft of granite from Barre, Vermont, set on a stepped base. The monument's classical design forms and motifs imitated those of the Washington Monument in Washington, D.C., at

about one-tenth the scale of that structure. Crawford & Sons, whose recent experience included a smaller but similar monument at the Mary Ball Washington house site in Fredericksburg, Virginia, estimated the cost for the monument at \$11,000 (*St. Paul Daily Globe* 1894).

The outward simplicity of the monument's design belied the complicated logistics of its fabrication and erection. The raw stone for its five parts—the first base, second base, die, plinth, and shaft—had to be moved from the quarry in Barre to the Crawford & Sons shop in Buffalo. To transport the more than 40-foot-long, 63,000-pound stone for the monolith shaft, Central Vermont Railroad had to construct a special flat-car with heavy 12-wheel trucks. The finished stones were sent by rail to Washington, where they were loaded onto flat boats and floated 70 miles on the Potomac to the birthplace site in March 1896. Fearing that the heavy materials could not be supported by the pier that was built in 1893, Crawford & Sons chose to transport the pieces of the monument to the adjacent beach on flat-bottom barges. From there, they were moved on rollers a distance of nearly two miles to the construction site. In preparation for the erection of the monument, a massive concrete foundation measuring 14 feet square by 8 feet deep was poured. The shaft of the monument was put in place on April 4 and, after an inspection to ensure the quality of the work, J. M. Wilson accepted it on behalf of the United States government on April 6 (*Vermont Phoenix* 1896; Albright 1932:6).

After the monument was put in place, a number of landscape improvements were made to beautify and provide access to the site. A wrought-iron fence around the base of the monument and a crushed stone approach road following the alignment of the present-day **Road to Birthplace (LCS No. 256346, historic associated feature)** were constructed. Other improvements included the planting of a dense grove of Eastern red cedar trees and the construction of a small pavilion near the monument. The improvements brought the total cost of the project to \$13,267 (Bruggeman 2006; OCULUS et al. 1999; Sargent 2006).

The responsibility for the maintenance of the monument was assigned to the War Department. By that time the Department had become the de facto agency in the government for maintaining the small but growing number of historic properties under federal control, including the Washington National Monument, the public buildings and parks in Washington, D.C., the Statue of Liberty, national cemeteries, and the first four national battlefields established in the early 1890s. The George Washington Monument's relative proximity to Washington, D.C., made the Army Corps of Engineers' Office of Public Buildings and Grounds the most logical choice for its administration. Until that time, the Office's purview extended only to public buildings and parks within the city, and it was necessary to provide for a full-time watchman who would live at or near the site to maintain the wharf and monument and ensure public access. Beginning in 1896, Congress appropriated a yearly salary of \$300 for the watchman out of the general budget for the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds (Hosmer 1981:471–473; Secretary of State 1897:164).

In a more permanent and tangible way, the 1896 George Washington Monument perpetuated the story first established by the Custis Stone almost 100 years earlier. The monument essentially put Washington's birthplace on the map by giving it a prominent landmark that made it more interesting to a growing class of tourists who enjoyed visiting historical sites. The wharf helped to resolve the problem of its isolation by making it more accessible. As a result, Washington's birthplace was added to the itineraries of some of the tens of thousands who visited Mount Vernon each year. It also received visitors from the nearby summer resort at Colonial Beach. Billed as the "Atlantic City of Washington," the resort's promotional literature and advertisements featured Washington's birthplace, along with other sites of historical interest on Virginia's Northern Neck, including the birthplaces of James Madison, James Monroe, and Robert E. Lee, as being among the area's main attractions. Regular steamboat service provided from a railhead at Popes Creek in Maryland to Colonial Beach put the site within a half-day's trip from the Washington, D.C., or Baltimore metropolitan areas (*Washington Herald* 1912; Walker 1905).

Statistics that would provide a sense of the popularity of the monument as a tourist destination in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century do not exist. Anecdotal evidence suggests that interest was highest during the first few years after its construction and then slowly faded. A newspaper reporter who visited the site in 1913 noted that the place was "seemingly wholly unknown to those countless thousands of patriotic pilgrims who delight to do homage to Washington by visits to localities rendered conspicuous through his career... The odd thing about the present-day neglect of Wakefield

plantation is that the old farm was visited by vastly greater numbers of people a few years ago than it has more recently.” The reporter reasoned that the isolation of the place and changing tourism patterns were to blame. By that time, the 1893 pier had been damaged by ice floes and was no longer used to land passengers (*Holt County Sentinel* 1913; Albright 1932:6).

Other than providing for a watchman and some minor funds for maintenance, the Federal Government did nothing to further improve the site during the first two decades of the twentieth century. A private effort undertaken by the Virginia chapter of the Colonial Dames of America to restore the Washington Family Burial Ground constituted the most significant development. The burial ground, which under Evarts’ plans for a memorial building was to be moved and incorporated into the monument, was ignored during the improvements made in the 1890s. Its condition had deteriorated over time to the point where all that remained was a “group of trees and a few marble slabs with inscriptions almost illegible” (quoted in Hatch 1968:137). The vault had partially caved in and was later filled in with earth. In 1906, the Colonial Dames, in association with Washington family heirs William, James, and Augustine Latane, funded and executed the restoration of the burial ground. The work included the construction of a 36-foot-square concrete-block wall (not extant) around the burial vault and the setting of two of the original family gravestones along with the names of 17 other family members into a concrete floor poured on either side of the vault. These developments were reversed two decades later when more ambitious plans were implemented at the site.

### **Establishment and Activities of the Wakefield Association, 1923–1929**

On June 11, 1923, Josephine Wheelwright Rust (1864–1931) hosted a gathering, primarily consisting of women, at her home in Washington, D.C., to form the Wakefield Association. The Association’s primary objective, as stated in the meeting minutes, was to:

preserve for all time the historical portions of Wakefield and to form a beautiful park of that portion and to build there a replica of the house in which Washington was born and a log cabin as emblematic of the home of the first settlers, linking up this park with the Government-owned Monument and Grounds and make of it a shrine to which Americans can go; but like Mt. Vernon under the care and direction of this Association (quoted in OCULUS et al. 1999:2-50).

Rust, born on a plantation known as Twiford several miles from Wakefield, was a descendant of George Washington through her mother, as well as a member of several patriotic organizations including the Colonial Dames and the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). She was also a “master publicist” with considerable connections in Washington, D.C. society (Bruggeman 2008:66). The Wakefield Association modeled itself directly after the Mount Vernon Ladies Association with vice-regents eventually assigned to each state for the purpose of raising funds and national interest in the project. Rust recruited Charles Moore, the chairman of the United States Fine Arts Commission established by Congress in 1910 to provide the government with expert advice on matters of design and aesthetics in the development of Washington’s public parks system, to serve as the Association’s Vice President. Through the Fine Arts Commission, Moore had access to government officials and nationally prominent planners like Daniel H. Burnham and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., who were among the founding members of the Fine Arts Commission. Charles Arthur Hoppin, a noted Washington family genealogist, also joined the Association as its official historian. The group incorporated in January 1924 and held its first public meeting on February 22 of that year, with addresses by prominent politicians including Chief Justice (and former President) William Howard Taft, Ohio Senator Simeon D. Fess, and Virginia Senator Claude A. Swanson. Swanson was particularly involved with conservation efforts in the Northeast. He passed legislation in 1921 to expand the Shenandoah National Park and co-sponsored an unsuccessful bill in 1922 to establish the Appalachian National Park in Virginia (Bruggeman 2008:64–67; Hosmer 1981:478).

The establishment of the Wakefield Association occurred at a time of high reverence for Washington’s legacy. Patriotic celebrations of American ancestors in general surged in the decades after World War I, following the pattern of increased nostalgia and emphasis on America’s hallowed legacy established after the Civil War. Many high-profile historical events took place in the 1920s and early 1930s, often tied to significant anniversaries. In December 1920, Plymouth,

Massachusetts, hosted ceremonies in honor of the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Pilgrims' landing. Ten years later, Massachusetts celebrated its own tercentenary. Americans celebrated the sesquicentennial of the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia in 1926. The Federal Government also sponsored several prominent commemorative events including a 1930 Covered Wagon Centennial and a 1931 re-enactment and pageant for the sesquicentennial of the Battle of Yorktown (Bodnar 1993:171–174; Bruggeman 2008:67).

The occasion accorded the highest distinction, however, was the 1932 bicentennial anniversary of George Washington's birth, an anniversary that generated considerable popular interest in George Washington. Federal preparations for the event began in 1924 when Congress passed a joint resolution to establish the George Washington Bicentennial Commission. Signed into law on December 1924 by President Calvin Coolidge, the commission was charged with preparing and carrying out plans for the comprehensive observance of what the legislation referred to as "the greatest of all historic events." Under the direction of Congressman Sol Bloom, the commission encouraged over 4.7 million commemorative activities over the subsequent decade, including department store window display contests, art exhibits, student essay contests, memorial tree plantings, the dedication of the George Washington Masonic Memorial in Alexandria, Virginia, and a commemorative funeral service (Bodnar 1993:174–175). Earlier in 1924, Coolidge had shown his affinity for historic places by creating the first historic national monuments in the eastern United States, including the Statue of Liberty, Castillo de San Marcos, Fort Matanzas, and Fort Pickering national monuments, using the authorities provided by the 1906 Antiquities Act. He and his wife shared a particular interest in George Washington. In 1922, the couple helped to launch a national drive to save and refurbish Kenmore, the home of Washington's sister, Betty, in Fredericksburg, Virginia, and the following year organized a trip among their friends to Mount Vernon. Coolidge also made a visit in the summer of 1924 to Washington's birthplace to view the George Washington Monument. The event helped to draw attention to the site and the activities of the Wakefield Association (Secretary of State 1925:671; Marling 1988:254,263–265; OCULUS et al. 1999).

The general fanfare surrounding the preparations for the George Washington Bicentennial gave impetus to the Wakefield Association's restoration efforts. By early 1926, it had acquired the Duck Hall property, about 70 acres of land adjacent to the 11-acre federal reservation, and about 50 feet of land encircling the Washington Family Burial Ground. With this property in hand, the Association used its considerable political connections to petition Congress to allow the use of the federal land for the construction of the memorial house. On June 7, 1926, President Coolidge signed a bill that granted the Association authority to "build, operate, and maintain upon the plot of ground owned by the United States at Wakefield... a replica, as nearly as may be practical, of the home in which George Washington was born" and required approval of the plans by the Fine Arts Commission and the Secretary of the War Department. This legislation set the stage for the construction of the extant designed landscape at the birthplace, as well as for the tension that arose between the Association and the federal government over the nature of the designs (Bruggeman 2008:65–67; Hosmer 1981:479; OCULUS et al. 1999:2-50–2-51; Secretary of State 1927:669).

Before proceeding with the Association's plans, Chairman Charles Moore wanted to conduct additional excavations aimed at the resolution of lingering doubts about the "exact location of the house on Wakefield reservation." Excavations done in 1896, prior to the construction of the George Washington Monument, had exacerbated the concerns expressed by local residents in the early 1880s as to the precise location of the house. The work had uncovered a two-room brick foundation measuring approximately 30 feet by 20 feet and oriented east to west. The building implied by the foundation seemed much smaller than the house as it was remembered, but the War Department had continued with their original plans for marking the site. Consequently, visitors to the site after 1896 interpreted the obelisk as standing on the precise spot of George Washington's birth. Twenty years later, Moore unsuccessfully requested funding from the War Department for the Wakefield Association to excavate again but did obtain a permit to privately fund an excavation at the site. Moore knew that there was "reason to believe that the monument which ostensibly marks the site [is] built over the ruins of an outhouse, one chimney of which was standing within the memory of persons now living" (Hatch 1979:84, quoted in Bruggeman 2006:37). The work conducted for the Association by War Department Engineer J. Arthur Hook relocated the foundation elements identified during the 1896 excavations and uncovered a lucrative cache of pottery shards, broken china, and glass. Unlike previous excavators at the site, Hook maintained field notes and photographs to document the work and wrote three short reports describing the discoveries (Powell 1968) but provided no additional

information that could conclusively corroborate or disprove the location marked by the 1896 obelisk (Hosmer 1981:478–49; Bruggeman 2008:90–93).

As far as the appearance of the house in which Washington was born, historian Charles Hoppin provided the research on the topic for the Association. However, he uncovered little documentary evidence of the actual birthplace house, reporting that “no picture of it or any part of it, and no list of anything that was in the house, indicative of either the size, style or character of the house, has ever been published, or in any way authentically presented in this country.” Thus, Hoppin relied on a 1762 inventory of Augustine Washington’s property (described by him as “a helpful document that can only be generally useful as to rooms, especially the number”), oral histories obtained from Washington descendants, and his own knowledge of other extant eighteenth-century houses in the region (Hoppin 1926 and 1930, quoted in Hatch 1968:143). Hoppin concluded that the Washington house was on a high basement with a number of principal rooms on the first floor and additional rooms under a gable roof with dormers. His descriptions bore a strong resemblance to Gunston Hall in Fairfax County. He later found a member of the Washington family who said the house resembled a frame house in Providence Forge, Virginia.

Because of the lack of definitive information available to the Wakefield Association on both the location and the house’s appearance, Moore’s original idea for the site was to conserve the outlines of the excavated foundations and build a house of the period (*not* a reproduction of the Washington house) on a site nearby. The other members of the Association, however, felt strongly that they should adhere to the Congressional mandate to build a “replica” on the site where the monument stood. They also wanted to make the place a tourist destination by constructing several buildings in addition to the replica birth house that would add interest and provide amenities for visitors. Their plans for the project began to crystallize in 1927 when the Association hired Washington, D.C. architect Edward W. Donn, Jr. (1868–1953) to draft plans for what came to be called the **Memorial House (LCS No. 007776, contributing building)** and a **Colonial Kitchen House (LCS No. 000439, contributing building)**. Donn’s commission also included designs for a log cabin to represent the home of the first settlers in the area, a restaurant and lodge, and the restoration of the Washington Family Burial Ground (Bruggeman 2006:39).

Donn and his draftsman Albert Erb prepared the designs for the Memorial House relying primarily on information gleaned from local lore and from Hoppin’s research. The plans included details from the Providence Forge house as well as other old buildings, including Rust’s ancestral house known as Twiford, and obliged Rust’s desire for brick construction. They did not correspond, however, to the size and structural configuration of the excavated foundations at the site. Comparison of those foundations with a 1743 inventory of household goods suggested that the foundations were too small to have supported the Washington family home. Consequently, Donn increased the dimensions of his design beyond the measurements of the foundations to produce a building imposing enough to satisfy the members of the Association. Washington family members who were given the chance to view Donn’s plans gave their general approval as well (Hatch 1968:142–144; Sargent 2006:216–234).

The Fine Arts Commission approved Donn’s plans in December 1927, stating “There is sufficient documentary testimony as to the character of the house to guide the architect as to size and general disposition of the rooms and the location of buildings appertaining to the mansion” and that the “meager” and “fragmentary” excavation results were not convincing enough to warrant building elsewhere (FAC files, quoted in Rodnick 1941:48–49). Moore appears to have resolved his own reservations on the subject, as he later authored a guide for visitors to the site in which he explained:

The foundations were only partly destroyed when the Government monument was built thereon, and the remains gave the necessary data as to size, orientation and other determining features. Moreover, there is of record an inventory of the furniture in the house in 1762. The Association architect... had sufficient information to enable him to design a house similar to the one built by Augustine Washington as regards both external appearance and interior finish and arrangements. It is not a copy of the original house; but it is a structure of its period; and it stands on the site where George Washington was born (Moore 1932:14).

The Wakefield Association published Donn's plans in the *New York Times* in February 1928, and the following week the noted architectural historian Fiske Kimball wrote to Moore with his opinion of the proposed house. Kimball felt it was "highly typical" of the period and, although he doubted the original had been brick, did not oppose using brick to build what he referred to as a "memorial reconstruction" rather than a replica (*New York Times* 1928; Kimball to Moore, quoted in Hosmer 1981:481).

Opposition from several other well-respected professionals, however, led to some difficulty obtaining War Department approval of the Association's plans. Hook's reports of the 1926 archeological findings had prompted the War Department to send their own representative to the site to investigate further. Major Brehon Somervell of the Army Corps of Engineers joined Milton Medary, the president of the American Institute of Architects, and noted landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. at the site in 1927. Their report explicitly recommended not building a replica on the uncovered foundations. As reported by Donn, both Olmsted and Medary expressed their "fear that the American Public would after a comparatively short space of years, forget that the building was only intended in the first place to be an illustration of the type of house Washington was born in, but would come to consider it the actual house in which that event took place" (Donn to Rust, November 19, 1927, quoted in Hosmer 1981:480–481). The Secretary of War responded to this report by accepting only the *designs* submitted by the Wakefield Association in January 1928; before approving the *location*, he sought a Congressional appropriation to have his own engineers study the site. The War Department subsequently presented its own ambitious plans for the "improvement of Wakefield" before a congressional committee in February of 1929, but the committee tabled it after concluding that the full Congress would likely consider it too costly to implement ("Statement of Maj. Brehon B. Somervell, District Engineer, Preparation of Plans for Improvement of Birthplace of George Washington, Wakefield, VA," GEWA Archives, cited in OCULUS et al. 1999:2-57).<sup>6</sup> On April 13, 1929, the Secretary of War finally approved the location for the Memorial House, paving the way for the Wakefield Association to begin work on its plans without assistance from the War Department (Beasley 2001:205; Bruggeman 2008:94; Sargent 2006:216–234).

Recognizing the need for larger influxes of money and support, the Association encouraged Hoppin to leverage his connections with the prominent philanthropist John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who was then heavily involved in restoring nearby Colonial Williamsburg. In 1928, Hoppin presented Rockefeller with a "leather covered book" of materials on Wakefield in the hopes of persuading him to invest in the project. In addition to financing the immense restoration work at Williamsburg, Rockefeller had also supported several other high-profile conservation projects including the national parks in Acadia and the Great Smoky Mountains. Hoppin succeeded in getting Rockefeller to purchase 274 acres adjacent to Washington's birth site for \$115,000. Rockefeller placed the land in his River Holding Company for release to the Wakefield Association on January 7, 1930, provided that they could raise matching funds through public subscription. However, the Association faced considerable difficulties raising the money needed to execute the project. Although Rust developed a scale of donation payments and appealed to other national organizations, it soon became clear that the Association's chances of meeting the 1930 deadline to receive the Rockefeller lands were slim. With few other options, the Association petitioned the U.S. Congress for funding assistance in May 1929. Newly appointed National Park Service Director Horace M. Albright played an instrumental role in securing the petition's passage, under certain conditions, because he saw in it a long-sought opportunity to expand his agency's mission to include historic sites (Sargent 2006:216–234).

### **Establishment of George Washington Birthplace National Monument, 1930**

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<sup>6</sup> Correspondence between Major Somervell and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. in the fall of 1928 indicates that Olmsted decided to assist the War Department in preparing plans for the site. In March 1929, after the War Department's request for funding was denied, Charles Moore, Chairman of the Fine Arts Commission, asked Olmsted if he would perform similar work to assist the Wakefield Association with their plans for the site (Moore to Olmsted, 3/5/1929). Olmsted responded that he thought the Association's plans for constructing the Memorial House on what was then considered to be the foundation of the birthplace was a "fundamental mistake" and declined to participate (Olmsted to Moore, 3/18/1929). There is no evidence to suggest that Olmsted ever completed any design work for the site.

Officially established by a Congressional Act signed by President Herbert Hoover on January 23, 1930, George Washington Birthplace National Monument was the first historical site added to the National Park System in the eastern United States. This event was, in historian Michael Kammen's words, a "pivotal prelude" to the subsequent transfer of all national monuments to the Park Service in 1933 and the passage of the Historic Sites Act in 1935 (Kammen 1991:467). Park Service involvement at George Washington's birthplace signified that the agency considered the preservation and protection of historic buildings and locations fundamental to its mission. Director Albright was prepared to "go rather heavily into the historical park field," and the acquisition of Washington's birthplace jumpstarted his plans (Albright, December 20, 1928, quoted in Hosmer 1981:475-476). Alongside federal commissions established to commemorate significant historical events in the vein of the Washington Bicentennial, the Park Service quickly centralized the process of selecting historical landmarks and sites for preservation, following the precedent set at Wakefield. Within the next three years, Congress authorized the creation of two more historical parks, Colonial National Monument in July 1930 (redesignated a National Historical Park in 1936) and Morristown National Historical Park in March 1933 (Bodnar 1993:169; Hosmer 1981:493).

As Assistant Director during the 1920s, Albright had already taken the lead in advocating for a more rational approach to managing the growing number of historic parks and monuments administered by other agencies within the Federal Government. The somewhat haphazard system of federally managed sites that existed in the United States by this time had originated with the creation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872. Followed by Yosemite, Sequoia, and General Grant (now part of Kings Canyon) in 1890, the number and extent of federally designated natural parks had grown in response to increasing concern for their preservation in the face of rapid industrialization, urbanization, and population growth. Concurrently, the generation of Civil War veterans who came to political power in the late nineteenth century supported the creation of the first national military parks at the Civil War battlefield sites of Chickamauga and Chattanooga (1890), Shiloh (1894), Gettysburg (1895), and Vicksburg (1899). The military parks were placed under the administration of the War Department. These developments established the precedents for setting aside land and the use of federal funds to acquire nationally significant historic sites for permanent preservation (Lee 1973; Meader and Brinkley 2003:16).

By the turn of the twentieth century, mounting concerns about other types of resources, particularly archeological properties on federal lands in the Southwest that were suffering from "pot-hunting" activities, resulted in the passage of an "Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities" by the U.S. Congress. Known commonly as the American Antiquities Act, the legislation authorized the President of the United States to proclaim "historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest" as national monuments. The Act created an important mechanism for preserving public lands, allowing the President to proclaim national monuments without going through the lengthy legislative process required for national parks established by Congress. National monuments were "set aside" and protected from encroachment through the proscription of fines and/or imprisonment for persons caught harming designated properties. President Theodore Roosevelt first applied the Act when he established Devil's Tower National Monument in Wyoming on September 4, 1906. Roosevelt subsequently took a broad view of the law, applying it to large areas including the Grand Canyon, which was established as a national monument in 1908. Before leaving office in 1909, he created a total of 18 national monuments. His immediate successors, Presidents Taft, Wilson, and McKinley, added an additional 32 (Dilsaver 1994:n.p.; Lee 2001:n.p.; Mackintosh 1991:16; Meader and Brinkley 2003:16).

Despite the existence of several federal mechanisms for designating lands for preservation, the sites remained a scattered collection lacking any unified systematic management until President Woodrow Wilson created the National Park Service within the Department of the Interior in 1916. The new bureau was responsible for managing the 35 national parks and monuments then administered by the Department of the Interior, as well as Hot Springs Reservation in Arkansas and "such other national parks and reservations of like character as may be hereafter created by Congress." Although the legislation established the conservation of historic objects within the parks, monuments, and reservations (along with the scenery and natural objects) as an important responsibility of the bureau, the initial purview of the agency extended primarily to the administration of national wilderness parks and monuments, most of which were located in the American West (Mackintosh 1991:20).

Albright believed, however, that the Park Service was the only federal agency capable of properly administering and interpreting historical sites for the enjoyment of the public. His primary targets were the national military parks and monuments under the jurisdiction of the War Department. Negotiations between the Department of the Interior and the War Department began in the mid-1920s but were forestalled while the War Department completed a study to determine the ramifications of the move. After becoming Director, Albright shifted his approach to focus on states in the East that had no national parks, to acquire as many historic sites as he could, and to leverage the support of influential Congressmen. When Congressman Schuyler Otis Bland of Virginia acted on the Wakefield Association's 1929 petition by introducing a bill calling for an appropriation, Albright recognized a timely opportunity to acquire a historic site without having to purchase it directly. Michigan Congressman Louis C. Cramton opposed the measure out of concern for the questionable historical accuracy of the project. At Albright's urging, Cramton proposed that the Association transfer its property to the National Park Service in exchange for the funding to ensure that the restoration was authentic and well maintained. The establishing legislation subsequently passed by Congress authorized an appropriation of \$65,000 conditioned on the provision that the "building and all lands owned by the Wakefield Association shall on completion of the restoration be conveyed to the United States as a gift for administration, protection, and maintenance." A total of \$50,000 was to be paid to the Wakefield Association to erect the Memorial House, restore and improve gardens and grounds, and erect other buildings as necessary. The remaining \$15,000 was to be used to relocate the George Washington Monument to make room for the Memorial House. The bill specified "that the said premises and all structures thereon shall constitute the George Washington Birthplace National Monument at Wakefield, Virginia, which is hereby established and set apart for the preservation of the historical associations connected therewith." It also stated that the national monument would be administered by the National Park Service and officially transferred the government's parcel from the War Department to the Department of the Interior (Bruggeman 2008:84; Lee 2001:n.p.; Secretary of State 1931:58; Unrau and Williss 1983:n.p.; West 1999:129).

#### **Development of George Washington Birthplace National Monument, 1930–1939**

The provisions of the Act that established George Washington Birthplace National Monument created a public/private partnership that had significant ramifications on both the ultimate development of the site and the ultimate trajectory of preservation practice throughout the country. The disagreements between the various members of the Wakefield Association and between the Association and the War Department over the Memorial House plans presaged additional conflicts that arose after the National Park Service entered the scene. As more professionally trained architects, landscape architects, historians, and archeologists became involved with the project, the emphasis shifted from a primarily commemorative approach based on the site's associations with a revered historical figure to a research-driven approach intended to convey a historically accurate picture. The construction of the Memorial House and Colonial Kitchen fulfilled the Wakefield Association's goal of restoring a visible symbol of George Washington to the site of his birthplace. Likewise, the subsequent construction of the Log House Tea Room & Lodge provided the organization's members with a way to honor the woman who first conceived of the idea as well as facilitate the expected visitors to the Memorial House. The questionable authenticity of the buildings, however, presented the National Park Service with a difficult interpretation task at a time when new fields of research began to enable more accurate reconstructions of historic buildings. Louise du Pont Crowninshield's furnishing of the Memorial House illustrated one way in which volunteer commemorative impulses could intersect with professional historical research. The Park Service's work at George Washington Birthplace National Monument over the course of the 1930s evolved to reflect the agency's increased experience with and establishment of guidelines for preserving, restoring, reconstructing, and interpreting historic resources. The lessons learned at Wakefield informed much of the preservation policy subsequently developed by the National Park Service.

### *Memorial House and Colonial Kitchen*

From the beginning of the National Park Service's involvement at Wakefield, Director Albright foresaw the complications that could arise from attempting to recreate a building for which relatively little documentary evidence existed. All those closely associated with the project knew that, as early as the 1880s, serious questions existed about the location and appearance of the house where Washington was born. As recently as 1929, when Association Chairman Moore tried to enlist Frederick Law Olmsted Jr.'s support, Olmsted had again recommended that "the foundations [of the birthplace] should be respectfully preserved and clearly marked as all that is left of the 'real thing'" and refused to be associated with the project (Olmsted to Moore, March 18, 1929, quoted in Hosmer 1981:482). The 1930 legislation that created the national monument stipulated that the transfer of lands and buildings would occur *after* construction of the buildings was complete, thereby providing the Wakefield Association significant latitude in their execution. The designs, however, were subject to review and approval by the Park Service and the Fine Arts Commission, and ultimately it was the Park Service that was responsible for presenting the results to the public. Since the monument was one of the first historical units within the National Park System, it was important that it reflect well on the Park Service. Albright publicized the project broadly, submitting two accounts of it to the *New York Times* in 1931, to pursue his own agenda of increasing the agency's responsibility for historical sites. Park Service officials, including Albright, carefully monitored the progress of development. At times the goals of the Association and Park Service were at odds, and the lingering questions over the authenticity of the project became an increasing source of conflict (Albright 1931a, 1931b).

The rapidly approaching bicentennial celebration of Washington's birth in 1932 added a sense of urgency to the project that in some cases precluded thorough historical and archeological research. Fanciful illustrations of the long-gone mansion house at Wakefield figured prominently in promotional literature distributed by the Bicentennial Commission. Albright ensured that the National Park Service would cooperate to the "fullest extent" with the Commission's plans to celebrate the event and took measures to expedite the work at George Washington Birthplace National Monument. It quickly became apparent that the \$65,000 appropriated by Congress under the Act establishing the monument was insufficient to complete all of the planned improvements. As a result, Albright requested and received additional appropriations totaling \$67,300 over the next two years. The Park Service also assigned some of its most talented engineers and landscape architects to the project to assist in the planning and construction of various components (Albright 1932:1-2; Secretary of State 1930:878; 1931:1153; 1933:125).

Acting in its initial advisory role, the Park Service provided the services of O. G. Taylor, a former resident engineer at Yosemite National Park, to prepare surveys of the area along with a full topographical map. Taylor also excavated a 50-x-70-foot area beneath the obelisk in preparation for the construction of the Memorial House. Digging down to a depth of 2-3 feet, he reported that the identified foundation remains "were essentially the same as shown on old drawings." In September and October 1930, Taylor excavated additional trenches roughly 60 feet southwest of the "traditional birthplace site" and delineated the walls of a U-shaped brick foundation designated "Building X." Taylor reported that

Only one foot under the surface a chimney foundation was discovered. Excavating was continued so far as we had any lead until we had uncovered a 'D' -shaped building of considerable size. The long side is the bottom of the 'D', and it is 58 feet long and 19 feet wide. The foundations are 18 inches thick and a cross wall, without any opening, divides the cellar into two rooms. The bottom of the cellar walls are (sic) from 5 to 7 feet below the surface, and there is a cellar fireplace in the extreme ends of each room... The west leg of the 'D' is 16 feet wide without cellar, and 5 feet of its width extends beyond the end of the long building that has a fireplace in the end... The east leg extends about 4 feet beyond the end of the long building. It is 18 feet in length and has a cellar with a cellar fireplace in the end. The fireplace is under a 12 inch cedar. This cellar is not so deep as the other two ... There was also uncovered in 1930 a fireplace and the foundations of the fireplace end of a building at the site where the present Ancient Kitchen is built (Hatch 1979:88).

The identification of this foundation heightened the controversy regarding the actual configuration and location of the Popes Creek Plantation House, with many people (including Taylor) believing that Building X, rather than the

foundations to the north, marked the true location of the Washington family home at Popes Creek. Several aspects of the newly uncovered foundation underscored the accuracy of this idea, not the least of which was the fact that the size of Building X easily could have accommodated the 1762 inventory of Washington family furnishings that the foundation discovered earlier could not (OCULUS 1999:2-61).

The influential Hoppin, however, most emphatically did not believe it to be true, arguing instead that it was a collection of outbuildings, a conclusion supported by many of those involved in the project, including Park Service Director Albright. Taylor backfilled the Building X site, and questions surrounding its import remained in the background. The Association formally approved the construction plans prepared by Donn in 1929 on April 30, 1930. The plans called for the:

Removal of the Government monument erected in 1895 on the site of the birthhouse to another part of the Government reservation in order that the house may be restored. Also the re-designing of the base of the monument as a marker rather than a funereal design of the 1890s.

Restoration of the birthplace and ancient kitchen. The house to be as nearly like the original as possible and furnished according to that period and used as a museum. The ancient kitchen to be re-built similar to the original structure and to contain the heating plant and other conveniences, and quarters for the caretaker.

Restoration of the old-fashioned garden, sloping from the house to the river...

Construction of a lodge to be used for the convenience and hospitality of visitors (quoted in OCULUS et al. 1999:2-59).

Work began at the site in the summer of 1930. Kenneth Chorley, Rockefeller's representative and a key figure at Colonial Williamsburg, lent his brick-makers to the project. Under the supervision of Chorley's foreman, H. R. Hedgecock, a team of four experienced brick-makers erected a kiln in a field adjacent to the birth site in July. By November they manufactured the required amount of bricks in dimensions the same as those excavated from the foundations at the site using clay dug from the same field. The George Washington Monument was moved, and the base and pedestal for it recut, between August and December. The Wakefield Association awarded the building contract for both the Memorial House and the Colonial Kitchen House to J. J. Jones and Conquest, a Richmond-based contracting firm, on December 6, 1930. A week later, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. donated the 274 acres of land he had purchased in 1928 to the Federal Government. A proclamation by President Herbert Hoover on March 30, 1931, formally expanded the boundaries of the monument to incorporate the property (Albright 1932:7-8; Beasley 2001:209-210; Bruggeman 2008:94-95).

The removal of the obelisk and the construction of the Memorial House resulted in the complete destruction of the foundation remains previously identified by St. Clair, Stewart, and Hook (Gilmore et al. 2001:32) and prompted at least one National Park Service staffer, landscape architect Charles Peterson, to lament in 1930 that

[t]he present excavation by the contractor at Wakefield, working under the approved specifications, is to me one of the most culpably destructive operations of which I have ever heard. To tear out the last remaining evidence of a structure of such important historical associations as these without first having made an accurate record of the findings is an inexcusable act of presumption by the architect... If the old basement was not deep, with deliberate ignorance to set up a structure that is neither this nor that, a great archeological crime has been perpetrated (OCULUS 1999:2-62).

While incorrect in his belief regarding the nature of the destroyed foundations, Peterson's comment is prescient in its concern for the archeological resources contained within the park and their potential to provide meaningful data about its structural evolution throughout the historic period. Peterson's view, however, was that of a minority within the park. Preservation historian Charles Hosmer has noted that at the time almost no one in the United States had any substantial experience in applying archeological research as a tool for historic preservation, making it unlikely that Taylor's findings

could marshal the theoretical or methodological support to be evaluated as a substantive refutation to documentary data and popular opinion. Equally (if not more) importantly, the Association's plans for the Memorial House were hard-fought and well in place before the involvement of the National Park Service, and it is likely that government functionaries were reluctant to brook dissension with the politically and financially powerful group at what amounted to the eleventh hour of project planning. However, by refusing to admit the possibility that the obelisk initially had been erected in the wrong spot, the Wakefield Association unwittingly preserved Taylor's "'U'-shaped building of considerable size" that would prove to be the actual foundation remains associated with the Popes Creek Plantation House and Outbuildings Site (Beasley 2001:209–211; Bruggeman 2008:95–96; Hosmer 1981:487).

For his part, Director Albright fully supported the Association's plans. In the spring of 1931, as the Memorial House was nearing completion, he felt compelled to respond to critics of the project by issuing a report entitled "Why Wakefield is Historically Correct." His purpose, as he wrote, was to clear up "in the public mind any doubts that may have arisen as to the authenticity of the work" and to shield the Wakefield Association from the full brunt of criticism by making it clear that all designs had the approval of the Department of the Interior and the National Commission of Fine Arts. Albright addressed the essential controversial questions: "Where, exactly, is the site of the birthhouse?" and "What did the birthhouse look like?" He defended the first point regarding the location of the Memorial House by pointing to the long-held belief that George Washington Parke Custis had marked the spot accurately with the monument he had placed in 1815. Testimony given by Washington descendants and property owners, including John E. Wilson, to various federal officials after the birth site was transferred to the United States in 1882 served as corroboration. Albright also put to rest the notion advanced by some that the birth house was actually located along Bridges Creek rather than Popes Creek by stating that the former often appeared in correspondence because it was the primary landing for watercraft in the area and was therefore better known (Albright 1931c:1–9).

On the second question, Albright stated, "It is unfortunate that it is not possible to build at Wakefield a replica of the house in which General Washington was born, but we have tried, through the medium of research, to construct as nearly as possible the kind of house that was there two hundred years ago." There was at the time a widely held belief, stemming from a Currier and Ives woodcut published in various publications since the 1850s, that Washington had been born in a simple small cabin. Albright debunked this notion by stating that the image had actually first appeared in Benson Lossing's *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution* published in 1850. Lossing had never actually visited the site and simply described the picture as being typical of cabins constructed along the Rappahannock River during Washington's time. The dimensions of the Memorial House were determined by archeological evidence of the foundation and historical records, primarily an inventory of Augustine Washington's estate prepared after his death. The numerous household items enumerated in the inventory showed that the house must have been substantial. "The most elastic imagination," Albright wrote, "could not crowd all these possessions into the shanty shown in the Currier and Ives picture" (Albright 1931c:12). As for the style of the building, Albright pointed to the architect Edward Donn's familiarity with historic Tidewater plantation architecture and the pains taken to make the house appear as if it had been constructed by a country builder. The bricks manufactured on site were modeled after those excavated from the foundation (Albright 1931c:10–14).

Albright concluded his report by stating:

The people who have invested themselves in the work of rehabilitating the birthplace of George Washington are not actuated by selfish motives. Their only desire is to create for the American people for all time a shrine which will commemorate one of the great events of American history. ... The data which have furnished the background for this tremendously important achievement are gladly endorsed under the seal of the United States Department of the Interior because we are compelled, by the most thorough research and careful weighing of evidence thus revealed, to believe that the work has proceeded on the most authentic basis possible (Albright 1931c:14–15).

On June 22, 1931, with work nearly completed on the Memorial House and Colonial Kitchen House, the Wakefield Association formally transferred its land, which comprised about 100 acres by that time, to the federal government. Just

four days later, the Association's founder and leader Josephine Rust died. In his official progress report to Congress written in January 1932, Albright expressed his admiration for Rust, stating that:

The story of the George Washington Birthplace National Monument is largely the story of the Wakefield National Memorial Association, under the able presidency of the late Mrs. Josephine Rust, who was untiring in her efforts for the preservation of Washington's birthplace. Her death was a great loss to the officials of the Park Service who have been actively engaged in the rehabilitation work (Albright 1932:5).

The park was opened to the public in early July. Albright estimated that more than 5,000 people, representing 34 states and three foreign countries, visited George Washington Birthplace National Monument. He also stated that the park was visited by more than 17,000 during the remainder of the year and anticipated a far higher attendance during the upcoming bicentennial year with various events planned, including the formal dedication of the Memorial House on May 14, 1932. The official attendance for the year met Albright's expectations, totaling 65,154 and setting a record that was not eclipsed at the park until 1951 (Albright 1932:2; National Park Service Public Use Statistics Office 2012).

Despite Albright's public defense of the project, the National Park Service and the Wakefield Association had difficulty coming to agreement on how the Memorial House should be interpreted to the public. In 1931, an inscribed bronze tablet was placed in front of the house on a stone pedestal. Donn, the architect who designed the house, wrote the inscription, which stated clearly that the house was not a copy of the actual house in which George Washington was born. This wording did not please the Wakefield Association's historian Hoppin, who requested the removal of the tablet. In early 1933, Albright agreed, and the plaque was placed in storage. The issue remained unaddressed for several years, until the Park Service posted a new sign in 1938 that once again displeased members of the Association by stating that the house was "neither a reproduction nor a facsimile of the original." The Park Service eventually removed the sign again in 1946 and erected a new sign in March of 1953, noting that the appearance of the "Birthplace house" was unknown but placing the emphasis on the fact that "Here one may feel, and catch the spirit of, the Colonial Virginia that molded Washington, the boy and the man." This wording is echoed in author Freeman Tilden's description of a visit to the site: "The house he enters is not the house where George Washington was born, but the spirit of our great whole man is there; and in these lovely and provoking surroundings, the staunch character of our hero comes to the imagination" (quoted in Kaiser 2008:415; Bruggeman 2008:108-111; Hosmer 1981:478-493).

These disagreements over how to describe the building reflected the Wakefield Association's feeling that, regardless of its architectural accuracy, the Memorial House was in fact an authentic replica of the environment responsible for nurturing George Washington in his first few years. Many proponents of the Colonial Revival in the United States supported the idea that one could commemorate history in a way that emphasized certain fundamental characteristics of earlier eras over completely faithful authenticity. Preservation historian William Murtagh has pointed out that many historic buildings were considered "worthy of attention for transcendent rather than intrinsic reasons ...symbols of patriotic fervor before any consideration of their aesthetic quality" (Murtagh 2006:16). The situation the National Park Service faced at Wakefield resembled in some ways one that they encountered when they acquired a recreated log cabin at the Abraham Lincoln Birthplace NHS in Kentucky in 1933. A private individual had built the reconstruction in the 1890s, and Park Service staff knew from the start that it was not authentic. However, park literature from the 1930s stated that the "cabin was traditionally believed to be the one in which Lincoln was born." Widely held public notions about the site held the same power as the Custis Stone and the later George Washington Monument did at Wakefield, despite reputable information showing they were incorrect (Beasley 2001; Bodnar 1993:191-192; Hosmer 1981:478-493,607-609).

### *Log House Tea Room and Lodge*

The Wakefield Association's plans for "a lodge to be used for the convenience and hospitality of visitors" at the birthplace site illustrated the group's emphasis on the project's commemorative aspects over authenticity. After Josephine Rust's death, the Association determined to move forward with the construction of the log cabin proposed in

1927 to recall the life of early settlers of the area (shown as a “Hospice” on Donn’s 1927 drawings and a “Log House” on the 1929 plans) and dedicate it in Rust’s honor. Because the lodge was constructed after the Wakefield Association transferred its land to the government, the Park Service had to approve the project but otherwise appears to have had little input on its design. The Association’s architect Donn prepared the plans for the **Log House Tea Room and Lodge (LCS No. 080332, contributing building)** to be built of massive rough-hewn logs, dovetailed at the corners. The members chose a site on the former Duck Hall property and hired Jones and Conquest to construct the building in April 1932 with \$20,000 of Association funds. Not based on any particular building known to have existed, the lodge presented a rustic appearance that evoked “the spirit of the earlier period of American life” as Rust had hoped. The Association ordered more than 100 pieces of custom, handmade, solid black walnut furniture to furnish the building. The Log House was formally opened on December 1, 1932, as a combination restaurant, gift shop, and lodge to house overnight guests that the Association hoped would be profitable and assist in funding other improvements (Bruggeman 2008:122–124; OCULUS et al. 1999:2-66).

Presumably it was agreed that the Log House would revert to the government upon its completion, but its operation and ownership of the contents became a matter of dispute between the Park Service and the Association. Albright signed a contract that put Janie Mason, a local member of the Association, in charge of the Log House. Park Superintendent Hough, hired in 1932, was concerned about the arrangement, fearing that his small staff would ultimately have to assume responsibility for the maintenance and operation of the facility. Few visitors spent more than an hour or two at the park, and even fewer took the time to visit the Log House. Hough’s fears were partially realized in 1934 when the Wakefield Association announced that, as a result of the unprofitability of the facility, it was forced to withdraw its funding to maintain it. Although Mason continued to operate the facility, she clashed with Hough over the sometimes erratic hours that the Log House was open. This finally led to the closure of the facility after Mason’s resignation in 1940, and the building remained vacant for the duration of World War II (Bruggeman 2008:123–124).

The Log House represented the last major development project undertaken by the Wakefield Association, but the organization continued to be involved in certain aspects of the park’s development, including signage, ornamental plantings, roads, and trails. The Park Service staff relied heavily on volunteers and monetary contributions from the group. Additional activities of the Association during 1932 included the operation of a post office in the basement of the Memorial House in May, where visitors could obtain an official Washington’s Birthplace postage cancellation, and the installation of metal barriers in the interior doorways of the house in July. The Association also gradually bought reproduction furnishings for the building. In October 1936, the post office relocated to a separate building (not extant) adjacent to the parking lot (Bruggeman 2008:124).

### *Memorial House Furnishings*

The principal way in which the Wakefield Association remained involved at the Birthplace was through the efforts of Louise du Pont Crowninshield (1877–1958), who took over as director of the organization in 1935. Crowninshield oversaw the completion of the Memorial House furnishing program, bringing her wealth of knowledge and experience in the field of early American decorative arts. Her participation at Wakefield represented the transition that began to occur within the historic preservation field during the 1930s, as trained professionals increasingly took over the roles formerly held by amateur enthusiasts. Like the majority of the Association members, Crowninshield entered the field as a woman volunteer. However, her status as a respected authority among museum professionals on decorative arts and historic interiors aligned her more closely with the National Park Service’s increasingly professionalized approach toward preservation than her predecessors. Louise shared in the du Pont family’s chemical and defense corporation fortune with her younger brother Henry F. du Pont, who created a renowned collection of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century period rooms and domestic furnishings at the family’s Winterthur estate in Delaware. She began restoring the original du Pont estate, Eleutherian Mills, in 1924 and worked closely with the curators of the American Wing at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. About 1925, the Kenmore Association sought out her expertise in furnishing the Kenmore mansion in Fredericksburg, Virginia, the former home of George Washington’s sister, Betty. Crowninshield also later assisted the National Park Service with the furnishing of the Derby House in Salem, Massachusetts (Bruggeman 2008:125–139; Hosmer 1981:607–609).

After joining the Wakefield Association, Crowninshield began implementing a new museum policy at the Memorial House that kept only original relics and furniture from the period prior to 1753, when George Washington was a child, and disposed of all reproductions. By the end of 1936, she had furnished three of the four upstairs rooms with hundreds of pieces, carefully selected and purchased, mostly at her own expense, from collections throughout the eastern states and Europe and positioned in the building according to her detailed instructions. By 1940, the interior reflected the most up-to-date knowledge of the material world of a well-to-do mid-eighteenth-century Virginia plantation family. Around that time, Crowninshield negotiated the relocation of Superintendent Hough's natural history collection and Native American artifacts from the Colonial Kitchen House to the Memorial House basement. This enabled her to purchase items to furnish the east room of the Colonial Kitchen House for antique cooking demonstrations by Association members. Crowninshield's work brought the park into the vanguard of preservation and linked it to other significant players in the field. She herself became president of the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings in 1952 and was one of the first trustees of the National Trust for Historic Preservation founded in 1949. She resigned from her position at the Association in 1956 and died two years later (Bruggeman 2008:125–139; Hosmer 1981:607–609).

### **CRITERION A – ARCHEOLOGY: HISTORIC—NON-ABORIGINAL**

George Washington Birthplace National Monument is nationally significant under Criterion A in the area of Archeology for its association with events that were important in the development of the nascent field of American historical archeology in the 1930s and early 1940s, representing one of the first instances where the National Park Service employed archeological research to answer questions that fundamentally altered the interpretation of a historical park unit under its administration. While archeological research has made important contributions to many historical parks throughout the country, few have been as directly shaped by the results of that research as George Washington Birthplace National Monument. The evidence it produced settled the long-disputed question of the actual location of the plantation house where George Washington was born, thereby contributing substantive information essential to the understanding of the nationally significant site. As early as 1936, National Park Service Superintendent Phillip R. Hough commented that archeological investigation “was fundamental to the proper planning of this Monument” and initiated an archeological research program in that same year. The use of professional archeological methods at George Washington Birthplace National Monument also served as a model for coordinated research efforts at other historical parks throughout the country and elevated the results of archeological research from a corroborative to a contributive element of park development, management, and interpretation.

#### **Building “X” and the Role of Archeology in Locating the Popes Creek Plantation House**

During the 1930s, the discipline that would eventually mature into historical archeology emerged as an independent field of inquiry that the Park Service incorporated into their research. Beginning in 1934, the Park Service undertook extensive archeological investigations at Colonial National Monument that contributed significantly to the understanding of the historical record there. The Historic Sites Act of 1935 made the identification and preservation of archeological resources a federal mandate in national parks. As a result of the work first at Colonial and later at George Washington Birthplace, the Park Service started differentiating between historic and archeological resources in its management reports by the late 1930s (Bodnar 1993:169; Bruggeman 2008:84,87–101).

While excavations to locate subsurface remains did occur on the George Washington Monument property beginning as early as 1881, much of that work focused on addressing engineering and site development considerations specific to the construction of the obelisk and Memorial House, as described above under Criterion A – Conservation. Lacking explicit research designs and somewhat haphazard in execution, those excavations served to obscure the archeological record at Popes Creek Plantation, with the resultant data typically used to justify, rather than inform, site management decisions. With the arrival of Superintendent Philip Hough in February 1932, however, archeology took on a higher research profile at George Washington Birthplace National Monument. In 1935, while walking the grounds, Hough discovered a brick foundation in the historic area just west of the reconstructed kitchen building and interpreted it as a smokehouse. In that

same year, the foundation of another small structure was identified in the reconstructed Colonial Garden. In response to those finds, Hough developed an archeological research program in 1936 using CCC labor under the direction of O. F. Northington. While originally more comprehensive in scope, the investigations focused on four sites at Popes Creek including the previously identified “smokehouse” structure near the kitchen building reconstruction and the unknown structure in the Colonial Garden, as well as the suspected locations of a barn and ice house at Duck Hall.

The smokehouse structure was determined to measure approximately 14 by 14 feet with a brick floor and foundation of English bond construction. Soil samples were taken from the floor of the building to determine, through chemical analysis, whether it actually had been used as a smokehouse, but the results of the testing proved inconclusive (Powell 1968:71). Just over 900 artifacts recovered from the site provided little functional data but did date the structure to the Wakefield occupation (Powell 1968:71). The small foundation in the Colonial Garden proved similarly inconclusive beyond assigning its use to the Washington period, and neither the ice house nor barn structures were identified.

Building X was not included as part of Hough’s original program but nonetheless was fully excavated during that period. The excavation strategy employed by Northington at that early date was remarkably well thought out and executed and has been described as the “apotheosis of archaeological methods during this period” (quoted in Bruggeman 2008:89). The site was overlaid with a systematic grid, and the excavators maintained detailed field notes including plans, profiles, and extensive photographic documentation. The excavated soils were screened, and the recovered artifacts logged by provenience and carefully curated.

The excavations at Building X exposed a multi-celled, U-shaped brick foundation. The main mass comprised two contiguous rooms (Room A [east] and Room B [west]) measuring, in total, 15 feet wide (north–south) and roughly 53.5 feet long (east–west) and separated by a brick foundation with no evidence of a passageway between them. The west wing (Room C) and east wing (Room D), which projected south from either end of the main mass, measured 27.4 and 11.5 feet long respectively, with an average width of 14 feet. Despite their differences in length, both wings projected roughly the same distance from the core of the house, as the west wing was built around, rather than merely appended, to its southwest corner. The foundation incorporated at least four separate fireplaces. A separate foundation, consisting of partial south and east walls and referred to as Room E, was identified approximately three feet east of Room D and, while contemporaneous with the main building, is not believed to have been structurally part of it. The function of Room E was ambiguous. The identified foundations enclosed an ash and burned rubble layer as well as nearly 15,000 late-seventeenth- to mid-eighteenth-century artifacts. This artifact profile, and the ample evidence of a catastrophic burn event, seemed to corroborate Taylor’s original assertion that Building X, not the foundation identified at the Memorial House location, was the actual site of Wakefield (Powell 1968).

Despite mounting archeological data and professional opinions to the contrary and seemingly in opposition to his general view of the value of archeology to the accurate historical reconstruction of the park, Hough continued to discredit the idea that Building X was the true remains of Wakefield. In defense of his position he asserted that: 1) Building X did not face “the view afforded” or the natural approach; 2) the building was “accumulated,” that is, built in several additions rather than as a single construction event; 3) portions of the foundation yielded nineteenth-century artifacts in the form of horseshoes and wire nails inconsistent with the Washington family occupation date range; and, perhaps most importantly, 4) the size and shape of the foundation did not conform to recollections of local residents (Powell 1968:95–97). It would seem that Hough maintained this position throughout his tenure as Superintendent of the park from 1932 to 1953, although his last official comments on the matter date to 1942 (Powell 1968:95).

Hough’s archeology program ended by the close of 1936 and was never revived due to the lack of a supervisor. However, the results of Northington’s excavations prompted Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes to request further investigation into the site. In September 1937, the Wakefield Association’s Charles Moore asked Fiske Kimball to examine the data on the Building X remains, and Kimball concluded that they were most likely the mansion house foundations. He interpreted them as those of “a house of exceptional importance for the eighteenth century—a house of four major rooms downstairs with four major chimneys, fully commensurate with the extent of Augustine Washington’s inventory. This house of ‘U’ shape is a welcome instance of the survival of Jacobean types of plan” (quoted in Rodnick 1941:90–91). Kimball

surmised that the foundations under the Memorial House were likely those of a large outbuilding (Beasley 2001:212–213).

After a 1939 conference coordinated by Hough to reconsider the issue, another large-scale program of excavations was planned. CCC historian David Rodnick led the effort beginning in September 1941, but work again stalled when the CCC camp was transferred at the end of the year because of World War II needs. Instead, Rodnick conducted an intense examination of all the documents and records produced from work at the site. In his *Orientation Report on the George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Westmoreland County, Virginia*, Rodnick forcefully and conclusively argued that Building X was in fact the Wakefield Plantation House where Washington was born, citing not only the archeological evidence recovered by Northington but also the admission by the Memorial House architect, Edward Donn, Jr., that the foundations first identified in 1882 were not associated with the Wakefield mansion but rather an unknown structure (Rodnick 1941:94). As he testily remarked

[t]he Memorial House was put on a site of a building that was 38 feet long, and but 14 feet and 20 feet wide at the eastern and western units respectively. The building ran from east to west, and there were no other foundations to the north of it. Half of the Memorial Mansion, then, is built where no foundations ever existed... The size of the building was most arbitrarily arrived at, since it is completely inconsistent with the foundations found underneath it (Rodnick 1941:93).

Despite Rodnick's report, the National Park Service at first maintained an ambiguous interpretation of the site. In January 1942, Superintendent Hough filed a formal response to the report suggesting that the site be considered a Memorial and that the Park Service continue to interpret it as such. The debate over interpretation then shifted to the back burner until after World War II. Park Service publications from the 1940s and 1950s stated that the Memorial House was not an exact reproduction or replica, but they remained vague about the implications of the Building X site.

Archeological research again became a priority during the park's Mission 66 master planning efforts. In 1968, Bruce Powell completed an evaluation and re-analysis of all previous archeological excavations undertaken at the park with a specific emphasis on the Building X excavations. Drawing heavily from Rodnick's 1941 report and responding primarily to Hough's objections, he provided a point-by-point refutation of arguments against Building X as the site of George Washington's birth. Powell pointed out that not only the Building X foundations but also those destroyed during the obelisk construction were oriented north–south rather than east–west and, unlike the Memorial House, never had a primary view toward the Potomac River. Instead, Wakefield would have had an open view to Popes Creek to the south, a view obscured by a dense cedar grove on Burnt House Point during the twentieth century but likely not so overgrown during the Washington family tenure. While heavily silted in by the mid-twentieth century, Popes Creek may well have offered a safe deep-water approach to the plantation during the eighteenth century.

As to Hough's objection based on the "accumulated" aspect of the Building X foundation, Powell dismissed it as an indefensible position based on personal opinion and bias rather than historical or architectural precedent. Powell also pointed out that the "modern" materials at the site were recovered from stratigraphic contexts well above the original foundation floor and could not be assigned reasonably to the Washington family occupancy. Finally, Powell commented that

[t]he rest of Superintendent Hough's objections to Building X are based on the testimony of old timers in the area. While these statements are difficult to refute now that all the principals are gone, they represent beliefs held by elderly people concerning things that they remembered from years before, and as such they are properly to be viewed with skepticism. I will leave the interpretation of the testimony, in view of the physical evidence cited here, to the historians (Powell 1968:97).

As a result of Rodnick's 1941 report and Powell's corroborating 1968 report, the controversy over the true location of the birth site finally was put to rest. Powell's report also may be viewed as an early example of an archeological overview and assessment in that he provided recommendations for the management of the monument's known and potential

archeological resources within the historic core. Most relevant to the archeological work that would follow, and echoing Superintendent Hough's progressive belief that archeology was essential to fully understanding the history of the park, these recommendations included a planned program of archeological research to locate sites in the Popes Creek area and the implementation of archeological survey in advance of any ground-disturbing activities at the park.

In their refutation of Hough's objections, Rodnick and Powell also provided implicit critiques of the idealized colonial mindset that characterized restoration efforts not only at George Washington Birthplace National Monument but at historical properties throughout the country during the early twentieth century. This idealized vision was not systematically challenged until the 1960s with the emergence of the "new social history" and "historical archeology" that provided substantive new insights into the history of Popes Creek Plantation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Today, the footprint of Building X is marked clearly on the site with explanatory signage, conveying to the public the constantly changing perspectives on history enabled by research and informed by society.

The Park Service's approach to reconstruction at Appomattox Court House National Historical Park in the immediate aftermath of both the 1938 policy statement and the 1941 Rodnick report offered a clear indication of the influence of the Memorial House/Building X controversies on the agency's subsequent practices. Like George Washington Birthplace, Appomattox originated as a public monument to be erected by the War Department and ultimately resulted in the reconstruction of, in this case, two significant historic buildings on the site. The conversations that directed the course of events at George Washington occurred again with respect to Appomattox and even involved many of the same key individuals, including Charles Moore from the Fine Arts Commission and Horace Albright, Verne Chatelain, and Thomas Vint from the National Park Service. In contrast to Wakefield, however, ample documentation in the form of plans, photographs, original construction materials, and foundations supported the reconstructions proposed at Appomattox. After the official designation of Appomattox as a unit of the Park System in 1940, Chatelain's successor as chief historian, Ronald Lee, coordinated an intensive research effort to produce adequate justification for the project. The three-pronged investigation in architecture, history, and archeology culminated in a model report entitled "The Collaborative Justification for Reconstruction of the McLean House at Appomattox." Such efforts by the Park Service ultimately contributed to the historic preservation field's general disinclination to encourage the reconstruction of missing resources without sufficient documentary and/or physical evidence (Hosmer 1981:620-626).

## **CRITERION C – LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE**

The George Washington Birthplace National Monument Designed Landscape (contributing site), consisting of a twentieth-century memorial park landscape superimposed on the eighteenth-century agricultural landscape created by Washington's ancestors, is significant under Criterion C because it embodies American preservation and commemoration philosophies of the 1920s and 1930s. The commemorative aspects of the landscape also include the initial 1896 construction of the George Washington Monument, which established the later location of the Memorial House as well as the alignment of the Road to Birthplace. The landscape comprises representative examples of early Park Service historical park design, as well as of Great Depression-era Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) planning and site improvement implementation. Two designers were primarily responsible for the memorial landscape implemented by Wakefield Association and National Park Service representatives between 1929 and 1935. The Association's architect, Edward W. Donn, Jr., designed various aspects of the grounds surrounding the Memorial House and at the Washington Family Burial Ground. Charles E. Peterson, a Park Service landscape architect and later architect, was involved in the site design for the Memorial House, the Washington Family Burial Ground, and the Park Service employee residence area and in the detailing of features such as fencing and gates. The existing landscape continues to convey the initial design intent of both Donn and Peterson, and also reflects the evolution of the National Park Service master planning process.

### **Evolution of a Program for Landscape Design at National Historical Sites**

During its initial years at George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Colonial National Monument, and Morristown National Historical Park, the National Park Service oversaw recreations of earlier landscapes and buildings

similar to those occurring simultaneously at the privately financed Colonial Williamsburg. The relatively new field of historical restoration required the resolution of numerous complex issues that the Park Service had never confronted before. The decisions made at George Washington's birthplace occurred within the context of evolving agency-wide management policies, developing professional fields and scholarship, and changing notions of authenticity. The lessons learned set precedents for how the Park Service would address similar issues in the future (Bruggeman 2008; Rothman 1994:198–200; Sargent 2006:216–234).

During his four years as National Park Service Director, Albright took a number of steps to expand the bureau's professional capabilities toward managing historic sites. He created a historical division within the Branch of Research and Education and hired Verne E. Chatelain in 1931 as the first Park Service historian. Chatelain's responsibilities included extending and coordinating the historical and archeological research program of the Park Service; supervising the Service's activities in the fields of history and archeology; assisting in the formulation and implementation of policies and methods of procedure for preservation, interpretation, and development in the parks; initiating studies of policies relative to new area acquisition and techniques of restoration and reconstruction; and providing professional judgment on a wide range of new historical area proposals emanating from Congress. His pioneering efforts in research, preservation, and interpretation at the Service's first three historical sites laid foundations for the agency's historical program. Director Albright resigned from the Park Service in August 1933 after engineering President Franklin D. Roosevelt's transfer of all national monuments to the agency's oversight, thereby quadrupling the number of historical areas within its purview and adding urgency to the need for clear preservation and restoration guidelines. Chatelain subsequently pleaded for better-quality restoration work based on thorough research and supervised by trained personnel. The 1935 Historic Sites Act provided for a comprehensive research program within the Park Service, which established a restoration policy on May 19, 1937 (Unrau and Williss 1983).

The Park Service's research programs evolved in conjunction with the agency's comprehensive planning program. During the 1920s, the Park Service began an initial master planning process to address the fundamental problems of long-range planning at the wilderness parks in the West. The goal of those plans was to strike the proper balance between the development required to provide visitor access and the protection of the natural landscape and wildlife. The level of planning for the variety of facilities—including roads, trails, park villages, ranger stations, campgrounds, maintenance areas, and utilities—needed at the large natural parks was similar in scope to municipal planning and required contributions from a number of disciplines. Since those developments were primarily concerned with the treatment of park landscapes, Park Service landscape architects took the lead in coordinating the design process with engineers, architects, botanists, foresters, geologists, and other professionals. In 1927, Thomas C. Vint, Chief of the Division of Landscape Architecture (later renamed the Branch of Plans and Designs), was put in charge of all master planning initiatives. Vint devised a three-part planning process that consisted of a narrative outline of the proposed development, a graphic representation of the development called the general development plan, and a list of individual projects to be completed over a six-year period. By 1932, the three elements were collectively referred to within the Park Service as “master plans,” and each park was required to submit one. After the addition of numerous historical areas to the Park System, the planning department also required the inclusion of a “historical sheet” or “base historical map” as part of the master plan for such sites (McClelland 1993).

Four years after the introduction of the master plan requirement, however, George Washington Birthplace National Monument still lacked a master plan, a fact in part explained by Superintendent Hough as the result “of our unusual situation, in which the Wakefield National Memorial Association is by Congress authorized to make the Wakefield restoration in cooperation with the National Park Service,” thus requiring that “the matter of a master plan should be undertaken jointly with them” (quoted in Bruggeman 2006:75). Almost immediately upon his arrival at the park, Hough faced difficulties in the development of necessary administrative and personnel facilities on the site without a guiding document. As early as the spring of 1932, the Park Service had begun to explore the possibility of constructing an office-museum on the foundations of Building X, but those involved expressed widely differing opinions on the subject. The majority of Wakefield Association members supported the idea, but Moore objected that “telephones, typewriters...should not be allowed” within the Memorial House area. On the Park Service front, Albright appears to have preferred locating the building to the rear of the foundations but designing it to correspond to them in size, Chatelain

agreed with the plan to build on top of the foundations as long as they were preserved, and Vint wanted to provide “a typical scheme of colonial times” in the general area of the foundations but not controlled by them (quoted in Hosmer 1981:492–493). In October 1933, Hough wrote to the new Park Service Director Arno Cammerer that “the development and approval of a Master Plan for this monument is a vital need and a problem which should be undertaken as early as possible” (quoted in Bruggeman 2006:75).

In November 1933, a committee of National Park Service staff and Wakefield Association members drafted an outline to initiate the master planning process at George Washington Birthplace National Monument. The document reflected a combination of the Association’s memorialization efforts and Park Service standards. However, the Park Service’s increasing emphasis on historical accuracy presented problems with finalizing the master plan. A Park Service memo from the 1930s summed up the prevailing attitudes regarding development at the site:

A master plan for the historical area is an urgent need. Until this is provided, development at Wakefield can only be haphazard and possibly unfortunate. This historical master plan cannot be prepared until the historical documentary research, to which Mr. Northington has given some time, is pressed to a conclusion and extensive archeological work has been done. The problems to be solved by archeological investigation at Wakefield are extremely important and require the supervision of a trained and competent archeologist...we believe that a distinct obligation rests upon the National Park Service to provide for carrying out the basic historical and archeological investigation necessary for an historically sound development of this important site and its interpretation to the public. We consider it one of the most pressing problems in any of the historical areas in the region (quoted in Bruggeman 2006:74).

Although Park Service staff continually argued that master planning for the site required thorough archeological investigation, the agency’s rapid expansion during the early 1930s meant that sufficient funding and oversight for such work did not materialize. Consequently, the Park Service did not approve a master plan for George Washington Birthplace until 1939. Funding for administrative facilities at the national parks was particularly limited, and Hough did not obtain one at George Washington Birthplace until 1940, when a “temporary” building was built beyond the parking area. The building was removed in 1976 when the current Visitor Center complex was built (Bruggeman 2006:75–80; Hosmer 1981:478–493).

The memo concerning George Washington Birthplace echoed discussions occurring at higher levels within the National Park Service about the broader relationship between research and development at historical sites. On June 20, 1938, Director Cammerer approved a policy statement for historic sites that clarified the agency’s position on the subject. The policy set forth the fundamental principle that thorough research by trained and experienced personnel (ideally archeologists and historians working together) using modern and standardized methods should precede actual developmental work. The Park Service’s experiences developing historical programs at many of its sites during the 1930s, especially Colonial National Monument and Morristown National Historical Park but also George Washington Birthplace, contributed significantly to the substance of Cammerer’s policy statement. In particular, Cammerer noted that:

The Service should be capable of instantly proving the authenticity of its work. Accordingly, the policy is adopted of fully documenting the plans for each interpretative or developmental feature involving historic or prehistoric remains with a view to placing the Service in such a position of security that it can fully justify, at any time, any preservation, reconstruction or restoration project on areas under its jurisdiction (quoted in Unrau and Willis 1983).

This insistence on complete justification for all future reconstruction projects implied that the agency wished to avoid situations like the one it could no longer ignore at Wakefield.

## Development of the George Washington Birthplace National Monument Designed Landscape

The development of the landscape immediately surrounding the Memorial House occurred primarily outside the framework of the evolving National Park Service master planning process, in conjunction with the Wakefield Association. Donn's site plan for this area attempted to recreate the look and feel of a "Colonial scene" representative of an eighteenth-century Tidewater Virginia plantation. The buildings and structures were arranged in a manner thought to reflect the organization of a working farm. Elements of Donn's 1929 site plan that were implemented include: the tree-lined traffic circle around the 1896 obelisk repositioned on a new base and axially aligned with the main approach road; the formal avenue of cedars linking the monument to the Memorial House that turns north to parallel the house's west facade; the siting of the Memorial House, the Colonial Kitchen House, the Colonial Garden south of the Memorial House, the Pump House north of the house, and the Log House across the marsh; the grove of trees at Burnt House Point; and the trail along Popes Creek. As the Park Service added to the site in subsequent years, it maintained the original concept, designing park buildings such as the Restrooms and the Utility Building in the Colonial Revival style and placing them within the working farm layout (Donn 1929).

The Park Service exerted more influence on the design of the Colonial Garden (contributing site) adjacent to the Memorial House, striving to make it as close to a representative example of a colonial garden as possible in spite of the Wakefield Association's efforts to create a less authentic space. In contrast to the idea of commemoration-focused history advocated by groups like the Wakefield Association, the Park Service in the 1930s began to develop a philosophy of public history based on authentic presentations of historic buildings and landscapes informed by thorough research and physical investigation. George Washington's birthplace served as one of the agency's first testing grounds for such work. The restoration of the Colonial Garden and the Washington Family Burial Ground illustrate the Park Service's attempts to apply its evolving approach to the site within the constraints imposed by the Wakefield Association's participation in the project.

Charles Peterson, the first Park Service landscape architect assigned to the eastern half of the country, monitored the Wakefield project while working primarily at Colonial National Monument. V. Roswell Ludgate, transferred from the San Francisco office to work directly at George Washington Birthplace, assisted Peterson. Both men brought with them the principles of landscape protection and harmonious design developed for the western parks in the late 1920s. Peterson expressed his approach to the preservation of historic resources when he criticized the Wakefield Association's destruction of the ruins beneath the Memorial House as a great "archaeological crime" (quoted in OCULUS et al. 1999:2-62). During his first few months at Wakefield, Peterson asked Ludgate to research eighteenth-century gardens for the purpose of preparing a detailed design for the colonial kitchen garden included in Donn's site plan that would be in keeping with the overall plantation scene. Ludgate's initial design featured two sections filled with geometric beds of period-specific plants within a picket-fence enclosure. The larger section to the east would contain vegetables and fruits inside a low dwarf box border, with herbs, perennials, trees, and shrubs at the edges, and the smaller section to the west would be planted with flowering herbs ("Planting Plan, Colonial Garden—Wakefield," February 1931, reproduced as Figure 22 in OCULUS et al. 1999). Although the planting plan did not show a sundial, Ludgate indicated in a December 1929 letter to the Association's Mrs. Rust that "The main feature of the smaller section of the garden will, of course, be the sun dial set in the midst of an expanse of grass." The letter also included a note that Ludgate was "intending to spend considerably more time on research before preparing a final planting plan in order that any criticism which may later be offered can be met with the proper justification" (quoted in OCULUS 1999:C-8-C-9).

Despite the Park Service's research, however, a donor to the Wakefield Association who had paid for the privilege of input into the garden design objected to Ludgate's vision, expressing a preference for a memorial garden with benches, paths, and ornamental flowers. In an April 1931 letter, the donor explained "We could drop the idea and word 'Colonial' and conceive of a flower garden with seats placed where we could enjoy the central sundial put in as a feature ... we would like to have the Sun-dial in the center of a round plot with paths radiating from it" (quoted in Bruggeman 2008:78). Peterson responded that "It would certainly seem wrong to erect a conspicuous memorial to Mary Smith Jones Moore on the same ground with an extensive reproduction of what we like to feel is a Colonial picture" (quoted in OCULUS et al. 1999:2-63). Director Albright ultimately weighed in with his own explanation of the Park Service's role

at the site, presumably with the tenuous justification available for the Memorial House in mind: “We are trying to put something in Wakefield that will be as nearly as possible what existed there when Washington was born ... If we do anything less than this we are bound to receive criticism” (quoted in Bruggeman 2008:78).

In May 1931, the Fine Arts Commission and Secretary of the Interior approved a planting plan for the garden by Ludgate and Donn that adhered in many ways to Ludgate’s initial concept but included some concessions to the Association’s concerns. The later plan—notably entitled the “Mary Jones Smith Memorial Garden”—incorporated the sundial as a central feature, added a brick walk to separate the two sections (and connect the garden to the Memorial House), and replaced the geometric planting beds with grass plots delineated by box hedges (Donn and Ludgate 1931). Work on the garden began by December 1931, but several plots remained uncultivated by 1933, indicating that disagreements over the nature of the plantings continued. The overall spatial arrangement of the garden into two sections of **Geometric Planting Beds (historic associated feature)** and its primary defining features—the perimeter **Picket Fence (LCS No. 080334, historic associated feature)**, the brick walks, and the classical urn-shaped **Sundial (LCS No. 080335, historic associated feature)** as a focal point—correspond, however, to the Park Service’s idea of a colonial aesthetic rather than the radial plan proposed by the Association (Bruggeman 2008:78–79; Sargent 2006:226–228).

Similarly, the landscape constructed at the Washington Family Burial Ground essentially reflected a compromise between Donn’s and the Wakefield Association’s desire to create a “means of properly paying homage to the antecedents of George Washington” and the Park Service Landscape Division’s preference for a “simple, brick walled Colonial burial garden,” as summarized by Ludgate in a letter to Director Albright (quoted in OCULUS 1999:C-17). The Wakefield Association planned to create a new burial vault “after the manner of the original tomb at Mount Vernon” (quoted in OCULUS et al. 1999:2-68). Chairman Moore envisioned circular brick paths and dense plantings around the gravesites. In May 1930, Donn submitted plans for a square space embedded within a rectilinear geometry extending all the way to the street, with a semi-circular entrance and a brick wall enclosing the site. Peterson and Ludgate, however, considered this design to be inappropriately formal and monumental for a Colonial-era graveyard. After much back-and-forth debate, the two parties reached a compromise agreement in May 1931 that significantly reduced the scale and cost of the project. The final layout chosen was a simplified version of Donn’s 1930 design that consisted of the following elements: the **Walk at Washington Family Burial Ground (LCS No. 255835, historic associated feature)**, a central gravel walk edged by cedar trees, leading to the **Washington Family Burial Ground Wall & Gate (LCS No. 253523, historic associated feature)**, a low brick enclosure around the burial ground that replaced the 1906 wall, and a linear arrangement of five raised and two grade-level reproduction **Washington Family Grave Markers (LCS No. 007779, historic associated feature)** inside the wall on a square panel of lawn with small shrubs near the corners. Between 1930 and 1931, William A. Gault & Son, Inc. of Baltimore excavated the burial ground, uncovering 32 burials that were reburied in a new vault. The work at the burial ground appears to have been completed by the end of 1931.

Outside the Memorial House grounds and the Washington Family Burial Ground, the landscape consists of more curvilinear geometries and rustic detailing representative of 1930s National Park Service park design. The design approach to eastern historical parks evolved between 1930 and 1939 through the Eastern Division of the Branch of Plans and Design based on a hybrid of the designs and planning practices developed for western parks and the Colonial Revival architecture that was popular during the period in the East. As noted in the *Kings Mountain National Military Park Historic Resource Study*:

NPS planning reflected a design philosophy that emphasized subordinating all development to the natural landscape. Roads and trails were routed to follow the contours of the land, and structures were designed to blend into their surroundings. The NPS frequently employed a rustic style of architecture using local materials (often stone and logs) and “pioneer” construction techniques....The Eastern Division also designed facilities for historic sites, recreational areas, and national military parks that linked the site to broad national historic themes, or which blended new NPS structures with the natural landscape or existing development. These plans met functional needs for park administrative, maintenance, and residential buildings and employed loop roads, barrel-vaulted bridges, and serpentine roadways for visitor circulation. The NPS advanced its design philosophy through the use of stone as a facing or load-

bearing material, vegetative screening of utilitarian buildings, and the employment of historic styles for major buildings. While principles and practices for park development were standardized, their applications were highly individual based on the unique character of each park and the site and setting selected for construction (Blythe et al. 1995:97).

The design of visitor access, interpretive, administrative, and maintenance facilities at George Washington Birthplace during the 1930s reflected many of the national trends in evidence as part of National Park Service design and construction projects at the time. The overall design aesthetic generally followed that of the western national parks, with standard rustic detailing. The park's Log House Tea Room and Lodge is included in Albert H. Good's three-volume 1938 overview of National Park Service *Park and Recreation Structures*. The employee residences also display design intentions, materials, scale, and detailing highly consistent with the images included in Good's work of national and state parks located throughout the United States.

Between 1933 and 1935, the Park Service implemented plans drawn up by Peterson and Ludgate for a picnic area northeast of the Log House. Much of the work was done through relief programs implemented during the Great Depression as part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal program. The influx of money and personnel these programs provided presented great opportunities to the National Park Service for carrying out programs of preservation, restoration, planning, and interpretation of historical areas. The agency welcomed the New Deal aid because of the substantial management demands it faced after the reorganization of 1933 transferred all national monuments to its purview. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), created by the Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) Act of 1933, played a particularly important role in the early work carried on at most parks. The Park Service employed the CCC, largely consisting of unskilled laborers, to perform clearing, grading, and other activities at many of the historical parks where planning was underway. Unemployed architects and historians also found work through the CCC in the Park Service's history division. Most of the funding for CCC construction projects came through the Public Works Administration (PWA). At the program's peak in 1935, the Park Service oversaw 600 CCC camps—118 in national parks and 382 in state parks—including Camp SP-19 at Westmoreland State Park in Virginia, which supplied laborers to George Washington Birthplace National Monument. In December 1933, 69 CCC employees went to work at the park, including five people engaged in historical research (Mackintosh 1991:46; Unrau and Williss 1983:n.p.; West 1999:129).

Construction of a picnic area northeast of the Log House began in August 1933 using Public Works Administration (PWA) funds. A contract for picnic tables and other "rustic" furniture was awarded in February of 1934. The **Log House Storage Shed (LCS No. 080333, contributing building)**, also called the Chemical Cart House, was constructed sometime between 1935 and 1937 to store firefighting equipment. A boat pier constructed in 1936 at the picnic area is no longer extant. In conjunction with this work, landscape crews also repaired the eighteenth-century **Ice Pond Dam (LCS No. 080338, contributing structure)** adjacent to Bridges Creek Road in 1933, creating a half-acre pond to provide irrigation water for the property via the **Ice Pond Pump House (LCS No. 080337, contributing structure)** constructed at the south end of the dam.

The National Park Service's development of the site from 1931 to 1935 included the formalization of the park's circulation systems. The **System of Primary Roads (contributing structure)** consisted of roads that were designed for public automobile traffic. The system incorporated the existing **Approach Road (LCS No. 256931, historic associated feature)**, which was constructed with a federal appropriation of \$12,600 in 1923 to provide access to the George Washington Monument from State Route 3, the main highway through the area. The Approach Road terminated at a **Circular Drive (historic associated feature)** that was constructed around the base of the George Washington Monument after it was relocated in 1931. At the same time, a parking area was constructed along the Road to Birthplace. In 1932, Peterson designed **Duck Hall Road (LCS No. 256758, historic associated feature)**, a loop road that provided access to the Log House and recreation area on the former Duck Hall property. The road followed the natural landscape contours and avoided large trees to minimize the impact to the forest. The Park Service also paved Bridges Creek Road, realigned it to shift it 20 yards from a position west of the existing agricultural drainage ditches to the east, and constructed a new parking turn-around at its northern terminus to provide an overlook at the Potomac River.

The Park Service's development of housing to accommodate park personnel, required by the remote location of the site, also illustrated the ongoing compromises between the desire to create an appropriately historical scene and the need to devise more pragmatic solutions. Landscape architect Peterson initially conceived of the residences as a type of decentralized village, spread out across the site in the manner of eighteenth-century Virginia country houses. However, Assistant Director Arthur Demaray and resident engineer Taylor overruled that idea in favor of clustering the houses together in a spot west of Dancing Marsh. Allen J. Saville, Inc. received the contract to build the **Quarters #1 (LCS No. 102190, contributing building)**, **Quarters #1 Garage (LCS No. 102191, contributing building)**<sup>7</sup>, **Quarters #2 (LCS No. 102192, contributing building)**, and **Quarters #2 Garage (LCS No. 102193, contributing building)** and completed them in August 1932, along with the road leading to them and parking areas for each. The residences shared a garden and gravel paths completed in 1933 and a tennis court (not extant) built in April 1934, along with a hedge between the garages (1934) and other plantings. Between January and March 1934, porches and brick walkways were added to the two residences.

Several visitor amenities and functional facilities were also added to the landscape during the early 1930s. The Wakefield Association oversaw the construction of the **Pump House (LCS No. 080330, contributing structure)**, which appears to correspond to a small outbuilding shown north of the Memorial House on Donn's 1929 plans, and the **Gazebo (LCS No. 007777, contributing structure)** near the Colonial Kitchen House, both built in 1931. The following year, the Park Service contracted Allen J. Saville, Inc. to build **Restrooms (LCS No. 080331, contributing building)** adjacent to the Pump House. All three buildings followed the stylistic example of the Colonial Kitchen House in their simple massing, wood-frame construction, and Colonial Revival trim. Between July and September 1932, the Park Service also constructed a **Utility Building (LCS No. 080339, contributing building)** to house maintenance activities near the former location of the brick kiln. Park Service landscape architect Peterson described the design of the building "to which we have given careful study" as simulating "that of an old Colonial barn" and "a valuable addition to the Colonial plantation picture which we are trying to effect at Wakefield" (quoted in OCULUS et al. 1999:2-64). Such developments indicated that while the Park Service recognized the need to obtain more evidence of the historical site conditions to enable more accurate reconstructions, the agency simultaneously supported the idea of recreating a typical landscape that would evoke the eighteenth century without necessarily conforming to any documented historical conditions.

Early landscape plans for the park included recommendations for planting the two fields south of the Memorial House with Colonial-era crops. By March of 1932, the Latane family farmed two major fields within the park (one around the burial ground and another between Muse Road and the Potomac) as permittees. The National Park Service eventually operated a historic crops demonstration area adjacent to the Road to Birthplace, between the obelisk and the parking area. By 1933, the park had planted exhibition colonial crops in the fenced pastures between the monument circle and the Memorial House to add to the plantation look and feel.

Peterson and Ludgate researched colonial-period fencing in Virginia to design appropriate boundary markers and enclosures for the agricultural fields. In February 1934, a Civil Works-funded "rail fence project" resulted in the construction of new fencing along Bridges Creek Road. A portion of the **Bridges Creek Road Fence (LCS No. 080328, contributing structure)** remains extant along the western edge of the road (marking the boundary of the park) between the traffic circle and a point near Bridges Creek south of the Washington Family Burial Ground and along the eastern margin of the road between the traffic circle and the Ice Pond. Over the next five years, the National Park Service also replaced most of the wood post-and-wire fencing on the site that dated from the War Department tenure with period-correct fencing (a combination of stake-and-rider and more traditional Virginia fences) between the Memorial House area and the historic crops demonstration area, at the Monument entrance, and around the Rockefeller Horse Barn to create pasturage. Worm or picket-style fencing dating from this period is located around the Ice Pond and adjacent fields, the traffic circle, and the entrance road.

The **System of Secondary Roads (contributing structure)** developed during the early 1930s incorporated existing and newly constructed roads that provided access to areas off the primary roads. They included the unpaved **Muse Road**

<sup>7</sup> The garage was relocated and enlarged sometime between 1968 and 1974. The original slab foundation for the Quarters #1 Garage remains behind the house.

**(LCS No. 256914, historic associated feature)** driveway leading to the Muse property and **Farm Roads (LCS No. 256903, historic associated feature)** that led off Bridges Creek Road to fields in the northwestern section of the park. Secondary roads constructed by the National Park Service included the **Old Wagon Road (LCS No. 256323, historic associated feature)**, an unpaved, rutted road between the Road to Birthplace and the rear of the Memorial House; the unpaved **Road to Utility Building (LCS No. 257026, historic associated feature)** from the Road to Birthplace; the **Employee Residences Road & Parking Areas (LCS No. 251871, historic associated feature)**, a paved road from Duck Hall Road to the employee residences with a loop at its end; the **Log House Service Road, Walks, & Parking Area (LCS No. 257052, historic associated feature)**; and the **Maintenance Access Road at Washington Family Burial Ground (historic associated feature)**.

As part of the development of the road systems, the National Park Service constructed a **System of Culverts (contributing structure)** to accommodate storm water run-off carried by the drainage swales along the roads as well as the remnant agricultural ditches. Culverts constructed during the 1930s were concrete structures with brick facing and are located at the Ice Pond, the Circular Drive, the Road to Birthplace, the Employee Residences Road, the triangular island at the intersection of Bridges Creek Road and Duck Hall Road, and along the latter road.

The Park Service also constructed the **System of Trails and Paths (contributing structure)** during the period to provide visitors the opportunity to explore the park on foot. The **Brick Walks (LCS No. 081431, historic associated feature)** laid out between 1932 and 1935 in front of the Memorial House and transecting the Colonial Garden were part of Edward W. Donn, Jr.'s design, as was **Burnt House Point Trail (LCS No. 256195, historic associated feature)** leading out from the Brick Walks to Burnt House Point overlooking Popes Creek. The Park Service added a 400-foot-long wooden footbridge (not extant)<sup>8</sup> across Dancing Marsh to connect the Burnt House Point Trail to the **Nature Trail (LCS No. 256864, historic associated feature)** that looped south of the Log House on the Duck Hall property. The Park Service designed the Nature Trail, constructed in 1934, to meander through the woods and be "as natural and simple as possible." The agency also constructed the **Trail between Residences & Historic Core Area (LCS No. 255663, historic associated feature)** primarily for employees.

The last major historic building added to the landscape was the **Rockefeller Barn (LCS No. 080336, contributing building)**. In July of 1937, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., donated three retired carriage horses to George Washington Birthplace National Monument. Superintendent Hough gladly accepted them and formulated a plan to breed Morgan stallions for other parks in the National Park System. Hough's plan required the construction of a horse barn, paddock, and fencing. However, continued concern over disturbing archeological resources in the vicinity of the Memorial House prompted Park Service staff to advocate waiting on the project. In fact, correspondence from 1937 indicated that Regional Director Roy E. Appleman wanted all utility buildings removed from the historic core. Perhaps because of Rockefeller's involvement, however, construction of the barn and its adjacent paddock occurred from 1938 to 1939.<sup>9</sup>

#### **Charles E. Peterson (1906–2004)**

National Park Service landscape architect Charles E. Peterson (1906–2004) played an important role in the establishment of the George Washington Birthplace park landscape between 1930 and 1934. Peterson, who received his architecture degree from the University of Minnesota, started working at the Park Service under Thomas Vint in 1929. Initially stationed at the San Francisco office, he was transferred to the new historical parks in the East in 1930, where his first assignment was to work with the Wakefield Association to create a suitable designed landscape at George Washington's birthplace. Almost immediately, the bulk of Peterson's time was given over to planning the Colonial Parkway connecting the Yorktown battlefield with Williamsburg, and he recommended that another Park Service landscape architect be assigned to supervise the work at Wakefield. However, Peterson himself visited the site often and worked together with

<sup>8</sup> The footbridge was a problematic maintenance issue, requiring frequent repairs due to damage caused by tidal forces and ice. It was finally abandoned after it was nearly completely destroyed during a hurricane in 1963.

<sup>9</sup> The National Park Service decided to suspend the horse-breeding program during World War II and instead interpreted the barn as representative of the Washington-era farm.

the supervising architect, V. Roswell Ludgate, on the landscape designs. Peterson was one of the first Park Service staff to question the disparity between Donn's design for the Memorial House and the available archeological evidence for the birthplace house. He also advised against destroying the foundation to construct the house (Hosmer 1981:487-493,513).

Charles Peterson's contributions to the designed landscape at George Washington's birthplace are significant as examples of the work of a noted figure in the history of American preservation. Following his participation in the first historic preservation projects undertaken by the Park Service at George Washington Birthplace, Peterson drew on his architectural education and training, as well as a strong interest in history and archeology, to develop a distinctive approach to the restoration, reconstruction, and other preservation-related projects with which he was subsequently associated. As a key figure within the Eastern Division of the Branch of Plans and Design, Peterson was involved in the design of site improvements for Colonial National Historical Park and Yorktown and was exposed to many of the restoration activities being undertaken at Williamsburg. As Charles Hosmer noted in *Preservation Comes of Age*, Peterson had the opportunity at Williamsburg and Yorktown to participate in two of the most complex and professional historic programs in the United States. Based on his experiences, Peterson submitted a proposal in 1933 to the National Park Service to develop the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS). His proposal was accepted, and the organization later became, as Hosmer noted, the most important preservation archive in history. HABS became a remarkable

way to bring together people from all over the United States for the first time to look at the architectural history of the whole country. Educated and dedicated preservationists who had believed that they were working in isolation discovered that their local problems had national overtones. ... When Peterson himself took a retrospective look at HABS in 1963 he reasoned that the survey had encouraged the preservation movement. ... A colleague of Peterson notes that he has been more responsible for stimulating public interest in architectural preservation and restoration than any other man (Hosmer 1981:552-558).

Peterson also contributed to the development of other eastern parks, including Acadia, Shenandoah, Great Smoky Mountains, and many of the historic sites, battlefields, and encampments added to the system in 1933 and thereafter.

#### **CRITERION D – ARCHEOLOGY**

The district has national significance under Criterion D in the area of Archeology – Historic-Non-Aboriginal for its demonstrated ability to provide important archeological data about the location and form of the Popes Creek Plantation manor house, the birthplace of George Washington. The identification of "Building X" provided conclusive physical evidence of Washington's birthplace not available through any other means of historical inquiry and offers an early and substantive refutation of Ivor Noel Hume's critique of historical archeology as a "handmaiden to history" (Hume 1969). A detailed discussion of the results and interpretations of the data recovered from the Popes Creek Plantation House and Outbuildings Site is provided under the Criterion A – Archeology statement above.

The district also has state significance under Criterion D in the area of Archeology – Prehistoric and Criterion D in the area of Archeology – Historic-Non-Aboriginal as a property that has the demonstrated and potential ability to provide substantive archeological data about the form and function of a Northern Neck plantation representative of the rise and fall of tobacco culture in the Chesapeake tidewater region from the mid-seventeenth to late eighteenth centuries. The district also has the demonstrated and potential ability to provide substantive archeological data about the occupation and use of the area from the Late Archaic to Late Woodland periods and illustrates a continuity of occupation at George Washington Birthplace National Monument dating from the pre- to post-contact periods. The archeological information has contributed to an understanding of the form and function of Popes Creek Plantation not available through any other means of historical inquiry.

#### **The Role of Archeology at George Washington Birthplace National Monument**

The earliest archeological work at the monument property focused on identifying the Popes Creek plantation house, efforts that first obscured but ultimately resolved the question of the physical location and form of the building in which George Washington was born. That early work was followed by nearly 20 projects over the next 45 years, many of which were conducted in compliance with Sections 106 and 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). These investigations have included archeological overviews (Monroe and Lewes 2008; Powell 1968); identification surveys (Barka 1978; Cooney 2004a, 2004b; Cooper 2006; Gilmore et al. 2001; Jones et al. 1999); limited site evaluations (Blades 1979; Harwood 2002; Rosentel 2004); and construction monitoring (Campana 1997). Several research-oriented collections and faunal reports also have been produced (Burnston 1978; Parker 1986; Pogue and White 1992), as has a research report detailing the pre-contact-period archeological site profile of the park (Egloff 1989).

As a result of those various projects, a total of 43 archeological sites have been inventoried in the Archeological Sites Management and Information System (ASMIS) for George Washington Birthplace National Monument.<sup>10</sup> All the recorded sites have undergone some degree of subsurface archeological investigation, although most of that work has been limited to site identification survey. A total of 17 sites contain post-contact-period components dating from the seventeenth through twentieth centuries, with the remainder comprising pre-contact-period sites dating from the Late Archaic (3000–1200 B.C.) to Late Woodland (900–1600 A.D.) periods. The post-contact-period site profile is dominated by agrarian residential occupations inclusive of small farmsteads and sprawling plantation complexes, while shell middens and small resource procurement/shell fishing camps dominate the functional profile for the pre-contact period sites.

The following discussion emphasizes the significant contributions that archeology has made to a better understanding of the cultural, political, and economic development of the Tidewater region from the Late Archaic period to the first half of the nineteenth century. The archeological data are contributive to a multi-disciplinary research approach that utilizes economic and social history models, architectural and cultural landscape studies, and ethnohistoric analysis to develop a more nuanced, and more complicated, picture of the historical development of the Northern Neck region of the Chesapeake in general, and the Popes Creek Plantation complex in particular.

### **The Archeology of the Rise and Fall of the Chesapeake Tobacco Economy at Popes Creek Plantation**

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, three distinct but overlapping landscape/socio-economic/cultural systems evolved along the tobacco coast in the Chesapeake. The Early Chesapeake System (1650–1720) comprised a frontier community of tightly knit, small tobacco farmers who worked the land with family members and indentured servants. Tobacco cultivation required a large amount of land and time but little in the way of specialized equipment. This meant that the capital investment needed to develop a profitable farm was very low. The “headright system” in which 50 acres of land were granted for each person brought into a patent resulted in the accumulation of large tracts of land by a single family who could then subdivide the property among themselves. This system, combined with the minimal capital investment required of tobacco cultivation, resulted in the development of a largely egalitarian, kin-based social structure with the social and material culture distinctions among landowners and bondsmen mediated by a common national identity (English), a common race (white), and a common experience (frontier immigration and community development) (Gilmore et al. 2001).

Housing during that period, for example, was fairly rudimentary across all social classes and typically comprised lightly framed, earth-fast, post-in-ground structures consisting of primarily one-room, barracks-like structures in which all members of the household cooked, slept, worked, and socialized as a group. This housing form, first explored in a seminal essay entitled *Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies* (Carson et al. 1988:113), had its roots in traditional English antecedents and initially was interpreted as an inherently disposable building form born of a “boomtown” tobacco-economy mindset. With the benefit of more than a quarter century of additional archeological data,

<sup>10</sup> ASMIS is the National Park Service’s database for the basic registration and management of pre- and post-contact period archeological resources contained within individual parks and includes basic information on site locations, types, known or inferred integrity, and current National Register status.

however, more recent scholarship has reframed that argument. The structural diversity and complexity of the many archeological examples identified throughout the region since the mid-1980s suggest that the “impermanent” architectural style in fact forms the basis of a distinctive vernacular building tradition known as the “Virginia house.” This tradition evolved from the “slight framing” methods that characterized the first decades of settlement to a “box-framing” approach, one in which robust, clapboarded mortise-and-tenon frame construction was married to post-in-ground foundation techniques to create a unique solution to the problem of abundant building materials and limited skilled labor (Graham et al. 2007). While the Virginia house may still best be understood as an expedient building form, its style and substance would inform Chesapeake house builders of all social classes throughout the seventeenth century and would continue as the predominant building form among the non-elite well into the eighteenth century.

As the exterior construction techniques evolved over time, so too did the interior organization of the houses. The introduction of more segregated, task-specific space inside the house through interior walls, partitions, and habitable attic space and the construction of additional “dependencies” (e.g., kitchens, storage rooms, butteries) around the main residential building have been linked to the rise of slavery and the desire of plantation owners to separate their families from indentured and enslaved laborers. That shift, however, also appears to be linked to a broader transatlantic trend in which traditional work relationships gave way to a more profit-driven model in which day laborers, often with no kin- or community-based relationship to the plantation family, were employed to perform many of the tasks formerly undertaken by family members. This introduction of “foreigners” to the household, whether enslaved or free, gave rise to an increasingly compartmentalized architectural form and the creation of the “polite” house in which public and private spaces were well-defined and carefully guarded (Graham et al. 2007).

The Brooks Patent located on the land west of Popes Creek exemplifies this economically and socially dynamic period of settlement in the Chesapeake. Archeological evidence recovered from both the **John Washington Site (ASMIS No. GEWA00009.000, contributing site)** and the **Henry Brooks Site (ASMIS No. GEWA00010.000, contributing site)** provides substantial evidence of the post-in-ground building technique that characterized the earliest period of permanent English settlement on the Northern Neck. The John Washington Site was first identified in 1930 during the same period that the Memorial House was constructed. At that time, James Latane, a Washington family heir, conducted archeological excavations near Bridges Creek under the supervision of O.G. Taylor and identified an approximately 14-by-20-foot brick foundation and floor. Taylor concluded that the building remnants belonged to an outbuilding associated with the seventeenth-century farmstead of John Washington, George Washington’s great-grandfather. The Washington Family Burial Ground was also excavated at that time, exposing the remains of a brick vault and 20 individuals buried inside and outside the cemetery walls. Three years later, during a survey of the newly donated Wakefield Association acreage, a foundation was identified along the Potomac just north of the John Washington Site and interpreted as the farmstead of Henry Brooks, the earliest English patentee on what later became the Washington plantation. Follow-up excavations in 1934 uncovered “an interesting foundation... and several fine relics” (Hatch 1979:89).

National Park Service archeologists John Cotter and Brooke Blades returned to the Henry Brooks and John Washington sites in 1977 to expand upon the earlier investigations and resolve questions regarding the age, occupational history, layout, and function of the farmsteads. The Henry Brooks Site yielded evidence of a 20-by-29-foot post-in-ground dwelling house with a brick chimney, a brick cellar, and what appeared to be the remains of a bulkhead cellar entrance. Post molds west of the chimney suggested an addition to the building or an enclosed yard space. A second resource, interpreted as an associated outbuilding, was located 47.5 feet northwest of the dwelling house and consisted of a brick foundation measuring roughly 13.5-by-12.9 feet. In addition to the building remains, three trash pits, a drainage ditch, and several isolated postholes also were identified. The artifacts recovered from the site suggested a long, although probably sporadic, occupation dating from 1651–1750.

The John Washington Site comprised a dwelling house, two outbuildings, and a possible third outbuilding. The largest of the buildings was the post-in-ground dwelling measuring 40-by-20 feet and encompassing a primary brick chimney, a secondary timber-framed or “catted” chimney, root cellar, and additions and was believed to have been constructed during the David Anderson tenure on the property, circa 1655–1664. The brick foundations and brick-floored cellars for two outbuildings were also identified, as was an ash- and bone-filled pit interpreted as the remains of a smokehouse.

Artifacts recovered from the site—including glass, ceramics, architectural debris, and a wine bottle seal embossed with the initials “J.W.”—serve to confirm the occupation of the farmstead by David Anderson and John Washington. The site also provides evidence of the “improvement” trend that began to emerge during the second half of the seventeenth century in the form of a “new parlour,” an addition that would have been added sometime between Washington’s acquisition of the property in 1665 and his death in 1677. The resulting foundation footprint clearly fits the specifications of a hall-and-parlor house and provides material evidence of this trend toward social stratification (Gilmore et al. 2001:16).

The decades from 1720 to 1780 marked the rise of the plantation system and the consolidation of gentry hegemony. During this period, small tobacco farms gave way to large plantations resulting in the development of three distinct social classes: plantation owners wielding powerful gentry authority; tenant farmers, formerly the small, independent tobacco farmers who could not keep pace with the labor and land requirements of the new tobacco economy and were forced to sell their land to their wealthier neighbors; and African slaves. As tobacco prices plummeted, so too did servant immigration as the perceived and real opportunities for social advancement collapsed under the weight of the economic depression of 1680–1720. The middling class of small tobacco farmers, previously an integral element of the Chesapeake social structure, experienced a dramatic reduction in circumstance as their access to cheap labor and land dried up. Larger plantation owners, the incipient Chesapeake gentry, on the other hand, had both the acreage and the capital means to invest in a new source of labor: African slaves. This resulted in a new cultural landscape of tenant farms, slave quarters, and great houses.

Under this new economic paradigm, Henry Brooks’ patent lands between Bridges and Popes creeks were gradually consolidated as Popes Creek Plantation under the hand of Augustine Washington, Sr. (1694–1743). By the mid-eighteenth century, the plantation consisted of approximately 1300 acres and encompassed about two-thirds of the old Brooks patent. Like those of many of their contemporaries, the Washington family’s plantation consisted of a number of “quarters,” discrete, often discontinuous, units of a single property managed by an overseer and worked by servants and/or slaves. Popes Creek included the Bridges Quarter, the Richard Hill patent, and one or two farms made up from the former Henry Brooks, Lawrence Abbington, and John Washington homesteads. The Abbington tract contained Augustine’s home and served as the administrative center of the plantation. The creation of these numerous quarters clearly “signaled” the wealth of the Washington family as the process was costly both in terms of capital outlays (housing, infrastructure, livestock), labor (overseers and slaves), and management responsibilities (Graham et al. 2007:456).

The Chesapeake gentry expressed their social status and “removal” from the lower classes through the construction of substantial plantation seats including an imposing central residence surrounded by a constellation of dependencies. The structures closest to the manor house were those buildings necessary to the domestic operations of the family, including kitchens, dairies, smokehouses, servant quarters, and perhaps a spinning house. Those buildings critical to the agricultural operation of the plantation would have been arranged beyond the inner circle and included stables, barns, granaries, and corn cribs. Finally, the outermost ring of structures contained those associated with the fields and field laborers: tobacco houses, additional barns, and slave quarters. This arrangement suggested a feudal landscape and imputed a level of “nobility” to the planter and his family. Similarly, the purchase of exclusive luxury goods (fine clothes, imported furniture, and expensive tea sets) further set the gentry apart from the lower classes.

The physical arrangement of the Popes Creek Plantation House and Outbuildings Site evolved over time to reflect this landscape model. When Augustine Washington, Sr. purchased the Lawrence Abbington property in 1718, it is likely that he obtained the Abbington dwelling house as part of the sale as he moved himself and his family to the property almost immediately and did not hire a carpenter to build an addition to the structure until 1722. The documentary records as corroborated by the archeological evidence indicate that the original dwelling house, likely constructed sometime during the third quarter of the seventeenth century, was a simple 35 by 20 feet, one- to two-room, two-story wood-framed house on brick foundations with a bulkhead entrance and two hearths served by a single brick chimney. This relatively small house, the house in which George Washington was born in 1732 and spent the first several years of his life, was in

keeping with the early Chesapeake model of building modest domestic structures so that available capital could be used to expand and consolidate the plantation holdings through additional property purchases.

With Augustine Jr.'s (1720–1764) inheritance of Popes Creek, however, the house was expanded dramatically to reflect conspicuously the Washington family's social position in the Northern Neck. As revealed by 1936 excavations, a 25-foot-long addition was appended to the west elevation of the original structure and 18-foot-long wings were added to either end, resulting in the distinctive U-shaped footprint first identified archeologically in 1930 (Building X).

Augustine Jr. (familiarily called Austin) made great strides in creating a larger plantation landscape befitting his position as a gentry planter. In 1974–1975, Southside Historical Sites Inc. documented substantial evidence of this structural development. A program in archeological fieldwork conducted at the Historic Core in advance of proposed landscaping and infrastructural improvements resulted in the identification of 19 post-contact-period features including a post-in-ground structure, fence lines, a trash pit, drainage ditches, a refuse pit feature, and the remains of a brick outbuilding, all of which appeared to date to the eighteenth century and to be associated with the Popes Creek tenancy. Austin also appears to have subscribed wholeheartedly to a program of “conspicuous consumption” at odds with the frugality that marked the earlier period. With the family estate secure and prosperous, Austin purchased expensive furniture, clothing, tea ware, table settings, and linens so that by the time of his death the value of his household goods was 16 percent of the total estate value. The nearly 15,000 late seventeenth- to mid-eighteenth-century artifacts recovered during the 1936 excavations at what was then known as Building X provided abundant evidence of this evolving consumption trend.

Archeological data in the form of several small farmstead sites identified at Popes Creek also provided evidence documenting the transition that occurred from 1720 to 1780 in which a labor pool formerly dominated by indentured servants became increasingly reliant on imported African and African-American slaves. In 1997, after several decades of primarily small-scale archeological projects, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation conducted a systematic, park-wide archeological survey. The survey resulted in the documentation of a total of 41 sites, 32 of which were previously unrecorded (Jones et al. 1999). Four of these sites included small farmstead occupations that were subjected to additional archeological assessment/Phase II excavations in 1999 (Gilmore et al. 2001:ix).

The Popes Creek Plantation House and Outbuildings Site was found to measure 550 m east–west and 305 m north–south (approximately 42 acres) and contained four smaller loci indicative of farmstead/dependency occupations. A concentration of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century ceramics was found on the peninsular landform projecting southeast into Popes Creek and was assigned the field designation of Slave/Indentured Servant 89 (SIS 89). The fields west of the Memorial House yielded three discrete historic components including eighteenth-century domestic occupations designated House Slave Quarter 89-A and 89-B (HSQ 89-A, 89-B) and the remains of a mid-seventeenth- to late eighteenth-century residence designated Small Farmer 89 (SF 89).

SIS 89 yielded a range of ceramics including delftware; combed Staffordshire earthenware; lead-glazed coarse earthenware; Chinese porcelain; and English Fulham, white salt-glazed, and Rhenish stoneware. A shallow pit feature and two small postholes also were identified in association with the ceramic concentration.

HSQ 89-A yielded a range of eighteenth-century ceramics such as Buckley, North Devon, and Staffordshire earthenwares; English Nottingham, Fulham, and white salt-glazed stoneware; ball clay pipe fragments; and a significant quantity of wine bottle glass. A brick concentration indicative of a chimney and fireplace were identified, as were a small post hole and a collection of wrought nails and window glass. HSQ 89-B was identified in the next field to the west. Although no subsurface features were uncovered in the area, the patterning of the wrought nails formed a distinct pattern indicative of the location of a former structure. Furthermore, the recovered ceramic assemblage (creamware, Buckley ware, and white salt-glazed stoneware) suggested an occupation dating to the second half of the eighteenth century, which placed the site as the remains of a slave quarter associated with Popes Creek plantation before it burned in 1779 (Gilmore et al. 2001: 49, 60).

SF 89, on the other hand, revealed an assemblage containing a range of materials dating from the mid-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth centuries. Earlier ceramic types included the locally produced Morgan Jones earthenware, Staffordshire and North Devon earthenware, and large-bore diameter ball clay pipe stem fragments. A Chinese porcelain sherd, wine bottle glass, and delft were also recovered but did not provide precise dating evidence. Only one creamware sherd was recovered, and while it may be anomalous, it could also indicate an eighteenth-century component. Based on the analysis of the recovered ceramic and the additional recovery of a substantial amount of architectural debris, it appears that this site was occupied during the earliest patent period and that its residents invested more in housing than in movable goods, a consumption pattern characteristic of that period. It is probable that the site was the original residence of Lawrence and Lydia Abbington and that it was left to indentured servants when the Abbingtons moved to the more substantial structure that provided the core of the house eventually developed into the Popes Creek Plantation house by the Washington family (Gilmore et al. 2001:62).

Moving outside the Historic Core, Phase II testing at the **Field Slave Quarter Site 218 (ASMIS No. GEWA00011.000, contributing site)** resulted in the identification of one small posthole and mold and a linear feature and the recovery of a solidly eighteenth-century assemblage at the core of the site. The cultural material profile comprised wrought nails, hand-made brick, imported yellow Dutch fireplace brick (likely robbed from the adjacent John Washington Site), a cast iron shoe buckle, Buckley ware, creamware, delftware, green shell-edged pearlware, Rhenish stoneware, bead-and-reel English white salt-glazed stoneware, American blue-and-grey stoneware, and one sherd of Chinese porcelain. Because many eighteenth-century slave quarters were constructed as post-in-ground buildings, the artifact distributions were plotted on a density map as a means to discern any patterning indicative of a building in the absence of foundation remains. The density plots were successful in identifying the probable location of the former quarter, with the plotted nails indicating where a post-in-ground building once stood and the brick plot indicating the probable location of its associated chimney. The plot of eighteenth-century ceramics on the site further indicated the possible presence of a trash midden located east of the residential building.

Site evaluation testing at the **Original Brown Farmstead (ASMIS No. GEWA00037.000, contributing site)** identified substantial evidence of a seventeenth-century component with a much smaller admixture of eighteenth-century materials. The site measured approximately 40 m in diameter with the Muse Cemetery at its center. Subsurface features consisted of two postholes, a trash pit, and several plow scars. One of the two postholes was large enough to suggest that it had once been part of a substantial building. The densities of the recovered brick were plotted, with the results indicating the location of a former yellow brick hearth and red brick chimney. It is likely that the hearth dates to the later eighteenth-century occupation of the site, with the yellow brick, like that at the Field Slave Quarter Site 218, possibly robbed from the neighboring John Washington Site. The wrought nails also were plotted and indicated the presence of an earth-fast structure east of the hearth and chimney. The pipe stems and ceramics recovered from across the site—including Buckley, North Devon slip sgraffito, North Devon gravel-tempered, Staffordshire slip, delftware, and Morgan Jones earthenwares—point to a primary occupation during the second half of the seventeenth century. Occupation during the eighteenth century was far more limited and was indicated by the presence of pearlware, creamware, and colonoware that also was produced during that period. The density plot of these later materials revealed a fairly discrete concentration south of the seventeenth-century materials, a pattern that suggests a later trash pit deposit.

Finally, testing at the **Field Slave Quarter Site (ASMIS No. GEWA00024.000, contributing site)** located on two terraces divided by a shallow sloping ravine identified a residential site dating from the second quarter to the end of the eighteenth century. Red chimney brick, yellow hearth brick, wrought nails, and window glass marked the location of a residential structure on one terrace, while red brick on the second terrace suggested the presence of a storage structure or possible second residence. The recovered ceramics included Buckley ware, creamware, Staffordshire earthenware, agateware, slip-decorated earthenware, white salt-glazed stoneware, Rhenish stoneware, English Fulham stoneware, and English delft. Additional artifacts included cast copper alloy buckles, an English gunflint, and a green pharmaceutical glass fragment. Associated features included a substantial boundary ditch, an untyped posthole, and a palisade fence trench.

A comparative analysis of the ceramic, glass, and architectural assemblages recovered from each site as well as their locations relative to the main house at Popes Creek illustrates the labor and land use transformations that occurred as the Chesapeake gentry began to consolidate their landholdings under the new tobacco cultivation regime. The Original Brown Farmstead, SF 89, and SIS 89 (Henry Brooks and John Washington sites) are all examples of the small, dispersed, independent farmsteads that characterized the early patent division phase of development. By the first quarter of the eighteenth century, tobacco prices had plummeted, forcing small farmers to sell their land and leaving enterprising individuals with sufficient capital to purchase and combine those holdings. Augustine Washington was one of the beneficiaries of this process, and in expanding his plantation he reused many of those former farmsteads (including the Original Brown Farmstead, the Henry Brooks Site, SIS 89, and possibly SF 89) as housing for his newly enslaved workforce. Augustine also built new housing for those workers, and the patterning of those houses conformed to the idealized feudal landscape sought by so many plantation owners. The Original Brown Farmstead, HSQ 89-A, and HSQ 89-B all were sited within the immediate orbit of the main house and sheltered those individuals responsible for meeting the domestic needs of the Washington family. The field slave quarter sites, on the other hand, were placed at a significantly farther remove so that the laborers would be closer to the fields they worked.

Despite their differences in construction date and occupation, the identified residential sites all consisted of post-in-ground structures with varying degrees of associated farmyard development. Those slave dwellings located closest to the main house, for instance, showed very little evidence of site development (e.g., fencing, housing additions, middens, gardens) and ceramic variability compared to those dwellings located farther afield. These differences are likely attributable to the fact that those individuals and families located closest to Popes Creek manor would have been integrated into the planned landscape and would have little need (or latitude) to effect any change in their immediate surroundings. On the other hand, the field slave quarters, away from the watchful eyes of the Washington family, exercised a greater degree of autonomy. This autonomy was manifested in a number of day-to-day activities such as independent food preparation and small-scale farming, and finds its archeological correlates in the identification of middens, fence line and garden features, and a broader range of ceramic types and forms, including colonoware.

The archeological assemblages collected from these various sites provide a window into the lives of those individuals, indentured servants and slaves who were critical to the development of the plantation economies on the Northern Neck but who have until recently received scant academic attention. Although the life and culture of slaves further south has been described in some detail, slave life in the Northern Neck has not been chronicled with the same intensity. Also missing from this research is the largest group of individuals living in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake, indentured servants and tenant farmers, who worked the land for property owners before the large-scale importation of African slave labor. All of these people, largely marginalized in the written records of the time, contributed to the diversity and complexity of life in the Northern Neck during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and were indispensable to the success of the tobacco economy (Gilmore et al. 2001).

Augustine Jr.'s death in 1764 marked the beginning of not only the end of the productive years at Popes Creek plantation but also the precipitous decline of the tobacco economy in the Chesapeake from 1780 to 1870. Exhausted soils, falling productivity, and volatile tobacco prices all led to increasing debt among the tidewater gentry, debt that was further aggravated by the patterns of conspicuous material consumption that had come to define the Chesapeake elite. As a solution to the problem, plantation owners shifted their focus from tobacco as the primary cash crop to wheat. Wheat had been a small but consistent part of the region's mixed agricultural economy beginning with the first tobacco depression of 1680–1720 but became an increasingly attractive staple crop by the mid-eighteenth century. By that time, enough land had been cleared to efficiently grow the crop, and tobacco prices had sunk low enough to make it a viable economic alternative. The opening of extensive (and stable) trade opportunities with Europe and the West Indies further bolstered the commercial appeal of wheat. Unlike tobacco, wheat production required far more specialized and expensive equipment and, as such, was out of reach for smaller-scale farmers, resulting in their increased social and economic marginalization.

Augustine's son and heir, William (1757–1810), took possession of the property upon reaching maturity in 1774. William's tenure was short-lived, however, as, according to local tradition, the ancestral home, then known as Wakefield,

burned to the ground on Christmas Day 1779 and was never rebuilt. Instead, William moved the family seat to Haywood, west of Bridges Creek, and rented the land around the ruins of the house. As part of the initial Popes Creek rental agreement, William specified that the tenant must build “a frame dwelling House Sixteen feet square” and maintain other buildings on the property...” This condition clearly indicates that at least some of the Popes Creek dependencies survived the fire and may still be identified through archeological investigation.

In 1810, William bequeathed the ancestral estate holding between Bridges and Popes creeks to his son, George Corbin Washington. By that time, the former site of Popes Creek was more commonly known as “Burnt House plantation.” By 1813, George Corbin had sold the Popes Creek property to John Gray of Stafford County, and by 1832, Gray had acquired roughly 1300 acres of land between Bridges and Popes creeks, closely approximating the size of the plantation that Augustine Washington, Sr. had consolidated by the mid-eighteenth century. The property subsequently went through a series of different owners. An 1843 advertisement for the plantation noted “a small Dwelling-house with the necessary outhouses... overseer’s house, barns and every convenience which could be required on a farm of its size,” a description, perhaps, of the small dwelling house built by condition of the Washington lease agreement of 1779 as well as surviving outbuildings and support structures from the tenancy period and earlier Popes Creek Plantation period.

### **From Shell Middens to Tobacco Fields – Occupational Continuity at Popes Creek throughout the Pre- and Post-contact Periods**

The initial success of the tobacco economy in the Chesapeake was dependent on the clearing, planting, and maintenance of the rich alluvial fields that lined the banks of the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers and their many tributaries. Many of these fields, however, were not cleared first by European hands but rather by the American Indians who had inhabited the area for thousands of years. Long before Washington’s birthplace became nationally memorialized as the place where “our first father did little more than escape the womb and soil his swaddlings” (Edwards 2012), the rich estuarine resources available at the confluences of the westward-flowing Rappahannock and Potomac rivers with their many tributaries had been a magnet for pre-contact-period settlement. When Captain John Smith and his contingent of English soldiers arrived at the Potomac River in 1608, they encountered several tribes who were part of an Algonquian-speaking population of roughly 20,000 individuals living in the Coastal Plain of what is now Virginia.

Archeological evidence indicates that American Indians occupied and used the lands surrounding the Potomac throughout the Archaic–Woodland periods. From the Late Archaic through Middle Woodland periods (4200 B.C.–900 A.D.), subsistence strategies consisted largely of small bands establishing semi-sedentary camps along the river edges, harvesting oysters and hunting on a seasonal basis. Fired ceramics, often characterized as experimental in nature, began to emerge during the Early Woodland and were refined and elaborated throughout the Middle Woodland. The Middle Woodland period also saw the emergence of incipient horticulture in the region, a subsistence strategy that saw its full development during the Late Woodland period (OCULUS 1999:2-4–2-5).

While the earliest archeological investigations primarily focused on the historical occupation of Popes Creek, 1979 appears to mark the year when the substantial pre-contact-period occupation of the park began to receive more focused attention. In that year, Greg and Linda Waselkov recorded a shell midden covering approximately 1200-by-1600 feet in an agricultural field directly east of Bridges Creek. The site, which included a surface assemblage of quartz and quartzite bifaces, quartz stemmed and narrow side-notched points, and Popes Creek and Moyaone pottery sherds, was assigned state inventory number 44WM0185. Waselkov also identified a smaller and shallower midden site south of the larger midden that included two quartz biface fragments (44WM0186), and that site was subsequently grouped with 44WM0185 to form a single site designated the Native American Base Camp Site (ASMIS #GEWA00006.000, GEWA00007.000). A third shell midden (44WM0187) estimated to cover an area measuring approximately 1000 by 500 feet was recorded southeast of a tidal pool in an agricultural field east of the Native American Base Camp Site. Observed artifacts included a quartzite flake, pottery, and oyster shells.

Around that same period, National Park Service archeologist David Orr observed two large deposits of dark soil and shell eroding from the bluffs overlooking Bridges Creek. He also collected a Bare Island hafted biface and a sherd of

limestone-tempered, cord-marked pottery from the adjacent shoreline. This erosional area was part of an expansive shell midden site first identified in 1974 by Howard MacCord at the marshy confluence of Popes Creek with the Potomac River in the Longwood Swamp area. Covering over an acre and measuring ten feet high at its thickest point, the **Longwood Swamp Midden Site (ASMIS No. GEWA00001.000, contributing site)** originally was recorded as two separate sites. In 1985, Brooke Blades and Douglas Campana revisited the area and, upon closer examination, designated it as a single Woodland-period shell midden.

Because the site was undergoing substantial erosion, Blades and Campana excavated a single 3-by-3-foot excavation unit in the thickest part of the midden in the hopes of gathering enough information to characterize its temporal affiliation. While no diagnostic materials were recovered during that excavation, the recovery of several fragments of pre-contact-period pottery from the adjacent shoreline resulted in a general Woodland period date for the site. In 1989, the site inventory form was updated to record the fact that the site had been completely washed away during a major storm that occurred shortly after the 1985 excavations.

During the park-wide survey of 1997, dozens of additional pre-contact-period sites were identified across the property. Many of these sites comprised non-diagnostic artifact scatters or untyped shell midden deposits, but several larger midden and camp sites also were recorded including the Dancing Marsh Woodlands Camp (GEWA00019.000) and the Potomac Creek Pottery Site (GEWA00022.000). Additional testing in Longwood Swamp also showed that the shell midden previously identified in that location contained more extensive and intact deposits than previously thought (Jones et al. 1999).

In 2001, Phase II excavations at the Longwood Swamp Midden Site focused on a large shell pit feature that was visibly eroding from the eastern embankment of the Potomac River. The unit excavations resulted in the identification of an intact subplowzone shell midden deposit dating to the Middle–Late Woodland periods, a finding consistent with the previous survey work at the site (Jones et al 1999). The recovered artifact assemblage included quartz, quartzite, and chert debitage; reworked Morrow Mountain II and Guilford lanceolate projectile points; and cord-marked and net-impressed Mockley-type ceramics. The large shell pit feature was located below the more expansive midden deposit and contained similar Middle–Late Woodland period Mockley ceramics and lithic debitage, as too did the small shell pit feature newly identified to the west.

Based on the stratigraphy of all the identified features, the author surmised that the pits initially were used for food storage purposes and were filled later as parts of middens sometime during the Middle Woodland Period. From a larger interpretive standpoint, the author argued that the data demonstrated that the park property was an important location for the intensive procurement of nearby marine and estuarine resources during a time when there may have been range restrictions stemming from population pressures. Furthermore, the stratigraphic sequence of the observed shell midden and pit features combined with the recovery of ceramics suggested that the site was used repeatedly throughout the Woodland period on what was likely a semi-permanent, seasonal basis (Harwood 2002:41, 63).

The park-wide survey also delineated the boundaries of the **Native American Midden Site (ASMIS No. GEWA00016.000, contributing site)**, a 75-by-80-m area on the nose of an interfluvial overlooking Dancing Marsh to the south (Jones et al. 1999:91). The recovered assemblage comprised a fairly low-density scatter of pre-contact-period materials including lithic debitage, fire-cracked rock, shell, and grit-tempered ceramics. Based on the results of the survey, the authors preliminarily concluded that the site likely functioned as a short-term resource procurement camp during the Middle–Late Woodland periods and that despite historic period disturbances it also likely retained significant integrity.

Phase II testing at the site in 2004 in advance of proposed drainage improvements at Quarters 1 included the excavation of 25 shovel test pits and eight (8) 1-by-1-m excavation units. Those excavations resulted in the recovery of a moderate density of lithic debitage, biface fragments, plain grit- and rock-tempered ceramics, and a single steatite bowl sherd from intact soils between 30 and 50 cm below ground surface. While no cultural features were identified, the testing corroborated the earlier assessment of substantial site integrity below the historic plow zone. The report author further

argued that the site, rather than dating to the Middle–Late Woodland periods, likely marks an occupation dating to the important transitional period between the Late Archaic and Early Woodland when the use of steatite vessels was gradually supplanted by the production of fired ceramics and horticulture began to supplement traditional hunting and gathering subsistence practices (Rosentel 2004).

The Longwood Swamp and Native American Midden sites are only two of more than two dozen known pre-contact period sites contained within George Washington Birthplace National Monument. While the other midden and camps sites are less well documented, they are all part of a much larger complex of shell fishing stations, camps, and settlements spread throughout the Chesapeake region along the James, York, Rappahannock, and Potomac rivers. The co-occurrence of these significant pre-contact period deposits with equally significant historic period deposits, often as components of the same site, testifies to a continuity of occupation of the area stretching from the Late Archaic period to the late eighteenth century. From a historic perspective, these sites are evidence of the early English occupation of sites favored by the Indian inhabitants for their geography and resources.

For example, the Henry Brooks, John Washington, and Popes Creek Plantation House and Outbuildings sites all contain pre- and post-contact-period components, as does the **Duck Hall Point Site (ASMIS No. GEWA00004.000, contributing site)**. The Duck Hall Point Picnic Grounds was tested first by Southside Historical Sites Inc. in 1974, at which time cultural material dating from the eighteenth through the twentieth century was recovered and a possible eighteenth-century trench was identified. The site was revisited as part of the park-wide survey, at which time a large brick foundation and an assemblage of late seventeenth/early eighteenth- through nineteenth-century domestic and architectural debris was identified as was evidence of a buried, possibly intact Middle Woodland shell midden (Jones et al. 1999).

The identification of substantial historic-period deposits at Duck Hall provided new information to augment the scant documentary history regarding the historical occupation of that area. The earliest documentary evidence for colonial occupation at Duck Hall Point dates to 1662 when Henry Brooks gave 48 acres to a Nicholas Saxton who was already “seated” on the point (Hatch 1979:74). After that date, the records regarding the occupation of the parcel are scarce as Duck Hall Point was never owned by the Washington family and as such was not an area of real interest to historians focusing on the Popes Creek tenure. Documentation of the parcel, however, resumes in 1813 when John Gray, who had purchased Popes Creek from George Corbin Washington in 1813, purchased the neighboring Duck Hall property in 1818 and incorporated it into the landholdings that later became the memorial property. Archival records indicate that a house stood at Duck Hall from at least 1820 until 1832, after which no buildings appear in tax records. While the documentary record cursorily records a later seventeenth- and early nineteenth-century occupation of Duck Hall Point, the recovered archeological data suggest that the site was home to a substantial and likely continuous eighteenth-century occupation. It is also possible that elements of the earlier seventeenth-century Saxton occupancy may survive in that location.

Phase II excavations conducted at the Duck Hall Point Site focused on the Middle Woodland shell midden component under threat of complete erosion by Popes Creek. The goal of the survey was the delineation of the feature rather than its sample excavation, and as such the testing strategy relied primarily upon systematic shovel test pits at five-meter intervals to achieve that end. The midden, located at the southeast corner of the larger site, was found to measure approximately 65 m north–south and 25 m east–west, with decreasing densities of shell occurring as one moved north and west across the deposit. The recovery of seventeenth- and nineteenth-century cultural materials, associated with the Saxton and Gray occupations respectively, indicated that the feature had been disturbed to some degree by historic-period occupation. Landscape features cutting into the underlying shell midden, including post holes, mortar concentrations, trenches, and a nineteenth-century domestic debris concentration, were similarly assigned to the Saxton and Grey occupations, although none were spatially delineated. Despite the level of disturbance documented in the upper portions of the midden feature, the lower portion appeared to remain substantially intact and yielded both Middle and Late Woodland period ceramics.

The nineteenth-century signature at Duck Hall was particularly strong and provided potentially new information regarding the Gray tenure on the property (c. 1813–1832). In particular, the identification of a burned brick and mortar rubble deposit and the recovery of misshapen masses of window glass, charred plaster, and burned ceramics provided

persuasive evidence that the Gray residence, which abruptly disappeared from tax records in 1832, was likely destroyed by fire (Harwood 2002:55–58).

The Duck Hall Point Site provides a particularly good example of the continuous occupation of the area from the Middle Woodland period to the nineteenth century. While the historic period components are less well delineated than the underlying midden, the recovery of seventeenth- through nineteenth-century cultural materials documents a previously unsuspected duration of occupation at the site. In this capacity, the archeology at Duck Hall, and at all of the other single and multi-component sites throughout the park, has the demonstrated and potential ability to provide substantively new and important data about the human occupation of the area not otherwise available through any other means of inquiry.

## **CRITERION C – ARCHITECTURE**

### **George Washington Monument**

The 51-foot-tall granite obelisk constructed at the site of George Washington's birthplace in 1896 and moved to its present site in 1930 is locally significant under Criterion C as a representative example of memorial architecture erected around the nation during the post-Civil War period. Built by John Crawford & Sons of Buffalo, New York, the monument was intended to be a small-scale version of the Washington Monument in Washington, D.C. The obelisk was a popular memorial symbol in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As noted in a context statement for a similar monument located at Kings Mountain National Military Park in York County, South Carolina, and Cherokee County, North Carolina, "Although other ancient forms of architecture, such as the triumphal arch and temple, contributed to the development of the public memorial, the column, and more significantly the obelisk, were most often chosen to honor important events and individuals in the United States" (Blythe et al. 1995:64–67).

The obelisk form developed in ancient Egypt as early as 1200 B.C. as a symbol of Ra the Sun God, connoting glory, wisdom, and eternal life. The word "obelisk" is a Greek appellation attributed to Herodotus, a Greek historian who visited Egypt and was among the first to describe the form. After Roman Emperor Caesar Augustus conquered Egypt in 30 B.C., he brought back a number of obelisks taken from the tombs of former Egyptian rulers and placed them in the City of Rome as a symbol of the conquest. During the Age of Enlightenment, a rebirth of interest in ancient Egyptian forms and their association with the mortuary arts led to the adoption of the obelisk for commemorative monuments in Western Europe, particularly France and Great Britain. These precedents established the obelisk as an enduring symbol of commemoration. It found its way to the United States, where it was applied to the earliest American monuments to the Revolutionary War, including the Revolutionary Monument on Lexington Green (1799) in Lexington, Massachusetts, and the Paoli Massacre Monument (1817) in Malvern, Pennsylvania. A number of other small-scale monuments to Revolutionary War battles and heroes during the antebellum period incorporated the obelisk in one form or another. Examples include the Nathanael Greene Monument (1830, designed by William Strickland) in Savannah, Georgia; Concord Battle Monument (1836) in Concord, Massachusetts; Signer's Monument (1848) in Augusta, Georgia; Casimir Pulaski Monument (1854) in Savannah, Georgia; and Hubbardton Battle Monument (1859) in Hubbardton, Vermont (Curran et al. 2009:35,85; HMdb.org 2010).

Three major monuments designed and begun during the antebellum period took the obelisk form: the Groton Battle Monument (1830), the Bunker Hill Monument, and the Washington National Monument (begun 1848, completed 1884). The latter was the tallest manmade stone structure in the world at that time and continues to hold the distinction of being the world's tallest stone obelisk. Following the precedent of the much-publicized Washington Monument, which validated the already popular obelisk form, most post-Civil War memorials were statues or shafts, which included obelisks, columns, and other tower-like forms. Larger-scale obelisks often were chosen for especially important memorials. The revival of the Revolutionary War monument movement resulted in the construction of two major obelisks, the Saratoga Monument (1887) and the Bennington Monument (1889). Historian David M. Kahn asserts that the popular use of shafts and their close relationship to funerary architecture resulted from the sudden demand for monuments after the end of the Civil War coupled with the lack of any alternative American memorial architecture. He

points out that many memorials were actually erected in cemeteries by firms that usually sold funerary monuments. Eight of the first sixteen presidents are commemorated with obelisks at their burial sites: Jefferson (1883), Madison (1857), Jackson (1831), Van Buren (1862), Tyler (1862), Fillmore (1874), Pierce (1946), and Lincoln (1874) (Blythe et al. 1995:64–67; Dubois 2002:5,11–13; Kahn 1982:213–215).

The George Washington Monument in Virginia followed the commemorative model established throughout the nineteenth century. The U.S. government selected the design for the memorial from 33 proposals submitted as part of a national competition. John Crawford & Sons of Buffalo, New York, a funerary monument company, prepared the winning plans. Crawford, a Scottish immigrant, established his successful business in Buffalo c. 1855 and produced many elaborate headstones and memorials for wealthy families in Buffalo, New York. Examples of his work can be seen in that city's National Register-listed Forest Lawn Cemetery. Crawford's shop was located opposite the entrance to the cemetery on Delaware Avenue. In 1890, two women's groups in Fredericksburg, Virginia, selected the firm to design a new monument to commemorate the burial site of Mary Ball Washington, George's mother. The 50-foot-tall granite obelisk there, completed in 1893, resembles the obelisk Crawford erected at George Washington's birthplace three years later. Both obelisks were approximately one-tenth-scale replicas of the 1884 Washington National Monument, set on pedestals with cap molding and stepped bases. A 36-foot-square iron fence enclosed the George Washington Monument in its original location, with a gravel walk around the outside of the fence. Trees were cleared along the river to establish views to and from the monument (Strong 2008; Whitcomb 1893).

During the development of their plans for the site of Washington's birthplace in the 1920s, the Wakefield Association specifically requested a redesign of the monument's base so that it resembled "a marker rather than a funereal design of the 1890s," reflecting a shift in public perceptions of memorial architecture. Historian Kahn documents how interest in memorial shafts waned throughout the later years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, with particular reference to the mausoleum design chosen for the Grant Monument (now the General Grant National Memorial) in New York (1891–1897). He notes that while "Shafts persisted well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century...the introduction of classical forms broadened and invigorated the nation's memorial repertory." It appears that the Association was aware of current trends in commemorative architecture and, without wishing to completely redo Crawford's 1896 obelisk, wanted to take advantage of the opportunity presented by the relocation to modify it slightly. In addition to the cedar-lined approach to the site leading to a circular turnaround containing the relocated obelisk at the entrance from Route 204 and continuing on to the Memorial House, Donn's 1929 plans show a new treatment of the monument base that included a baroque composition of figures seated on an over 12-foot-high plinth. This elaborate ornamentation was never executed, but the original base materials were replaced when the monument was relocated to the circular island at the site entrance in 1930. A comparison of the existing pedestal and base with historic photos of the monument indicates that the current composition is simpler and more geometric, with a more abrupt transition to the ground-level platform. The shaft of the original 1896 obelisk remains intact, while its current location and surrounding landscape date to 1930 (Donn 1929; Kahn 1982:231).

### **Memorial House, Colonial Kitchen House, and Log House Tea Room and Lodge**

The 1931 Memorial House and Colonial Kitchen House at George Washington's birthplace are locally significant under Criterion C as representative examples of Georgian Revival architecture from the early twentieth century and of the work of Georgian Revival architect Edward W. Donn, Jr. (1868–1953). Donn modeled the Memorial House after several extant eighteenth-century manor houses in the region, including Josephine Rust's c. 1776 ancestral house known as Twiford. The Log House Tea Room and Lodge, also designed by Donn and constructed in 1932, is likewise locally significant under Criterion C as an example of Donn's work that reflects a slightly different interpretation of Colonial Revival architecture. The Colonial Revival movement in America permeated numerous aspects of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century society, including architecture. Fascination with the Georgian architecture of the colonial period led to the replication of houses in the style throughout the country.

As a result of the extensive popularity of Georgian Revival architecture, particularly in the South, Edward W. Donn, Jr., the architect hired by the Wakefield Association to design the Memorial House, had access to a wealth of information on

the style in general. Historians and architects who researched the subject disseminated their information widely through photographs and articles published in both the popular and scholarly press. In 1898, *American Architect and Building News* began an extensive series entitled “The Georgian Period,” which was followed by the 1915 White Pine Series of Architectural Monographs. Fiske Kimball, the head of the architecture program at the University of Virginia, published *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and Early Republic* in 1922; and Thomas Tileston Waterman’s *Domestic Colonial Architecture of Tidewater Virginia* appeared ten years later. Architectural journals filled their pages with images and drawings of seventeenth and eighteenth century American architecture. From the 1920s on, *Architectural Record* published a series on Measured Drawings, Early American Architecture; *Pencil Points* created a Monograph series called Records of American Architecture; and colonial architecture appeared in *Architectural Forum*’s Interior section and Master Detail series and in *American Architect*’s Brick Precedent and Portfolio series. The Works Progress Administration’s *American Guide* series, completed by 1942, produced guides to the eastern United States, often written by architects, that also focused heavily upon colonial architecture (Gebhard 1987:110–111; McAlester 2002:326; Wilson 2006:1).

The executed design for the Memorial House reflects the influence of several extant Georgian-period houses in the vicinity of Wakefield, including Gunston Hall, built 1755–1759 about 35 miles to the north; Providence Hall (originally Providence Forge), built c. 1770 about 52 miles to the south and relocated to Colonial Williamsburg in 1947; and Twiford, built c. 1776 about 8 miles to the southeast.<sup>11</sup> Josephine Wheelwright Rust, the leader of the Wakefield Association (and Donn’s client), may have “prevailed upon the architect to pattern the restoration along the lines of Twiford” because of a belief that Twiford had actually been designed to resemble the original George Washington birth house (internal Secretary of the Interior memo, quoted in Rodnick 1941:45). Like these other buildings, the Memorial House presents a balanced, symmetrical facade, with two windows on either side of a central entrance and large tall chimneys flanking each of the gable-end walls. The chimneys are partly detached from the ends of the main building, a detail shared with Twiford and common in high-style Georgian Revival detailing. Other characteristic features of the exterior include the gabled dormers, steeply sloped roof, heavy cornice with modillion blocks, and bricks laid in a Flemish bond with glazed headers above the beveled water table and an English bond below. The multi-paned double-hung windows have typical heavy muntins and heavy molded wood sills. The double-pile, center-hall plan on the interior is representative of the Georgian era as well (Wells 1981).

Donn designed the adjacent Colonial Kitchen House as a typical Colonial-period plantation kitchen to complement the Memorial House. By the early eighteenth century, Virginia plantations commonly featured detached log, frame, or brick kitchens, usually situated near the main house and often with attics above for slave lodgings. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, recreations of such “Colonial kitchens” appeared as part of many public exhibits that celebrated the Colonial period, including the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. The basic symmetry of the Colonial Kitchen House’s exterior, its hipped dormers, and its interior plan with a massive fireplace in the east room are hallmarks of the Georgian Revival style. Donn modeled the building’s chimneys, with hipped bases and stepped detailing at the top, after a late nineteenth-century sketch of the chimney ruin that had remained on the site. He also prepared detailed specifications for the kitchen’s finish carpentry, so that it would appear to be crafted by hand using eighteenth-century techniques. The door and window frames use wood pegs and mortise and tenon joints (Historic Architecture Program, Northeast Region, National Park Service 2009:62–94).

The Wakefield Association also asked Donn to design a log cabin on the site that would recall the earlier settlers of the Northern Neck, which would function as a visitor lodge and restaurant. Like the Colonial kitchen, the generic log house symbolized early America at public fairs and exhibitions throughout the country, from the late nineteenth century on. Donn did not model the Log House Tea Room and Lodge on any particular building from history but designed it according to early building traditions and construction methods. The massive rough-hewn log walls of the main block are dovetailed at the corners and whitewashed. The building shares typical Colonial Revival elements with the Memorial House and Colonial Kitchen House, such as a symmetrical facade, steeply sloping roof, large brick chimneys centered in the gable ends, and multi-paned double-hung windows. The interior of the main block features intact and detailed wood finishes representative of Georgian Revival design.

<sup>11</sup> Other sources that give a construction date of c. 1710 for Twiford could not be corroborated.

### **Edward W. Donn, Jr. (1868–1953)**

Donn's efforts to design a replica of George Washington's birthplace without substantial information about its actual appearance involved an understanding of historical architectural styles, materials, and detailing. Donn was considered "a noted authority on early American architecture and a pioneer in restoration architecture" (Bushong et al. 1987:118). In addition to his work at George Washington Birthplace, he was involved in the restoration of other historic properties in Virginia such as Woodlawn Mansion, Kenmore, and the apothecary and George Washington schoolhouse in Falmouth, Virginia. Donn received his architectural education at the Boston Institute of Technology (later known as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology or M.I.T.) and Cornell University. He practiced primarily out of Washington, D.C., where he first served as chief designer for the Office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury and later as a partner in the firm of Wood, Donn, and Deming. The practice, in existence between 1902 and 1912, specialized in residential architecture but also undertook institutional projects such as the Union Trust Bank and the Bureau of Standards Building in Washington, D.C., and the Masonic Temple in New York City. After Wood retired, Donn continued to practice with Deming and then later practiced alone before retiring in 1931. He specialized in restoration architecture during the later years of his career.

Donn was extremely active in the local professional architectural community and helped to establish a Washington, D.C., chapter of the American Institute of Architects. He later served as both secretary and president of the chapter and was also the first president of the D.C. Board of Examiners and Registrars of Architects, president of the Washington Architectural Club, and a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects. Donn wrote a book titled *Monumental Works of the Georgian Period* and contributed measured drawings of Woodlawn Plantation to various compilations of studies of Georgian architecture. It should be noted, however, that a 1980 evaluation of Donn's measured drawings of Woodlawn included in a Comprehensive Development Plan noted several "errors, and [that they] should be regarded more as a model for imitation by other Colonial Revival architects rather than as an accurate record of Woodlawn Mansion" (Wehner et al. 1980).

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### **Developmental history/additional historic context information (if appropriate)**

#### **Early Commemoration of George Washington**

The events that led to the eventual preservation and commemoration of George Washington Birthplace National Monument were an extension of the phenomenon that some historians have referred to as the "cult of Washington" that began to emerge during his lifetime and gave impetus to the celebration of his memory through commemorative events and preservation of places and material items associated with his life during the first half of the nineteenth century. By 1781, his birthday was celebrated in many areas of the country with special dinners. In 1783, the Continental Congress resolved to erect "at the place where the residence of Congress shall be established" an equestrian statue of Washington to commemorate his role as Commander in Chief of the Continental Army. The mass reproduction and distribution of paintings by artists such as James Peale and Gilbert Stuart, as well as the proliferation of miniatures and other printed materials that bore his likeness, made his image one of the most important symbols of the early nation. The first major statue of Washington, French sculptor Jean-Antoine Houdon's depiction of the General in military garb, was authorized by the Virginia State Legislature in 1784 and installed in the newly constructed State Capitol in 1796. Washington's death three years later led to a period of national mourning that was wholly unlike any before in terms of its depth and length. Commemorative keepsake items, ranging from needlework patterns to mourning rings to miniature lockets with Washington's image, were commercially produced and found broad demand. Memorials to his life, such as Mason Locke Weems' national bestselling biography published in 1800 and hundreds of other printed works containing eulogies and speeches delivered throughout the country to mark the occasion, served to perfect and fix Washington's memory in the public mind (Washington National Monument Society 1859:6; University of Virginia 2011; Kamerer and Nolley 2003).

Washington's death also touched off the first serious debate in the U.S. Congress over the role the federal government should play in funding commemorative works. On December 23, 1799, the Congress resolved to erect a marble monument "to commemorate the great events of his military and political life" and to request permission from Washington's family to deposit his body under it. The discussion over how to implement the resolution continued throughout much of the following year. Those who favored a concrete expression of the nation's gratitude for Washington's service put forth a variety of proposals for monuments, including one that called for the construction of a 100-foot-square mausoleum at a cost of \$200,000. Those opposed argued that no "pile of stones" could testify to the deep feelings that the American people felt in their hearts for Washington and questioned the propriety of expending large sums of public funds in the attempt. Ultimately, the Congress resolved to construct a simple tomb for Washington's remains underneath the crypt in the Capitol Building, which was then under construction. The decision established the precedent against publicly funded commemorative monuments that subsequent Congresses adhered to until the late nineteenth century (Gales and Seaton 1831:19–20; Benton 1857:478–479, 485–486, 503–505, 511–518).

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the veneration of Washington took a variety of different forms, including the erection of monuments and the preservation of places associated with his life. Baltimore's Washington Monument, which was started in 1815 and completed in 1829, was the first major monument of any kind erected in the United States. The centennial anniversary of Washington's birth on February 22, 1832, in particular, sparked a national outpouring of sentiment toward the commemoration of his legacy. Well-attended ceremonies that helped to reinforce for a new generation the significance of Washington's role in the founding of the nation were held in communities throughout the country. The following year, the Washington National Monument Society (WNMS) was established for the purposes of raising funds through public subscription for the erection of a national monument to honor the first president in Washington, D.C.<sup>12</sup> Public fascination with George Washington during the 1840s and 1850s resulted in the creation of the first house museums in the United States. This new form of commemoration focused on the places that Washington had visited and occupied during his lifetime for the sake of preserving the personal associations still latent in the walls and furnishings. The Hasbrouck House in Newburgh, New York, which served as Washington's headquarters during the final stages of the Revolutionary War, was the first historic house museum created in the United States. As early as 1839, Washington Irving brought attention to the building when he organized a state-chartered committee to raise funds for its preservation as a patriotic shrine to George Washington. The committee was unsuccessful, however, and by 1850 the house's owner proposed to demolish it. With the support of New York Governor Hamilton Fish, the state legislature appropriated funds to acquire the building and establish it as a museum (Olausen et al. 2010:46; Bruggeman 2006; Bruggeman 2008:53–59; Marling 1988:73–75).

The preservation of Mount Vernon, the most significant property associated with Washington's adult life, was an even more important event in terms of its impact on the history and direction of historic preservation in the United States. The effort began in December 1853 when Ann Pamela Cunningham, a member of a wealthy South Carolina planter family, issued an appeal to other southern women to band together to save Mount Vernon, which had fallen into disrepair and was being marketed for sale by Washington's great-grandnephew, John Augustine Washington, III. Cunningham founded the Mount Vernon Ladies Association (MVLA), a nationwide organization of women that successfully raised \$200,000 by public subscription over the ensuing five years for the purchase of the house and 200 acres of surrounding land. The MVLA became the prototype for the historic house museum. It established the central role that women would play in the commemorative and historic preservation movements that blossomed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (West 1999:4–5).

### **Summary of Development at George Washington Birthplace National Monument after 1939**

With the onset of World War II and general budgetary restraints throughout the federal system, the National Park Service undertook little development work at George Washington's birthplace between the construction of the Rockefeller Barn in 1939 and the initiation of a general development plan in 1966. A draft Historic Structures Report prepared for the Memorial House and the Colonial Kitchen House documents the alterations to both buildings during this period. In

<sup>12</sup> Fraught with funding problems and political intrigues, the Washington Monument was not completed until 1884, after the federal government assumed control and began to provide funding for the project in 1876.

general, work at the Memorial House was limited to general maintenance. A burglar alarm system was installed in 1948 and replaced in 1955, and a new oil burner was installed in 1951. The National Park Service also added a pipe hand rail clad in wood for the stairs between the first story and the attic level in 1960. The interior of the Colonial Kitchen House saw more alterations as the building's use evolved. From 1953–1954, the kitchen and bathroom originally located in the west room of the first story were relocated to the upper level, and the west room became the exhibit space it is now. Changes were also made to the Colonial Garden, as documented in a 1955 planting plan.

The National Park Service's Mission 66 initiative—a nationwide effort to improve and modernize facilities, staffing, and resource management throughout the park system in time for the agency's fiftieth anniversary in 1966—provided the impetus to revisit the general development plan at George Washington Birthplace National Monument. From 1968 to 1976, many of the ideas presented in the resulting 1968 Master Plan were implemented. The most notable of these projects was the establishment of a living farm within the park, including a Morgan horse training facility and eighteenth-century agricultural demonstrations.

New construction in the Memorial House area included several hog pens and fowl houses, a shed for oxen, and a tobacco shed. The Morgan horse farm dedicated in 1969 consisted of a barn (now the primary maintenance building), four paddocks, a clay-surfaced training ring, two storage buildings, and six pasture sheds. It operated for eight years, and after it was discontinued, the park relocated their maintenance facilities to the complex. During this period, interior alterations were made to the Log House to enable its use as a conference facility and a new comfort station was built in the picnic area. The National Park Service also built a pump station and water tower within the district (away from the historic buildings) to provide the park with a steady well water supply.

For the nation's bicentennial in 1976, a new Visitor Center complex was completed to the south of the Memorial House area. At the same time, the 1930s parking area along the entrance road, the temporary 1940 administration building, and the 1937 post office were removed. The plans for the new complex indicated that the flagpole in the historic parking area was relocated to the grounds of the new Visitor Center. The 1999 Cultural Landscape Report prepared for the park stated that the National Park Service also moved a gate house/contact station constructed in 1939 near the entrance of the walk to the Memorial House to a new location near the Restrooms and converted it to a fowl house, believed to be the non-contributing Eastern Fowl House (GEWA Archives, Box 5, Folder 20; OCULUS et al. 1999:Photo 3-27; OCULUS 1999:4-43). In the early to mid-1980s, the National Park Service built a new shelter in the picnic area to replace an earlier one destroyed in a fire. The most recent addition to the park was a collections storage facility constructed in 2009 in the park maintenance area (the former Morgan horse farm).

Additions to the park's acreage have occurred within the past 40 years. In 1972, a Congressional Act allowed the purchase of 62.3 acres located across Digwood Swamp from the Morgan horse farm, containing the site of the Muse Family Cemetery. Through the 1978 National Park and Recreation Act, the park acquired an 82-acre parcel along the Potomac, with a loblolly pine plantation, and established a wildlife habitat there. An additional 12 acres were purchased in 1996.

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George Washington Birthplace National Monument  
Name of Property

Westmoreland County, VA  
County and State

preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67 has been requested)  
 previously listed in the National Register  
 previously determined eligible by the National Register  
 designated a National Historic Landmark  
 recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # \_\_\_\_\_

State Historic Preservation Office  
 Other State agency  
 Federal agency  
 Local government  
 University  
 Other

recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # \_\_\_\_\_  
 recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # \_\_\_\_\_

Name of repository: George Washington Birthplace National Monument; Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): VDHR No. 096-0026

## 10. Geographical Data

**Acreage of Property** 550  
(Do not include previously listed resource acreage.)

### Coordinates (see continuation sheet for map):

	Latitude	Longitude
A.	38.20156	-76.93267
B.	38.20054	-76.92138
C.	38.19711	-76.92204
D.	38.19567	-76.91783
E.	38.18953	-76.91307
F.	38.18751	-76.91644
G.	38.18397	-76.91435
H.	38.18196	-76.91896
I.	38.19029	-76.92759
J.	38.19788	-76.93433
K.	38.19961	-76.91705
L.	38.19734	-76.91121
M.	38.19266	-76.90565
N.	38.18889	-76.91003
O.	38.19293	-76.91104
P.	38.19314	-76.90794
Q.	38.19541	-76.91076
R.	38.19422	-76.91470
S.	38.19539	-76.91519
T.	38.19615	-76.91735

### Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

The National Register boundary for the George Washington Birthplace National Monument Historic District follows the current boundary of the National Monument and is shown on the district map.

### Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

The George Washington Birthplace National Monument National Register boundary contains 550 acres of federally owned land within the 662 acres encompassed by the park's current authorized boundary. The lands include a significant portion of the Popes Creek plantation that was developed by George Washington's forebears and all of the resources associated with the historically significant efforts to preserve, commemorate, and provide public access to Washington's birthplace site.

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**11. Form Prepared By**

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name/title Laura J. Kline/Architectural Historian; Stephen Olausen/Sr. Architectural Historian;  
Kristen Heitert/Sr. Archeologist

organization PAL date August 2012

street & number 210 Lonsdale Avenue telephone 401-728-8780

city or town Pawtucket state RI zip code 02860

e-mail lkline@palinc.com; solausen@palinc.com; kheitert@palinc.com

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**Additional Documentation**

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Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.  
A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Continuation Sheets**
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items.)

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**Photographs:**

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map.

**Name of Property:** George Washington Birthplace National Monument

**City or Vicinity:** Washington's Birthplace

**County:** Westmoreland **State:** Virginia

**Photographer:** Laura J. Kline and Blake McDonald

**Date Photographed:** October 25-26, 2011

**Description of Photograph(s) and number:**

- 1 of 20: View of Colonial Kitchen House, northeast and northwest elevations, and Gazebo, looking south from Memorial House.
- 2 of 20: View of Memorial House, southwest elevation, looking northeast from Gazebo with Brick Walks in foreground.
- 3 of 20: View looking northeast from Memorial House lawn toward mouth of Popes Creek, with Burnt House Point Trail along edge of lawn.
- 4 of 20: View of Log House Tea Room and Lodge, southwest and southeast elevations, looking north from bank of Popes Creek.
- 5 of 20: View of Rockefeller Barn, southeast elevation, looking north from pasture field with, from left to right, non-contributing Western Hog Pen, Log Corn House, Central and Eastern hog pens, and Storage Shed.
- 6 of 20: View looking northeast from Rockefeller Barn toward Utility Building near center (northwest and southwest elevations) with, from left to right, non-contributing Storage Shed, Western Fowl House, Eastern Fowl House, and Exhibit Shed. Colonial Kitchen House and Memorial House are visible through trees at right.
- 7 of 20: View of Quarters #1 (northwest and southwest elevations), Quarters #1 Garage (northwest elevation), and Employee Residences Road & Parking Areas looking southeast from outer edge of road.
- 8 of 20: View of Quarters #2 (northwest and southwest elevations), Quarters #2 Garage (northwest and southwest elevations), and Employee Residences Road & Parking Areas looking southeast from inner edge of road.
- 9 of 20: View of Ice Pond Dam and Ice Pond Pump House looking northeast across Ice Pond from Bridges Creek Road.
- 10 of 20: View of Agricultural Drainage Ditches looking northwest from center of double-line ditch, with Bridges Creek Road Fence at left and Bridges Creek Road at right.
- 11 of 20: View looking northeast down Road to Birthplace from Circular Drive.
- 12 of 20: View of Duck Hall Road looking south from point near northern intersection with Nature Trail. Log House Tea Room & Lodge is visible through trees at right.
- 13 of 20: View looking east down Farm Road from Bridges Creek Road.

- 14 of 20: View of George Washington Monument and Circular Drive looking northeast from Approach Road.
- 15 of 20: View of Colonial Garden looking southwest from northeast edge of garden, showing Geometric Planting Beds, Brick Walks, Sundial at center, and Picket Fence at opposite end of garden.
- 16 of 20: View looking southwest down Walk at Washington Family Burial Ground from Bridges Creek Road, with Burial Ground Wall & Gate at opposite end of walk.
- 17 of 20: View of Washington Family Burial Ground looking southwest from northeast corner of burial ground, showing five raised Grave Markers inside Wall.
- 18 of 20: View of Muse Family Cemetery looking northwest from southeast corner of burial ground.
- 19 of 20: View of non-contributing Morgan Horse Barn (northeast and northwest elevations) and Collections Storage Facility (northeast and northwest elevations) looking southwest from point near Gasoline House.
- 20 of 20: View of non-contributing Visitor Center with Concession/Gift Shop at left, looking northeast from brick plaza.

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**Property Owner:**

(Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

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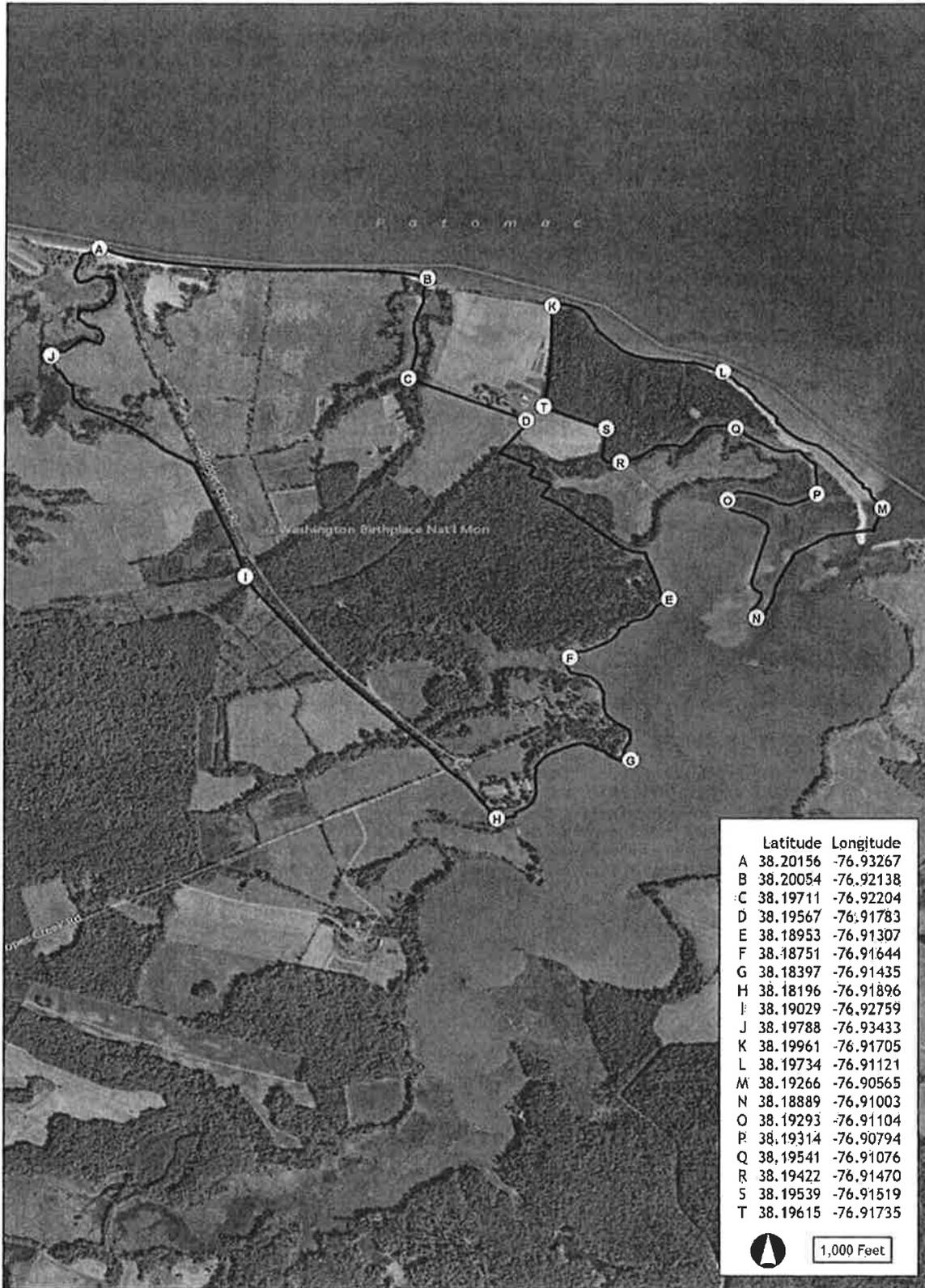
name National Park Service, George Washington Birthplace National Monument

street & number 1732 Popes Creek Road telephone 804-224-2142

city or town Washington's Birthplace state VA zip code 22443

**Paperwork Reduction Act Statement:** This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

**Estimated Burden Statement:** Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, D.C..



George Washington Birthplace National Monument Coordinate Map.





**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places  
Continuation Sheet**

_____
Name of Property
_____
County and State
_____
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Section number \_\_\_\_\_ Page \_\_\_\_\_

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A map has been redacted from this property file.



































VIOLA T. MUSE  
1869 — 1939

MUSE  
JAMES M.  
1869 — 1939





VISITOR C

VISITOR  
CENTER  
OPEN