CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT

George Washington Birthplace National Monument

Westmoreland County, Virginia

July 1999

VOLUME ONE: HISTORICAL AND EXISTING CONDITIONS DOCUMENTATION

National Park Service
Northeast Region
Philadelphia Support Office

GEORGE WASHINGTON BIRTHPLACE NATIONAL MONUMENT

Westmoreland County, Virginia

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VOLUME ONE

HISTORICAL AND EXISTING CONDITIONS DOCUMENTATION

 $Prepared\ for$

National Park Service

Northeast Region Philadelphia Support Office

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Prepared by

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1 • Introduction and Administrative Data

Management Summary

The following constitutes a two volume Cultural Landscape Report that has been prepared by OCULUS to further National Park Service goals of better understanding and managing the landscape of George Washington Birthplace National Monument. Established in 1931, the park protects and interprets landscape resources associated with Washington family ownership of the site, as well as other past occupants, features that have been developed to commemorate the site of George Washington's birth, and a myriad of natural resources. Volume One of this Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) addresses the physical development and character of the park landscape as it has evolved since American Indian occupation. This information is presented in two chapters: a site physical history organized according to periods of landscape chronology, and a documentation of existing conditions. Volume Two provides a comparative analysis of existing and historic landscape conditions, an evaluation of the landscape's integrity and significance, and a treatment plan that proposes long-term management strategies for the park's cultural, historic, and natural resources.

One of the primary goals of this CLR is to provide a holistic understanding of the evolution of the park's landscape. The current and continuing interest of the National Park Service (NPS) in presenting an accurate and compelling account of the site's extended history of occupation, settlement, and agricultural use, as well as the probable impact of the landscape on its most famous occupant, George Washington, is best served through a comprehensive understanding of this landscape over time.

For almost thirty years, management documents prepared for George Washington Birthplace National Monument have identified a need for more information regarding the park's historic landscape and its extant and missing historic resources in order to improve management and interpretation. The 1966 *Interpretive Prospectus*, for example, states that interpretive programs at the park "must be based upon resource management of the highest integrity and knowledge. This will be particularly difficult due to the presence of non-historic memorial structures, the circumstances of their inception, the administrative history of the area, and the lack of a definitive archeological and historical base." This CLR is intended to provide the aforementioned historical base. It is also anticipated that the much-needed archeological base will be provided by the comprehensive archeological investigation currently being undertaken by NPS.

At some time in the future, the scope of work for this CLR may expand to include "additional research, mapping, and field documentation ... to identify and locate significant cultural features outside the park boundary but related to George Washington Birthplace." Based upon the fact that

¹ National Park Service, *Interpretive Prospectus*, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, prepared by Thomas J. Harrison, July 26, 1966, 1.

² National Park Service, "George Washington Birthplace National Monument Scope of Work," Chesapeake System Support Office, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, June 29, 1995, 1.

Washington family ownership extended beyond current park boundaries, and that the park also includes some parcels not originally owned by the Washington family, this adjacent lands study would provide the park with additional important information regarding the existence and location of "resources directly related to the operation and preservation of George Washington Birthplace but currently outside of park boundaries."³

This CLR has been developed over a two and a half year period by OCULUS and its consultants, John Milner Associates (JMA) and FPW Architects, under the guidance of NPS park and regional personnel. In October 1995, OCULUS project personnel, including principal-in-charge Rob McGinnis, project manager Liz Sargent, landscape historian Tonia Horton, and JMA archeologist Donna Seifert, met with NPS regional and park personnel to initiate work on this project. Field investigations, research, and personal interviews with adjacent landowners and park personnel were conducted by OCULUS during fall of 1995 and winter/spring of 1996. Additional OCULUS personnel—landscape architects Justin Dollard and Laura Ehrlich—assisted with field investigations, existing conditions documentation and a comparative landscape analysis. AutoCADD base mapping was developed by CADD specialists FPW Architects, in accordance with guidance provided by OCULUS project personnel. Volume One of the CLR was completed in fall 1996. Work on Volume Two was initiated in early 1997. OCULUS landscape architect Rachel Evans prepared AutoCADD mapping of the treatment plan for Volume Two.

Numerous individuals from NPS were involved in the development of this CLR, supplying critical information, documents requested by OCULUS, and detailed review of draft versions of the document. These individuals included Historical Landscape Architect Shaun Eyring and Historian Clifford Tobias from the Philadelphia Support Office; Superintendent John Donahue, Supervisory Ranger John Frye, Chief Ranger Larry Trombello, and Resource Management Specialist Karen Beppler from the park; Historical Landscape Architects Katharine Lacy and Gina Bellavia from the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation; and Archeologist David Orr from Valley Forge National Historical Park.

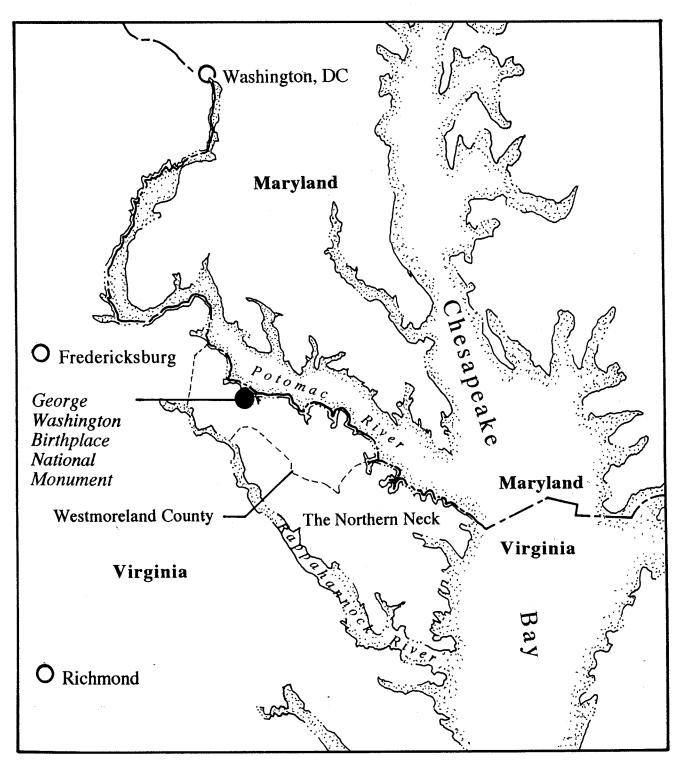
Study Boundaries

(Map A. Vicinity, Map B. Study Boundaries)

George Washington Birthplace National Monument is a 550-acre park that is comprised of two non-contiguous parcels separated by a privately-owned farm. The northern parcel of the park is approximately 82 acres in size and is located along the Potomac River west of the mouth of Popes Creek and adjacent to Longwood Swamp. Property owned by the Muse family separates this parcel from the remainder of the park. The southern park parcel is over 460 acres in size and is bounded to the east by Popes Creek, to the north by the Potomac River and Muse family property, and to the south by a privately-owned parcel. The southwestern boundary is edged by privately-held parcels, predominantly rural agricultural in nature, and Bridges Creek.

The park is located between Bridges and Popes Creeks approximately 40 miles east of Fredericksburg and 75 miles downstream from Washington, DC, in Westmoreland County, Virginia. The county forms the northwestern corner of the Northern Neck, a peninsula of land that is bounded to the north by the Potomac River, to the east by the Chesapeake Bay, and to the south by the Rappahannock River. The entrance to the park is located along State Route 204, a spur road that connects to State Route 3, also known as Kings Highway.

³ Ibid., 2.



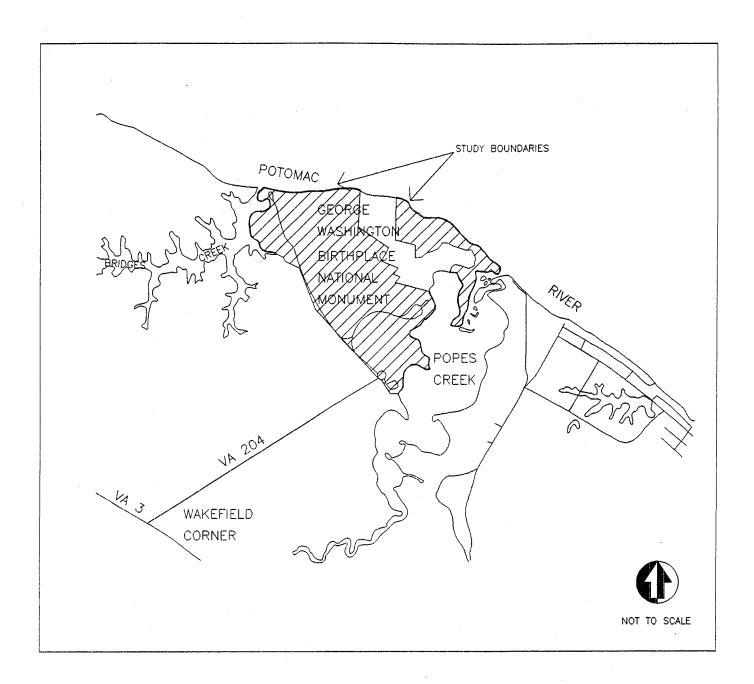
George Washington Birthplace National Monument

Vicinity Map



North

A. Vicinity Map



Historical Overview and Context

The George Washington Birthplace National Monument landscape is composed primarily of level plateaus edged by steeply-sloped banks associated with the Potomac River and various drainageways, swamps, and marshes. By at least the Late Woodland period, ca. 1300 AD, this landscape was occupied by Algonquin Indians of the Powhatan Confederacy who utilized the land primarily for oyster harvesting, but who also eventually came to farm portions of the site. Based on the extensive shell middens discovered through archeological investigation, the river and creek margins of the park's landscape proved highly suitable for oyster harvesting. It appears that the Algonquins occupied the region until the arrival of the English, ca. 1650.

The land between Bridges and Popes Creeks that constitutes the majority of the park was first patented by Englishman Henry Brooks in 1657, although there is documentary and archeological evidence that he may have occupied this land as early as 1651. Brooks' patent extended for 1020 acres and included land beyond the current boundaries of George Washington Birthplace National Monument. The patent was quickly broken up and distributed through sale and inheritance. By 1664, John Washington had acquired 125 acres of the Brooks patent, Joanne and Dorothy Brooks 315 acres, Jane Higdon 150 acres, David and Robert Wickliffe 150 acres, Nicholas and Henry Saxton 50 acres, and Lawrence and Lydia Abbington 200 acres. Eventually, all of this acreage, except the Wickliffe, Higdon, and Saxton properties, was acquired by Augustine Washington, George Washington's father, who also acquired additional lands beyond current park boundaries.

Soon after acquiring land along Bridges Creek, George Washington's great-great uncle, John Washington, constructed a home, family burial ground, and farmstead on his 125-acre property. John Washington, and the others who settled in the region in the mid-seventeenth century, farmed the land on a small-scale; slavery and tobacco culture did not gain a strong foothold here until the eighteenth century. After his death in 1677, the 125-acre parcel, including the family home and burial ground, was inherited by son John Washington II. John II did not add significantly to his inherited holdings. John II's brother Lawrence Washington, however, ultimately acquired 1,000 acres in the area over the course of his lifetime. This land was subsequently inherited by his second son, Augustine Washington, in 1698.

Washington family members continued to farm the land between Popes and Bridges Creeks throughout this period. Augustine Washington supplemented his holdings through marriage to Jane Butler, and later, in 1718, through purchase of Abbington family land along Popes Creek. By this time, the Abbington tract was already a well-developed plantation with an existing dwelling. George Washington was born in 1732 in this existing dwelling, which had been extensively renovated and augmented by Augustine Washington between 1722 and 1726.

Three years after George's birth, the family moved to Augustine's estate at Eppewasson (Mt. Vernon). George Washington, however, continued to spend summers at the farm with his half-brother Augustine Washington II who inherited the property when their father died in 1743; George is said to have prepared two of his earliest surveys on the property while in his teens during the summers of 1747 and 1748. By Augustine Washington Sr.'s death, his holdings had grown to include all but 350 acres of Henry Brooks' original 1020-acre patent, encompassing the John Washington site and family burial ground, the Henry Brooks house site, and George Washington's birthplace. Washington family members by this time were well-established farmers who owned a large number of slaves and had become a part of the wealthy planter class.

⁴ The archeological remains of this dwelling and two or three outbuildings, as well as the original Henry Brooks dwelling have been identified within park boundaries.

In 1762, Augustine Washington II died and willed the property to his son William Augustine Washington. It was during William Augustine's tenure that the property was named Wakefield and the house in which George Washington had been born burned to the ground on Christmas day in 1779. William Augustine Washington and his family chose not to rebuild on the site but moved instead to Haywood, located nearby to the west of Bridges Creek. From Haywood, William Augustine Washington continued to own and farm Wakefield. George Washington appears to have continued to visit the property and family members living there during this period.

In 1810, George Corbin Washington, son of William Augustine Washington, inherited 1300 acres of family property including Wakefield. By 1813, he had sold it to John Gray, a Fredericksburg lawyer. Two small tracts were excluded from the sale of family property to John Gray—the site of the house in which George Washington was born, and the family burial ground established by John Washington in the seventeenth century. These tracts remained in the Washington family's possession until 1858. Gray also bought the parcels acquired by the Saxton brothers from Henry Brooks' original patent. Gray's property was acquired in 1846 by John F. Wilson, a farmer whose family continued to own and farm much of the land surrounding the Washington family tracts through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Commemoration of George Washington's birthplace began as early as 1815, when one of his descendants, George Washington Parke Custis, laid a stone marker on the purported ruins of the birthplace house. In 1858, George Corbin Washington's son Lewis deeded the birthplace site and the family burial ground to the Commonwealth of Virginia for use as a public property that would commemorate George Washington. The deed of transfer stipulated that the Commonwealth undertake site improvements as part of the commemorative effort. No improvements were ever made, however, due in part to the upheaval of the Civil War. By the late 1870s, members of the United States Congress became interested in placing a monument to George Washington on the site. This resulted in an appropriation of funds and a site visit by government officials. In 1882, the Commonwealth of Virginia ceded the Washington family properties to the U.S. Government, which commissioned plans for various memorials.

It was not until 1894, however, that any work was undertaken on the site to effect these earlier plans. The first effort made by the government to commemorate the site of George Washington's birth involved the construction of a wharf on the Potomac to facilitate visitor access to this remote area. In 1897, a monument consisting of a one-tenth-scale granite replica of the capital city's Washington Monument was subsequently placed on the purported site of the birthplace house and enclosed within a wrought iron fence. Thereafter, the property was administered by the U.S. War Department. Little else was done to improve the site until 1906, when the Virginia chapter of the Society of Colonial Dames of America initiated an effort to rehabilitate the Washington family burial ground. Their work entailed the construction of a perimeter wall and the general improvement of the site's aesthetics.

Until 1923, however, the property continued to suffer from neglect. It was in that year that Josephine Wheelwright Rust, after observing the deplorable condition of the property, founded the Wakefield National Memorial Association to undertake

the preservation of the birthplace of George Washington ... and to form a beautiful park ... 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.⁵

⁵ "Minutes of the First Meeting of the Wakefield National Memorial Association, June 11, 1923." Typescript copy, Wakefield Files, Fine Arts Commission Records (FAC), Record Group (RG) 66, National Archives (NA) I.

The group's formation occurred at a time when historic preservation was receiving a good deal of attention due to the efforts of John D. Rockefeller at Williamsburg, Virginia. Architect Edward Donn, who had previously restored Woodlawn Plantation in Mount Vernon, Virginia, was selected by the Wakefield National Memorial Association to design site improvements, including a replica birthplace house. During the late 1920s, historian and Wakefield National Memorial Association member Arthur Hoppin forged an alliance with the John D. Rockefeller organization to support restoration of George Washington's birthplace. Rockefeller agreed to put up matching funds to purchase acreage at Wakefield. With Rockefeller's help, the Wakefield National Memorial Association eventually came to own 365.66 acres between Popes and Bridges Creeks; an additional 11.88 acres continued to be administered by the federal War Department.

Various controversies soon arose regarding the feasibility of designing an authentic replica of the birthplace house when little or no documentation of its original character existed. Exhaustive attempts to locate graphic representations or written accounts of the house proved fruitless. The difficulties involved in recreating the house without documentation were compounded by archeological investigation of the foundation thought to be that of the house. Comparison of its size and structural configuration with a 1743 inventory of household goods suggested that the foundation was too small to have supported the Washington family. It was necessary for the project's architect, Edward Donn, to increase the dimensions of his designed replica house beyond the measurements of the foundation in order to design a building imposing enough to suit the association. It was also determined that the structure would be clad in brick, even though no documentation existed regarding the materials of the original house, to reflect the stature of the Washington family as wealthy plantation owners.

The recommendation of Wakefield National Memorial Association member Charles Moore, who was also the director of the U.S. Fine Arts Commission at the time, was to undertake further archeological investigations of the site to identify the exact location of the birthplace house on the Wakefield reservation. This recommendation was not heeded. Landscape Architect Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., who visited the site in 1927, recommended that the association not build the replica on what were considered to be the original foundations, reasoning that the replica would eventually come to represent the "actual house in which that event took place." His advice was also not heeded. Given the publicity associated with the Rockefeller project in Williamsburg, it is likely that Wakefield National Memorial Association members were at least partially influenced by that particular effort to reconstruct the colonial scene. Eventually, the Wakefield National Memorial Association determined to go ahead with construction of the replica birthplace on the site of the foundation located beneath the monument.

In 1930, the granite monument was relocated, and the controversial foundation destroyed, without documentation, in order to construct the replica house. In addition to the design and construction of a replica birthplace house, the Wakefield National Memorial Association was also involved in the further rehabilitation of the Washington family burial ground, construction of a Colonial Kitchen House, Colonial Garden, and Log House, and the establishment of ornamental plantings and various other features intended to commemorate the birthplace of George Washington and improve the aesthetics of the property. Funding for some of these projects was secured from the United States Government. The controversy surrounding the replica house continued into the 1940s when it was determined that a larger and more structurally suitable foundation, uncovered during subsequent archeological investigations, was most likely that of the birthplace house. This foundation is now considered to be that of the birthplace. Subsequent excavation has yielded important information about the Washington family; fortuitously, the recommendation of Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. was inadvertently followed. Construction of the replica house did not destroy

⁶ Olmsted to Moore, March 18, 1929, letter located in Wakefield files, FAC, RG 66, NA I.

this critical archeological resource, and its design may be interpreted as a twentieth century memorial to George Washington rather than the actual house in which his birth took place.

Later in 1930, the lands acquired and improved by the Wakefield Association were transferred to the U.S. Government to be administered by the National Park Service as one of the nation's first historical parks. Administration of this site allowed National Park Service Director Horace Albright to initiate his goal to move the emphasis of NPS toward historic preservation, or in his words, to "go rather heavily into the historical park field." Albright felt that the administration of historical parks by NPS would convince Congress to transfer historic properties out of the War Department and into the custody of his agency. This quickly came to pass at Wakefield when the lands administered by the War Department were turned over to the National Park Service in 1931. Later that decade, numerous additional historic properties were transferred from the War Department to the NPS, signifying a major shift in the focus of the agency toward historic preservation.

Between 1932 and 1941, NPS focused on providing site access, interpretation, and recreation improvements for visitors, and accommodating necessary park administrative, residential, and maintenance functions. Wherever possible, NPS has maintained agricultural use of the property, either through in-house maintenance or leasing programs with local farmers. The design of new park features was undertaken by regional NPS landscape architects, architects, and engineers. In many cases, these features reflected park design trends effected elsewhere around the country in the 1930s and 1940s. Often referred to as the "Rustic" style, the design of park structures, site furnishings, and signs constructed at national, state, and local parks at this time featured large-scale, rough-hewn natural materials, such as wood and stone. Eastern parks that highlighted historic resources also exhibited new features designed in a neo-Colonial style that co-existed with features designed in the rustic style. Examples of both of these styles are very much in evidence at George Washington Birthplace National Monument, and the character of the park has changed little since the 1940s.

One of major sources of change at the park was the 1968 master plan which called for the establishment of a living farm. This led to new construction efforts, land acquisition, and changes in land use. As part of the living farm concept, a Morgan horse farm was established that was to serve as one of two NPS Morgan training facilities in the country. The horse farm was short-lived, however. By 1976, park maintenance functions had been relocated to the horse farm site. During the same period, buildings within the historic core were rehabilitated to include displays of eighteenth century craft, and nearby open space was adapted to display eighteenth century agricultural crops and practices.

In 1976, as part of the national bicentennial celebration, a new visitor center and parking area were built, and these functions were relocated from the historic core after the parking areas and structures associated with visitor contact dating to the 1930s and 1940s were removed. A new interpretive route was also developed between the Visitor Center and the historic core.

Today, George Washington Birthplace National Monument is a complex landscape composed of many layers of history. Archeological evidence supports the concept that this site was well known to Algonquin Indians. Between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries, the site was primarily utilized for agriculture. Nineteenth and twentieth century commemorative activities provided additional layers and landscape systems, but did not eradicate evidence, such as agricultural field patterns, landform and topography, water resources, road networks, and archeological remains of building foundations and drainage ditches, of the character of the place during Washington family

⁷ Charles B. Hosmer, Jr. Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949, vol. I. (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia for the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Preservation Press, 1981), 476.

ownership. The park's commemorative features, ranging from a granite obelisk to an entire plantation compound landscape, are also important historic resources in their own right. The park's myriad of resources provide an understanding of centuries of cultural history, and yield special insight into the early years of one of the country's most revered heroes, and the ways in which he has been memorialized over time.

Administrative Context

On February 23, 1930, the United States Congress passed legislation authorizing an appropriation "for improvements upon the Government-owned land at Wakefield, Westmoreland County, Virginia, the birthplace of George Washington." This legislation appropriated \$65,000 for the relocation of the granite monument erected in memory of George Washington to a nearby site so that construction could be initiated, under the auspices of the Wakefield National Memorial Association, of a replica of the house in which George Washington was born. The legislation also stipulated that the resulting buildings and all land in ownership of the Wakefield National Memorial Association would be conveyed to the United States as a gift for administration, protection, and maintenance, and that the resulting conveyance would constitute the George Washington Birthplace National Monument. The purpose of establishing this historic site, as further stated in the legislation, was to preserve its historic associations for the benefit and enjoyment of the people. On March 30, 1931, U.S. President Herbert Hoover proclaimed the creation of George Washington Birthplace National Monument, which would be administered by the National Park Service.

NPS administration of the lands associated with the George Washington birthplace landscape culminated a series of public agencies engaged in its management that began in 1858 when portions of the site were deeded to the Commonwealth of Virginia by Lewis Washington. The initial donation of Washington family land to the Commonwealth of Virginia included the family burial ground and a non-contiguous 60 foot square parcel of land encompassing the purported site of George Washington's birthplace. This transfer of land was predicated on the condition that these sites be "permanently enclosed with an iron fence based on stone foundations together with suitable and modest though substantial tablets, to commemorate to rising generations these notable spots."9

In 1859, John E. Wilson, who owned the land surrounding the burial ground and birthplace site, donated additional acreage to the commonwealth, effectively increasing the 60 foot square parcel to one acre, bringing the total acreage at the burial ground to one-half acre, and providing rights-of-way for access to these parcels along existing roads. The commonwealth never fulfilled its obligations, however. Instead, in 1882, the Commonwealth of Virginia transferred the parcels to the U.S. Government, which had already expressed an interest in marking the site with a memorial.

In 1883, the United States purchased additional acreage, bringing federal ownership of land at the birthplace site to 11.88 acres, with rights-of-way providing access to it from the river. Through the remainder of the nineteenth century, and until its transfer to the Department of the Interior, these parcels were administered by the U.S. War Department.

⁸ Congressional establishing legislation, January 23, 1930 (46 Stat. 58).

⁹ Rodnick, "Orientation Report on the George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Westmoreland County, Virginia." Report prepared for the National Park Service, 1942, 23-24.

Beginning in 1923, the Wakefield National Memorial Association, a private organization, became involved in the preservation of George Washington's birthplace. The association purchased lands associated with the Washington family's eighteenth century holdings and undertook a number of improvements. On June 22, 1931, Mrs. Josephine Wheelwright Rust, President of the Wakefield National Memorial Association, signed over the deed to their holdings to the U.S. Government. On May 14, 1932, the association ceremonially presented the improvements and 365.66 acres to the National Park Service to be included in the newly established George Washington Birthplace National Monument. The park would also include the land administered by the War Department. Since 1932, the park has grown to its present size of 550.23 acres through the acquisition of additional lands on three different occasions: by Congressional Act in 1972 (62.3 acres); through the National Park and Recreation Act of 1978 (82.25 acres), and through fee simple purchase in 1996 (12 acres).

Methodology and Scope

Project Scope

In June 1995, NPS developed a scope of work for Volume One of the George Washington Birthplace National Monument Cultural Landscape Report that included the following items:

VOLUME ONE

- attendance at a pre-project conference in order to: establish project administration procedures; coordinate proposed project activities; clarify and refine the scope and schedule of activities as necessary; review the available government resource material pertinent to the project; identify available community resources; and complete an inspection tour of the national monument;
- preparation of a project outline based on initial research and early investigative efforts;
- development of a minimum of two base drawings, produced using AutoCADD, Version 12, of the project area using available information and on-site investigation, one of would depict the entire National Monument, the other, the historic core area;
- preparation of Volume One of a Cultural Landscape Report, organized as a series of sections—noted in bold below—involving the following:

Introduction and Administrative Data

- preparation of a report section detailing administrative data, including an introduction documenting the scope of the report, the location and description of properties involved and methodology used, identification of all A/E staff associated with project services, and project findings summarizing research and investigative efforts;
- preparation of: an historical documentation summary that analyzes in detail the historical research conducted to characterize the evolution of the historic landscape to the present day within park boundaries; and a research summary of the findings of previous research, studies, and planning documents;

Site Physical History

- completion of historical research where necessary to fill gaps in existing information; development of a site chronology of the site's physical history from pre-settlement through the present; and identification of major historic periods associated with the site;
- development of a base map of the landscape for each historic period identified in the historical data section that distinguishes conjectural information from factual information;
- preparation of a narrative site physical history that details change over time, and is organized according to the major historic periods identified;

Existing Conditions Documentation

- presentation of data and an analysis of existing conditions developed from physical investigations, through a written narrative describing the current condition and use of natural and man-made elements in the landscape, an overview of the park-wide landscape, and a discussion of the landscape features of the historic core and their relationship to the overall landscape;
- development of an existing conditions base map that incorporates the findings of physical investigations; and
- photographic documentation of the site, including natural and man-made features, and transfer to NPS of the photographs, labeled and keyed to the existing conditions base map.

VOLUME TWO

In July 1996, NPS provided OCULUS with a scope for Volume Two of the Cultural Landscape Report that identified the following tasks:

- attendance at a pre-project meeting to: establish project administration procedures; coordinate proposed project activities; clarify and refine the scope and schedule of activities; review the available government resource material pertinent to the project; identify available community resources; and conduct an inspection tour of the national monument;
- attendance at mid-point project meeting one to: present findings of the project to date; present and discuss treatment alternatives for the park; and select a preferred treatment alternative;
- attendance at mid-point project meeting two to: present to the park the preservation treatment plan; discuss the preservation treatment plan and necessary revisions; and identify a phasing plan approach; and
- preparation of Volume Two of a Cultural Landscape Report, organized into two sections—noted in bold below—involving the following:

Site Analysis of Landscape Characteristics

• preparation of a narrative and graphic comparative analysis of historic and existing landscape conditions using landscape characteristics to organize information, and employing a consistent method for identifying features discussed in the site physical history;

- assessment of the integrity of the existing site landscape and landscape features based on the comparative analysis of historic and existing conditions;
- evaluation of the significance and integrity of the existing landscape and its features according to National Register of Historic Places criteria;

Treatment Plan

- discussion of the possible treatment alternatives (i.e. preservation, restoration, rehabilitation, or reconstruction) for the historic landscape based on research and findings documented in earlier sections of the report, including the analysis and evaluation of the cultural landscape, the direction provided in park planning documents, and through discussions with park managers;
- preparation of a treatment plan based on one preferred alternative for the historic landscape that provides design and management recommendations for the site as a whole and for the historic core, and identifies all recommended treatment projects and approaches using site plans and written recommendations in keeping with the constraints of applicable laws, policies, guidelines and standards, and maintaining a consistent approach to a preservation treatment for historic landscape features;
- preparation of historically compatible design guidelines to meet such contemporary needs such as public seating, other site furnishings, handicap access, signs, interpretive exhibits and other potential areas of development identified by park staff, and transitions to and connections with adjacent lands in terms of visitor approach, gateways, and views and vistas;
- development of a phasing plan for implementing the complete preservation treatment plan, illustrated on site plan(s) or site plan overlays;
- development of simple project descriptions addressing the following items: a basic
 approach to achieving treatment projects in each phase; the additional research and physical
 investigations necessary to complete projects in each phase; and the expertise needed to
 complete projects in each phase; and
- development of general cost estimates for each phase broken down by project.

Project Methodology

This Cultural Landscape Report for George Washington Birthplace National Monument was produced in accordance with the guidance offered in NPS-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline, Release No. 4; NPS-77: Natural Resources Management Guidelines; Draft NPS Guidelines for the Treatment of Historic Landscapes; NPS-10: Preparation of Design and Construction Drawings, Release No. 3; National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation; National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Form; National Register Bulletin 18: How to Evaluate and Nominate Designed Historic Landscapes; National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Documenting and Evaluating Rural Historic Landscapes; Guiding Principles of Sustainable Design; and The Chicago Manual of Style, 14th edition. The methodology developed by OCULUS to complete each of the components of this CLR is described in detail below.

BACKGROUND RESEARCH AND DATA COLLECTION

Research for this cultural landscape report was conducted by three OCULUS project personnel: landscape historian Tonia Horton, historical landscape architect Liz Sargent, and landscape architect Justin Dollard. Review of primary and secondary source material provided by NPS preceded visits to local repositories for additional research. These materials included park planning documents, park archeological reports, park natural resource reports, and various histories of the site and the park. After targeting additional research efforts based on review of the materials provided by NPS, OCULUS project personnel visited various repositories including National Archives I and II, Washington, DC, and College Park, MD; George Washington Birthplace National Monument archives, Westmoreland County, VA; Wakefield National Memorial Association archives, Westmoreland County, VA; Harpers Ferry archives, National Park Service, Harpers Ferry, WV; Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA; and Virginia Historical Society archives, Richmond, VA. Records consulted included wills and deeds, surveys, letters and memoranda, property inventories, historic maps and plans, photographs, annual and monthly park superintendent reports, park files, and historic guidebooks and visitor programs. Personal interviews were conducted with owners of parcels abutting George Washington Birthplace National Monument—Lawrence Latane and Goodwin Muse—who had witnessed early park development during the 1930s.

While primary source materials, particularly maps and photographs, were utilized to develop the site physical history of this cultural landscape report whenever possible, it was also necessary to develop a conceptual contextual model for early periods of the landscape's history where a paucity of landscape information exists. Numerous secondary sources related to properties that are similar in nature or located nearby were consulted in order to develop this model. These sources were identified through research into such topics as archeological investigation of nearby properties, as well as bibliographic cross-referencing.

HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE DOCUMENTATION/SITE PHYSICAL HISTORY

Based on a thorough investigation of existing graphic and written historical records pertaining to the site physical history of George Washington Birthplace National Monument, OCULUS project personnel charted the evolution of the landscape from pre-history to the present. Eight distinct periods of landscape development were identified based on known events and physical changes that are thought to have significantly altered landscape character, patterns, or land use. The end date of each historic period was set to coincide with a major alteration of the landscape, such as a change of ownership or a time of intense development.

The site physical history was organized chronologically within the eight periods of landscape development. The description of each period is introduced by a summary paragraph outlining the physical landscape developments known to have occurred during that period. The introductory paragraph is followed by a detailed discussion of the history of that period. A concluding paragraph summarizes the impact that each period's developments are thought to have had on the character of the landscape.

Graphic illustration of the landscape during each period follows the descriptive text. Primary and secondary source maps, plans, property plats, drawings, and photographs that support the text follow each period description. Historical base maps prepared by OCULUS also accompany each period. These maps graphically illustrate the character of the landscape during each period. To tie the written historical documentation to the chronology maps, an inventory of representative landscape features was developed. Each of the landscape features discussed in the text was given a distinct number. The number is then cross-referenced in the text, on an inventory list for each period, and on the maps. During a feature's period of origin, the feature name and number are highlighted in bold text on the inventory list. Features that are lost during an historical period

appear as dashed lines on that period's chronology map and their numbers are removed from subsequent historical period maps and inventories.

Some of the earlier periods of the site history include more conjectural and contextual information than the later periods. Relatively little cartographic documentation exists for the landscape of this region prior to the nineteenth century. Limited archeological investigations have yielded a glimpse of the site's early settlement patterns and cultural features; however, a more complete understanding of the park prior to the mid-nineteenth century will only be possible through additional archeological investigations. As noted above, it was necessary to analyze the broader regional landscape context in order to supplement the site physical history of the early periods. A contextual model for the early landscape was developed for this CLR based upon information found in archeological reports, primary documentation of the periods as expressed in journals and diaries of travelers and residents of the Northern Neck and Tidewater, Virginia, and the excellent historical scholarship of the colonial and indigenous periods that addresses regional sites and trends.

Due to the complex nature of the history of this landscape, the historic record often includes conflicting information based on local tradition or hearsay. Every effort has been made to verify source material; conjectural information, including the contextual models developed for the CLR, has been identified as such. Many of the footnotes have been developed in some detail to provide the reader with avenues for further investigation of controversial topics or other issues of interest.

HISTORICAL BASE MAP PREPARATION

As noted above, historical base maps were prepared for each of the landscape chronology periods identified in the site physical history. They were based on a review, evaluation, and comparison of primary map and other graphic resources including photographs, illustrations, and plans. Primary and secondary written resources were utilized to corroborate graphic sources, to identify or clarify conflicting information, and to identify potential features and elements in the landscape for which no graphic information was available.

All historical base map and existing conditions information was presented at a consistent scale and configuration so that comparisons between maps can be made. All maps exist as electronic files in AutoCADD version 12. They were created using mapping files provided to OCULUS by NPS, which were field verified during OCULUS's site visits. Historical base maps were created from the field-verified version of the existing conditions file. Features appearing over two or more time periods are consistently located and represented. Landscape features such as shoreline configurations and topography were difficult to map accurately for many of the chronology periods. Conjectural shoreline information was included on the maps based on a predictive model produced by University of Maryland. Topographic contour information, however, was not included on the park-wide maps because of the difficulty inherent in determining information for most of the chronology periods, and because the contour lines made the drawings difficult to read. Hatchures were used to indicate areas of steep slopes instead.

Each historical base map included an inventory of representative landscape features, tied to a numbering system, that were present during that period. Each feature has a discrete number that is used consistently throughout the CLR. The inventory lists indicate when feature information is "conjectural." Features that are not identified as conjectural were found in primary sources, archeological reports, or were cross-referenced between more than one source.

EXISTING CONDITIONS FIELD SURVEYS

On November 27, 1995, February 13, March 28, May 7, and October 2, 1996, OCULUS personnel Liz Sargent and Justin Dollard undertook field investigations at George Washington

Birthplace National Monument. On November 27, 1995, the primary focus of field investigations was the park entrance area, Visitor Center, Washington family burial ground, and the historic core. On February 13, 1996, field investigations concentrated on the Bridges Creek landing area, the northeastern, noncontiguous parcel of the park along the Potomac, the picnic area and Log House, the water tower/utility area, and the Ice Pond. March 28, 1996 fieldwork focused on the investigation of the maintenance and park residence areas. On May 7, 1996 OCULUS visited Digwood Swamp, the Henry Brooks site, and the nearby pond. A condition assessment of the representative landscape features identified in the report was made on May 7, and October 2, 1996.

Existing conditions base maps, derived from the electronic mapping files provided to OCULUS by NPS, were field checked for accuracy throughout these efforts. Additions, deletions, and other corrections to the base information were noted in the field, as was the character of the primary landscape features inventoried. The NPS electronic files, based on 1988 aerial survey information, required updating in numerous places; in particular, significant additions were necessary in areas of dense tree cover where the ground plane would have been obscured from the air. OCULUS personnel took documentation photographs of all primary landscape features during fieldwork efforts. The locations of the photographic station points, and the direction of the views, were noted on the base drawings in the field and later added to the electronic mapping files.

EXISTING CONDITIONS DOCUMENTATION

The documentation of existing conditions is provided in this report through cross-referenced narrative, graphic, and photographic materials. The depiction of the landscape has been organized into two primary sections: the national monument landscape, and the historic core landscape. Within each of these sections, landscape features are discussed within the framework established in National Register Bulletin 30: *Guidelines for Documenting and Evaluating Rural Historic Landscapes*, which identifies various landscape characteristics through which existing conditions documentation can be organized and presented. For the purposes of this report, George Washington Birthplace landscape features are described within the following landscape characteristic categories:

- patterns of spatial organization;
- land uses and activities;
- natural features and systems;
- vegetation;
- views and viewsheds;
- circulation systems;
- buildings and structures;
- cluster arrangements;
- small-scale features; and
- potential archeological features.

Existing conditions documentation was prepared through the compilation of information derived from existing conditions base mapping, field investigations, review of photographs taken in the field, and examination of park planning documents, park files, natural resource reports, and other documents received from NPS or acquired through research. Documents such as the *Soil Survey of Westmoreland County* proved invaluable in establishing a geographic and geologic context for the park, and understanding local conditions in a way not possible through field observation.

An inventory of existing landscape features was prepared based on documentation of the site and a comparison of existing and historic conditions. The inventory was utilized as a check list to ensure that each feature was discussed in the text, and to undertake condition assessments in the field. The inventory is tied to a numbering system included in the existing conditions text and on the existing conditions base maps that facilitates cross-referencing of features.

Photographs of representative landscape features are included in the existing conditions documentation chapter of the CLR. These are referenced in the text. A documentation notebook containing all existing conditions documentation photographs and a set of full-scale base maps indicating photographic station points was provided to NPS to supplement the representative photographic coverage included in the report.

Condition assessments were developed for each inventoried landscape feature using the following condition categories: Good, Fair, Poor, and Unknown. The ratings were annotated to include specific condition-related observations made in the field that help to justify the ratings. The rating categories were adapted from the "Cultural Landscape Inventory, Draft User's Manual," and are defined as follows:

<u>Good</u> - indicates that the cultural landscape shows no clear evidence of major negative disturbance and deterioration by natural and/or human forces. The cultural landscape's cultural and natural values are as well preserved as can be expected under the given environmental conditions. No immediate corrective action is required to maintain its current condition.

<u>Fair</u> - indicates that the cultural landscape shows clear evidence of minor disturbances and deterioration by natural and/or human forces, and some degree of corrective action is needed within 3-5 years to prevent further harm to its cultural and/or natural values. The cumulative effect of the deterioration of many of the character-defining elements of the cultural landscape, if left to continue without the appropriate corrective action, will cause the cultural landscape to degrade to a poor condition.

<u>Poor</u> - indicates that the cultural landscape shows clear evidence of major disturbance and rapid deterioration by natural and/or human forces. Immediate corrective action is required to protect and preserve the remaining historical and natural values.

<u>Unknown</u> - not enough information is available to make an evaluation.¹⁰

Evaluation of Significance

Although George Washington Birthplace National Monument is currently listed on the National Register of Historic Places based on the Historic Preservation Act of 1966, a final nomination form has never been prepared for the park. In 1994, a first draft of a nomination was developed by NPS historian James Mote. Revisions to the draft were being made by NPS Cultural Resource Specialist Susan Boyle in January 1997, at the time that the Analysis and Evaluation section of this CLR was being developed. In the absence of a completed nomination and an officially accepted statement of park significance, OCULUS undertook additional historic research in order to develop a preliminary evaluation of significance that could serve as the basis for a comparative analysis of historic and existing landscape conditions. In preparing this evaluation, OCULUS worked closely with Ms. Boyle to develop an assessment of the landscape that would be compatible with the findings of the National Register nomination for the park.

The evaluation of significance included an identification of potential historic contexts associated with the site and the park, review of the physical history to determine significance according to all National Register Criteria and Criteria Considerations, and the identification of periods of

¹⁰U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Cultural Landscape Inventory, Draft User's Manual," February 1995.

significance based on park resources, important periods of physical development, and the integrity of those important periods.

While the original draft National Register nomination provided sufficient contextual information regarding eighteenth century Tidewater plantations for the CLR significance evaluation, early twentieth century commemorative and preservation activities were not adequately addressed. This is due to the fact that historians have only recently begun to be evaluate this context for significance. Little contextual information was readily available to understand how the park fit into a local, state, or national context of similar sites. Development of commemorative contexts for the park by OCULUS therefore required extensive additional research, and many avenues were pursued. Specifically, OCULUS sought contextual information relating to historic preservation efforts undertaken during the early twentieth century, the history of the establishment of historical parks in the eastern United States by the National Park Service in the 1930s, and the development of a design vocabulary for these eastern historic parks during the same period. The careers of the architects and landscape architects responsible for establishing the character of the park during the commemorative period were also investigated.

Numerous books, articles, and papers, as well as individuals were consulted to develop the preliminary evaluation of significance included in this CLR. These materials are listed in the references chapter of this report. Many individuals who are pursuing similar lines of research provided assistance, guidance, and direction in this endeavor. They included: Ethan Carr of NPS, who discussed his work developing a context for western parks; Bob Blythe of NPS, Southeast Region, who discussed his work concerning eastern historical parks and their historic preservation context; Barry Mackintosh, NPS Agency Historian, who also provided information regarding eastern historical parks and their historic preservation context; Karen Rehm, NPS historian at Valley Forge National Historical Park, who was in the process of developing an administrative history for Colonial Parkway, a park contemporary in its establishment with George Washington Birthplace National Monument; Dwight Picaithley, Chief Historian of NPS, who provided contextual information regarding park architects and landscape architects; and David Chapman, Historian, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, who is investigating the significance of 1930s era NPS landscape architects Charles Peterson and V. Roswell Ludgate.

Comparative Analysis of Historic and Existing Conditions by Landscape Characteristic

In order to better understand the relationship between the existing park landscape and the character of the landscape during the periods of significance, OCULUS prepared a comparative analysis of historic and existing landscape conditions. For the most part, the analysis focused on extant features and their date of origin. The three primary goals of the comparative analysis were to:

- 1) understand which extant features contribute to each period of significance;
- 2) establish the basis for an integrity evaluation; and
- 3) provide an understanding of the similarities and differences between historic and existing conditions that would serve as the foundation for a treatment plan for the cultural landscape.

The analysis was undertaken in two sections—a park-wide analysis, and an analysis of the historic core. The landscape characteristics used to organize the existing conditions documentation were again utilized to organize the analysis. For each landscape characteristic, the analysis summarizes all that is known about the site during the periods of significance, and compares that with current conditions.

The analysis was illustrated using diagrams and photographic comparisons. Diagrams of three landscape characteristics—vegetation, circulation, and land use—were prepared for each of the periods of significance and for the existing landscape. The diagrams were based on primary source maps and the historic landscape chronology and existing conditions maps prepared by OCULUS for the CLR. Where available, existing conditions photographs generally replicating historic views were compared in this section to further illustrate similarities and differences between the existing and historic landscape. Images included in Albert Good's *Park and Recreation Structures* were also compared with photographs of features constructed at George Washington Birthplace National Monument to indicate their relationship to the larger context of park features being developed around the country at the same time.

Identification of Contributing and Non-Contributing Features

Through the development of the comparative analysis of historic and existing landscape features, three lists were prepared that identified:

- contributing features (those surviving from one of the periods of significance):
- non-contributing features (those that post-date the periods of significance); and
- missing features (those that are known to have existed during one of the periods of significance but are no longer extant).

The locations of the missing and contributing features were identified graphically on base maps of the park and the historic core, and numbered in accordance with the inventory of park features developed earlier.

Assessment of Integrity

Utilizing the approach recommended in National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, OCULUS prepared an assessment of park integrity. The assessment was based on the existence and condition of physical features dating from the periods of significance, and the degree to which the seven aspects of integrity—location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association—were present. The CLR first summarizes the park's overall integrity for each period of significance, and subsequently develops evaluations of each individual aspect of integrity. Since few examples of constructed features survive from the Washington period, it was determined that the aspects of integrity most important to its analysis were location, setting, feeling, and association. For features surviving from the commemorative period, all seven aspects were considered.

Recommended Treatment Approach

OCULUS evaluated all of the treatment alternatives defined by the Secretary of the Interior for their relevance to the George Washington Birthplace National Monument treatment plan: preservation; rehabilitation; restoration; and reconstruction. Each was considered for its applicability to the specific nature of park resources. OCULUS recommended rehabilitation as the primary treatment approach based on the park's interest in enhancing interpretation and access of resources. The other three approaches were variously considered for individual areas or resources as a secondary approach, in order to allow for the most appropriate treatment in each case. Otherwise, preservation, which promotes the preservation of existing conditions, was considered too restrictive for current park management needs. Restoration, which accurately depicts the form, features, and character of a landscape as it appeared at a specific period, was not considered feasible due to the lack of documentation for the Washington family period and the presence of features spanning multiple periods of significance. And reconstruction, which involves the depiction of non-surviving features, was similarly considered inappropriate for the park.

Management Zones and Character Areas

Based on the fact that the park is comprised of landscape features associated with various periods of significance, it was necessary to develop, as part of the treatment plan, a range of management and treatment options that could be applied to different types of resources. When sites include various periods of significance and degrees of integrity, it is often useful to identify landscape management zones for each type and character of landscape integrity. Distinct management approaches can then be developed that best reflect the needs of the resources. Based on the parkwide integrity evaluation, this approach was taken to the treatment plan for the George Washington Birthplace National Monument. Six landscape management zones were identified, and a treatment approach defined for each. These treatment approaches represent variations of the overall recommended approach of rehabilitation that were customized to address the nature of extant resources.

Various distinct landscape character areas were identified as subsets of the management zones. They were defined based on a combination of associated physical qualities, such as landform, vegetation, and/or patterns of spatial organization, and types of resources. Because each character area falls entirely within a distinct management zone, associated recommendations are compatible with the overriding approach to treatment identified for that management zone. The report includes maps that illustrate the configuration of each identified management zone and landscape character area.

Recommendations

The recommendations provided in the Cultural Landscape Report for the treatment of George Washington Birthplace National Monument are intended to articulate a preservation strategy for long-term management of the site. They are based on an understanding of the significance, integrity, and condition of extant landscape features developed through the historic and existing conditions documentation, and the analysis and evaluation portions of the report, as well as the importance of these, and missing features, to imparting the site's history to the visitor. The approach to protecting, preserving, and enhancing the existing landscape through treatment recommendations is intended to be compatible with the future planning and design efforts necessary to implement any change within the landscape.

The treatment plan consists primarily of guidelines and recommendations. Overview passages introduce the philosophical approach to treatment. These are followed by lists of individual items that indicate site- or area-specific projects. The treatment plan is also illustrated graphically at a park-wide scale, and in a series of plan enlargements that provide an additional level of detail in areas where there are numerous recommendations. The report includes plan enlargements of the historic core, Duck Hall, the northwest fields, and the granite monument/park entrance/Ice Pond region. Recommended treatments appear as overlays atop the framework of park existing condition base mapping.

Cost Estimates

Treatment plan project budget data was developed, including an estimate of probable construction costs, for projects involving construction. All cost estimate data presented in the CLR is intended to be used for general planning purposes only. Construction cost estimates were based on average costs typical in 1998, and do not account for inflation. The cost data was developed using National Park Service planning-level cost estimating data and R.S. Means cost estimating data service. Estimates of costs and fees for construction- and planning-related professional services were based on a percentage of construction cost. For the purposes of this project, professional design fees for construction-related services were estimated to be 10 percent of the estimated construction cost. Professional fees and other fees for services were based on OCULUS's current and past experience estimating order of magnitude fees for services. Fees and costs were based on the

assumption that all work would be performed by consultants, vendors, and/or private contractors. The annual costs associated with maintenance and landscape management were beyond the scope of this project and were not addressed in this document. It is important to note that all project budget data is intended to support planning efforts and initiatives and should not be used to establish final project budgets, and that readily-available cost data for some of the project elements is limited. OCULUS, endeavoring to support subsequent planning efforts, included very rough estimates for some projects elements. In some cases, additional studies are required to determine the full extent of projects and their costs. In others, it was not possible to determine order of magnitude or conceptual-level project budget costs. For example, when very little is known about the scope of project due to the fact that significant additional research or planning and feasibility studies are first required to develop sufficient levels of information to support cost estimating, project cost data was not included.

Appendix C: Overview of the Commemorative Landscape Design Intent

Based on the fact that OCULUS's preliminary evaluation of the park's significance suggests that the park's commemorative developments constitute a significant designed historic landscape, and the fact that this period of park history has not been previously documented within a framework of significance, OCULUS undertook a analysis of the commemorative period design intent. National Register Bulletin 18: *How to Evaluate and Nominate Designed Historic Landscapes* provided guidance for the analysis.

In order to document commemorative period design intent, OCULUS combed every primary source document available to the project dating from the late nineteenth century, including letters, invoices, meeting minutes, park planning documents and requisitions, historic photographs, sketches, and surveys. Historic photographs of park features were compared with images of typical National Park Service and Civilian Conservation Corps features of the 1930s to determine how much this park resembled others designed during the period. Investigations into the careers of the designers involved in the development of the park during the 1930s were also made. At least one individual involved in the early design of the park was contacted about his memories of the period. The search for design and construction documents from the period extended to the NPS archives in Philadelphia, where additional materials surfaced.

Historical Documentation Summary

Initial research efforts associated with the development of this CLR's site physical history entailed review of documents provided to OCULUS by NPS regional and park personnel. These documents included Charles Hatch, Jr.'s 1979 book *Popes Creek Plantation Birthplace of George Washington*, David Rodnick's 1942 "Orientation Report on the George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Westmoreland County, Virginia," various archeological reports, the 1987 report "Conserving the Setting of George Washington Birthplace," a DRAFT National Register of Historic Places Nomination for "George Washington Birthplace National Monument" prepared by James L. Mote in 1994, and various park planning documents. All of these documents provided useful background information regarding the evolution of the landscape. Hatch's book in particular provided a detailed summary of the social history of the site between 1651 and 1932. The book includes a wealth of physical history information based on a thorough investigation of primary source material such as that found at the Westmoreland County Court House and in the George Washington Birthplace National Monument archives. This, and many others of these documents provided useful footnote and bibliographic citations that helped to direct additional research efforts.

Subsequent research efforts focused on the materials available at the park. The vast majority of primary source information relevant to this study was found in the George Washington Birthplace

National Monument archives, which contains both park archives and files, and those of the Wakefield National Memorial Association. The Wakefield National Memorial Association material includes documents related to founder Josephine Wheelwright Rust's family, association historian C.A. Hoppin's scrapbook of articles, photos, and plans, and various correspondence files. The extensive park archives include annual and monthly superintendent report files and correspondence files. The park also maintains ten drawers of maps, twelve file drawers of photos and other files, and six volumes of Carl Flemer's records. The Flemer notebooks, as they are called, proved invaluable in developing a detailed understanding of landscape developments prior to 1932, the initial date for park superintendent annual and monthly reports. They contain photocopies of the majority of the relevant records found at the Westmoreland County Courthouse, as well as various detailed studies undertaken by park personnel in the past to trace genealogical and ownership issues. The park superintendent reports serve as the most detailed primary source available for physical developments at the park after 1932.

Additional research was conducted at the Virginia Historical Society, the Virginia State Library, the National Archives, and the University of Virginia's Alderman Library. Research efforts at the Virginia State Library focused on the map room, but little new information was discovered there. At the National Archives I in Washington, DC, the records of the Fine Arts Commission were identified, within which are located additional records of the Wakefield National Memorial Association. Thirteen boxes of material within Record Group 66 were also reviewed at National Archives I. This material was more extensive than expected and also more comprehensive.

Research at National Archives II focused on Record Group 77, which included War Department records and early NPS documents. As with Record Group 66 at Archives I, the materials included in Record Group 77 proved extensive and comprehensive. Due to the fact that Westmoreland County Courthouse records were found to be thoroughly documented within the Flemer notebooks and Hatch's book, research efforts at the National Archives were expanded and those targeted for the Westmoreland County Courthouse diminished. Research of the University of Virginia Alderman Library Special Collections in Charlottesville, Virginia focused on six boxes of Washington family papers, as well as census data, which was reviewed to gain a better understanding of both the parcels located between Popes and Bridges Creeks and their owners. The 1850 and 1860 free population, slave population, and agriculture schedules, were consulted for the Wilson and Muse families.

During the spring of 1996, two personal interviews with long-time area residents Goodwin Muse and Lawrence Latane were conducted by OCULUS landscape historian Tonia Horton. George Washington Birthplace National Monument Supervisory Ranger John Frye assisted in setting up these interviews and extending the introductions. Mr. Muse and Mr. Latane had each witnessed early development of the park in the 1920s and 1930s as young boys or men. They provided OCULUS with valuable first-hand knowledge of the site's evolution over an extended period of time, and helped to clarify some conflicts in the documentary evidence.

Later in the spring of 1996, Tonia Horton examined the photograph collections in the NPS archives at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. The archives contain a wealth of images that document memorialization efforts at the site as far back as the 1890s, including wharf construction in 1894-1895, the erection of the granite monument in 1896, and much of the work undertaken by the Wakefield National Memorial Association. The collection also includes aerial perspective photographs from the 1930s and 1940s. It was determined, however, that the majority of the images of the site located at Harpers Ferry are likely also to reside within the George Washington Birthplace National Monument archives.

OCULUS project personnel Liz Sargent and Justin Dollard undertook additional research of park files and records in order to confirm the dates of origin for the majority of the parks buildings and structures, to research the Morgan horse farm that existed at the park for a short period in the

1970s, and to investigate property transfers to NPS in the 1970s and 1990s. Again, the park files were found to be extensive and comprehensive. Additional records not found in the park files were requested by telephone from the Westmoreland County Courthouse.

Generally, research efforts turned up little information related to the physical character and nature of the landscape prior to the mid-nineteenth century. Additional research was undertaken to understand other regional sites about which more is known. In particular, this research focused on issues of American Indian occupation, early English settlement, and the development of the plantation landscape. Journals and other publications such as Native American Archaeology were reviewed for studies pertinent to the Northern Neck region, as were publications addressing such issues as "Standards of Living in Chesapeake, 1650-1700;" Uncommon Ground, Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800; The "Manner House" Before Stratford (Discovering the Clifts Plantation); Tobacco and Slaves, The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800; "Origins of Agriculture in Eastern North America;" and "Westmoreland County, Virginia, 1653-1983." These publications were utilized to develop a contextual model for early periods of landscape development. Specific articles, books, and other data collected for this portion of the study were selected through research of library databases and bibliographies found throughout research efforts. The gift shop of the Wakefield National Memorial Association located at George Washington Birthplace National Monument also contains a wealth of scholarly books on topics related to the social and physical history of the region.

Research Summary

Over twenty documents, including park planning, natural resource, and archeological reports, were reviewed before undertaking the preparation of this CLR. The documents reviewed were those provided to OCULUS by NPS for the purpose of undertaking this study. They provided an incomparable basis for understanding the park as it exists today, its administrative history, current and future management goals, identified needs, and the story and image of the park that NPS wishes to convey to the public. For the most part, review of the documents illustrate that a number of important studies that address the park and its resources have been undertaken to date. However, it is also clear that there are a myriad of avenues for further study, ranging from natural resource evaluation to the identification of archeological resources. In particular, the park's master plan is extremely outdated, and a General Management Plan is lacking entirely. Archeological investigation is also a clear priority for future study at the park.

The following section summarizes the information learned from the documents reviewed by OCULUS. A list of the park planning documents and reports reviewed is included below, organized into the following categories: planning documents, archeological reports, and natural resource reports. Research summaries for each of the categories follow the lists of documents reviewed.

Review and Summary of Existing NPS Documents

PLANNING DOCUMENTS

- Conserving the Setting of George Washington Birthplace, An Adjacent Lands Study. National Park Service, Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, Division of Park and Resource Planning. 1987.
- Interpretive Prospectus, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Washington's Birthplace, Virginia. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. 1966.
- Master Plan, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Virginia. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. 1968.
- Resources Management Plan, George Washington Birthplace National Monument. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. n.d.
- Statement for Interpretation, George Washington Birthplace National Monument. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. 1994.
- Statement for Management, George Washington Birthplace National Monument. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. 1986.
- "List of Classified Structures, Single Entry Report," National Park Service. 1995.
- "Agricultural Leased Lands Management Plan for George Washington Birthplace National Monument," John Jacob Frye, National Park Service, 1984.
- "Historic Area Plan," John Jacob Frye, National Park Service, 1984.
- "George Washington Birthplace National Monument, National Register of Historic Places Draft Registration Form," James L. Mote, National Park Service, Denver, Colorado, 1994.

1968 Master Plan

Beginning with the 1966 Interpretive Prospectus and the 1968 Master Plan, park planning documents reveal important information regarding the objectives of NPS in maintaining George Washington Birthplace National Monument as an historical site. In conjunction with the 1939-1940 master plan for the park, these documents detail the park's interpretive history, its goals for resource management, visitor interpretive programs, budget and manpower planning, and plans for park development aimed at the visitor experience. Several of the recommendations made in the master plan have obviously been implemented and help to shape an understanding of the park's existing landscape:

- Encourage enjoyment and use of the park's variety of natural features by developing walking trails, sitting areas, and access to the shores of the Potomac, Popes Creek, and to the woodland and marsh environment of the monument;
- Emphasize interpretive, cultural, and passive outdoor recreation;
- Stabilize, preserve, and reconstruct, if deemed desirable, historic structures or ruins of structures as evidence of occupation of this land by the Washington family and especially the presence of George Washington;

- Preserve and restore to the greatest extent practicable and desirable, the historic ground cover and agrarian land uses of the eighteenth century farm where George Washington was born and lived as a boy;
- Interpret the theme of the early years of Washington's life as lived by the moderately well-to-do Washington family on a Virginia Tidewater farm. This should emphasize the English background, early beginnings in America, events climaxed by the birth of George Washington on February 22, 1732, and subsequent events and the environment concerned with his early years. Important secondary themes include eighteenth century farm activities on the Washington farm and the natural history of this Tidewater area;
- Present the Memorial House and kitchen as period exhibits commemorating the birth and boyhood of George Washington; and
- Interpret the natural history resources primarily as they relate to the eighteenth century scene known to Washington.¹¹

In order to enhance interpretation of the Washington family era, the master plan recommendation involving the establishment of a living farm was partially implemented in the late 1960s and 1970s:

the proposed restoration of appropriate farm buildings, roads, and fences, plantings of period crops, and raising of period farm animals by eighteenth century means...will provide the visitor with an authentic picture of farming operations (on a limited scale) as Washington knew it as a boy. This restoration should be restricted to the primary area of historic interpretation south of the Memorial House (approximately 20 acres) unless research gives important justification for alternate development sites. The 170 acres presently under special agricultural permit should be held in this use until it is needed for use in the expanded farm operation.¹²

Otherwise, no attempt has been made to reconstruct and interpret additional aspects of the historic landscape associated with the Washington family, due to the insufficient information about the site's eighteenth century plantation features as noted in the master plan:

Present knowledge is still inconclusive on the exact site of the birthplace building, and more general data on the historic appearance of the farm is still seriously lacking....None (of the reconstructed buildings in the historic core), by their site, size, design, or character, insofar as we know, preserve any definitive historical feature of the birthplace....The existing program to preserve and maintain the setting will be continued as long as it does not conflict with authenticated historical and archeological findings. Inasmuch as the sites of structures and other features are so vitally important to the preservation and interpretation program of this national monument, there is an immediate need for initiating historical and archeological studies....Historical and Archeological Base Maps should be prepared in conjunction with these studies. When the research program is completed, the findings of these studies should be incorporated to present a visual setting which will be appropriate to the true character of the Washington farm.¹³

¹¹ National Park Service, Master Plan, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Virginia. 1968, 8-9.

¹² Ibid., 37.

¹³ Ibid., 32.

Many aspects of the 1968 Master Plan are already outdated. In order for the park to move ahead with necessary short- and long-range planning, this document needs to be updated by NPS through the preparation of a park General Management Plan. The master plan, for example, refers to the need to develop a new Visitor and Interpretive Center, and to relocate the maintenance area away from the historic core. These two projects were completed over twenty years ago. Other recommendations included in the Master Plan, such as the development of two additional picnic areas, closing of the road beyond the Burial Ground, and development of new interpretive and passive recreation trail systems, were never undertaken. It is unlikely that these projects are still under consideration given the current needs of the park. There are other projects already under consideration at the park, such as reconstruction of the 1940s era pedestrian bridge across Dancing Marsh, that are not addressed in the master plan, but would benefit greatly from further study.

As an interesting aside, the Master Plan also mentions a proposed roadway, the George Washington Country Parkway, and an associated trail, the Potomac Heritage Trail, as potential ways to establish connections between the park and other sites associated with George Washington's life and career, such as Washington, DC, Mount Vernon, Ferry Farm, Williamsburg, and Yorktown. These circulation networks were never constructed and their status remains unknown.

Many of these issues have been revisited as part of the analysis and evaluation and landscape treatments and recommendations sections of this CLR. While "none (of the reconstructed buildings in the historic core), by their site, size, design, or character, insofar as we know, preserve any definitive historical feature of the birthplace," those that were developed in the 1930s to commemorate the birthplace of George Washington have taken on historical significance in their own right. The possible conflicts with future historical and archeological findings that these buildings and structures may pose, as discussed in the master plan, is a primary focus of Volume Two of this CLR.

1966 Interpretive Prospectus

Although it has since been superseded by the 1994 *Statement for Management*, the 1966 *Interpretive Prospectus* sheds light on the present character and existing conditions of the park through an elucidation of concepts that were implemented during the 1960s and 1970s. The document recommends two primary themes that are an important part of the interpretive program at the park today:

- The heritage of the Washington family and the age and land in which they lived should be reflected in the moral and character development of young George Washington; the theme should encompass the beginning and developing of a man and a nation destined to be great; and
- The Monument should endeavor to provide the sights, sounds, and way of life seen, heard, and experienced by the child, boy, and young man, George Washington.¹⁵

Other important recommendations and goals identified in the 1966 *Interpretive Prospectus* that have since been implemented or are in the process of being implemented include the following:

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ National Park Service, *Interpretive Prospectus*, 1.

- Since [the historic core's commemorative] structures are in conflict with the archeological evidence now available to the Service, every effort must be made to establish and clarify their value to resource and interpretive management....The questions as to the characteristics of the birthplace house should be settled if at all possible, i.e. whether it was imposing or simple, etc....Currently planned management studies need to authenticate the historic scene; we must overcome the limitations imposed by nonhistoric and incompletely researched structures by devising means, based on a research program, to carry the basic interpretive load. The presence of the archeological ruins, the scenic and natural attractions of the Monument lands, the overlook of Popes Creek and the Potomac River, and the flora and fauna of the area are advantages that should be utilized to their fullest. In particular, definitive knowledge is required of the original birthplace structure, site, outbuildings, and garden of Augustine Washington, as well as the house and outbuilding sites occupied by John Washington.¹⁶
- Use archeological artifacts to tell the story in part. Make sure the relative positions of memorial structures is made clear to public. If this is not immediately accomplished, the visitor will make incorrect conclusions. This is especially so of the memorial structure and garden—they tend to become historic. The message to be presented on the ground to develop the sights, sounds, and way of life can take advantage of the scenic values and the flora and fauna of the area. The use of farm animals to complement the scene provided by the memorial structures should be continued and further developed.¹⁷
- The physical attractiveness of the birthplace site and adjoining cedar grove and visits to Popes Creek and Potomac River, the Dancing Marsh, and Duck Hall areas, Burial Ground, Potomac River Overlook, and the Park roads should be utilized to increase the inspirational and emotional atmosphere of the interpretive presentation. It provides a nice setting as well as the substance for natural history interpretation.¹⁸
- Though over half of the Monument's fencing is period-style, there is such extensive use of modern fencing that it disturbs the environment. All fencing, other than that not within view of the road and trail, should be period-style. Encouragement and cooperation should be given to adjacent landowners to do likewise. All overhead utility lines that infringe upon the scene should be relocated underground, whether or not they are within or out of Monument boundaries.¹⁹
- Nearly a mile of the unused trails in the Duck Hall and Dancing Marsh areas have a potential for development of a self-guiding historic-nature loop trail. Parking for such a facility would be in the Picnic Area.²⁰

¹⁶ Ibid., 2-3.

¹⁷ Ibid., 5.

¹⁸ Ibid., 5-6.

¹⁹ Ibid., 6.

²⁰ Ibid., 7.

- A land program which is required to strengthen and protect the Monument's interpretative program should propose the acquisition by fee or easement of
 - 1) the opposite shore of Popes Creek;
 - 2) the contiguous lands along the south boundary line adjacent to the Park's drive; and
 - 3) the inholdings, so that scenic values may be preserved.²¹

The document also identifies the need to develop:

- 1) a synopsis of the establishment and administrative history of the Monument, including the roles of Wakefield National Memorial Association and NPS;
- 2) the identification, if possible, of the locations of any Popes Creek boat landing in use during Augustine Washington's time;
- 3) more information regarding "Building X"; and
- 4) the ability "[t]o interpret the house as a memorial, nothing more, nothing less ... since it is not historic nor a reconstruction."22

To support these goals and the development of any waysides, the report recommends undertaking thorough archeological and historical research reports. The majority of these recommendations are compatible with the findings and recommendations of this CLR.

1994 Statement for Interpretation

The 1994 Statement for Interpretation generally builds on the themes and recommendations included in the 1966 Interpretive Prospectus. The primary interpretive objectives for the park as listed in the 1994 Statement for Management are to:

- 1) foster public understanding and appreciation of George Washington and his early family beginnings in Virginia;
- 2) promote the preservation and perpetuation of the American Heritage, especially the history of plantation life surrounding the early childhood of George Washington;
- 3) foster an appreciation of the environment, bringing man and his natural and cultural environment into closer harmony; and
- 4) foster public understanding, appreciation, and pride in our national parks.²³

The report also notes various ways in which these goals are already being addressed. For example, the report indicates that, in support of the third objective listed above, the park uses organic methods of pest control in the Colonial Farm area, and is encouraging farmers with special use

²¹ Ibid., 7.

²² Ibid., 14.

²³ National Park Service, Statement for Interpretation, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, 1994, 2.

permits to limit their use of pesticides and to plant crops in keeping with the eighteenth century scene.

The report also identifies current efforts to improve the interpretive opportunities at the park, such as increased accessibility, and the development of the Colonial Farm where: "interpreters, dressed in period clothing, perform agricultural activities in an accurate and historical manner within the realm of safety and visitor sensitivity using tools typical of the period," 24 and lists the cultural events held annually at the park: the birthday celebration on February 22, and the Harvest Festival and Colonial Crafts Fair.

Finally, the report recommends goals for future programs:

Work closely with the National Park Foundation and MARO to: implement special projects in the park to enhance and protect the site, i.e. Rehabilitation of the Burnt House Point trail, replacement of wayside exhibits for the entire park; develop and implement a landscape plan for the historic area of George Washington Birthplace National Monument through cyclic funding; and continue to inculcate critical resource concerns into park interpretive programs, e.g. preservation of rural landscapes, Popes Creek Reserve System, etc.²⁵

Efforts to address these goals appear to be on-going. For example, many interpretive waysides have recently been redesigned and replaced, and the recommendation to rehabilitate Burnt House Point trail is currently close to implementation due to the planned re-construction of the bridge across Dancing Marsh.

1986 Statement for Management

The 1986 Statement for Management presents, in a regularly updated document:

- 1) the purpose and significance of the park;
- 2) established park management objectives;
- 3) an inventory and analysis of the park's condition; and
- 4) major park issues requiring attention.

A wealth of factual information about the park is contained in this document, including such varied topics as the history of legislation related to the park, a summary of park utilities information, an overview of the park's cultural and natural resources, and a list of visitor use issues such as interpretive programming and visitation demographics. The list of the major issues requiring attention at the park is an important summary of the future management objectives of the park. These have been identified by NPS personnel in conjunction with local landowners as follows:

- 1) conserve adjacent lands to protect the rural historic scene;
- 2) manage wildlife such as white-tailed deer;
- 3) mitigate shoreline erosion;

²⁴ Ibid., 27.

²⁵ Ibid., 11-12.

- 4) evaluate the potential for development of nearby oil and gas reserves and its impact on the park;
- 5) understand the limitations on full and accurate interpretation of the Washington plantation due to incomplete archeological investigations;
- 6) rectify the insufficiency of data on visitor demographics;
- 7) rectify the overuse and deterioration of recreational areas such as the picnic grounds;
- 8) reconcile the lack of connection between the historic core and nature trail system due to the loss of the bridge across Dancing Marsh;
- 9) address the concern for visitor access to private inholdings from park roads;
- 10) address the under-publicized nature of monument;
- 11) rectify the lack of interpretive activities off-season; and
- 12) address the outdated master plan.²⁶

Resources Management Plan

The Resources Management Plan is an important companion document to this CLR. It clearly states that the objectives for managing the park's natural and cultural resources are to:

- secure, through research, or other means, adequate information to facilitate information and perpetuation of the Pope's Creek Farm and other historical and natural resources;
- preserve the land surrounding the park which is essential to maintaining the quality of historical and natural scenes; and
- cooperate with local, state, and federal organizations in programs that will help in the preservation and conservation of the historic and scenic resources and aesthetic values of Washington's Birthplace.²⁷

These objectives are embodied in the plan's resource management goals:

- To identify, evaluate, protect, restore, and preserve the resources that are essential for commemorating George Washington's birth and maintaining the integrity of the setting in which he was born and reared;
- To maintain the cultural landscape of the park's historic area;
- To identify, evaluate, and protect the cultural resources which lie within the park's boundaries;

²⁶ National Park Service, *Statement for Management, George Washington Birthplace National Monument*, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1986, 45-50.

²⁷ National Park Service, Resources Management Plan, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Westmoreland County, Virginia, n.d., iii.

- To promote the conservation of landscapes adjacent to the site through various cooperative actions; and
- To promote limited recreational use in order to minimize the impact to park resources.

As noted in the plan, park resource management planning is based upon protection and preservation, as well as public use, of cultural and natural resources, and is predicated on documented data obtained through appropriate investigation and research.²⁸

The report also discusses the present condition and status of the park's natural resources and identifies the studies undertaken at the park to establish baseline inventories. It identifies necessary future studies, such as development of additional data for the assessment and management of resource conditions, wildlife population trends, and the potential adverse impacts of cultural practices on these resources. The report later summarizes the findings of the various natural resource studies completed, evaluates the status of park planning documents, and identifies the "significant cultural treasures" located in the park.

The Resources Management Plan concludes with recommendations for further study. These include: oral histories and interviews with present and former NPS and Wakefield Association personnel and local/adjacent landowners; an historic land use study; historic structure preservation guides; a forest inventory and management plan; an inventory of exotic species and a plan for their management; plans for agricultural management—farm management, orchard management, pasture management, and livestock management; archeological collection studies; and various types of special history studies. The studies pertaining to agricultural, orchard, and farm management have been undertaken. Many of the remaining studies listed would greatly benefit the park's planning and management objectives and support recommendations included in this CLR. The document also contains a Cultural Resource Documentation Checklist that identifies the status of various park documents.

Documents listed as "Current and Approved" include:

- Pre-authorization and Authorization;
- Statement for Management:
- Outline of Planning Requirements;
- Cultural Resources Bibliography;
- Cultural Sites Inventory;
- List of Classified Structures:
- National Catalog of Museum Objects;
- Scope of Collection Statement; and
- Cultural Landscape Report.

Documents listed as "Incomplete: Needs Revision or Updating" include:

- General Management Plan:
- Development Concept Plan;
- Resources Management Plan (since completed);
- Interpretive Prospectus;
- National Register of Historic Places (nomination);
- Archeological Overview and Assessment;
- Archeological Identification Studies;

²⁸ Ibid., iv.

- Historic Resource Study;
- Collection Management Plan;
- Historic Structure Report; and
- Traditional Use Study.

Documents listed as "Needed" include:

- Archeological Evaluation Studies;
- Historical Base Map;
- Park Administrative History;
- Archeological and Ethnographic Collection Studies;
- Collection Storage Plan;
- Collection Condition Study;
- Exhibit Plan (for slave dorm/quarters room);
- Historic Furnishings Report (for workshop and weaving room); and
- Special History Study (several types).

A report appendix includes a list of cultural resources and their national register status. The report also lists the cultural contexts and themes related to the interpretation of the park:

- Indigenous American populations along the Chesapeake Bay Region between the Post Archaic and European Contact Development Periods;
- European Colonial Exploration and Settlement from the early seventeenth century to the early eighteenth century in Virginia;
- Development of the English Colonies, 1688-1763, in Economic Affairs and Ways of Life;
- The American Revolution;
- Political and Military Affairs, 1783-1800, the Confederation, the Constitution, and the Early Federal Period;
- Agriculture in the Era of Adaptation (1607-1763) and Southern Plantations;
- Business; Mining of Iron and Ferrous Alloys;
- Architecture of the Colonial Revival Period;
- Landscape Architecture;
- Decorative and Folk Art:
- American Ways of Life, Slavery, and Plantation Life; and
- Historic Preservation and the National Park Service, the New Deal Era.²⁹

Conserving the Setting of George Washington Birthplace, An Adjacent Lands Study

Conserving the Setting of George Washington Birthplace, An Adjacent Lands Study also complements the information included in this CLR. The document provides a summary of the history of the park, places the site and the events that occurred there within a regional physical and social context, and assesses the historic significance, integrity, and interpretive value of the park. Landscape contexts addressed in the report include land use and agricultural practices; transportation; natural resources; and settlement patterns. A seen-area analysis that identifies the extent of possible views from within the park as well as along the approach road is included in the document. These seen areas are compared with historic conditions to determine integrity. Finally, the report discusses the issues related to conserving the setting, such as the potential impact of current Westmoreland County development pressures, and the impact of changes to historic

²⁹ Ibid., 9-10.

settlement and land use patterns, such as density, spacing, and orientation of structures and their design and materials. The report recommends that the park:

- maintain visual buffer plantings;
- maintain rail fencing;
- keep paving materials to a palette of sand, gravel, and chip-top;
- avoid planting single species plantations or woodlots;
- maintain water quality; and
- work to establish partnerships for conservation with local groups and develop land conservation goals and methods for the future.

Historic Area Landscape Plan

This 1984 document identifies aspects of the planting plan of the historic core area requiring improvement or addition. Six areas are targeted for planting improvements intended to "beautify the park and to expand the interpretive media":

The Orchard Lawn Ornamentals The Herb Garden Plants Used for Dyeing Flowering Understory Representative Fruit and Nut Trees.³⁰

The document recommends providing living representations of plants used by the colonial Virginia planter circa 1732, including fruit trees such as apples and pears; English boxwoods and old varieties of roses; herbs; representative plants of the type used by colonial Virginians to produce fabric dyes; and fruit and nut trees and shrubs that grew wild in the nearby forest. The document also recommends planting flowering understory trees to beautify the trail from the Visitor Center to the historic core, and recommends a one-for-one replacement of any plant in the historic area so that any plant that dies or is removed is replaced by the same species and variety as soon as possible. It is unclear to what extent the specifics of the plan have been followed although aspects are in evidence within the historic core.

DRAFT National Register of Historic Places Nominations

To date, two draft nominations have been prepared for the park. The first, prepared in 1994 by James L. Mote of the National Park Service, contains a wealth of information pertaining to the site history of George Washington Birthplace National Monument. The draft nomination includes sections on the Popes Creek Plantation, Popes Creek after George Washington, the landscape and its use, commemorative activities, Popes Creek archeological investigations, present resources, and contributing and non-contributing resources. The draft nomination identifies the areas of significance for the property as archeology: historic/non-aboriginal; politics/government; military; and historic preservation. Motes recommends the property as nationally significant during the period 1732—1799, and states that

The George Washington Birthplace National Monument meets the standards for inclusion on the National Register for Historic Places according to criteria A, B, and D. It is significant for its association with George Washington, the first president of the United States; for its association with the development of historic

³⁰ John Jacob Frye, "Historic Area Landscape Plan," National Park Service, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, August 9, 1984.

preservation as a profession; and for the pivotal role that archeological excavations played in the resolution of significant historical issues.³¹

A second draft of the nomination was initiated in 1997. At the time that this CLR was printed, the nomination was not yet ready for submission to the Virginia Historic Preservation Office.

ARCHEOLOGY REPORTS

- "Addendum" to *Popes Creek Plantation Birthplace of George Washington* by Charles E. Hatch, Jr. entitled "Archeological Investigations at George Washington Birthplace National Monument, 1974-1977," by Brooke S. Blades. 1979.
- "Archeological Evidence: George Washington Birthplace National Monument," Brooke S. Blades, 1993.
- "Archaeological Excavations at the Henry Brooks and John Washington Sites, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Virginia," Brooke S. Blades, Office of Resource Preservation, National Park Service, Mid-Atlantic Region, March 1979.
- "Archaeology of George Washington Birthplace, Virginia." Norman F. Barka, Southside Historical Sites, Inc. 1978.
- "Archeology of the Popes Creek Area, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Virginia." Bruce Powell. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. 1968.
- "Burial Ground Excavations," Gault, William A. & Son, Inc. Baltimore, Maryland, 1930.
- "Orientation Report on the George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Westmoreland County, Virginia." David Rodnick. United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. 1941.
- "Report on the Faunal Remains, George Washington Birthplace Excavations, 1977, George Washington Birthplace National Monument," Sharon Ann Burnston. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. 1978.
- "Report on the Re analysis of Features and Artifacts Excavated at George Washington's Birthplace." Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, Virginia. 1992.

Reports by Rodnick (1941), Powell (1968), and Barka (1978) included reviews of subsurface investigations at the park. Of these, Barka's is the most comprehensive and useful; and the summary presented here is primarily drawn from Barka's report. Locations are identified by their contemporary names whenever possible.

The earliest investigations of below-grade resources at the park were not conducted by archeologists. Documentation of these investigations offers limited information on the resources encountered. Investigations in the late nineteenth century included excavation in 1881-1882 thought to be around the foundation at the Memorial House site.³² Excavations in the 1880s and 1890s by Moncure Daniel Conway found remains of brick foundations and a dairy. Additional

³¹ James L. Mote, Historian, "Draft National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, George Washington Birthplace National Monument," National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1994, section 8, page 1.

³² Norman Barka and Southside Archeology, Inc., "Archeology of George Washington Birthplace, Virginia," prepared for National Park Service, Mid-Atlantic Region, Philadelphia, 1993, 6.

excavation was conducted at the Memorial House site by John Stewart, an engineer with the Bureau of Public Parks and Grounds, in preparation for placing the first monument at the site. In 1926, J. Arthur Hook, engineer with the U.S. Engineers Office, conducted additional excavations to determine the nature and extent of the foundations at the Memorial House site. The foundations were again investigated when O.G. Taylor, National Park Service engineer, excavated an area beneath the monument on the mansion site. In preparation for the construction of the Memorial House in 1930-1931, the building contractor removed the archeological foundation remains. There were no records kept to report archeological resources removed and no artifacts were collected.

In 1930, O.G. Taylor began excavations to reveal the foundations identified as "Building X", now interpreted as the birthplace site. Taylor also excavated a foundation near Bridges Creek, thought to have been associated with John Washington (Outbuilding A). In 1930, excavations were also apparently undertaken at the Washington family burial ground, near the John Washington site. Available documentation consists of a series of plan views showing the locations of the brick vault, enclosure wall, and locations of burials.³³

In 1932, Philip Hough was named superintendent of the newly created monument. Although Powell reports that Hough had "a keen appreciation of the value of archeological research in historical site study,"³⁴ excavations conducted at the park during his tenure were not undertaken by professionally trained archeologists. Thus, the goal of excavations was to locate buildings, and little attention was devoted to identifying and documenting other features or controlled collection of artifacts.

Excavations during 1932 included the discovery of two human burials near the Log House at Duck Hall Point. In 1933-1934, a small foundation near the bank of the Potomac River (Henry Brooks site) was excavated. In 1935, a foundation located about 70 feet west of the restored kitchen in the historic core, later called the smokehouse, was excavated. The remains of a small structure of unknown function were found in the Colonial Garden. Test excavations under the direction of historian O.F. Northington in 1936 were conducted at the smokehouse, the structure in the Colonial Garden, a barn site, and an ice house north of the Memorial House. At this time, "Building X" (birthplace site) was re-excavated and several test trenches were excavated north of the Memorial House and south of "Building X." Northington produced a set of measured drawings of the foundations, and artifacts were put in the care of Curator J. Paul Hudson.

Additional work was approved in 1941, but owing to the war, the work was canceled. In 1967, B. Bruce Powell reviewed documentation on previous excavations and examined artifact collections from the Memorial House site, "Building X," smokehouse, structure in the Colonial Garden, barn site, ice house, and exploratory trenches. Barka notes that the early excavations addressed only remains of brick structures and disturbed or destroyed many other archeological resources.³⁵

The first excavations conducted by a professional archeologist were those directed by Barka in 1974-1975. Six areas were investigated: the Colonial Garden/Memorial House; New Visitor Center; Picnic Grounds; Maintenance Facility; Septic Field; and Vegetable Garden. Excavations in the Maintenance Facility and Picnic Grounds areas revealed no significant archeological resources. Remains of a prehistoric American Indian midden and an eighteenth-century post structure were identified in the Septic Field area (north of the Ice Pond). Three Late Woodland middens were

³³ William A. Gault & Son, Inc., "Burial Ground Excavations," prepared for the Wakefield National Memorial Association and/or National Park Service, 1930.

³⁴ B. Bruce Powell, "Archaeology of the Popes Creek Area, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Virginia," report prepared for the National Park Service, 1968, 13.

³⁵ Barka, 9.

found in the New Visitor Center area. Minimal testing in the Vegetable Garden area yielded no significant resources.

Significant resources were discovered in the Colonial Garden/Memorial House area. The nineteen features identified in the Colonial Garden area included an eighteenth-century post-in-ground building, a large midden, many small soil stains, and large quantities of American Indian and colonial artifacts. Archeological remains suggested to Barka that the Colonial Garden was an outbuilding complex in the eighteenth century.

This complex was probably separated from the dwelling ("Building X"/birthplace site) by fences and/or drainage ditches, represented archeologically as stains and post molds. One series of post molds was identified as a post-in-ground building. Barka interpreted this building as a smokehouse, based on the discovery of a pit and ashes within the building. Artifacts from the interior pit date to ca. 1725-1775.³⁷ The size, location, and orientation of this small building (15 feet by 11.3 feet), and the presence of the interior pit, however, are consistent with interpretation as a slave quarter.³⁸ Pogue and White note that several slave quarters have been excavated at plantation sites in Virginia, including Kingsmill, Monticello, and Mount Vernon, and extant quarters have been investigated as well.³⁹ This research indicates that quarters are often buildings as small as the 15 foot by 11 foot one identified by Barka. Small storage cellars have been found in buildings occupied by enslaved Africans as well as Anglo-Americans at Kingsmill. In the mideighteenth century, house servants were often quartered in outbuildings a short distance from the main dwelling. Thus, Pogue and White conclude that the evidence of size, location within the site plan, and context of associated features supports the hypothesis that the building housed slaves.⁴⁰ There is, however, no direct artifact evidence indicating occupation by slaves.

The large midden, which included a trash pit and a sheet midden, was identified in the area east of "Building X" (birthplace site) and west of the post-in-ground building (quarters). The trash pit (17 feet by 10 feet) was the largest feature in the Colonial Garden area. Barka dates its deposition to the 1730s and 1740s,⁴¹ but re-analysis of the artifacts suggests deposition between 1720-1730.⁴² Bottle glass and ceramics account for most of the artifacts in the pit. A variety of other domestic artifacts and animal bones were also recovered.⁴³ The high percentage of cross-mending and reconstructible vessels suggests that the pit was filled in a relatively short time.⁴⁴ Domestic animals—cow, swine, and sheep—account for most of the bones, although fowl and wild animals are also represented.

³⁶ Barka, 92.

³⁷ Brooke S. Blades, "Archeological Investigations at George Washington Birthplace National Monument, 1974-1977," Appendix A in Charles Hatch, *Popes Creek Plantation: Birthplace of George Washington*. (Washington's Birthplace, VA: Wakefield National Memorial Association in cooperation with the National Park Service, 1979), 148.

³⁸ Dennis J. Pogue and Esther C. White, "Report on the Re-analysis of Features and Artifacts Excavated at George Washington's Birthplace." Mt. Vernon Archaeology Department, File Report #4, prepared for the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, 1992, 8.

³⁹ Ibid., 5, 8.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 8.

⁴¹ Barka, 91.

⁴² Pogue and White, 11.

⁴³ Blades, 1974-1977 Archeological Investigations, 147-148.

⁴⁴ Pogue and White, 5.

The artifacts from the trash pit were re-analyzed to address the possibility of association with African Americans who may have occupied the nearby post-in-ground building. The analysis, however, did not support this association.⁴⁵

Another post-in-ground building (30 feet by 20 feet) was located near the Ice Pond. It has been interpreted as an isolated field barn.⁴⁶ Archaic lithic artifacts were also found in the vicinity of the Ice Pond.⁴⁷

In 1977, archeological investigations were conducted at the Henry Brooks and John Washington sites. These projects were designed to survey the sites, address questions raised by the investigations in the 1930s, and provide information for the interpretation and management of the sites. ⁴⁸ Both sites have been plowed, so the disturbed layer of plow zone was removed with mechanical equipment to reveal features in the subsoil.

Artifacts recovered from the sites reflect occupation from 1650 to 1750. A variety of domestic artifacts typical of the material cultural during this period were recovered. English ceramics for the storage, preparation, and serving of food were found at both sites, as well as wares form Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Germany. Ceramics attributed to potter Morgan Jones, who produced redwares form 1669-1678 in Westmoreland County, were also recovered. Glass from wine and pharmaceutical bottles and table glass were found, including wine bottle seals with "John Washington" and the initials "J.W." (at the John Washington site). Architectural artifacts, clay pipes, and fragments of pewter objects were recovered. Analysis of the faunal remains indicated that most identifiable bones were from cows; sheep/goat and pig bones are also represented. Roasts and joints were the most common cuts.⁴⁹

Excavations at the Brooks site revealed two buildings and several trash pits. One building was a dwelling including a brick cellar (17.5 feet by 16.0 feet) and a detached chimney base. The dwelling was a one-room, hall-plan design with a bulkhead entrance to the cellar. The brick foundations of an outbuilding (13.6 feet by 12.8 feet) were found northwest of the dwelling. The fill in the outbuilding's cellar was excavated in the 1930s. The three trash pits around the dwelling contained ceramics and wine bottle glass from the late-seventeenth to the early-eighteenth century.

Three or four buildings were located at the John Washington site, also known as the Bridges Creek plantation. The largest (40 feet by 20 feet), interpreted as the dwelling, had a brick chimney and was supported by ten posts set in the ground. The building had a two-room, hall-parlor plan (the parlor may have been added⁵¹), but it lacked the brick-lined cellar of the Henry Brooks dwelling;

⁴⁵ Pogue and White, 2.

⁴⁶ Blades, 1974-1977 Archeological Investigations, 148.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Brooke S. Blades, "Archaeological Excavations at the Henry Brooks and John Washington Sites, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Virginia," prepared for the National Park Service, Mid-Atlantic Region, Office of Resource Preservation, 1979, 16.

⁴⁹ Sharon Ann Burston, "Report on the Faunal Remains, George Washington Birthplace Excavations, 1977, George Washington Birthplace National Monument," prepared for the National Park Service, Mid-Atlantic Region, Philadelphia, 1978.

⁵⁰ Blades, 1974-1977 Archeological Investigations, 150.

⁵¹ Brooke S. Blades, "Archaeological Evidence, George Washington Birthplace National Monument," prepared for the National Park Service, Mid-Atlantic Region, Philadelphia, 1993, 2.

however, it may have had a small cellar (7 feet by 5 feet). Two or three outbuildings were also located on the site. Outbuilding A had a brick-walled and brick-floored cellar (20.5 feet by 14.7 feet, 1.3 feet below grade). The above-ground portion of the building was supported by corner posts. Outbuilding B also had brick-lined floor and cellar (19.5 feet by 11.5 feet, 3.2 feet below grade). South of Outbuilding B, a hearth feature was located. A pit filled with ash and charred bone was located south of the dwelling. The pit may have served as fire pit for a smokehouse.⁵² This plantation may have been abandoned ca. 1720.⁵³

The excavations at the Henry Brooks and John Washington sites revealed new information about their built environments. Outbuildings were arranged asymmetrically relative to the dwelling. All buildings were wood, and the dwelling at the Washington site had a brick chimney at the gable end and was supported by posts set into the ground. Differences in patterns of building use between the two sites were interpreted from the archeological evidence. Each dwelling began as a single-cell or hall-plan building. In the Brooks dwelling, a cellar was used for storage, while this function was served by outbuildings at the Washington site. The Washington site outbuildings were located south and west of the dwelling; the sole outbuilding at the Brooks site was to the north of the dwelling. The Washington family burial ground is northwest of the dwelling; no graves have been located at the Brooks site. At the Brooks site, refuse was deposited in pits around the dwelling; no trash pits were found at the Washington site, but a nearby ravine may have been used for trash storage.⁵⁴

The site plans of the Brooks and Washington sites, which were established before the Popes Creek plantation, lack the ordered and symmetrical orientation of outbuildings seen at the later plantation. This order is interpreted as a demonstration of the Renaissance view of human control over nature.⁵⁵ However, the trash pit (excavated by Barka) in the service yard west of "Building X" (birthplace site) reflects the persistence of this disposal practice. The persistence of post-in-ground construction is also evident at the Popes Creek site.⁵⁶ With the development of the Popes Creek plantation, the buildings at the John Washington and Henry Brooks sites may have been used as slave quarters or tenements until they were abandoned or demolished.⁵⁷

A relatively small number of American Indian artifacts were recovered during the excavations at the John Washington and Henry Brooks sites, including a late Archaic Savannah River projectile point and Woodland ceramic sherds. Two features, a pit (Brooks site) and a hearth (Washington site), were identified, but no shell middens were found.

Archeological excavations have been conducted at the Popes Creek plantation, Henry Brooks site, and John Washington (Bridge Creek plantation) site. The most recent investigations of the Henry Brooks and John Washington sites (1977) were designed to document the boundaries and major components of those sites, without completely excavating the features located.⁵⁸ Thus, the general plans of these sites are known, and these sites include preserved features that may be excavated in the future to provide further information for the interpretation of these sites.

⁵² Blades, 1974-1977 Archeological Investigations, 157.

⁵³ Blades, "Archeological Evidence," 2.

⁵⁴ Blades, "Archaeological Excavations at the Henry Brooks and John Washington Sites," 91.

⁵⁵ Blades, 1974-1977 Archeological Investigations, 163.

⁵⁶ Blades, "Archaeological Excavations at the Henry Brooks and John Washington Sites," 92.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 93.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

The major controlled excavations (that is, according to modern professional standards) at the Popes Creek plantation were conducted in 1974-1975.⁵⁹ These excavations concentrated on the area of the Washington birthplace site, "Building X," and the features in the Colonial Garden. Information from this area contributed substantially to understanding the site plan and land-use patterns of the eighteenth century Popes Creek plantation. Based on this information and its subsequent interpretation, it is clear that the reconstructed site plan does not reflect the eighteenth century character of the plantation. Pedestrian survey and geophysical testing may be helpful in identifying likely locations of additional resources, but controlled subsurface testing is necessary to confirm the presence of preserved resources. Careful review and analysis of the archeology of comparable eighteenth century plantations would help direct such a testing project and contribute to interpretation of the results.

Prehistoric resources within the park are not well documented or understood. However, existing information indicates that prehistoric American Indians exploited the riverine resources (particularly shell fish) and probably occupied a number of areas within the park. Prehistoric resources have been found in several areas of the park, including the New Visitor Center, Ice Pond, Colonial Garden, Henry Brooks and John Washington sites, and Burnt House Point. Others areas likely to contain prehistoric resources are those located near the juncture of a freshwater stream and Popes Creek or the Potomac River. The high ground near Bridges Creek, above Digwood Swamp, and around the stream that drains into Dancing Marsh are likely to have been used and occupied by American Indians. Areas along the shores of the Potomac River and Bridges and Popes Creeks also contain shell middens, although portions of these may already have been lost to bank erosion. Review and analysis of the archeology of the coastal plain of the Potomac River could provide the basis for a model to predict prehistoric site locations. Controlled subsurface testing of high-probability areas as well as testing of a sample of low-probability areas (based on the model) is necessary to inventory the prehistoric resources of the park. Such a testing program should be based on the results of a comprehensive archeological assemblage of the park.

NATURAL RESOURCE REPORTS

- "Popes Creek and Bridges Creek," Carroll Curtis. Virginia Institute of Marine Science, Chesapeake Bay Estuarine Research Reserve Program, n.d.
- "The Herpetofauna of George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Virginia," Ralph P. Eckerlin, Natural Sciences Division, Northern Virginia Community College, Annandale, Virginia, n.d.
- "Report to the U.S. Park Service, Erosion Rates Along the Coastal Boundaries of the George Washington Birthplace National Monument," Greg French, Department of Geography, University of Maryland CP. 1995.
- "Timberland Evaluation Report," Charlie Knoeller, Commonwealth of Virginia, Department of Forestry, Tappahannock, Virginia. 1989.
- "The Flora of George Washington's Birthplace National Park," Gary E. Lam. ca. 1983-1984.
- "Section II: Bridges Creek to the Sands," James L. Mercer, from *Westmoreland County Tidal Marsh Inventory*, Virginia Institute of Marine Science, School of Marine Science, College of William and Mary. 1978.

⁵⁹ Barka.

⁶⁰ Blades, "Archeological Evidence."

- "A Natural Heritage Inventory of Mid-Atlantic Region National Parks in Virginia: George Washington Birthplace National Monument. J. Christopher Ludwig, Kurt A. Buhlmann, and Christopher A. Pague. Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation, Division of Natural Heritage, and National Park Service. 1993.
- "Site Visit Report, Reforestation and Habitat Restoration Projects: George Washington Birthplace National Monument," Karen Beppler, Resource Management Specialist, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, National Park Service. 1995.
- "Change Detection Study of Vegetation and Area of the Popes Creek Tidal Marsh Complex, George Washington's Birthplace National Monument, National Park Service," Gene M. Silberhorn and Jeffrey Shields. Department of Resource Management and Policy. Virginia Institute of Marine Science, School of Marine Science, College of William and Mary. 1995.
- Soil Survey of Westmoreland County, Virginia, John C. Nicholson, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service. 1981.
- Notes, Joint Field Trip of Westmoreland Bird Club and George Washington Birthplace National Monument, bird list. 1989.

The natural resource documents reviewed for this report relate to water resources, flora and fauna, plant communities, and soils. They range from inventories to evaluations, comparative studies over time, and treatment plans. Inventories of the site's natural features include the soil survey of Westmoreland County, the flora and herpetofauna inventories of George Washington Birthplace National Monument, and the Natural Heritage Inventory of Mid-Atlantic Region National Parks in Virginia. They reveal the character of the park's living community and the substrate that supports it. Other reports, including the Virginia Institute of Marine Science's "Popes Creek and Bridges Creek" and "Section II: Bridges Creek to the Sands," and the University of Maryland's "Report to the U.S. Park Service, Erosion Rates Along the Coastal Boundaries of the George Washington Birthplace National Monument," address water resource issues such as water quality, the nature of the two creeks that border the park, and erosion rates along the Potomac. Vegetation evaluations and treatment recommendations, including the Virginia Institute of Marine Science's "Change Detection Study of Vegetation and Area of the Popes Creek Tidal Marsh Complex," the Virginia Department of Forestry's "Timberland Evaluation Report," and Karen Beppler's "Site Visit Report, Reforestation and Habitat Restoration Projects," establish a framework for the CLR's vegetation management strategy.

Review of the *Soil Survey of Westmoreland County* was particularly useful for developing this CLR. Analysis of soils mapping associated with the park revealed that many of the soils which underlie the park are classified as prime agricultural soils. Others, however, are considered unsuitable for many agricultural purposes, including forestry, due to a high water table and other drainage problems. Even the soils classified as prime for agriculture, the study notes, are significantly enhanced through the construction of drainage systems, such as ditches, and the application of proper fertilizers and lime. Understanding the suitability of the soils at the park for agriculture reveals much about the existing character of the site today and allows us to consider the manner in which it might have been utilized in the past.

Other documents indicate that the plant and animal species that occupy the site are numerous and diverse. The park's mix of upland and lowland areas, wetland environments, agricultural crop and forestry lands, as well as successional woodlands, allows for a wide range of habitats and communities. The survey of park flora that was developed by a graduate student in the early 1980s indicates that nearly 400 plant species within 93 families have been identified within the park to date. One of the species recorded in the flora, eastern bloodleaf, is included on the Virginia Rare Plant List, maintained by the state Department of Conservation and Recreation, Division of Natural

Heritage. Subsequent searches for this species as part of a natural heritage inventory of the park have been unsuccessful, however. A complement to the flora that has not yet been undertaken for the park would be a study and map of vegetative communities.

Future management of vegetative communities is addressed in the "Reforestation and Habitat Restoration Projects Site Visit Report." This report makes specific recommendations for the long-term management of a twelve-acre parcel recently acquired by the park, the loblolly pine plantation, and a buffer area around the Henry Brooks site. For the newly acquired twelve acre parcel, it proposes two management options, one of which assumes NPS ownership. Under NPS ownership, the report recommends allowing the area that was recently timbered to revert to forest through secondary succession. The CLR takes all of the recommendations included in this report into consideration as part of the treatment plan.

Lists of reptiles, amphibians, and mammals that inhabit and visit the site have been prepared by Northern Virginia Community College. Twelve amphibians and eighteen reptiles are included on the list. None of these species is listed as rare or endangered. Extensive lists of birds observed at the park have been prepared by the Westmoreland Bird Club. One of the species is the federally endangered bald eagle. A Natural Heritage Inventory of the park undertaken by MARO in conjunction with the Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation, Division of Natural Heritage, identifies nesting pairs of bald eagles at George Washington Birthplace National Monument:

This site includes nesting eagles which produced two young in 1991....Feeding habitat includes open water of Popes Creek and Potomac River, shorelines, and sandy beach. The boundary presented is believed to be the minimum amount necessary to provide protection for the nesting bald eagles. Dana Bradshaw has indicated that Popes Creek and the shoreline of the Potomac River abutting Longwood Swamp have been observed as primary feeding areas. Wandering visitors from the adjacent picnic area could pose serious threats. Boat traffic on Popes Creek or sensitive portions of the Potomac River shoreline may disturb nesting and feeding eagles. Visitor use of the picnic area should be evaluated to determine the level of threat. Visitors should be encouraged not to wander toward the bald eagle nesting or heavily-used feeding areas. Boat traffic on Popes Creek should be restricted to the main channel. Posting of the Potomac River shoreline may be warranted. Additional investigations should be undertaken to delineate additional feeding and resting areas that may be essential to the eagles. NPS should work closely with the VA Dept. of Game and Inland Fisheries to develop a comprehensive eagle management plan. In addition, work is needed to determine protection needs on adjacent private property.61

The remainder of the natural resource reports reviewed for this CLR involved water resources and their associated vegetative communities. They discuss the nature of the water resources at the park, delineate existing wetlands, and provide baseline scientific data regarding such issues as water quality and shoreline erosion. The "Popes Creek and Bridges Creek" study includes a detailed section of recommended future research needs that is itself an important resource. The report on erosion rates along the coastal boundaries of the park provides critical information for management of these areas. Erosion of the northern park boundary is a serious consideration for park management due to the potential for loss of archeological resources and other park features. Using analysis of aerial photographs ranging in date from 1937 to 1982, and marker post measurements thereafter, the study determined rates of erosion over time at various points along the northern park

⁶¹ National Park Service and Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation, A Natural Heritage Inventory of Mid-Atlantic Region Parks in Virginia: George Washington Birthplace National Monument, 1993, 8.

boundary. Based on the rates determined in the study, the report indicated that the Memorial House will "remain safe for several hundred years." ⁶² The report also summarizes recommendations for erosion control based on a 1982 letter from the Virginia Soil and Water Conservation Commission. The data provided in these reports was applied to the illustration of shoreline evolution through time on historical base maps for this CLR.

The 1995 Popes Creek marsh study provides valuable information regarding the changing nature of this plant community. The study reveals that dramatic changes have occurred within this sensitive plant community since the 1930s based on evaluation of plant community composition over time. It notes that:

marsh vegetation dominated by *Iva frutescens* in 1976 [has] shifted to vegetation dominated by grasses such as *Spartina cynosuroides*, *Spartina patens*, and *Spartina alterniflora*; accretion rates, determined by using Cs-137 analysis, indicate that the marsh system is accreting approximately two times the relative sea level rise estimates for the area; there was an approximately 50% loss of marsh area from 1937 to 1985 based on aerial photography interpretation due to differential erosion rates which also likely effected plant community structure; and a biological factor, the abundance of a parasitic angiosperm, *Cuscuta compacta* (dodder) which may have impacted the vigor of *Iva frutescens*.⁶³

Further study of the marshes is clearly indicated based on the findings of this report.

Recommendations for Further Study

Preparation of this CLR raised a number of unanswered questions that merit further investigation. Resolution of these issues would potentially yield information critical to understanding the landscape during Washington's boyhood, and establishing well-grounded management and interpretation plans for significant resources dating from both the Washington family and commemorative periods.

Archeological investigations, including an "Archeological Overview and Assessment," "Identification Study," and "Evaluation Study" will be critical to NPS's understanding of the evolution of the landscape at George Washington Birthplace National Monument. The information derived from these studies would almost certainly enhance resource management, interpretation, and long-range planning efforts. Findings associated with any archeological investigations undertaken in the future, in conjunction with the information contained in this CLR, should be used to update the park's Long-Range Interpretive Plan before interpretive programs are altered.

⁶² Greg French, "Report to the U.S. Park Service, Erosion Rates Along the Coastal Boundaries of the George Washington Birthplace National Monument," Department of Geography, University of Maryland, 1985, 12.

⁶³ Gene M. Silberhorn and Jeffrey Shields, "Change Detection Study of Vegetation and Area of the Popes Creek Tidal Marsh Complex, George Washington's Birthplace National Monument, National Park Service," Department of Resource Management and Policy, Virginia Institute of Marine Science, School of Marine Science, College of William and Mary, Gloucester Point, Virginia, June 1995, 2.

The avenues for further study identified during the process of documenting the site's physical include:

- additional aspects of the Popes Creek plantation landscape of the historic core. For example, through detailed subsurface archeological testing, the sites of additional outbuildings, slave quarters, fencing, paths, roads, and walks, and other features may be discovered;
- additional aspects of the plantation landscape of Duck Hall, including the grave sites identified there in the 1930s;
- a more detailed understanding of the use of the Popes Creek and Bridges Creek landing areas;
- the date of origin of the agricultural ditches, and a determination of the source of the labor used to construct them;
- a detailed understanding of extant prehistoric resources;
- a better understanding of Muse-family settlement and history; and
- a more detailed understanding of non-Washington family settlement sites located within the current boundaries of the park. These may have included Jane Higdon Brown, David and Robert Wickliffe, and Muse house sites.

The existing conditions documentation included in this report provides a baseline of data regarding the landscape features and systems extant in the park in 1995-1998. As with the historical documentation section of this CLR, the existing conditions documentation section should be updated over time to aid future studies of park development. As mentioned above in the review of park planning documents, there are a number of gaps in the park's list of necessary planning documents and resource studies. Notable among these is the lack of a General Management Plan, Park Administrative History, oral histories with adjacent landowners, and investigations of the histories of the families other than the Washingtons that have occupied this land. Various natural resource studies, as noted in the studies that have been undertaken to date, are still needed to help establish critical base-line information, and to continue comparative evaluations over time. Other useful studies listed in the park's Resource Management Plan that should be prepared or completed involve mitigation measure for shoreline erosion, the use of controlled burning for vegetation management, and the implementation of sustainable agricultural practices. Work begun on the park "Preservation Maintenance Plan" by the Olmsted Center should also be continued and completed.

Preparation of the evaluation section of the CLR similarly raised certain questions that can only be answered through additional research and study. For example, in order to better understand the design intent of the commemorative period, an investigation of the career of Roswell Ludgate and an oral history with Charles Peterson should be undertaken. The draft National Register nomination for the park should be completed and submitted to the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. Once accepted, the nomination's evaluation of park significance should be utilized to update this CLR. It is also recommended that historic structures reports be prepared for the park's commemorative buildings and structures.

Issues meriting further study were also identified during the preparation of the treatment plan. For example, rehabilitation of plantings within the historic core and the Colonial Garden, and the development of an exhibit addressing the interpretation of eighteenth

century slave life and quarters require additional research and investigation. The treatment plan often recommends the re-establishment of commemorative period features that are no longer extant. Implementation of these recommendations will require additional research efforts to locate original construction documents and planting plans from the commemorative period upon which to base new features. The treatment plan also recommends enhancing the interpretation of the Washington family period by establishing additional exhibits based on plantation slave life. In the absence of site-specific knowledge of slave life, the park will need to develop instead a typological model for Tidewater Virginia on which to base their exhibit. This will entail extensive further investigation of recent papers on the topic, and consultation with leaders in the field and local historic sites currently involved in the interpretation of this topic.

Summary of Findings

Based on the understanding of the George Washington Birthplace National Monument landscape developed through the preparation of this CLR, the site appears to have been continuously occupied since American Indians, particularly the Algonquins, first established seasonal oyster-harvesting camps along the banks of Popes and Bridges Creeks and the Potomac River. American Indians appear also to have utilized this landscape for seasonal agricultural activities beginning during the Late Woodland period, ca. 1300 AD, and continuing until English settlement.

In 1657, Henry Brooks became the first English patentee of this landscape. Throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century and most of the eighteenth century, the site continued to the settled and farmed. By the early eighteenth century, as many as six house sites had been developed between Popes and Bridges Creeks. Of these, one belonged to John Washington whose descendants continued to own land here until 1858. Agriculture was the primary early land use of the area, and access to the Potomac River was a critical component in the settlement of this remote site.

Although the primary products of agriculture changed over the subsequent centuries, the landscape has continued to be farmed and occupied until the present day. Within this agricultural context, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed ever-increasing efforts to memorialize the birthplace of George Washington. These efforts culminated in the 1920s and 1930s with the establishment of one of the country's first national historical parks. Today, George Washington Birthplace National Monument exhibits important aspects of national preservation history while also retaining landscape features that reflect the character of the landscape during George Washington's lifetime.

George Washington Birthplace National Monument has attained importance as a reflection of the origin of the nation's first president, and as a lasting memorial to him. Based on National Register of Historic Places criteria, the park is a nationally significant cultural landscape due not only to its association with the early life of George Washington, but also to the fact that it was the first historical site administered by the National Park Service in the East, and for its association with the broad patterns of American history involving the commemoration of important historical figures and the preservation of important historical sites during the mid- to late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. George Washington Birthplace National Monument is significant in American history, agriculture, archeology, conservation, exploration/settlement, landscape architecture, and architecture. It appears to meet the listing requirements of the National Register of Historic Places under Criteria A, B, C, D, and Special Considerations C and F within two periods of significance: the Middle Woodland prehistoric period—1779, and 1896—1941. For the earlier period, the park

retains integrity primarily as an archeological site. For the later commemorative period, the park possesses a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

The natural beauty of the park as it exists today complement the park's efforts to interpret the influence of this landscape on the development of the nation's first president. The landscape of the park is well-maintained and the majority of its features are in good condition. The park contains and maintains a wealth of historic, cultural, and natural resources that have played an important role in the history of the site. The birthplace of George Washington is justifiably a popular site for visitors due to its wealth of resources, beautiful setting, and interpretive programs that engage and captivate park visitors.

One of the most difficult challenges facing park management and interpretive planning is the development of a comprehensive and synthetic approach to resource protection and preservation that acknowledges the complexity of the site's various layers of cultural history, historic associations, and numerous sensitive natural resources. While the park already provides a much beloved visitor experience, the treatment plan section of this CLR identifies various strategies for protecting and highlighting the significant qualities associated with the commemorative period, for distinguishing commemorative resources from Washington era resources, and for implementing management policies that recognize the National Park Service's Sustainability Initiative. This CLR provides a framework and programmatic basis for protection, rehabilitation, maintenance, and interpretation of the park's significant landscape resources, and for new construction where warranted and appropriate. The treatment approach recommended in the CLR—rehabilitation allows the park to meet various functional, maintenance, and management needs now and in the future. The treatment plan, conceived as part of the CLR planning process, provides specific recommendations and guidelines for a variety of landscape resources, including vegetation, buildings and structures, circulation systems, and small-scale features. It also lists issues to be considered as part of future interpretive planning efforts that might contribute to the visitor experience by enhancing a sense of appreciation and stewardship for the park's resources.

Six management zones—Washington Family Lands; Areas Outside Washington Family Holdings; Commemorative Landscape; Park and Visitor Facilities; Primary Known Archeological Resources; and Water Resource Protection Areas—have been identified as part of the CLR. A distinct resource-driven approach to landscape management, within the overriding approach of rehabilitation, has been developed for each zone:

- The recommended approach to the **Washington Family Lands** zone entails preserving and interpreting Washington family period resources, and retaining and maintaining existing cultural, natural, and historic resources, patterns of spatial organization, and land use, particularly agriculture. The CLR recommends that consideration be paid to the interpretation of this area as one of the best examples of the landscape as it most likely existed during the Washington era. Archeological investigations should be utilized to supplement the interpretation of this zone. The establishment of warm season grass fields and a new interpretive trail are two construction-related recommendations included within this zone. Although rehabilitation of the historic landscape to facilitate visitor access, vegetation management, and interpretation is recommended for this zone, all changes that involve new construction should be carefully considered prior to implementation in order to avoid altering significant known or potential resources.
- The recommended approach to the **Areas Outside Washington Family Holdings** zone is to preserve and interpret the setting of Washington Family Lands.
- The recommended approach to the **Commemorative Landscape** zone involves preserving and interpreting commemorative period resources, including retaining and

maintaining existing cultural, natural, and historic resources, patterns of spatial organization, and land use. The CLR recommends that additional consideration be paid to the interpretation of this zone as an historic designed landscape that commemorates the site of George Washington's birth over a long period of time commencing as early as 1815. Within this zone, the repair of deteriorated features and replacement of features missing from the commemorative period are recommended using the documented design intent of the landscape architects, architects, and planners involved in the initial development of the park in order to perpetuate the intended character of the park.

- The recommended approach to the **Park and Visitor Facilities** zone is to maintain and develop park and visitor facilities.
- The recommended approach to the **Primary Known Archeological Resources** zone, an overlay zone that occurs wherever a below-ground resources is known to exist, involves the protection of all known resources, except where their investigation is warranted in order to gain knowledge of specific information. Also, the CLR recommends that the interpretive potential of all significant archeological resources be evaluated.
- The recommended approach to the Water Resource Protection Areas zone is to protect and enhance water-related resources primarily through vegetation management.

Cultural landscape management and preservation strategies included in the George Washington Birthplace National Monument Cultural Landscape Report take into account the sometimes conflicting goals of protecting historic, cultural, and natural resources, and providing for the comfort, edification, and enjoyment of visitors. The treatment plan included in this CLR carefully considers the inter-relationships between all park resources. The findings of future investigations into the site's history should be utilized to update and evaluate this CLR to assure that management strategies continue to properly address the needs of the park's resources and its visitors.

2 • SITE PHYSICAL HISTORY

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2 • SITE PHYSICAL HISTORY

Introduction

The cultural landscape of Virginia's Northern Neck, of which George Washington Birthplace National Monument is a part, has evolved over two millennia, and particularly since the late-Woodland indigenous phase (ca. 1300). The physical history of the landscape located between Popes and Bridges Creeks along the Potomac River that constitutes the park is the focus of this chapter. The site is generally rural and agricultural in character, and little cartographic documentation of the landscape prior to the 1879 Lindenkohl survey exists [Fig. 11]. The documentation that does exist consists primarily of diagrammatic surveys indicating ownership patterns, but imparting little information about the site's landscape features, such as vegetation, roads, buildings, and structures.

In order to understand the character of the landscape prior to the Lindenkohl survey, all available information, including maps, written texts such as journals and diaries of travelers and residents of the Northern Neck and Tidewater Virginia, the excellent available historical scholarship that focuses on the indigenous and colonial periods of similar regional sites, and the results of archeological investigations within the park, was analyzed and synthesized, and areas of incomplete documentation determined. Where primary source material was lacking, a close examination of the broader regional landscape context was undertaken whereby available primary source materials relating to the park lands were supplemented with documentation associated with nearby sites, or sites with a related history. The resulting contextual model was used to hypothesize about developments at this site. Hypothetical and conjectural information included in the physical history is identified as such so as not to confuse the reader.

While three primary dwellings dating to the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries have so far been excavated at George Washington Birthplace National Monument, no comprehensive archeological investigation has yet been undertaken that provides a clear picture of the site's early settlement patterns. Major dwelling and outbuilding remains have been the focus of investigations to date, and little archeological information exists to shed light on the location or character of any of the elements, including outbuildings, roads, fence lines, and gardens, that linked those living in the dwellings with the outlying lands that supported them. A more complete understanding of the park from prehistory through Washington family ownership and beyond will only be possible through additional archeological investigations.

The documentation of the park's physical history that follows is organized into eight landscape chronology periods, which are treated as disctict sections within this chapter. The establishment of these periods has been based on the dates of known events and physical developments that are thought to have significantly altered the character, land use, or patterns of this landscape. Each major development marks the transition between periods. Landscape chronology periods are introduced by overview summaries of the physical developments known to have occurred during the period. The summary is followed by a detailed discussion of the that period's history, and a concluding paragraph that describes the impact these developments are thought to have had on the landscape's character.

The primary landscape features described in the text are consistently referenced through time. Each has been given an inventory number that appears in brackets in the text. A chronology map for each period of landscape history is located at the end of each chronology period section. Chronology maps include graphic delineation of referenced features. These are labeled with the appropriate inventory number. An inventory list of features present in the landscape during each period accompanies its associated chronology map. A complete list of inventoried features is also found in an appendix in the report. Other graphic illustrations that support the physical history text include historic photographs, maps, and surveys, as well as secondary source illustrations and diagrams. These illustrations are located at the end of each appropriate chronology period section. An appendix of diagrams prepared by OCULUS to indicate ownership of the landscape Popes and Bridges Creeks by the end of each period is also included in the report.

American Indian Settlement to the Origin of the English Patent Landscape, 200 A.D. - 1657

(Map C. Historical Base Map: 200 A.D. - 1057; Appendices A and B)

Introduction

Very little factual information is known about this period. The information provided in *Map C* and in the description of the landscape during this period is based on a knowledge of the site between 1995-1998, a review of archeological investigations undertaken within park boundaries, and a contextual model developed from existing studies of the regional landscape during this period. It is possible to state with some certainty that, within the current park boundaries, there existed during this period a range of naturally-occurring drainageways, springs, wetlands, and woodlands; agricultural fields; and at least one road or trail; as well as Algonquin Indian seasonal oyster-harvesting camp sites, and perhaps the house site of Henry Brooks, first European patentee of the area.

Groves of Eastern red cedar trees may also have existed in some areas, especially along the margins of waterways [Inv. #13]. It is unknown whether these groves were naturally occurring or arose because of land-use practices of the Algonquin Indians. Early descriptions of the property refer to Popes Creek as Cedar Creek, possibly due to the presence of cedar trees on the islands located at its mouth. The drainageways and wetlands that may have existed during this period include what are now known as Digwood [Inv. #9] and Longwood [Inv. #10] Swamps, Dancing Marsh [Inv. #11], the perennial creek emptying into Dancing Marsh [Inv. #8], and a stream or pond near the Potomac River [Inv. #2]. The Henry Brooks house site [Inv. #1] is located near this stream or pond. It seems likely that this stream or pond, which may have been spring- and drainage-fed, emptied into the Potomac and may have been affected by tidal actions. Accretion in this area appears to have changed the hydrologic relationship between the stream or pond and the Potomac; today the drainageway appears as a large pond. Four springs apparently also existed during this period [Inv. #12]. One of these springs was located near Bridges Creek, another along Popes Creek, the third adjacent to Dancing Marsh, and the fourth west of Longwood Swamp.

Landscape features that may have been associated with Algonquin Indian occupation of this area prior to 1657 are primarily archeological in nature. They include shell middens [Inv. #3] that may indicate the locations of seasonal oyster-harvesting camps, and stone agricultural implements [Inv. #4]. Shell middens have been found in the area of the birthplace foundation, at Burnt House Point, along Bridges Creek and the Potomac River, in the areas of the Henry Brooks and John Washington house sites, above the Ice Pond, and in the vicinity of the Visitor Center parking area. Three grinding stones discovered within park boundaries indicate that agricultural activities probably occurred during American Indian occupation of the area. While it is not known to what extent agriculture was practiced by American Indians within this landscape, possible field locations have been identified for this report by determining the limits of prime agricultural soil [Inv. #5]. The wetness of much of the region's soils would have made farming difficult without ditching, so areas of prime agricultural soils would have likely been the first candidates for agricultural activities. Old fields—lands abandoned for agricultural production after nutrients had been depleted in the soils—would also have been present in the area, although this report does not address their conjectural locations.

Deciduous hardwood, pine, and mixed pine/hardwood woodlands would have constituted much of the naturally-occurring vegetative cover in upland areas where farming and other cultural activities were not occurring [Inv. #6]. A wide range of woodlands would have existed during this period due to the myriad of soil and moisture conditions in the area, and the probable impact of American

Indian interventions, such as slash-and-burn agriculture, selective clearing or burning of the woodland understory for hunting, the abandonment of depleted fields, and oyster harvesting.

Seasonal American Indian encampment and oyster harvesting areas were probably linked to each other and Potomac River landing points by trails. Later-named Bridges Creek landing may have been one of these points; it is possible that during this period a trail led from the Popes Creek area to Bridges Creek landing following a route similar to the one used later to access the John Washington site [Inv. #7]. It is not known whether Henry Brooks utilized existing trails, such as one leading to Bridges Creek landing, or established additional inland routes of travel after settling on the land sometime between 1651 and 1657.

Algonquin settlement

When the English led by Captain John Smith arrived at the Potomac River in 1608, they encountered an American Indian population and landscape similar to that associated with the other three rivers—the James, York, and Rappahannock—which divided the Tidewater into "necks" of land. By all accounts, the landscape of the Algonquin-speaking American Indians reflected their association with the powerful Powhatan Confederacy that extended over some 16,500 square kilometers of Virginia's coastal plain. The Confederacy was concentrated east of the fall line, within the contemporary boundaries of the Commonwealth of Virginia. It extended west to the fall line, south toward the North Carolina coast, east across the Eastern Shore to the Atlantic Ocean, and north to the lower banks of the Potomac River, encompassing the region known as the Northern Neck. With a population of 13,000 divided among at least thirty-one distinct territories, the Powhatans exerted a powerful influence on the landscape prior to the arrival of English colonists.¹

As critical a resource to the Confederacy as it was to later English settlement, the Potomac River helped define the character of Algonquin life on the Northern Neck in much the same way as the lower rivers functioned for their respective indigenous populations. Throughout the Archaic and into the late-Middle Woodland phase (200-900 AD), small bands of Algonquins camped along the river edges, harvesting oysters and hunting on a seasonal basis.² With the advent of a widespread agricultural system based on the cultivation of maize, squash, and beans, a more permanent native settlement pattern emerged. Rivers such as the Potomac continued to influence the native landscape in that local centers were established along their banks. Smith's map of 1612 indicates that there were at least two distinct types of settlement clusters: "king's houses," including the residence and village of a *werowance* or local chief, and "ordinary houses," containing smaller concentrations of people associated with a particular chiefdom.

At least two "king's houses" were located along the southern banks of the Potomac on the Northern Neck: "Patawomek" and "Onawmanient" (home to the Matchotic Indians). Historical and archeological evidence indicates that George Washington Birthplace National Monument is located roughly half-way between the settlements at Patawomek and Onawmanient. Population estimates for these settlements vary, although it is thought that the Onawmanient chiefdom had a total

¹ Helen C. Rountree, ed., *Powhatan Foreign Relations*, 1500-1722 (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 76.

² Stephen R. Potter, Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs: The Development of Algonquin Culture in the Potomac Valley (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1993). The emergence of an agricultural base for Algonquin settlement occurred, as most scholars agree, during and after a "dry period," lasting from about 1000 to 1200 AD. By 1300 AD, reliance upon "plant domesticates" was a central feature of Algonquin settlement throughout the last two indigenous phases, Late Woodland II (1300-1500 AD) and Protohistoric (1500-1650s).

population of 425, and the Patawomek 850. It is not known to what extent this population was affected by the arrival of Europeans before 1657.

Patawomek, to the west, was perhaps the most influential Algonquin settlement in the area. It served as a regional trade center and was located on the banks of present-day Potomac Creek in Stafford County. While this settlement obviously lent its name to the Potomac River as well as the creek, the translation of Patawomek literally meant "trading center," or "of traveling traders or peddlers." Onawmanient, to the east, was sited along the shores of the Potomac River several miles southeast of the park, at what eventually became Nomini Plantation. Although no other centers are known to have existed within Westmoreland County, there are at least 26 known occupation sites of lesser importance in the area dating between 2000 BC and 1700 AD; most of these sites centered on the Rappahannock rather than the Potomac River, however. Perhaps more critical to an understanding of the site is its relationship to a lower regional center at modern Leedstown. This center was occupied by the Pissasecks, who apparently controlled the territory from their "king's house" on the Rappahannock northward to encompass the area including Popes and Bridges Creeks.

The park's land between the two creeks, and the area to its south, was thus not only squarely in the midst of west-east inland trading paths and native trails, but also likely connected to the southern center of the Pissasecks. Archeologists have noted that the most-traveled trails were those which connected town to town, such as Patawomek to Onawmanient. These were generally aligned some distance away from the river in order to avoid tributaries, necklands, and their accompanying wetlands and estuarine lands. Subsidiary or feeder trails branched off these main routes to provide access to the hunting areas and seasonal camps established along river and creek banks to harvest river products such as oysters and anadromous fish. Given the population and influence of at least two of these "king's houses," its proximity to the Potomac River, and the probable network of trails that led southward to centers on the Rappahannock River and beyond, the park was clearly part of a larger landscape across which the inhabitants of various Confederacy centers traveled.

Archeological investigations within park boundaries have identified several locations that include indigenous artifacts: the Henry Brooks site [Fig. 37], John Washington site [Fig. 38], Visitor Center parking lot, Colonial garden [Fig. 35], and an unnamed site near the Ice Pond [Fig. 36]. Artifacts found at these sites range from dispersed Archaic shards and flints to dense shell middens. Given the fact that shoreline erosion has consumed up to 1,000 feet of riverfront in areas such as the western mouth of Pope's Creek since the Late Woodland period, it can only be surmised that significant evidence of encampments, and perhaps village sites, is now lost. However, the presence of American Indian shell middens in the archeological record is revealing of at least one component of Algonquin presence on this site: seasonal oyster-harvesting camps.

Oyster bars were plentiful in the estuarine environment found throughout much of the tidal segment of the Potomac River. These oyster bars were a critical source of fresh and dried food, as well as a trade commodity for the regional Algonquins. Camps specifically devoted to oyster-harvesting were generally established when the sites were more than one day away from a local population center, as was the case with the landscape between Popes and Bridges Creeks.⁴ Occupation of these seasonal camps ranged from weeks to months, and generally occurred from December to May.⁵ The Algonquins would dredge the oysters from the shallow river beds with wooden rakes,

³ Potter, 133.

⁴ Potter, 47.

⁵ Ibid., 41; Walter B. Norris, Jr., ed., Westmoreland County, Virginia, 1653-1983 (Montross, VA: Westmoreland County Board of Supervisors, 1983), 17.

quickly roasting them over a fire to open the shells;⁶ shell middens were produced when oyster shells were discarded in large numbers after the meat had been extracted. A new layer of refuse was produced and added to the middens each season or visit.

The river therefore played a primary role in supporting the Algonquins' dietary needs. In addition to oysters, area river harvesting may also have focused on fishing [Fig. 1], usually with weirs, and on the gathering of marsh tubers, or tuckahoe (also known as cattails), which were ground and used as a corn substitute to produce bread.⁷ Fish and shellfish known to have existed in abundance in the Potomac at that time included crab, sturgeon, and gar.

Besides seasonal oyster-harvesting camps, the Bridges and Popes creek area may have contained smaller settlement sites devoted to agriculture. In particular, a site referred to as "Arrowhead" in colonial documents, and later noted as "Indiantown" on 1932, 1932 revised 1945, and 1946 Wakefield Quadrangle USGS maps, as well as Eaton's *Historical Atlas of Westmoreland County*, *Virginia*, strongly suggests the presence of an Algonquin settlement not limited to seasonal use. This area, which was part of John Washington's original acreage (but outside of current park boundaries) may have been at least semi-permanent and agricultural in character, despite its location at "Oyster shell poynt." Given the decentralization of the Confederacy at the northern fringe of its influence, it is possible that a small village could have been sited in this area, and that it may have influenced the disposition of adjoining lands, including those which now comprise the park. 9

Generally, the physical plan of Confederacy villages included wooden residential structures, lodges of either post-hole construction or woven saplings capable of being carried to a new site, small local garden plots, wattle fencing, and outlying fields typically containing large-scale production crops such as tobacco and corn [Fig. 2]. Cultural studies of the period, such as Stephen

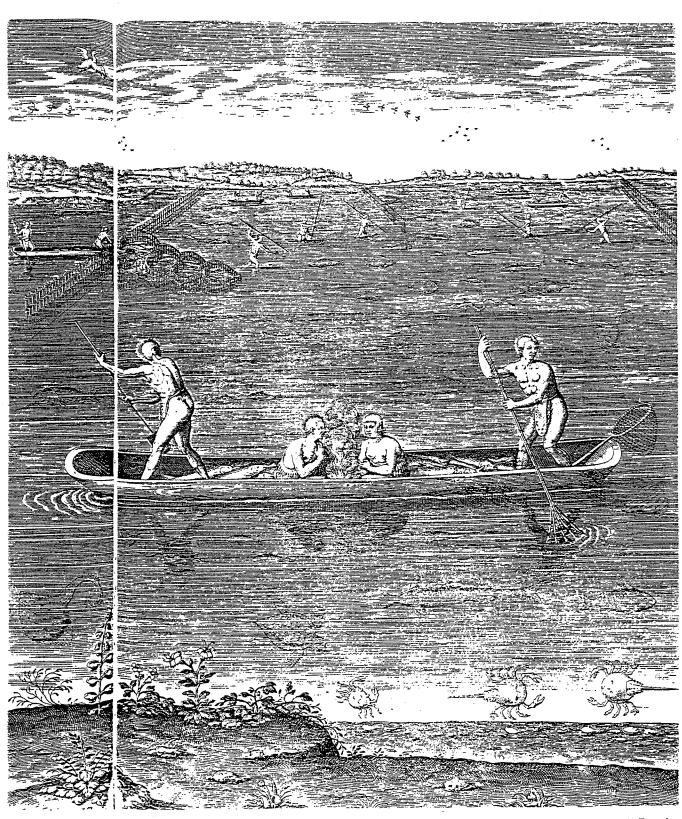
Other Hough notes: "A fine specimen of indian [sic] stone artifact was donated by one of our neighbors, Mr. William Latane. This stone resembles a long heavy axe, but for want of a groove to attach a handle we are inclined to believe it must have been used as a wedge....The Superintendent discovered a pair of hammer stones and another piece of indian [sic] pottery on the bank of Popes Creek in front of the Mansion. It is very evident that in pre-Columbian times there was a considerable indian [sic] camp upon the present Mansion grounds." Superintendent's Monthly Report, June 1934, 8.

⁶ Potter, 94-95.

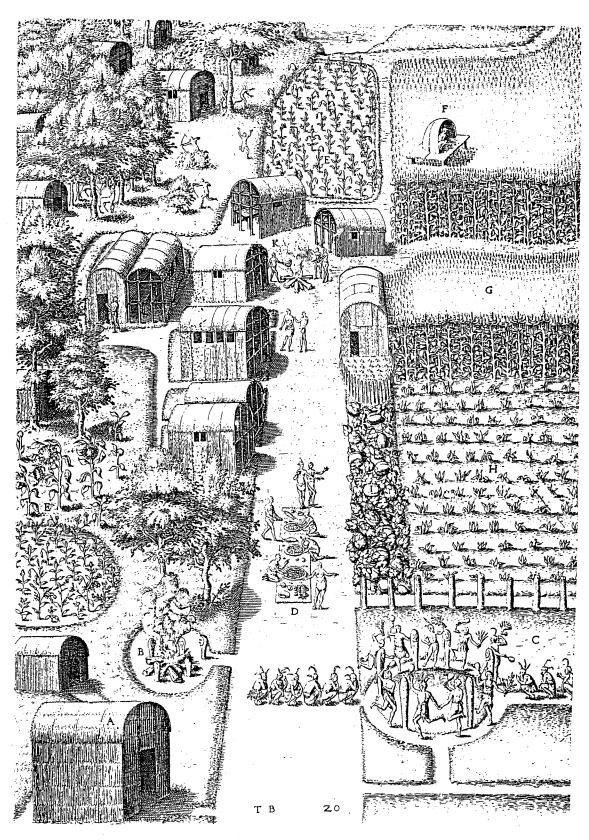
⁷ Tuckahoe is generally found in freshwater marshes, however.

⁸ David Eaton, *Historical Atlas of Westmoreland County, Virginia* (Richmond, VA: Dietz Press, 1942), sheet 5. This map shows Indiantown as part of the Anderson/Washington tract; Hatch map 1 shows the Henry Brooks patent. The description of the site in question is in Hatch: within the 100 acres originally given to Cole and Anderson, related as "on the northwest side of his [Brooks] holding and border[ing] Bridges Creek." Seemingly, though not so stated, it fronted narrowly on the Potomac between the creek mouth and the 'small gut dividing this and land' of Brooks to the southeast. It paralleled the creek inland, crossing its main southeast branch to include at least a part of "Indiantown" at "Oyster Shell Poynt" in the fork of the creek branches. Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *Popes Creek Plantation Birthplace of George Washington* (Washington's Birthplace, VA: The Wakefield National Memorial Association, 1979), 18, footnote. Hough hand drawn map, Hough, adjacent properties, signed 1.25.44.

⁹ Artifacts relating to Algonquin occupation of the site were noted by Park Superintendent Hough in 1933: "Received a fine specimen of a stone axe as a gift from Robert Muse, one of our workmen. It was found at Wakefield many years ago." Superintendent's Report, April 1933, 4; "An Indian mortar stone was found by the Latane Brothers while cultivating corn near Bridges Creek and added to our collection. We now have three of these stones which have been found on the place." Superintendent's Report, May 1933, 7. This type of mortar stones, or metates, was used in grinding corn for consumption, further supporting the idea that at least some type of semi-permanent camps complete with agriculture were located either within the park or nearby, for example at "Indiantown."



1. Algonquins fishing. Engraving by Theodor de Bry, in Thomas Harriot, A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia, 1590.



2. Small Algonquin village or seasonal camp. Engraving by Theodor de Bry, in Thomas Harriot, *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, 1590.

Potter's Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs: The Development of Algonquian Culture in the Potomac Valley, have noted interesting correlations between the village sites indicated by Capt. John Smith on his 1612 map and soil associations of those areas. This study concludes that there is a high correlation between the location of village sites and soils suitable for slash-and-burn maize cultivation. The study further suggests that agricultural fields were concentrated on those necklands comprised of easily-worked loams, which are capable of corn production even during periods of drought.¹⁰

The Coastal Plain physiographic province, in which the park is located, is located to the east of the Fall Line and is composed of unconsolidated sedimentary deposits, especially sand, and young sedimentary rock. The landform associated with this area is called "neckland," which is "nearly level and ranges in elevation from less than 10 feet to about 50 feet above sea level. It borders most of the waterways and extends into the lower portions of the upland." Elevations throughout the park range from sea level to approximately 27 feet above sea level. Due to the tidal nature of the Potomac and the proximity to the Chesapeake Bay, the mouths of the creeks are brackish. The soils associated with the site are

poorly and somewhat poorly drained, level to nearly level, loamy soils on the marine terrace....Seasonal wetness is common in this association....Seasonal

The Algonquins prepared their fields by girdling trees near the roots and then scorching the trunks with fire to prevent any further growth. Once dead, many large trees were cut down, but some were left standing, as Smith observed: "Betwixt those trees they plant their corne, whose great bodies doe defend it from extreme gusts, and heat of the Sunne; where that in the plaines, where the trees by time they have consumed, is subject to both; and this is the most easie way to have pasture and corne fields, which is much more fertile than the other."... After a year the men worked up the area around the dead trees and stumps with a wooden hoelike tool. Then, using a dibble, or digging stick, the women made holes in the prepared ground in each of which they dropped four maize kernels and two bean seeds. This practice of planting beans and maize together aided in replenishing the nitrogen content of the soil....The Algonquins' heavy dependence on maize production makes it of interest to examine the soil characteristics most suitable to its growth. Although maize can grow in soil with a pH from 5.0 to 8.0, yields are usually adversely affected by acidity below a pH of 5.5. In terms of natural fertility, moderately heavy clay loam, silt loam, or fine sandy loam is best suited for maize agriculture in most areas....It has been proposed that the soils most suited for late prehistoric agriculture within the Virginia coastal plain were the Class I soils. These are currently the best agricultural soils in the region. The Class I soils have few limitations that restrict their use and are moderately deep, well-drained, and nearly level. In addition, they are easily worked and have a moderately high capacity to hold moisture. The soils are medium to low in organic matter and can be maintained at high productivity under continuous cultivation if adequate fertilization and good management are followed. Good management practices include crop rotation and the application of fertilizer and lime, none of which were practiced by the Virginia Algonquins (the addition of wood ash to the soil as a by-product of slash-and-burn techniques may have increased the alkalinity, but this was not a conscious management practice and the ash was not spread over the plots)....If droughts occurred one out of every three years during protohistoric and early historic times, as they do today, then the Indians would have had to adapt to such agriculturally limiting environmental conditions. One means of doing so would have been to locate the majority of their agricultural plots on necklands containing the greatest percentage of easily tilled loams that are more productive of corn during periods of drought.

¹⁰ Potter, 33-34, 38-39:

¹¹ John C. Nicholson, Soil Conservation Service, *Soil Survey of Westmoreland County, Virginia*, United States Department of Agricultural Soil Conservation Service in cooperation with Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1981, 1.

wetness is the main limitation for farming in this association. The better-drained soils and the soils that have been artificially drained are suitable for cultivated crops. Increasing organic matter content and using lime and fertilizer to offset acidity and low natural fertility are the main management needs."¹²

Based on the evaluation of soils located within park boundaries provided by the *Soil Survey of Westmoreland County* summarized above, it is obvious that soils not subject to seasonal wetness would have served as preferable sites for agricultural production prior to the practice of ditching fields to drain them. Also, the low natural fertility of these soils would have meant that fields were exhausted quickly if soil nutrients were not added in some fashion. Slash-and-burn agriculture would have added some nutrients to the soil and raised pH through the burning of existing vegetation, although as noted in footnote 10, this practice was not understood by the Algonquins. Although no records of their locations exist, the potential location of agricultural fields during this period is indicated on *Map C* based on this soil information and the analysis of Native American cultivation practices summarized in footnote 10.

Aside from the fields that were under cultivation, the site would have been characterized by an ever-changing vegetative composition influenced by a complex mix of factors such as soil, landform, slope orientation, drainage, and moisture. Upland areas were most likely dominated by a combination of oak-hickory forests, oak-pine forests, and mixed-mesophytic forests. The lower-lying areas were most likely dominated by combinations of beech-maple forests and beech-hickory-pine forests.

Eastern red cedar, a species that typically colonizes open or unforested areas, was also an important component of the vegetative composition of the region. According to a 1983 history of Westmoreland County, Popes Creek was once called Cedar Island Creek after an island which was "one of several in the mouth of the creek, so named because of the original abundance of juniper, commonly called cedar." Hatch's book also includes a reference to Cedar Island Creek when quoting the description of a new parcel added to the land holdings of John Washington in 1661: "the 50 acre 'parcel of Islands, in number 10 ... in ye mouth of a creek called Cedar Island Creeke [Popes Creek]." ¹⁴

Otherwise, wetlands were probably characterized by forested swamps and various types of marshland. Tree species that currently exist within the park and may have been part of this period's flora include red, white, willow, pin, southern red, northern red, and water oak; sweet gum; American holly; loblolly and Virginia pine; bitternut hickory; sweetbay magnolia; beech; hackberry; and tulip poplar. The American chestnut, which would have been a part of the site's woodland at this time, has since been all but eradicated by an early-twentieth-century blight. The original forests in the area would have also included sub-canopy, shrub, and herbaceous layers of vegetation. American Indians are known to have improved hunting prospects by burning the forest understory. It is not known whether the woodlands on the site had been manipulated in this way by the time Henry Brooks received his patent.

An understanding of the character of the American Indian landscape by the late-Woodland and Protohistoric periods is absolutely critical to any discussion of English settlement sites, for it is clear that the general conditions for site settlement initiated by the Algonquins were adapted by the English. In many cases, the English simply founded their settlements directly on lands belonging to the earlier inhabitants who had voluntarily or involuntarily migrated to other locations. This

¹² Ibid., 5.

¹³ Norris, 62.

¹⁴ Hatch, 3.

coincidence of native and colonial occupations was not accidental. Initial English survival depended on the ability to adapt Algonquin farming methods and native crops, such as corn and tobacco, to their own needs. Recognizing the lower fertility of old abandoned "Indian fields," the colonists selected "nutrient-enriched Indian village sites for their field locations." An observation by the Englishman Robert Beverley aptly characterized the emerging colonial landscape as "now improv'd (I should rather say altr'd) by the English." ¹⁶

Native trade routes and trails were not as quickly adopted, since the English initially sought to establish their most critical transportation links directly via the river. The earlier routes, however, were utilized as soon as attention began to focus on internal connections; some became major inland conduits during the earliest period of colonization. Trails connecting the Onawmanients with nearby chiefdoms such as the Patawomekes and the Chicacoans may have been used by early settlers in this fashion.

Underneath this apparently fortuitous convergence of settlements, however, lay the seeds of an Algonquin-English conflict based on two different views of land ownership. For Confederacy members, land was communally held, with the vast majority of any chiefdom's territory consisting of open foraging lands. The cultivation of individual plots next to a village or house site was construed as a temporary situation; when the soil was exhausted, or declined in productivity, fallow fields were created which reverted to communal property. The idea that cultivation and settlement could be proprietary was generally limited to territorial influence based on subsistence needs.

This conceptual framework of ownership was diametrically opposed to the English custom of "fee-simple" ownership, as well as the early-colonial-period practice of land grants and patents. Because the English settlement at Jamestown was originally founded as a capital venture, joint-stock company, which was followed by decades of land grants and headright patents, the colonials viewed land as a means of subsistence and as a speculative commodity. Colonists not only farmed for survival, but also to establish and profit from an extensive trade with Europe. This precept obviated virtually any concept of communal ownership, and propelled the English to clear as much land as possible, including both former agricultural sites and the traditional native back-country foraging areas, both of which were considered "empty" lands. By the turn of the eighteenth century, after decades of displacement, conflict, treaties, and some attempts at assimilation, the Algonquins of the Northern Neck ceased to be a significant factor in the composition of the area's cultural landscape.

Founding of Westmoreland County and the Patent Landscape

Despite Smith's early expedition along the shores of the Northern Neck, English settlement in what is now known as the Potomac Valley first occurred across the river at St. Mary's City, Maryland in 1634.¹⁷ Nearly twenty years later, settlement of the area on the southern Potomac in Virginia

¹⁵ Potter, 221.

¹⁶ Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, ed. Louis B. Wright. Orig. ed. 1705 (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, rpt. 1968), 233.

¹⁷ The earliest English settlement in Maryland was predicated on the "manorial" system established under Lord Baltimore's Palatinate. This model instituted "manors" of no less than 1,000 acres to be farmed by tenants much the same as medieval English patterns of aristocratic landholding. In reality, however, the manorial model provided more of a governing system than one of landholding, as settlement communities reflected more of a smaller plantation-style disposition—which was the prevailing pattern in Virginia—than that of the feudal manor. See Lewis Gray, "The Colonial Land System," in *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, vol. I (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1958), 372-408.

necessitated the establishment of political entities. Between 1645 and 1656, four counties—Northumberland, Lancaster, Westmoreland, and Rappahannock—were created by the Virginia Assembly. The act creating Westmoreland County in 1653 set the English seal upon the formerly Algonquin territories, including the land occupied by the Pissaseck, who probably considered what is now the park as part of their domain.

The first English proprietors of land in the county were not always recent immigrants. Nathaniel Pope, for instance, whose patent for land at Popes Creek contained part of the land that would be given to John Washington, first settled in Maryland. His rise to prominence from his immigrant status as a yeoman was based on land acquisition; by the time he moved to Westmoreland County, his position as a man of community influence had been established. While a treaty between England and the Confederacy in 1646 had forbidden English settlement on the Northern Neck, a conflict between Catholic and Protestant political regimes in Maryland at that time precipitated movement of English settlers to the Northern Neck. These settlers bartered with the resident Algonquins for land, despite the illegality of such trades during the few years that the treaty was in force. Between 1646 and 1660, the Northern Neck saw a rapid expansion of English settlements, primarily due to the hostile political climate in Maryland, the apparently unending supply of cheap land with waterfront access and trade, and the lessened influence of government on the "frontier," as the south banks of the Potomac were viewed.

Aside from these factors, the chief determinant of settlement was the expansion of tobacco cultivation, which by this time required not only techniques adapted from the Algonquins in the early decades of the seventeenth century, but also the twin forces of extensive landholdings and an uninterrupted source of labor. Land grants, such as the nearly two million acres of the Northern Neck given to Lord Culpeper for his Royalist support, were actually less effective in populating the landscape than patents¹⁸ provided by the Headrights Act established in the early seventeenth century. The Headrights Act sought to remedy the faltering labor pool of the Chesapeake region and shore up the tobacco market by increasing the numbers of immigrants; fifty acres of land would be granted for every immigrant passage paid by either a ship owner or agents within the colonies. This practice led to a system of indentured servitude, as captains and agents sold immigrants for the price of their passage (and perhaps more) to established farmers or planters, who gained fifty acres per person, as well as the labor to work the land.

This Headrights Act, ostensibly an engine for the propulsion of an export commodity market calculated to ensure the survival of the Virginia colony, sparked a concentrated development of the area along the Potomac River within all the counties of the Northern Neck, including the area occupied by the park.

A graphic representation of the patent landscape was drawn by David Eaton in his *Historical Atlas* of Westmoreland County, Virginia [Fig. 6]. The first patent to be given in Westmoreland County was a 1200-acre parcel on the eastern side of Popes Creek in 1643; originally patented by Edward Murfrey and John Vaughn, this land eventually became part of the Pope family holdings extending from Popes Creek southeast along the Potomac to the eventual site of Stratford Hall. 19 Rights to

¹⁸ David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 377, footnote 7. Fischer uses as his source Philip A. Bruce's *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*. See 1738 Fairfax map with Popes Creek labeled [Fig. 8].

¹⁹ Eaton, sheets 7, 65. This drawing shows the several thousand acre estate of Nathaniel Pope and his son Thomas by 1659 which included the tenant farm, "Clifts," on the western edge facing Popes Creek. In February 1716, another Pope descendant, Nathaniel, sold this land to Thomas Lee, who established the Lee family seat, "Stratford Hall." For a detailed description of the seventeenth-century occupation of Clifts, see Frasier Neiman, "Domestic Architecture at Clifts Plantation: The Social Context of Early Virginia Building," in Dell Upton and John Vlach,

the land between Bridges and Popes Creeks, 1020 acres in total including the park, were first patented to Henry Brooks on 14 October 1657, and re-patented in 1662. Typically, a "seat" or home-place had to be established on patented land within a specified period of time, otherwise the land would have to be re-patented or could be patented to another individual. It appears that Brooks occupied or had possession of this land as early as 1651, and that he may have begun construction of a house near the Potomac at this time. At this time, Henry Brooks and Hercules Bridges, who had earlier patented 200 acres directly to the west of Bridges Creek, together owned a significant portion of waterfront property on the Potomac River, land which was destined to become part of the colonial tobacco system. ²⁰ By 1655, Brooks had sold two parcels of the land included within current park boundaries. One hundred and twenty-five acres along Bridges Creek were sold to Richard Cole and David Anderson in 1655, and one hundred acres were sold to David and Robert Wickliffe that same year.

Conclusion

The landscape between Popes and Bridges Creeks appears to have been occupied, and possibly settled, by Algonquin Indians during the Archaic period, ca. 200 A.D. Between 200 A.D. and 1650, the Algonquins utilized land along the three water bodies—Popes Creek, Bridges Creek, and the Potomac River—for the harvesting of oysters. At some point during the Late Woodland period, ca. 1300, portions of this landscape were most likely adapted for agricultural use by the Algonquins, leading to a slow but steady deforestation of the areas containing prime agricultural soils. During the 1650s, a large tract of land that included the current park was patented by Henry Brooks; at least three house sites were established on the patent soon thereafter. The earliest occupants of this landscape were dependent on the agricultural goods which they could produce for both themselves and for export by ship to other regions. The earliest European settlers continued the work of the Algonquins, whom they had dispelled, clearing the land and cultivating it, and establishing small subsistence farmsteads.

Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 292-314.

²⁰ The Hercules Bridges patent for 200 acres was later acquired by William Augustine Washington who constructed a home there in 1781 or 1782 and named it "Haywood."

HISTORICAL BASE MAP

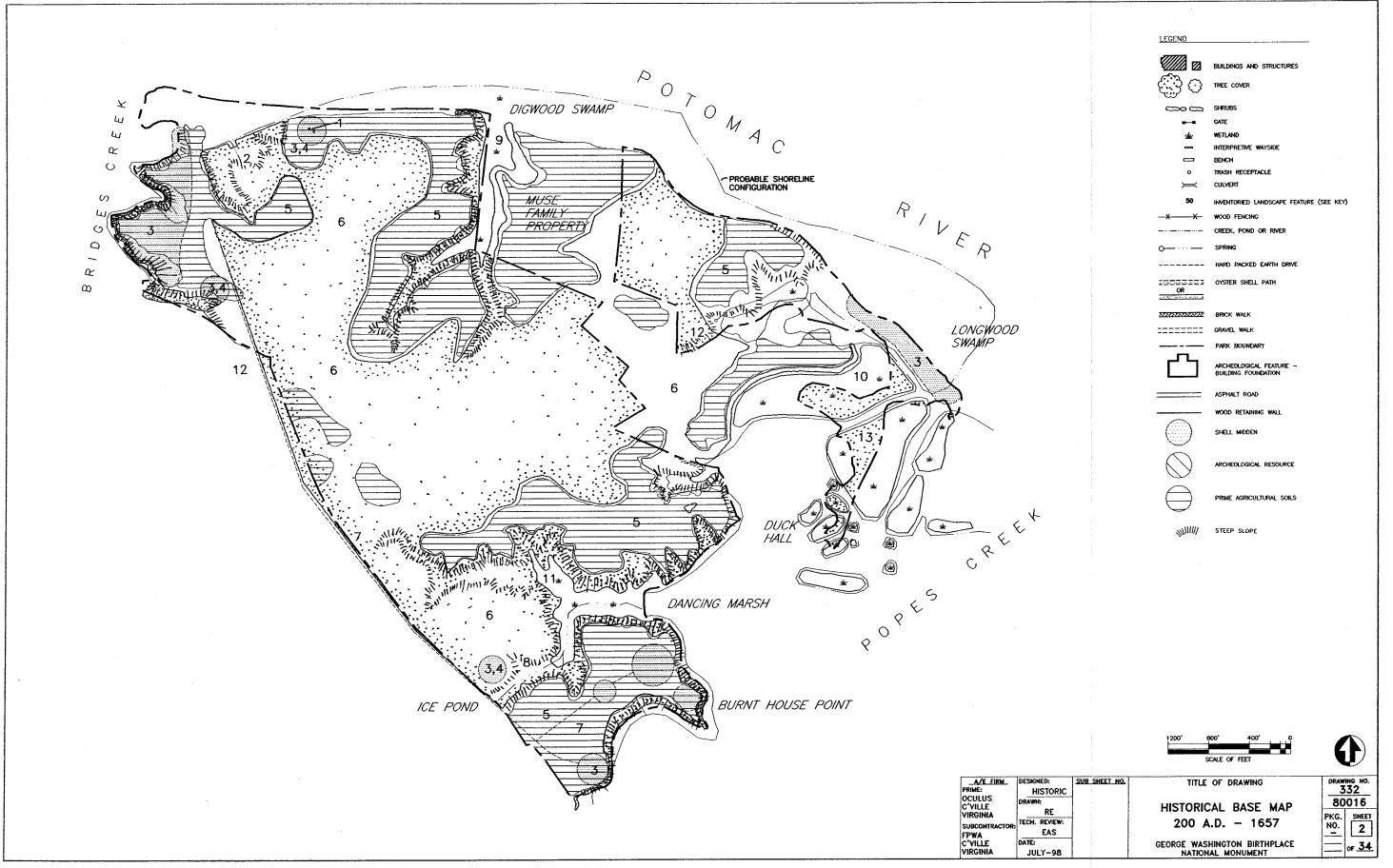
200 A.D. - 1657

Inventory of Landscape Features

200 A.D. - 1657

#	Feature	Date of Origin	
1.	Henry Brooks house site	ca. 1651-57	
2.	Stream or pond	prehistory	
3.	Shell middens	200-1650	
4.	Agricultural artifacts	200-1650	
5.	Ag. fields, pastures	1300-1650	
6.	Woodlands	prehistory, secondary growth	
7.	Trail to Bridges Creek landing (conjecture)	200-1650	
7. 8.	9	200-1650 prehistory	
	landing (conjecture)		
8.	landing (conjecture) Creek/drainageway	prehistory	
8. 9.	landing (conjecture) Creek/drainageway Wetland (Digwood Swamp)	prehistory prehistory	
8. 9. 10.	landing (conjecture) Creek/drainageway Wetland (Digwood Swamp) Wetland (Longwood Swamp)	prehistory prehistory	

^{*} Bold entries indicate a new feature or the alteration of an existing feature during this period.



HISTORICAL BASE MAP

INSET: HISTORIC CORE

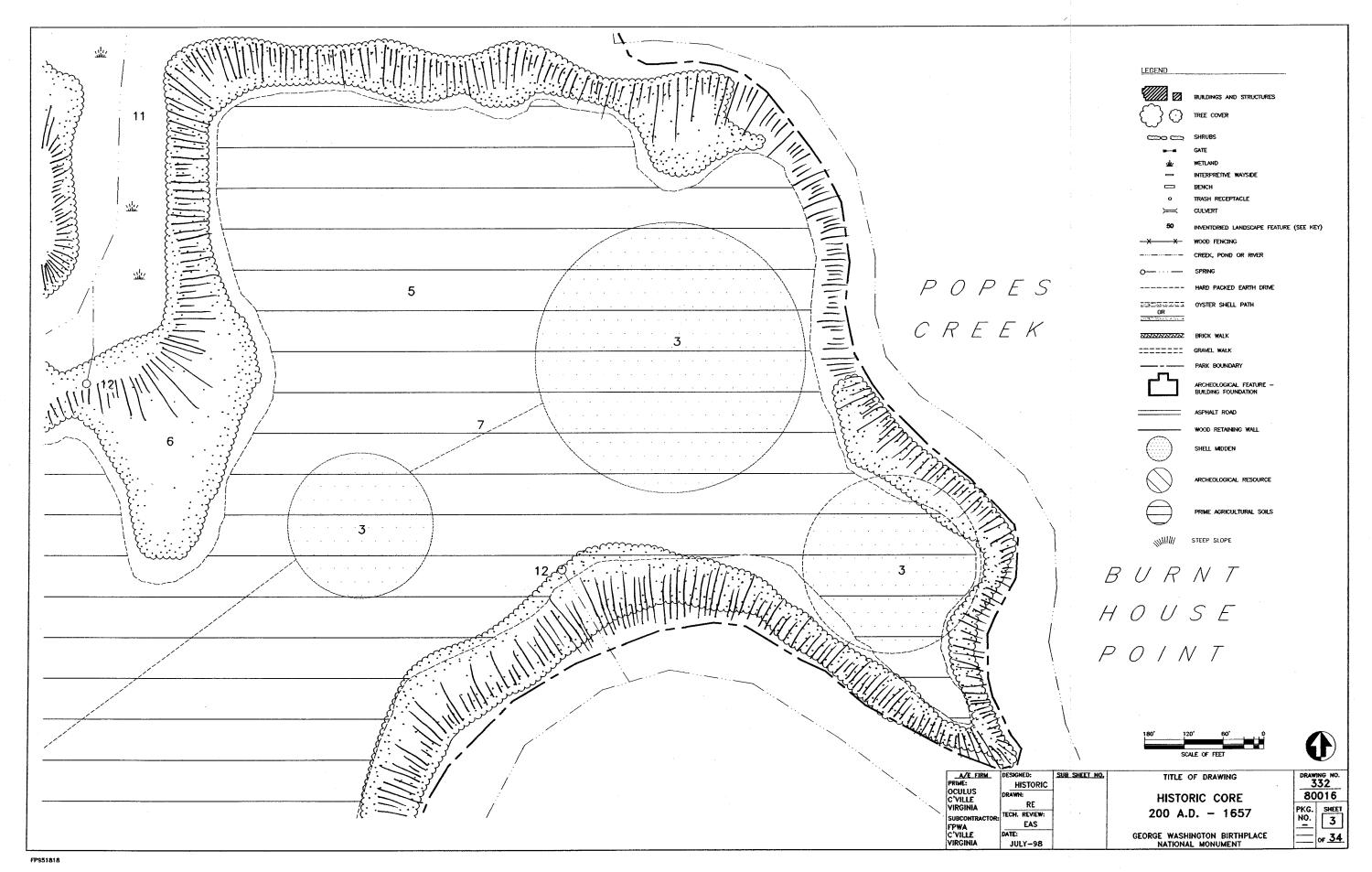
200 A.D. - 1657

Inventory of Landscape Features

Historic Core 200 A.D. - 1657

#	Feature	Date of Origin
3.	Shell middens	200-1650
5.	Agricultural fields	1300-1650
6.	Woodlands	prehistory, secondary growth
7.	Trail to Popes Creek (conjecture)	200-1650
11.	Dancing Marsh	prehistory
12.	Springs, 2	prehistory

^{*} Bold entries indicate a new feature or the alteration of an existing feature during this period.



The Brooks Patent Landscape, and its Occupation by the Washington Family and Others, 1657 - 1725

(Map D. Historical Base Map: 1057 - 1725; Appendices A and B)

Introduction

Between 1657 and 1725, the park landscape was settled by anywhere from two to six families. As early as 1655, Henry Brooks began to divide up his 1020 acre patent, selling off some parcels and deeding or willing others to relatives. Two dwelling complexes that are known to have existed during this period have been excavated archeologically: the Henry Brooks [Fig. 37, Inv. #1] and John Washington [Fig. 38, Inv. #15] sites. Both are thought to have included residences, outbuildings, fences, and plantings, such as orchards and gardens, as would likely have been associated with a small farmstead. By 1725, both house sites are thought to have been abandoned.

John Washington is known to have established a family burial ground near his house site in 1665 [Inv. #16]. The burial ground was used by the family for many years, even after the abandonment of the house site, possibly as late as the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

A road that appears to have been in use during this period connected the John Washington site with inland sites [Inv. #7], but may also have led to the river. It is possible that this travel route was sited in association with trails established earlier by Algonquin Indians. Nothing is known about overland trail or roads leading to the Henry Brooks site.

According to documentary evidence there were also other house sites on what is now Muse family property that were established as early as 1667 [Inv. #17]. A road most likely connected these other house sites with the travel route leading to the John Washington site [Inv. #18]. A family cemetery appears to have been established near Digwood Swamp as early as 1700 [Inv. #22]. A Muse family cemetery exists today within park boundaries. While it marks only twentieth-century graves, it is thought that eighteenth and nineteenth century burials in the same area were marked with locust posts that have long since deteriorated.

A house was later built by Lawrence Abbington and his wife, Henry Brooks' daughter Lydia, on the peninsula now referred to as the historic core or Burnt House Point [Inv. #20]. While the exact date of construction of this house is not known, it appears in documentary records by 1722. The Abbington property most likely included gardens, orchards, agricultural fields, and outbuildings [Inv. #19]. Fencing would have been constructed in the precinct of the house and gardens, and around agricultural fields to prevent livestock from grazing in these areas. One outbuilding that may have existed during this period, possibly a tobacco shed [Inv. #21], was discovered during archeological investigations of the Ice Pond area. The Abbington house is thought to have been acquired by Augustine Washington when he bought property from the Abbingtons in 1722. After his purchase, Augustine Washington contracted with a builder to add on to the existing house. It was here that George Washington was born ten years later.

The drainageways and wetlands identified earlier—Longwood [Inv. #10] and Digwood [Inv. #9] Swamps, Dancing Marsh [Inv. #11], and its associated drainageway [Inv. #8] were also present in the landscape during this period. The practice of digging ditches to drain agricultural fields may have been implemented during this period, potentially altering the hydrology and configuration of the site's drainageways and wetlands. It appears that the four springs [Inv. #12] noted earlier also existed during this period. The stream or pond west of the Henry Brooks site [Inv. #2] continued to exist. Over time, it is likely that the waterway's configuration was altered by Potomac River bank accretion in the vicinity; at some point over the past two hundred and fifty years, this feature

appears to have transformed from a free-flowing perennial drainageway to a pond due to the accretion of sand at its confluence with the Potomac.

The first European settlers of this landscape most likely continued to farm the open fields that had been developed by the American Indians. As tobacco farming became more prevalent, however, soils would have been depleted rapidly, requiring the preparation of new fields [Inv. #5]. Hedgerows would have most likely occurred between fields and along roadways [Inv. #14]. Woodlands probably continued to occupy the steeply sloped areas and upper wetlands, due to the difficulty of removing trees there [Inv. #6], and Eastern red cedar groves may have continued to occupy portions of the waterfront [Inv. #13]. Livestock may well have been a part of the agricultural landscape of the site during this period. At this time, livestock were generally allowed to roam and graze freely in woodlands and old field meadows. Fencing was usually established only around agricultural fields and kitchen gardens to keep livestock out.

The Character and Evolution of the Patent Landscape

Patent landscapes of Tidewater Virginia were not the bucolic pictures of plantation life so often conjured in historical imagination. Archeological evidence has shown that these initial frontier settlements were of a more rough-and-tumble character than the typically projected images of stately plantations. The rigors of migration, coupled with the often fatal "seasoning" or the acclimation to malarial conditions of the immigrants in their first years in Tidewater, undermined the stability of the immigrant population. These first settlers suffered from attacks by the Confederacy, crop failures and tobacco market fluctuations, and a lopsided ratio of men to women that affected birth rates. High mortality rates resulted in frequent remarriages, and families were often composed of two or three different sets of siblings, orphaned cousins, and distant relatives with no means of survival besides the extended family. These conditions resulted in rapid and unexpected changes in property ownership and a high degree of mobility. The exigencies of survival dominated the style and composition of the "seat"—the center of a patent which was often the initial home site to be occupied. Utility was of paramount importance to the early settlers. They generally sought advantageous conditions such as proximity to fresh water springs, rivers, and streams, locations on the rise of a hill or ridge, and proximity to land suitable for agriculture and timbering much in the same way the Algonquins had in previous centuries. The seats' resulting landscape configurations apparently included a seemingly haphazard arrangement of residences, utility buildings, servant quarters, and service yards, connected by worm fences designed to fence out roaming livestock. This composition apparently expanded in an organic fashion as the need arose.

By 1657, the date of Henry Brooks' receipt of a patent totaling 1020 acres that included much of the acreage between Popes and Bridges Creeks, this landscape probably still bore the vestiges of indigenous seasonal camps as well as small village agriculture at sites such as "Arrowhead" or "Indiantown." While our understanding of early use and occupation of the park landscape most likely has been compromised by loss of the archeological record due to erosion along the banks of the Potomac, two house sites—those of Henry Brooks and David Anderson/John Washington—remain, and have been investigated. Both are representative examples of frontier settlement and the patent landscape.

As discussed previously, land patents were ostensibly granted to immigrants and their transporters for one purpose: speedy occupation and cultivation of uncultivated land, leading to the production of cash crops, primarily tobacco. The "seats," or initial house sites established on patented lands, were the centers of the holdings, and included cultivated fields, woodlots, and wetland areas maintained as forage areas for unpenned livestock. Later, outbuildings were constructed as necessary. However, these patents were usually sold, transferred, or willed to individuals other than the original patentee within an amazingly short period of time, indicating the volatile, often

litigious, character of patent settlement. This situation is apparent when examining the disposition of the original Henry Brooks patent of 1657.

According to the documentary and archeological record, at least two, and probably five or six, home sites were established within the first decade or so of the patent, with at least three of these clearly indicated on the Chamberlain survey of 1683 [Fig. 3]: the original Brooks seat, including the house site, near the confluence of Bridges Creek and the Potomac River; a seat of Brooks's daughter, Jane Brooks Higdon Brown, which was located centrally between Popes and Bridges Creeks; and the David Anderson site, which would become the residence of John Washington by the end of 1664 and was located east of Bridges Creek and south of its confluence with the Potomac River. The majority of the land included in these seats was located within the contemporary boundaries of George Washington Birthplace National Monument.²¹ Through a series of legal actions prior to his death in 1662, Brooks ceded significant portions of his patent to family members, such as his wife Jane (Brooks house site), Richard Cole (relative to Mrs. Brooks), David and Robert Wickliffe (his stepsons by Mrs. Brooks), Nicholas and Henry Saxton (Nicholas Saxton was the godson of Henry Brooks), and his daughter and son-in-law, Lydia and Lawrence Abbington.²² The Abbington parcels totaled 150 acres and included the park's historic core.²³ It appears that by 1718 the Abbington tract included structures such as houses and "tobacco houses," as well as landscape features such as "fences, Orchards, gardens," and the like.²⁴

Considering that the Chamberlain survey was only intended to define the land holdings of Jane Brooks Higdon Brown, it is possible that other house sites may have existed within the Brooks patent that were not specifically mentioned. Judging from a map produced from the research of Charles Hatch and published in 1979 [Fig. 5], this survey could have omitted any mention of buildings on the Wickliffe, Saxton, and Abbington parcels. Wickliffe later became Muse family property, the Saxton parcels Duck Hall, and the Abbington parcels were later acquired by Augustine Washington, George Washington's father. It is possible that the Wickliffe tracts included house sites for two of Brooks's stepsons, as well as Tom Muns (or Muse). In total, this examination would seem to indicate at least seven home sites contained within the original Brooks patent of 1020 acres, most of which would have been located within current park boundaries or on adjacent property now owned by the Muse family.

In considering the physical and spatial character of these initial patent landscapes and their subsequent divisions into "seats," it is important to remember that their size ranged from between 50 to 300 acres. During the mid-seventeenth century, the vast majority of labor on these properties probably included that of the owner, his family and communal relations, and perhaps a few indentured servants. The practice of owning African slaves and putting them to work in the fields did not become widespread on the Northern Neck until the late seventeenth century. Thus, the cultivation of labor-intensive crops, particularly tobacco, was limited by the number of available hands. Although this situation changed rapidly as parcels were consolidated and the number of slaves increased, the initial colonial landscape was characterized by small-scale agriculture focused on subsistence and the beginnings of a cash-crop economy; rudimentary architecture and utilitarian buildings; and small-scale road and path networks connecting "seats" to each other and to the river, which remained the primary conduit for trade and travel. The siting of roads and river landings

²¹ Hatch, 25.

²² Also "Abington" and "Abbingdon."

²³ Hatch, 17-21. "Wickliffe" is also historically referred to as "Whitliffe," or "Whitley."

²⁴ Hatch, 32. The Abbington 1657 division mentions land of "David Whitlis and David Snuffins," Ibid., 19. The Joanne and Dorothy Brooks and Abbington-Kimball tracts were purchased by Augustine Washington in 1725 and 1728, although he had previously purchased a 150-acre tract in 1718 from Joseph Abbington.

responded to both property ownership and topography. River landings took advantage of low topographic points, which provided easier access to the river than the high, easily erodible cliffs that prevail in this region [Fig. 11]. Roads often followed property boundaries, sometimes resulting in odd configurations based on the need to circumnavigate fields and other cultural and natural landscape features. It is quite possible that a functioning remnant of the larger Algonquin trail network was converted to a farm road that lead past the John Washington site towards Bridges Creek landing with the arrival of the English settlers.²⁵

Historical and archeological documentation of the Henry Brooks home site reveals that Brooks had begun his occupation as early as 1651, although a patent was not issued until 1657. As one of the earliest settlers in Westmoreland County, Brooks was faced with developing his "seat" from virtually undeveloped land, save whatever Algonquin traces were present. Based on an analysis of shoreline erosion and accretion rates undertaken at the University of Maryland Department of Geography in 1985, Henry Brooks selected a site that was, in 1657, located in close proximity to the Potomac River. Brooks most likely sought to capitalize on his waterfront access to the sloops and schooners regularly trading along the Potomac River. Excavations of the Henry Brooks house site conducted by the National Park Service in 1977 revealed

the locations of two structures as well as trash pits and related features....The remains of one of these structures, composed principally of a brick-lined cellar 17'-6' and a detached chimney base, indicated the site of a dwelling apparently constructured [sic] by Henry Brooks before 1651....The brick foundations of an outbuilding which measured 13'-7" by 12'-9" lay 47'-6" northwest of the dwelling cellar....Artifacts recovered from the dwelling cellar and from the plow zone indicated that occupation of the property ceased in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.²⁸

The original Brooks dwelling was characterized as a "hall plan structure—one room on the ground floor with a loft or garret overhead," and measured approximately 20 feet x 19 feet.²⁹ Additional excavation established that the original house had been "modified and enlarged," perhaps corresponding to Jane and Original Brown's tenure at the site after the death of Mrs. Brooks. In any case, the combination of the house structure with an outbuilding, trenches, trash pits, a drainage ditch, and detached post-holes depicts an ensemble of architectural and landscape features that is generally representative of early Virginia settlement and occupation, referred to as "impermanent architecture."³⁰

²⁵ According to recent local tradition, this road was referred to as "Bridges Creek road" among the resident population. Goodwin Muse interview.

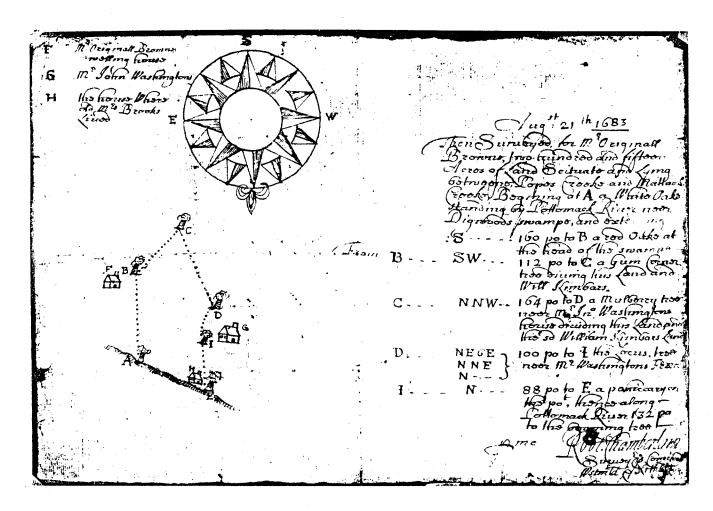
²⁶ 1977 archeological investigations at the site uncovered some Native American artifacts, and most interesting, what has been termed an "aboriginal pit." This circular pit measured 2'-11" in diameter, and contained no European artifacts. Blades, "Archaeological Excavations at the Henry Brooks and John Washington Sites," 1979, 45.

²⁷ Blades, "Archaeological Excavations at the Henry Brooks and John Washington Sites," 1979, 13. Three structures were noted by 1935 in Hough's request for a full archeological investigation of the site.

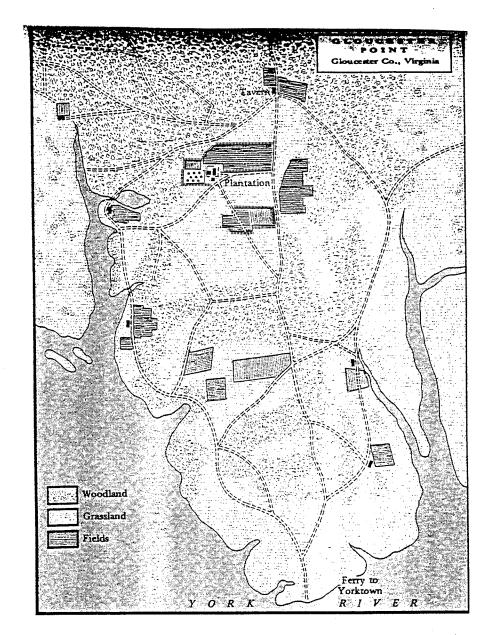
²⁸ Blades, "Archaeological Excavations at the Henry Brooks and John Washington Sites," 20.

²⁹ Blades, "Archaeological Excavations at the Henry Brooks and John Washington Sites," 23.

³⁰ Cary Carson *et al.*, "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," in Robert B. St. George, ed., *Material Life in America*, 1600-1860 (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 113-158. This article is a seminal piece with respect to an understanding of the seventeenth-century Chesapeake settlement landscapes in Virginia and Maryland.



3. 1683 Chamberlain survey of Mr. Original Brown's property, in *Popes Creek Plantation*, Charles E. Hatch, Jr., 1979.



4. Seventeenth century Tidewater tobacco community, conjecture landscape, in *Albion's Seed*, David Hackett Fischer, 1989.

Given the transient nature of early colonial settlement, an "impermanent" style of architecture is understandable, particularly when considered in the context of the establishment of a land- and labor-intensive economy based on tobacco. The "impermanent" architecture of so-called "Virginia houses" was post-hole construction characterized by rudimentary timber-framed earthfast structures now evidenced only by the remains of their post-hole.³¹ The evolution of these early landscapes can be seen in a variety of excavated sites throughout the area, most notably including that of Clifts,³² located east of Popes Creek, which dates from the same period as the Henry Brooks and John Washington sites.

Archeological investigations were also conducted at the John Washington house site during the same season as those at the Brooks site. These uncovered evidence of an early patent landscape that was part of the original Brooks property until a division in 1655, which gave David Anderson and Richard Cole 100 acres of the patent adjoining Bridges Creek to the east. By the time Cole sold his portion to Anderson in 1656, records indicate that construction was underway on the site. Given the proximity of the Brooks and Anderson sites, and the general spatial character of the neighboring seats, it is likely that the original Bridges Creek road served to link the Brooks and Anderson sites, as well as other local seats. This road also would have linked all of these sites to Bridges Creek landing, likely an important access point for English trade and supply ships.³³

By December 3, 1664, the Anderson seat had been transferred to John Washington. Anderson's title, which conveyed 125 acres to John Washington, stated that there was "building ... upon the said land," and conveyed "all the edifices thereunto belonging." This documentation is supported by the 1977 archeological investigations, which uncovered the foundations of three, and possibly four, structures on the site apparently dating to this period. 35

The main building located on the original John Washington seat was a 40' x 20' post-hole building representative of the prevailing "Virginia house." This dwelling was apparently modified and enlarged over time from a one-cell "hall" plan to a "hall and parlor" house under John Washington. A feature previously identified as a "porch" has now been proven to be a "catted" chimney. Archeological investigations identified the foundations of two outbuildings containing a mixture of post-hole construction and brick foundations, as well as a third, unidentified outbuilding,

For a discussion of "Virginia houses" as opposed to "English framed houses" and their distinctions in the minds of colonial Virginians, see Neiman, 302-306, Carson, 116.

³¹ Three sites relevant to this study were included in an inventory, published in 1981, of earthfast structures excavated in Virginia and Maryland: the Henry Brooks and John Washington sites, both located within the park, and the neighboring Clifts plantation site located to the east of Popes Creek. See "Appendix 2: Inventory of Earthfast Buildings in Maryland and Virginia," *Winterthur Portfolio* 16, nos. 2/3 (1981), 189-96.

³² This plantation is variously referred to in historic and contemporary documents as "Cliffs," and "Clifts."

³³ Eaton drew a trace road on the property, but did not date it. Eaton, sheet 7 [Fig. 6].

³⁴ Hatch, 25.

³⁵ The knowledge of at least one component of the Washington family seat, the "ancient burial ground," persisted after the site was abandoned as a residence in the first or second quarter of the eighteenth century. In the 1920s, the Latanes, heirs of the property, were aware of the presence of at least one building foundation on the site through plowing activities in which they struck foundations.

³⁶ Blades. According to Carl Lounsbery, a catted chimney, otherwise known as "cat and clay" chimney was a "common feature of the southern landscape from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries." This type of chimney was constructed of wood; "cat" refers to the "small pieces of wood sometimes secured to a ground-set frame and daubed with a mixture of clay and straw to form the walls." Carl Lounsbery, *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 64.

"suggested by a hole," which may have been a fire pit. These buildings apparently were sited as part of a cluster that included the main dwelling, outbuildings, and service yard, and was interconnected by wooden fencing. Late-nineteenth-century mapping identified a "spring" at the foot of the ravine southeast of the house site, which would have been an essential element of the site's settlement. The overall topographic siting and built arrangement is strikingly similar to that found at the nearby Brooks and Clifts sites.³⁷

The John Washington site also contained a family cemetery on a ridge that overlooked wetlands associated with the southeast branch of Bridges Creek. This land was part of the original Anderson/Brooks tract. It adjoined part of another 250-acre parcel, located to the east, that was bought by Washington in March 1665 and consisted of "housing and clear ground."³⁸ The exact character of the original burying ground is unknown; the first burial was that of his wife, Anne Pope, which was followed shortly thereafter by two of their young children.³⁹ At this time in colonial settlement history, family cemeteries were generally located in the vicinity of the house, adjoining gardens, or orchards, as illustrated in this description by Hugh Jones:

The parishes being of great extent (some sixty miles long and upwards) many dead corpses cannot be conveyed to the church to be buried: So that it is customary to bury in gardens or orchards, where whole families lye interred together, in a spot generally handsomely enclosed, planted with evergreens, and the graves kept decently.⁴⁰

It appears from archeological evidence that some sort of brick burial vault was constructed as part of the cemetery; however, the dating of this vault is uncertain. George Washington referred to the "family vault" at Bridges Creek in more than one instance.⁴¹ The presence of a brick vault is significant in that it symbolizes the rising prominence of the family. Otherwise, grave sites were either marked with locust posts, or not at all, which contributed to confusion over new burial sites.⁴² The use of the family cemetery continued at least through the death of Augustine

³⁷ See especially the evolutionary site plans of Clifts plantation showing residence, outbuildings, garden spaces, fences, quarters, and burying grounds in Neiman, figs. 3, 5, 6.

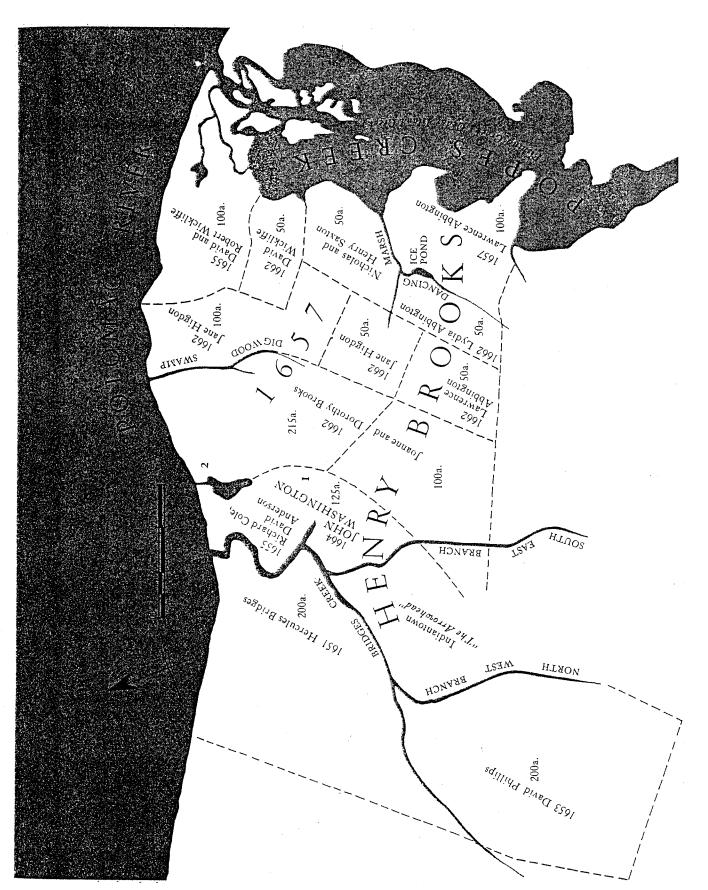
³⁸ Hatch, 25. This tract would appear to be part of the "old Richard Hill patent" shown on Eaton's map as lying directly to the east and southeast of the Washington tract. Another Hill tract of 100 acres lies directly below (south) the Washington tract. Eaton, 63.

³⁹ Hatch, 26. Hatch includes an abbreviated Washington family tree, "The Ancestry of George Washington," on page x of *Popes Creek Plantation*, *Birthplace of George Washington*.

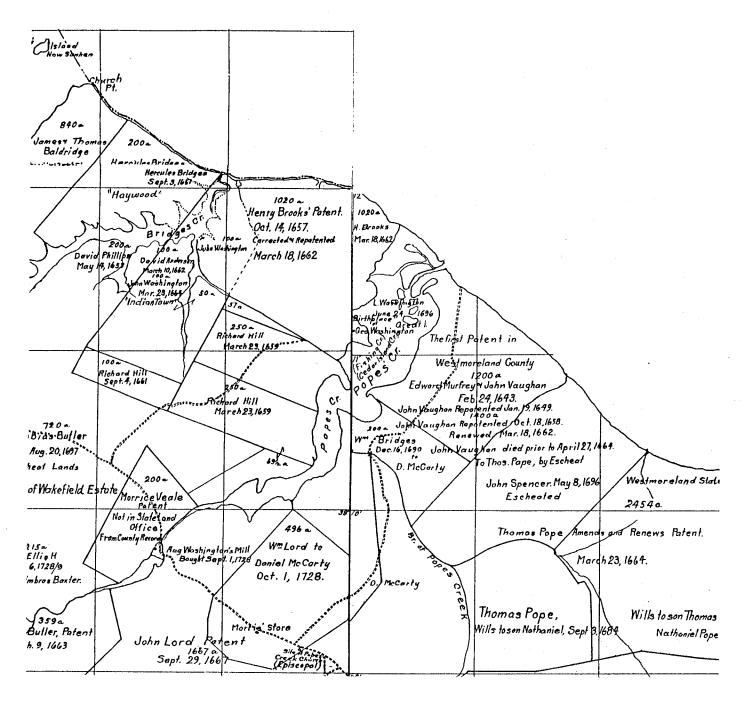
⁴⁰ Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, 96-97. This custom of family burial grounds deviated somewhat from the English precedent of burial in the parish yard. However, with the somewhat decentralized nature of the parishes on the Northern Neck, Washington's decision to have a family burial ground was not unique. In fact, English precedent for home burials lies in the manorial estates. In one such case, ca. 1706, a family refused to give up its home "because it is so ancient an estate and has been the burying-place of the Family for above 400 years." Fischer, 276, n. 8.

⁴¹ Hatch, 28, footnote 17.

⁴² The Muse family burial ground, still present today, contains gravestones dating only to the early 1900s. In his recollections, Goodwin Muse stated that earlier graves had been marked by locust posts, and that he had known of graves that were unmarked which he believed to be of the earliest Muse inhabitants dating from the mid-seventeenth century. Goodwin Muse interview. Mr. Lawrence Latane also corroborated the use of locust posts for headstones in his description of the slave cemetery at his residence, Blenheim, the overseer's house that was part of Augustine Washington I's holdings. Lawrence Latane interview.



5. Map of Brooks patent and subsequent division, 1657-1662, in *Popes Creek Plantation*, Charles E. Hatch, Jr., 1979.



6. Patent landscape showing distribution of land between Bridges and Popes Creeks, in *Historical Atlas of Westmoreland County*, *Virginia*, David Eaton, 1942.

Washington, George's brother, in 1762.⁴³ By continuing to use the family plot at Bridges Creek for their burials, John Washington's heirs apparently maintained the view of Bridges Creek plantation as the family seat.

John Washington established the site known as "Bridges Creek" as his primary residence in 1664, foregoing his earlier residence at Mattox Creek. In the process of his many land acquisitions, Washington became a powerful man in the community, rising to a social position along much the same route as his father-in-law and mentor, Nathaniel Pope. 44 At the time of his death in 1677, John Washington's estate consisted of more than 8,500 acres with at least nine seats or plantations, as well as other interests, such as a mill on Rosier's Creek. 45 While he remained at Bridges Creek, Washington's other properties were leased, thereby assuring him income from the agriculture, livestock, and timbering pursuits at each plantation.

It is clear from historical documentation that John Washington followed the typical plantation agricultural practices of the time, emphasizing tobacco and corn production, and subscribing to somewhat strict management of his "tenements" or "quarters," as his separate seats would come to be named. As African slavery did not supplant the indenture system until late in the seventeenth century, most of the servant quarters were occupied either by tenants or by English immigrant servants who worked the small tobacco fields alongside the planter and his family. Evidence of a shift towards segregating the labor population from the planter family is found in the increasing use of separate quarters—often initially within outbuildings such as the kitchen—for indentured servants. The locations of the quarters were often away from the main residence, which became increasingly "off limits." Ultimately, this trend led to "quarters," the locations of which often had a direct relationship between the laborers (primarily slaves in the eighteenth century) and their specific area of labor, such as cultivated fields, barns, and outbuildings, as opposed to the "house" servants, who resided in structures closer to the main residence.

Tenancy, another traditional English practice, was widespread in the colonial settlement landscape. In the face of proprietary land grants and large patents, indentured servants who had worked off their bond were at a supreme economic disadvantage, having only their labor as capital. The same was true of recent immigrants, who found themselves free men, but unable to freehold land in the

Unmarked grave sites proved to be a problem at Clifts Plantation, as twentieth century archeological investigations uncovered a series of graves, one of which had been dug partially on top of another previous burial, and was subsequently not used. Neiman, 28-29.

⁴³ Hatch, 28-29; footnote 16.

⁴⁴ For a discussion of the relationship between Nathaniel Pope and John Washington, see Martin H. Quitt, "The English Cleric and the Virginia Adventurer: The Washingtons, Father and Son," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 97, #2 (April 1989), 163-183.

⁴⁵ Hatch, 5-6.

⁴⁶ Hatch, 26-27 where he gives instruction in a lease regarding tenants at Nominy.

⁴⁷ Neiman, "Clifts" publication and article.

⁴⁸ Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," in Robert B. St. George, *Material Life in America* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 357-369. This segregation allowed for a continuing adaptation of African slaves to their new environment in that they were able to continue folk patterns such as limited architecture, foodways, ceramics, and social customs in ways that "house" slaves did not have the opportunity to do. Vlach, material culture article; Sobel.

English manner.⁴⁹ As a result, tenancy became virtually indistinguishable from the landscape of seats and quarters.⁵⁰ As individuals such as John Washington moved their families from various farms to establish a central family seat (such as the Bridges Creek plantation), the leased farms, in this case Mattox Creek, stayed in the family, but were worked as "quarters." As the Washington family landholdings became consolidated under Augustines I and II, these quarters were more than likely inhabited by slaves, under a certain amount of supervision by overseers.

The Washington Heirs

John Washington settled the majority of his estate on his eldest two sons, Lawrence and John. Despite colonial continuation of the English tradition of primogeniture in cases of intestate inheritances, many seventeenth-century planters rejected the practice in their wills, and arguably sought to amass vast landholdings to ensure the survival of all their children as well as to gain wealth. Within the traditional system of primogeniture, the eldest son inherited everything, and virtually nothing was left to younger siblings.⁵¹ As seen with Brooks's will, this system was sometimes ignored in favor of endowing most, if not all, of the surviving children with land, thus protecting their physical survival, as well as the wealth and social status already accumulated on the frontier. In John Washington's case, his eldest son Lawrence Washington inherited five seats (1850 acres) including the Mattox Creek plantation, while the next son, his namesake John, inherited three seats (1695 acres), one of which was the Bridges Creek family seat. Daughters were also given land—apparently as a means of survival as well as dowries—as seen in the case of Ann Washington, who received both a "seate of land" as well as a "tract," both parcels totalling 2,600 acres.⁵²

While John Washington, Jr. did not significantly add to his holdings, his brother Lawrence added nearly 1,000 acres to his inherited estate, including a 400-acre tract which had been patented to Hercules Bridges, before becoming part of Daniel Lisson's estate west of Bridges Creek.⁵³ In 1698, this tract was inherited by Lawrence Washington's second son, Augustine Washington, whose cousin, John Washington III, had taken possession of the Bridges Creek seat in 1697. Three years after his marriage to Jane Butler in 1715, Augustine Washington bought another portion of the former Brooks patent: the 150-acre Abbington tract and one other parcel, presumably one of the adjoining 50-acre Saxton parcels given to Abbington by Brooks. Butler's family also

⁴⁹ The stratification of seventeenth-century Virginia has been explained in historical ratios as: planters, approx. 10 percent of the population; freeholders, 20-30 percent; and the vast majority, 60-70 percent as landless freemen. See essays by Ferguson, Kulikoff, Fischer, Rutman and Rutman, Green and Pole.

⁵⁰ See Willard F. Bliss, "The Rise of Tenancy in Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 58 (1958), 427-41.

⁵¹ It has been suggested that due to circumstances of birth order, younger sons such as John Washington entered the commercial arena in London or Bristol, developing mercantile and maritime trade connections with ventures in Virginia. Fischer, 218.

As the colonial system became more stable in terms of population and accumulated lands throughout the eighteenth century, a modified form of primogeniture became the traditional practice whereby the first two sons, especially, benefitted from the father's will. This reversion also points to a more solidified institutional structure built on the shoulders of wealth amassed during the seventeenth century through the tobacco trade.

⁵² Hatch, 6.

⁵³ This 400 acre tract, in fact, contained two patent landscapes: that of Hercules Bridges, (1651, 200 a.) and David Phillips (1653, 200 a.). Hatch map. The Lisson tract, patented in 1658, appears to have been a combination of the Brooks and Phillips parcels. Mattox Creek plantation also contained land belonging to "Mr. Richard Hills." Ibid., 31.

owned the ruins of an earlier, seventeenth-century seat belonging to original patentee Richard Hill (1659), and his successors, Richard Griffin (1660) and John Foxhall (also 1660), on what was later known as Foxhall. Jane Butler Washington inherited this portion of what had then become the Butler estate.⁵⁴

The purchase of the Abbington tract from Brooks's great-grandson, Joseph Abbington, was significant in that Augustine Washington established his primary residence on the property. The Abbington tract was apparently a somewhat well-developed plantation by the time of Augustine Washington's purchase, as the deed confirmed:

all houses edificies [sic] buildings Tobacco houses, fences, Orchards, gardens woods underwoods pastures feeding ways waters...

All houses structures orchards gardens and premises... Premises with the appurtenances...⁵⁵

Although this description is not tied to any extant site plan, it is highly revealing of the composition of the 150-acre landscape that formed the core of Augustine Washington's family seat. In 1722, Augustine Washington began renovations to the house and engaged a carpenter to begin construction of an addition to accommodate his growing family. By 1725 or 1726 these renovations were completed.

A series of purchases of adjoining lands in the years 1725 (215 acres), 1728 (100 acres), and 1742 (125 acres) eventually brought the total acreage of the Popes Creek plantation to some 1,300 acres before Augustine Washington's death in 1743.56 At that time, Augustine Washington's property included the original John Washington site and burying ground, the Henry Brooks site, and all but 350 acres of Henry Brooks' original 1020-acre patent.57 In geographic terms, Augustine Washington controlled a continuous series of lands extending from Popes Creek far to the west of Bridges Creek [Fig. 7] encompassing the park as well as the original Henry Bridges and David Phillips patents which contstituted Mattox Creek plantation.

Conclusion

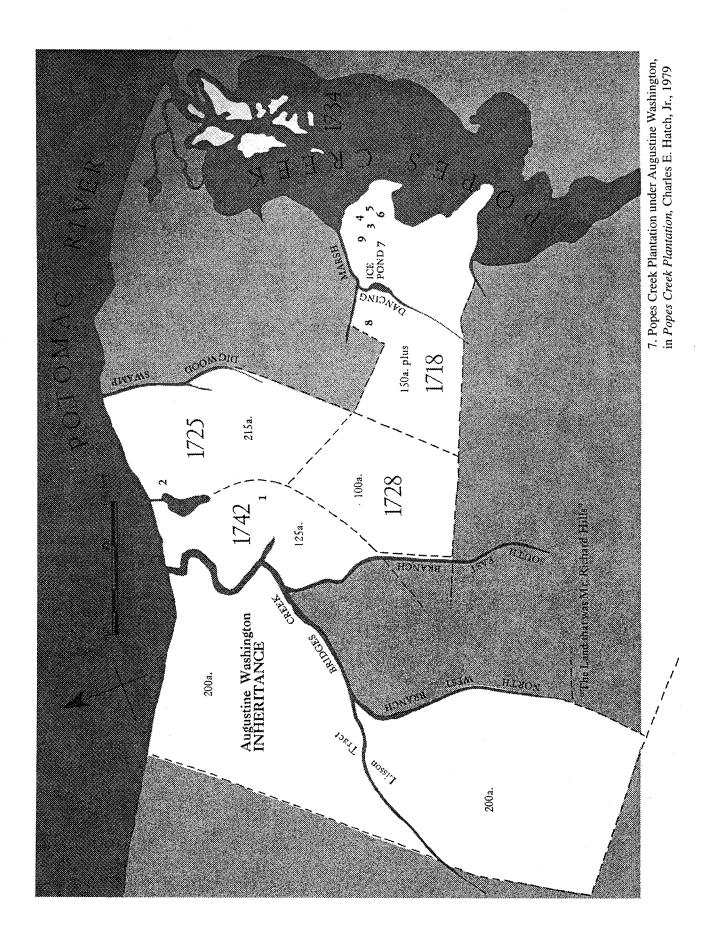
During this period, the Washington family began to amass large land holdings between Popes and Bridges Creeks and beyond. John Washington's heirs—John II and Augustine Washington—both maintained properties in the region by the end of the period. By 1725, Augustine Washington had chosen to establish his family on the site of the Abbington house overlooking the Potomac River, and to accommodate his growing family by enlarging the house. Before his death in 1743, Augustine Washington had established a plantation on this land that included a home representative of a wealthy planter, a precinct of gardens, outbuildings, fencing, quarters for slaves, and crop land that yielded tobacco, grains, and corn. In 1725, the landscape contained representative features of the early patent landscape such as the small farmsteads of Henry Brooks and John Washington, as well as the beginnings of a more established plantation that would flourish by midcentury.

⁵⁴ Flemer notebooks: Eaton, sheet 4.

⁵⁵ Hatch, 32; footnote 15.

⁵⁶ Hatch map 2.

⁵⁷ The excluded portions of the Brooks patent were the Jane Higdon Brown, Wickliffe, and one of the Saxton parcels lying between Digwood Swamp and Dancing Marsh. The term "dancing marsh" is used in description of Abbington tract sale. (1718)



HISTORICAL BASE MAP

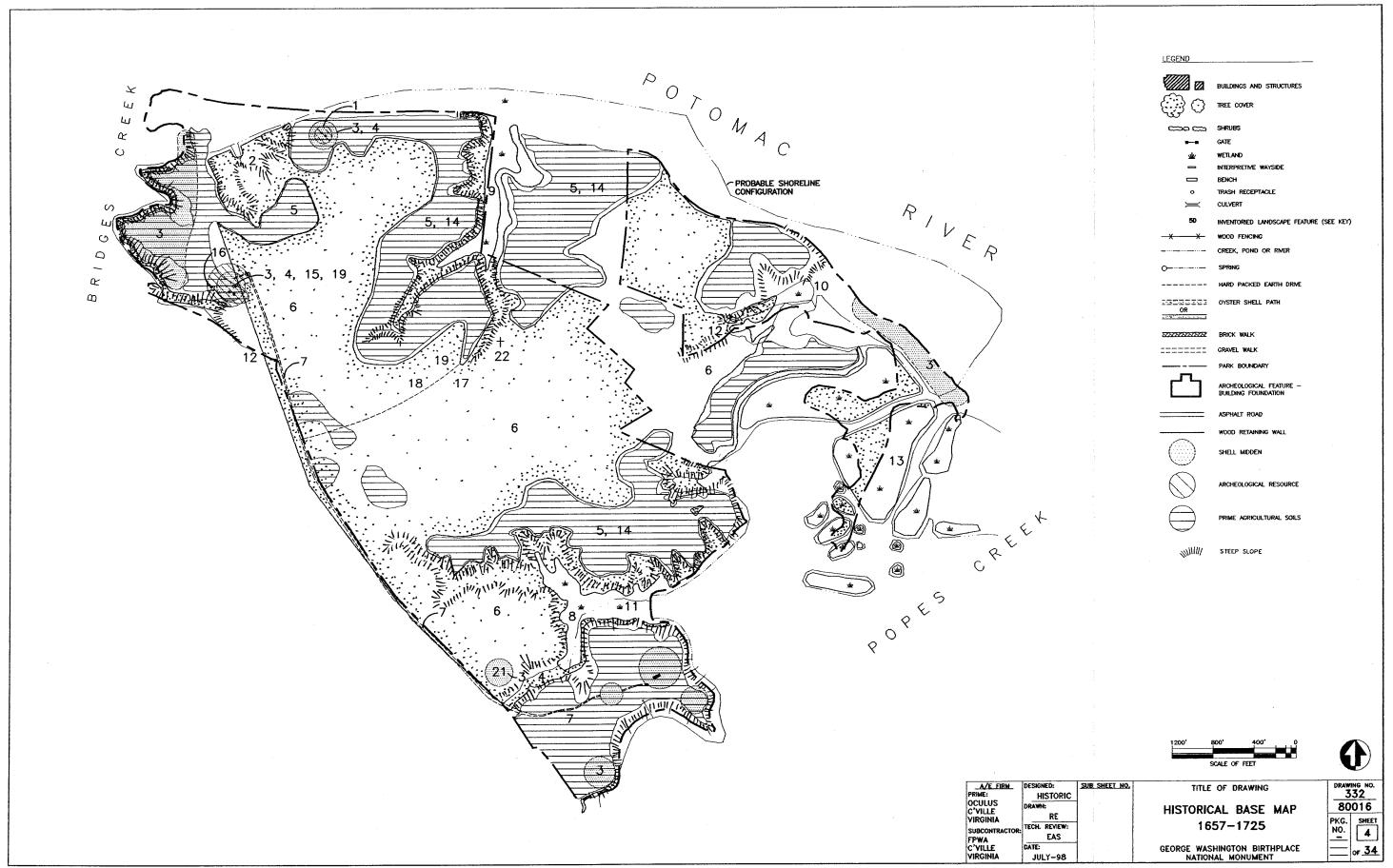
1657 - 1725

Inventory of Landscape Features

1657 - 1725

#	Feature	Date of Origin
1.	Henry Brooks house site	ca. 1651-67
2.	Stream or pond	prehistory
5.	Ag. fields, pastures	prehistory, post 1657
6.	Woodlands	prehistory
7.	Road/trail to Bridges Creek landing	ca. 1651-57
8.	Creek/drainageway	prehistory
9.	Digwood Swamp	prehistory
10.	Wetland (Longwood Swamp)	prehistory
11.	Wetland (Dancing Marsh)	prehistory
12.	Springs, 2	prehistory
13.	Eastern red cedar groves	prehistory
14.	Hedgerows (conjecture)	ca. 1657
15.	Anderson/J. Wash. site	ca. 1657-64
16.	Wash. fam. burial ground	1665
17.	Muse house site (conj.)	by 1667
18.	Road to Muse property	ca. 1667
19.	Plantation fencing	by 1722
21.	Possible tobacco shed	by 1722
22.	Muse burial gd. (conj.)	ca. 1700
Kno	wn Archeological Resources	
3.	Shell middens	prehistory
4.	Agricultural artifacts	prehistory

^{*} Bold entries indicate a new feature or the alteration of an existing feature during this period.



HISTORICAL BASE MAP

INSET: HISTORIC CORE

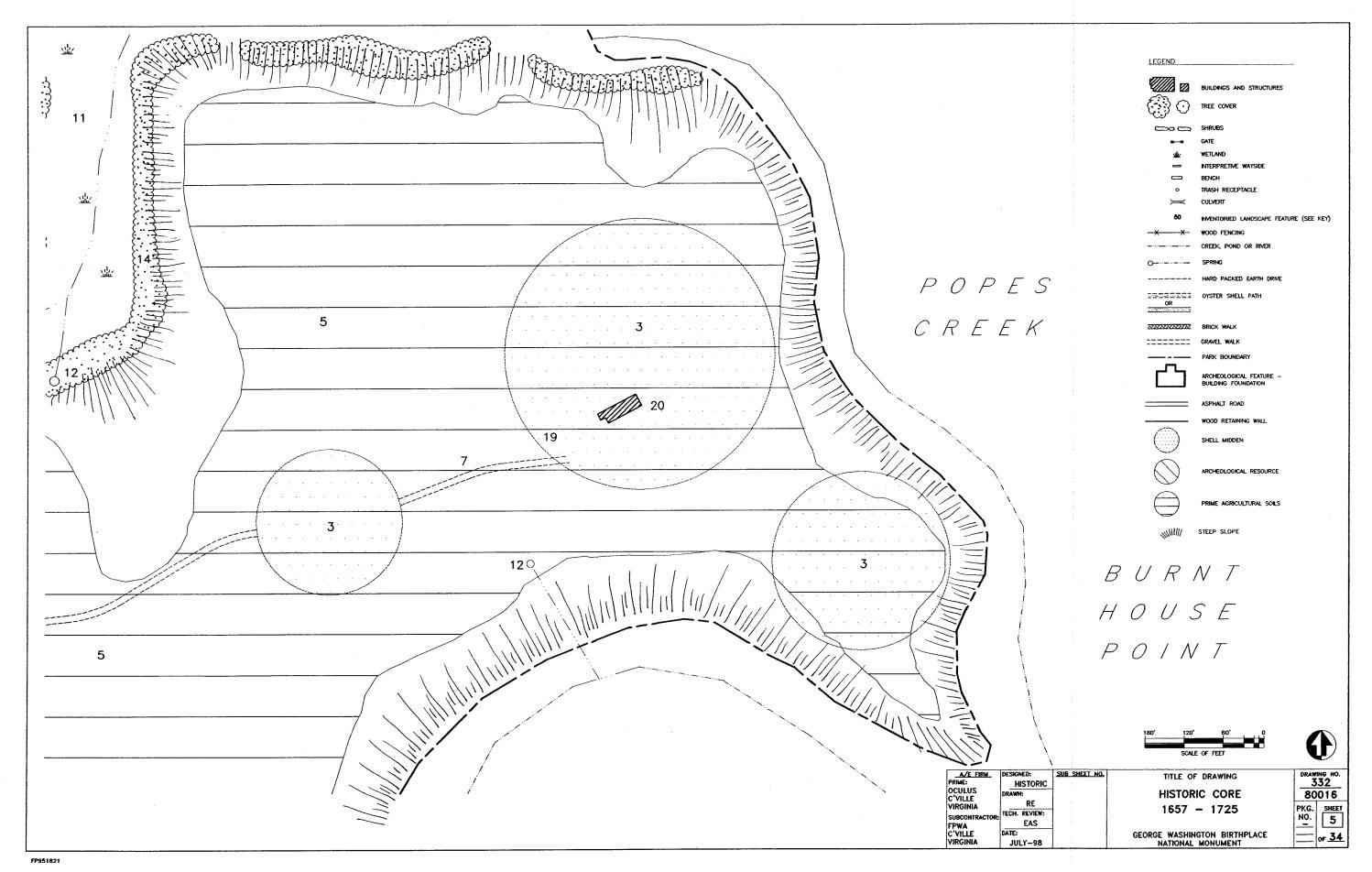
1657 - 1725

Inventory of Landscape Features

Historic Core 1657 - 1725

#	Feature	Date of Origin		
5.	Ag. fields, pastures	prehistory, post 1657		
7.	Road/trail to plantation	by 1718		
11.	Wetland (Dancing Marsh)	prehistory		
12.	Springs, 2	prehistory		
14.	Hedgerows (conjecture)	ca. 1657		
19.	Plantation fencing	by 1722		
20.	Abbington/Wash. house addition	by 1722 by 1725		
Known Archeological Resources				
3.	Shell middens	prehistory		

^{*} Bold entries indicate a new feature or the alteration of an existing feature during this period.



The Washington Family Plantation, Construction of the Birthplace House, and its Occupation until Loss by Fire, 1725 - 1779⁵⁸

(Map E. Historical Base Map: 1725 - 1779; Appendices A and B)

Introduction

Between 1725 and 1779, landscape developments within the site revolved around Augustine Washington's solidification of the Popes Creek plantation, and subsequent management of the property by his son and grandson. Early in the period, the Abbington house was renovated and a substantial addition was completed, providing Augustine Washington's family with a commodious plantation home [Inv. #20]. George Washington was born in the house on February 22, 1732. Soon thereafter, in 1735, Augustine relocated the family to the plantation at Mount Vernon. Popes Creek Plantation was later occupied and managed by George's older half-brother Augustine Washington II, and George continued to spend time there, especially during the summer months. Circa 1748, at the age of sixteen, George undertook a survey of the area between Digwood Swamp and Mattox Creek to the west.

In 1762, Augustine Washington II died, leaving the house and property to his son William Augustine Washington. During his tenure on the property in 1779, the main house at Popes Creek plantation was lost to fire and never reconstructed. William Augustine Washington subsequently moved his family to the property west of Bridges Creek, which he later named Haywood.

Based on documentary and archeological evidence, the plantation during this period is thought to have included a cluster of buildings in the precinct of the main house [Inv. #26]; possibly including slave quarters, additional outbuildings such as a kitchen [Inv. #25], dairy [Inv. #23], craft-related structures [Inv. #24], fencing, gardens, and orchards. The landscape beyond appears to have included what might have been a tobacco shed [Inv. #21], fencing [Inv. #19] with a series of gates that enclosed many of the agricultural fields [Inv. #5], an extensive ditch system to drain the agricultural fields [Inv. #28], and the Ice Pond [Inv. #27]. Although not supported by documentation, it is likely that a road [Inv. #7] of some kind led toward Bridges Creek landing to maintain a connection with the river, which remained an important route for trade and transportation.

Creek landscape during this period include the following: Jack Greene, Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture, especially chapter 4, "A Developmental Model: The Chesapeake, 1660-1760"; Jack Green and J.R. Pole, eds., Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), esp. James T. Lemon's "Spatial Order: Households in Local Communities and Regions," and Richard Dunn's "Servants and Slaves: The Recruitment and Employment of Labor"; Allan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1986); Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, eds., Colonial Chesapeake Society (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987); Daniel Blake Smith, Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980); Mechal Sobel, The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987); Leland Ferguson, Uncommon Ground: Archeology and Early African America, 1650-1800 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992).

Hydrologic features, including Longwood [Inv. #10] and Digwood [Inv. #9] Swamps, Dancing Marsh [Inv. #11], and its associated drainageway [Inv. #8], continued to play an important role in the landscape between 1725 and 1779. Digwood Swamp is referred to by name during this period; no reference to the names of the other wetlands during this period has been found to date. It is likely that the four springs [Inv. #12] described earlier were also an integral part of the plantation landscape.

Land cover patterns, while not detailed to any extent within the historical record, most likely consisted of a patchwork of agricultural fields, hedgerows [Inv. #14], old fields and meadows (some of which were used as pastureland), woodlots, first- and second-growth woodlands [Inv. #6], and the marshes and other wetlands, which were most likely undeveloped. Groves of Eastern red cedars [Inv. #13] may have continued to occupy waterfront areas, such as the islands in Popes Creek.

Elsewhere within the landscape between Popes and Bridges Creeks, there existed a house site east of Digwood Swamp that was occupied by the Muse family [Inv. #17]. It may have functioned as a quarter within the plantation system and was probably reached via an access road [Inv. #18] leading northeast from the Bridges Creek landing road. The Muse family burial ground [Inv. #22] apparently continued to be a part of their settlement of the area. The Henry Brooks [Inv. #1] and John Washington [Inv. #15] house sites appear to have been abandoned by 1725 or soon thereafter, although it is possible that John Washington III occupied the house until this property was awarded to Augustine Washington in 1742. The Washington family burial ground [Inv. #16] continued to be maintained by the family but was abandoned when William Augustine established a house site and new family burial ground at Haywood.

The Character and Evolution of the Plantation Landscape

In 1722, Augustine Washington hired a carpenter and mason named David Jones to build a house on the Popes Creek plantation land. Based on archeological investigation of the foundations of this site [Fig. 35], it is believed that this new "house" was in fact an enlargement and modification of the original Abbington house. It is clear from the pattern of land acquisition pursued by Augustine Washington throughout his tenure at Popes Creek plantation that the new manor⁵⁹ house represented not only the continued domestic center of the already well-developed 150-acre Abbington tract, but also the central feature of a plantation landscape that extended to the north, west, and south of its location on a rise bordering Popes Creek.

In addition to the land he acquired through purchase in 1725 (215 acres) and in 1728 (100 acres), and the 125 acres award to him from cousin John Washington III in 1742, Augustine acquired land through marriage to his first wife Jane Butler Washington. The 539 acres owned by Jane Butler Washington were inherited from her father, Caleb Butler, and her grandfather, John Foxhall. The acreage included the 339-acre Foxhall tract directly south of the Abbington tract and house along Popes Creek, 60 and 200 acres on Mattox Creek. This seat was probably abandoned as a family

⁵⁹ Also "Manner" in some texts, such as Neiman's "The 'Manner House' Before Stratford (Discovering the Clifts Plantation), and early documents describing a plantation's primary dwelling.

⁶⁰ Flemer notebook drawing shows 200 acres, "Caleb Butler to Jane Butler will, 2-16-1708," as bordering Mattox Creek further to the southwest of the 400 acres which Augustine Washington inherited from his father, Lawrence Washington. However, a 1732 survey reproduced in Flemer that originated due to some sort of legal suit between Augustine Washington and John Elliott, who owned nearby Church Point Farm, clearly shows 339 acres of Butler land as south and southwest of the Abbington tract, noted as "Butlers - Bulk of 'Wakefield' Acquired by Augustine Washington." Flemer Notebook, George Washington Birthplace National Monument (GEWA) archives.

residence and turned over to an overseer or tenants during this period. Similarly, Blenheim, which was also part of the Foxhall and Butler family holdings, was turned over to an overseer for whom a house was constructed in the 1720s. 61 Clearly, Butler's contribution to Augustine Washington's holdings was significant in terms of acreage. Her land was also located adjacent to Augustine Washington's other holdings, which more than likely had considerable influence on Augustine's motivation to expand his holdings with contiguous parcels that not only captured the critical waterfront areas, but prime inland farmland as well. It is clear from Augustine's will, which designated a transfer of slaves to Augustine, Jr., "besides those negroes formerly given him by his mother," 62 that Jane Butler Washington's contribution included a significant source of labor as well as property.

In 1742, a legal dispute between John Washington III and his cousin Augustine Washington generated a survey of property near Bridges Creek by Joseph Berry on August 24, 1742 [Fig. 9]. The survey indicated a conflict between the boundaries of the western portion of Popes Creek plantation (Augustine Washington's land) and that of Bridges Creek Plantation (John Washington III's land). Through arbitration, Augustine came into possession of some 100 acres of John Washington's land, including the first Washington house site and the family burial ground. With this acquisition, Augustine Washington effectively became the master of four working plantations in the area: Mattox Creek (portions of which later became known as Haywood), Bridges Creek, Popes Creek, and the Foxhall plantation (which was later included with Popes Creek as "Wakefield," a name for the property that dates to William Augustine Washington's ownership of the property between 1762 and 1810).⁶³

Between 1718 and his death in 1743, Augustine Washington and his family moved between four farms: Popes Creek, Mattox Creek, Eppewasson, and Ferry Farm. They presumably lived at Popes Creek for much of the time between 1718 and 1735. It is unclear at what point Augustine actually moved permanently from his inherited plantation at Mattox Creek to the Abbington tract, but it was clearly by 1726 or 1727. In all likelihood, the move to the Abbington house was made sometime between 1718 and 1722, when construction to modify and enlarge the house began, reflecting Washington's growing status as a prominent planter.⁶⁴ At the time of his death in 1743, a year after the Bridges Creek dispute, Augustine Washington resided at his home at Ferry Farm, across the Rappahannock river from Fredericksburg, having moved there from Eppewasson, also known as Mount Vernon or Little Hunting Creek, in 1739.

The tract south of Abbington's land was the seat of Jane Butler's maternal grandfather, John Foxhall. Jane Butler probably inherited this land from her grandfather through her mother's property. This tract will be referred to as the "Foxhall" seat throughout this report.

61 The Foxhall seat would eventually reclaim its role as a part of the "Wakefield" plantation when the midnineteenth-century owner, John E. Wilson, rebuilt a residence on part of this property. See Lindenkohl map [Fig. 11]. "Ruins" to south of "J.E. Wilson's residence," S. Lamkin survey 1813 with re-survey imposed over it by James English, 1859 [Fig. 10].

Documentary evidence for Blenheim is contradictory. Flemer notebook map shows Blenheim as southwest of the Popes Creek plantation, still part of the Foxhall and Butler patents and acreage.

- 62 As quoted in Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *Popes Creek Plantation Birthplace of George Washington*, Washington's Birthplace, VA: Wakefield National Memorial Association), 41, from Augustine's will in Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, XIV, 410-16.
- ⁶³ Hatch states that Augustine had consolidated three plantations, omitting the fourth: that of the Foxhall estate as inherited by Jane Butler Washington. This would appear to be a critical omission, since the nineteenth-century farm purchased by John Wilson contained a considerable portion of Foxhall's cultivated fields, meadows, woodlots, and portions of an extant farm road system. See Lindenkohl survey [Fig. 11].

⁶⁴ Hatch, 32-33.

The years in which Augustine Washington amassed these four farms, 1718-1743, came at a time of significant economic and cultural shifts. First and foremost, this period evidenced a radical change in the composition of labor. Between 1650 and 1680, the African slave population in Virginia rose ten-fold, from 300 to 3,000, and by the end of this period slaves outnumbered white indentures for the first time. However, the same ten-fold increase occurred roughly between the years 1687 and 1737, when the slave population went from 10,000 to over 100,000 in response to the consolidation of small farms into larger plantations owned by a single family.⁶⁵ Ultimately, this rapid expansion resulted in the rise of a powerful planter class who would, within the century, form the political consensus and economic foundation necessary for a revolution against British rule. Augustine Washington and his plantation exemplify the distillation of this process.

The solidification of landholdings into larger units and a rapidly growing reliance on African slave labor altered the physical landscape of Augustine Washington's holdings in several ways. The smaller seats established during the patent years—such as the various Brooks holdings—were bought by Augustine as parcels contiguous to his existing farmstead. Since there was often some form of farm structure on each parcel or seat, it can be inferred from information gleaned during archeological excavations on similar sites throughout the Potomac River area, that there would have existed some type of landscape composition of domestic buildings, other rudimentary structures, gardens (or a yard), farmed acreage, and abandoned fields or meadows and woodlots for livestock and timbering purposes.⁶⁶ In some cases, at the time of their purchase by Augustine, these tracts would have been inhabited by tenants who were not necessarily owners; other tracts may have been empty, as was the case with the Henry Brooks site, purchased in 1725, but which appears to have been abandoned by this time.⁶⁷ Foxhall acreage had at least one tenant, John Muse, at the Butler house site during Augustine Washington's tenure. 68 The Mattox Creek farm was also tenanted after Augustine's departure for the Abbington tract.⁶⁹ At least one other tenant, Ben Weeks, lived on Washington family property outside the park on the western tract south of "Indiantown," formerly belonging to the Butlers. 70

In many cases, these tenants were either indentured servants who had served out their bond, or the scant descendants of such servants. Most indentures lacked the capital to buy land once their period of servitude was completed; tenancy appears to have been the only viable option for many of them. Ownership of land was reserved for those with the social and financial resources to obtain it, either by market crops, fortuitous marriages, or inherited wealth. Such was the case with Augustine Washington, who appears to have adopted the use of tenancy for his own expedient purposes: to keep his properties as working farms generating income.

⁶⁵ Ferguson, 43; Dunn, "Servants and Slaves: The Recruitment and Employment of Labor," in Greene and Pole, 157-194.

⁶⁶ Pogue, Seventeenth Century Chesapeake Archeology; Neiman.

⁶⁷ Blades, "Archaeological Excavations at the Henry Brooks and John Washington Sites," dates abandonment to 1675-1700. In similar fashion, the archeological report also end-dates the occupation of the John Washington site at 1675-1700.

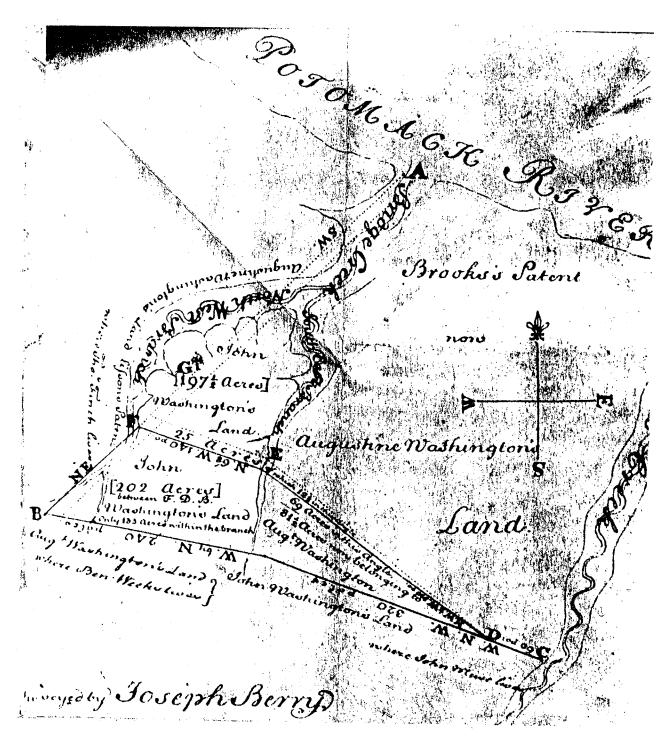
⁶⁸ Charles A. Hoppin, "Old Houses on the Wakefield Estate", *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 11, #2 (October 1929), 89.

⁶⁹ Hatch, 39.

⁷⁰ Weeks is identified as living on Augustine Washington's land, which had formerly been part of the Butler holdings. See Joseph Berry Survey, 1742, for "Aug't Washington's Land where Ben Weeks lives," [Fig. 9] GEWA archives.



8. Detail, "A New Map of Virginia humbly Dedicated to ye Right Honorable Thomas Lord Fairfax," 1738.



9. James Berry survey, John Washington and Augustine Washington properties at Popes Creek, 1742.

The integration of several small patent landscapes, complete with their own physical structures, into a single family's holdings allowed for the expansion of the plantation model through what may be called the "quarter" system. Where extant seats or settlement landscapes existed complete with buildings and other "appurtenances," they constituted a "quarter," or division of the overall property into discrete functioning units. Thus, the landscape, like society, was hierarchical: the family seat was either maintained or re-established as the center of the overall estate after each significant new inheritance or purchase. The quarters supported the centers as satellite farms, complete with their own labor force, which by the late seventeenth century, was predominately that of African- and Virginia-born slaves who had replaced indentured servants.⁷¹

During Augustine Washington's tenure, the plantation model gradually expanded to include each of the four farms he owned in this area. First, Augustine Washington established an initial settlement at Mattox Creek. He subsequently moved to Popes Creek, establishing a manor house indicative of his status and wealth as a planter. At this point, Mattox Creek became a "quarter," as did the Foxhall plantation lands, as evidenced in the construction at Blenheim of an overseer's house. When the Bridges Creek plantation, including the abandoned house site and burying ground, was designated as a quarter in his will, this holding, too, became a part of the system.⁷²

The quarter system affected the landscape through the continued development of agricultural lands, including additional clearing of forest, cultivation of new fields, and the abandonment of old fields with exhausted soils to meadow [Fig. 4]. It can be deduced from this model that the deforestation commonly associated with seventeenth-century tobacco plantations was in fact accelerated by the quarter system, due to the acquisition of a slave-labor force that allowed for an increase in agricultural production. In addition, the labor force itself could be separated from the owner's residence and domestic complex (excepting the house servants and slaves), and located at the other "quarters." And located at the other "quarters."

By the time Augustine Washington and his family moved to the Abbington tract, his overseers and field slaves were located on the disparate quarters, leaving the house site as a physically distinct architectural unit, complete with its own outbuildings, gardens, and probably orchards. This ensemble would have reflected the lifestyle of a prominent planter. Augustine Washington's costly purchase of the Abbington tract probably reflected its already well-developed state, as witnessed in landscape details enumerated in the title transfer. Augustine Washington's considerable wealth and growing prestige led to the development of a more sophisticated manor house, replete with gardens, and the gradual removal or rehabilitation of earlier earthfast structures. Throughout Tidewater the pattern was the same: early farm sites of the pioneer colonists were transformed by their descendants into plantations symbolizing the growth and prosperity of the planter class.

⁷¹ Original John Washington headrights patent: 50 persons, 48 probably indentures with "two Negroes." By contrast, Augustine Washington had at least 49 slaves, and that number may or may not have included the slaves inherited by his first wife, Jane Butler, some of whom were willed to Augustine Washington, Jr. Nell Marion Nugent, abstractor, *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants*, vol. I: 1623-1666 (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1974); Flemer notebooks.

⁷² Hatch's discussion of the Bridges Creek quarter does not differentiate between the Lisson tract (400 acres) and its expansion by 100 acres as a result of the acquisition of the Bridges Creek plantation site of the first John Washington. This quarter may also have been known at one point as the "Great Quarter." See the reference in Lamkin's 1813 survey to "The Great Quarter gate corner to Thomas Muse." This would have been along the road leading to Bridges Creek landing, just past the entrance road to Wickliffe (currently the Muse property).

⁷³ Ferguson, 55. See also Dell Upton's work on "social distance" in the eighteenth-century Virginia landscape, and Vlach's *Common Places*.

Within that class grew a recognition of kindred interests, which ultimately led to the struggle for independence from England.⁷⁴

Although the deed conveying the house site from Abbington to Augustine Washington had specifically named features of a fairly well-developed seventeenth-century plantation, Washington's substantial modification of the original house was undoubtedly complemented by a more orderly layout of the existing exterior spaces that extended the domestic landscape outward from the residence. While archeological excavation of the birthplace foundations has indicated that both the Abbington and Washington era portions were of brick construction, historical records do not indicate whether the above-ground portions of the Abbington house were of wood or brick construction. Similarly, it is not known whether all of the renovations undertaken by Augustine Washington were in fact of brick construction although this is generally believed to be the case.

Other known elements of the Washington plantation ensemble during this period include gardens, utility areas such as trash dumps, and outbuildings such as a kitchen and dairy. Although some of these buildings may have pre-dated Washington's arrival and were most likely post-hole structures, their use surely intensified during this era of growth, necessitating modifications such as the inclusion of new buildings and garden spaces. This precinct appears to have been enclosed and linked by wooden paling, which had probably replaced earlier "fences" mentioned by Abbington. Along with the proliferation and regularization of domestic features would have come more craft-specific outbuildings, such as a blacksmithy, and weaving shop.⁷⁵ The presence of slave quarters at the domestic residence has been suggested, but no definitive evidence of outbuildings used specifically for that purpose has been found.⁷⁶

Other outbuildings were probably rehabilitated or adapted as well, including one structure located along the edge of the "Ice Pond," which may have been one of the "appurtenances" conveyed to Washington from Abbington [Fig. 36]. This particular outbuilding is intriguing, for both its siting and post-hole construction suggest a connection with tobacco production. The pond itself would have served both as a source of irrigation for the tobacco seedbeds, and for ice to be harvested during the winter months for use during the summer.⁷⁷

A distinctly different physical character was encountered at the quarters, where the primary function was one of utility and agricultural production. Connected to the main house by farm roads and cart paths, the individual quarters in all likelihood continued to be architecturally representative of the earlier colonial period, particularly with respect to earthfast structures that served as tobacco,

⁷⁴ A variety of splendid texts have been written on this evolution of the planter class from rugged pioneers to a wealthy and politically powerful native "aristocracy." See Rhys Isaac's Pulitzer Prize-winning *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), which is particularly sensitive to the material culture and landscape aspects of this shift; see also work by T.H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985).

⁷⁵ Although no evidence has yet been ascertained of these buildings with the exception of the dairy, historical documentation of Augustine Washington's plantation operations points to the necessity of their physical location within the core of the domestic landscape.

⁷⁶ Brooke Blades, "Archaeological Evidence, George Washington Birthplace National Monument," internal memorandum to NPS Chief, Park Archeology, February 11, 1993. See also Dennis Pogue's analysis of artifacts related to the interpretation of a "small post building with a storage pit at one end" (Blades, 1) as a slave quarter. Pogue's conclusion was that the artifacts from this site did not support an interpretation of it as a slave quarter. Dennis J. Pogue and Esther C. White, "Report on the Reanalysis of Features and Artifacts Excavated at George Washington's Birthplace" (Mount Vernon, VA: Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, 1992), 21.

⁷⁷ Part of an ice-saw from the period was recovered during archeological excavation at the house site. Hatch, 44.

livestock, and equipment barns and production areas. These buildings, as well as the slave quarters, also generally earthfast structures, were located near crop fields. The sites of overseer houses such as Blenheim (outside of current park boundaries) and their attendant slave quarters had their own domestic order, usually consisting of some type of main road or path leading to the site, limited outbuildings for the overseer's house, and utilitarian gardens specific to each group.⁷⁸

An important part of this plantation landscape was the road network connecting the quarters to the main house, as well as those that served to connect the agricultural production areas with the "landings" or small wharves along the Potomac, which appears to have served as the main conduit of trade until well into the nineteenth century. By the mid-eighteenth century, the colonial plantation landscape contained a circulation system composed of a formal access to the main residence, farm roads connecting plantations and providing access to the river landings, agricultural field roads or cart paths, sometimes in the form of tobacco "rolling roads," and informal foot paths criss-crossing the property, usually frequented by slaves moving across the landscape from quarter to quarter, and plantation to plantation.⁷⁹

However important the internal systems may have been, the primary circulation routes connected the plantation to the river. With respect to the major roads and their connection to landings, access to the Potomac River had been the driving force behind most of the early occupation of Westmoreland County; the creeks such as Popes, Bridges, and Mattox afforded routes to the landings on the Potomac River, where the trading ships would dock to load hogsheads of tobacco and grain, and exchange goods vital to the plantation's survival. ⁸⁰ In his purchase of the 25-acre parcel of "Lands Islands and marsh in and at the mouth of Popes Creek" in 1734, Augustine Washington ensured access from the Popes Creek Plantation to the Potomac River. ⁸¹ It is unclear whether or not a landing ever existed on what later became known as Burnt House Point ⁸² during the Washington family occupation of the property; surely access through the "mouth of Popes Creek" was of critical concern. Whether or not another landing north of the house site existed remains undetermined. ⁸³

⁷⁸ According to Lawrence Latane, slave quarters persisted at Blenheim until the 1960s, when they fell down in decay. Similarly, a slave cemetery site was located at Blenheim when Mr. Latane purchased the property, with graves that had been marked by locust posts. There is evidence of at least one long-standing garden space—probably a kitchen garden—located next to the house itself. Remains of a brick walk were not dated, but may be nineteenth-century in origin. Lawrence Latane interview. Blenheim is located outside of current park boundaries.

⁷⁹ Sobel.

⁸⁰ An early "post road" akin to a trade highway connecting Westmoreland County with locations both to its north and south was the English postal route established by Thomas Neale in the late-seventeenth century. Although this route did not traverse the Popes Creek plantation, or any of the other adjacent plantations, it was a critical connection between the early colonies, beginning in Boston, traveling through New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, and across the Potomac River via Hooe's Ferry, which is present-day Colonial Beach. From there the route continued "by way of the old trails across the Rappahannock and other intervening water courses to Williamsburg and to Jamestown." Charles Callahan to Elbert Cox, personal correspondence, July 21, 1932. Cox was the "assistant park historian" at Colonial National Monument who also gathered information on the new property at George Washington Birthplace.

⁸¹ Hatch, 38.

⁸² Also "Burn'd" and "Burned" House point. Refers to the location of George Washington's birthplace home, which was lost to fire in 1779, on a peninsula overlooking Popes Creek, southwest of the confluence of Popes Creek and Potomac River. Early maps of the region refer to other sites as "Burn'd House Point," reflecting the propensity of early settlers to locate their dwellings near the water, but also to the prevalence of devastating fire.

⁸³ Given Augustine Washington I's holdings along Bridges Creek, it is possible that no landing serving the house site was constructed; rather, the extant road to Bridges Creek landing would have functioned well enough, considering

Augustine Washington I's expansion of landholdings was more than likely calculated with a corresponding increase in agricultural production in mind, as well as the probable emergent shift from production based almost entirely on tobacco to a more diversified cultivation of crops—corn, grains, and forage. Since tobacco crops were so intensely exhaustive of soils, a rudimentary form of crop rotation became necessary simply to allow soils to remain agriculturally viable. Without rotation, they became "old fields" consisting of eroded gullies and successional pine barrens.⁸⁴

At the same time that the practice of devoting fields to specific crops on a rotating basis came into use, the practice of setting aside fields as bounded entities for free-range livestock was established. A network of split-rail "worm" fences—once restricted to the house site because of the labor involved in constructing them—were now built by slave labor to mark and define the boundaries of specific fields; given the necessity of having a wagon road or cart path along the edges of fields, fences were constructed along these alignments with gates at critical points of juncture between fields. These gates, often mentioned in boundary surveys, divided properties as well.⁸⁵

Another landscape feature of local practice that can be dated to at least the mid-eighteenth century is the use of agricultural drainage ditches, which also functioned as boundaries between fields. These structures were used to drain fields with a high water table, which include those within the park. Specific references to the practice of ditching by colonial planters have been found in connection with the establishment of meadows, especially on prime acreage. As with the fencing, extensive field ditching was made possible by the increase in slave labor in the first half of the eighteenth century.

At his death in 1743, Augustine Washington willed the Popes Creek plantation and associated holdings to his second son, and namesake, Augustine Washington II. Since the elder Augustine Washington had departed from Popes Creek plantation in 1735, it would appear that Augustine Washington II was involved in the management of the plantation prior to his inheritance in 1743,87 although Augustine Washington II was age 15 in 1735, and 23 in 1743, when he inherited the property. During Augustine Washington II's tenure at Popes Creek, few, if any, land purchases were made. More than likely, the two decades during which he managed the plantation and its holdings saw a continuation of agricultural development, a slight accumulation of slaves (probably due more to native birth than purchase), and relative stability on the estate.

At Augustine Washington II's death in 1762, his heir apparent, son William Augustine Washington, was only five years old. William Augustine's mother, Anne Aylett Washington, purportedly continued to manage the plantation for her son until her death in 1774. At this point,

the location of the large agricultural fields fronting it *en route* from the plantation house site to Bridges Creek and the Potomac River.

⁸⁴ Referred to as "barren lands" in Lamkin survey of 1813 [Fig. 10].

⁸⁵ Gates, such as "Pea Hill gate," (located outside of the park) also marked the points of entry into properties. Other gates were located at the head of Digwood Swamp ("Muse's gate") and leading to the "Great Quarters" via Bridges Creek road. This latter gate site is indicated on the 1879 Lindenkohl survey, amended 1897, and was still in use when the present road alignment was constructed in 1930. Additional gates by 1813 included "Granary Gate" across from the road to the Muse property, and "Burnt House Gate" located at the edge of the house precinct. See Lamkin survey, 1813, GEWA archives [Fig. 10].

⁸⁶ Elizabeth Pryor, "Forage Crops in the Colonial Chesapeake," unpublished research report #13 (Accokeek, MD: National Colonial Farm, Accokeek Foundation, n.d.), 31. An antebellum account of ditches can be found in Edmund Ruffin, "Agricultural Features of Virginia and North Carolina," DeBow's Review (May 1857), 11, #5, 462-479, especially section VII, "The usual and general plan of draining," 476-479.

⁸⁷ Hatch, 51.

the property reverted to William Augustine Washington. His management of at least part of the Popes Creek plantation, the manor house and grounds, came to an end with its destruction by fire five years later, on Christmas Day, 1779. After the fire, William Augustine moved his family to the overseer's house on the Blenheim property and a brick addition was constructed for the family to occupy until a new house could be built across Bridges Creek. Re In 1784, the new house was completed. The family moved in and William Augustine Washington named the property Haywood. William Augustine Washington's daughter Sarah Tayloe Washington later occupied Blenheim.

William Augustine Washington continued to acquire land during his tenure, including parcels formerly belonging to John Hooe Washington, John Washington III's grandson, which had not been part of the 1742 arbitration involving Augustine Washington and John Washington III. This acreage included "Indiantown from the great quarter of Wises field" (Wise was apparently a tenant), located between the branches of Bridges Creek, and "Pea Hill," located southwest of the park. By Other acreage acquired by William Augustine Washington relating to the original John Washington property of the mid-seventeenth century included two parcels totalling 305 acres; a 105 acre parcel, designated as "Jonathan's" was purchased from Daniel Higdon (likely a descendant of Jane Higdon, who had acquired part of the original Henry Brooks patent); and an adjacent 200-acre parcel was also acquired.

Conclusion

By the time of the 1779 fire that destroyed the central residence of the Washington family plantation at Popes Creek, the evolution of the prototypical Tidewater plantation landscape begun by John Washington had reached its fullest development. No longer a frontier farm, Popes Creek plantation reflected the Washington family's status in a newly formed aristocracy of planters whose desire to be economically free from English rule was fueled by the development of a unique social and institutional identity apart from that of being simply "English colonists." The plantation model, particularly as it developed in the South, was both a material manifestation and spiritual symbol of an uniquely fashioned life in the New World. Each plantation was like a small community, tied to other plantations located up and down the Tidewater waterways and to the markets for agricultural goods located in American cities and abroad. Many of the customs of English law, such as primogeniture, were replaced by new traditions. Washington family women, for example, often inherited as much land as their brothers. The labor-intensive nature of tobacco cultivation led to a dependence on slavery as an agricultural institution. It is likely, for example, that the saturated soils of Popes Creek plantation were first made suitable for agriculture after drainage ditches were dug by slave labor. Between 1725 and 1779, the landscape between Popes and Bridges Creeks served as the center of a thriving Washington-family plantation. The role of this landscape would change dramatically with the burning of the mansion house, after which the family chose to relocate and create a new hub for their activities.

⁸⁸ Lawrence W. Latane, typescript article, "Blenheim," December, 1975 (1 p.).

⁸⁹ William Augustine Washington's will, July 12, 1810, contains reference to Pea Hill as "the ruins where Captain John Peyton now lives." Hatch, 62.

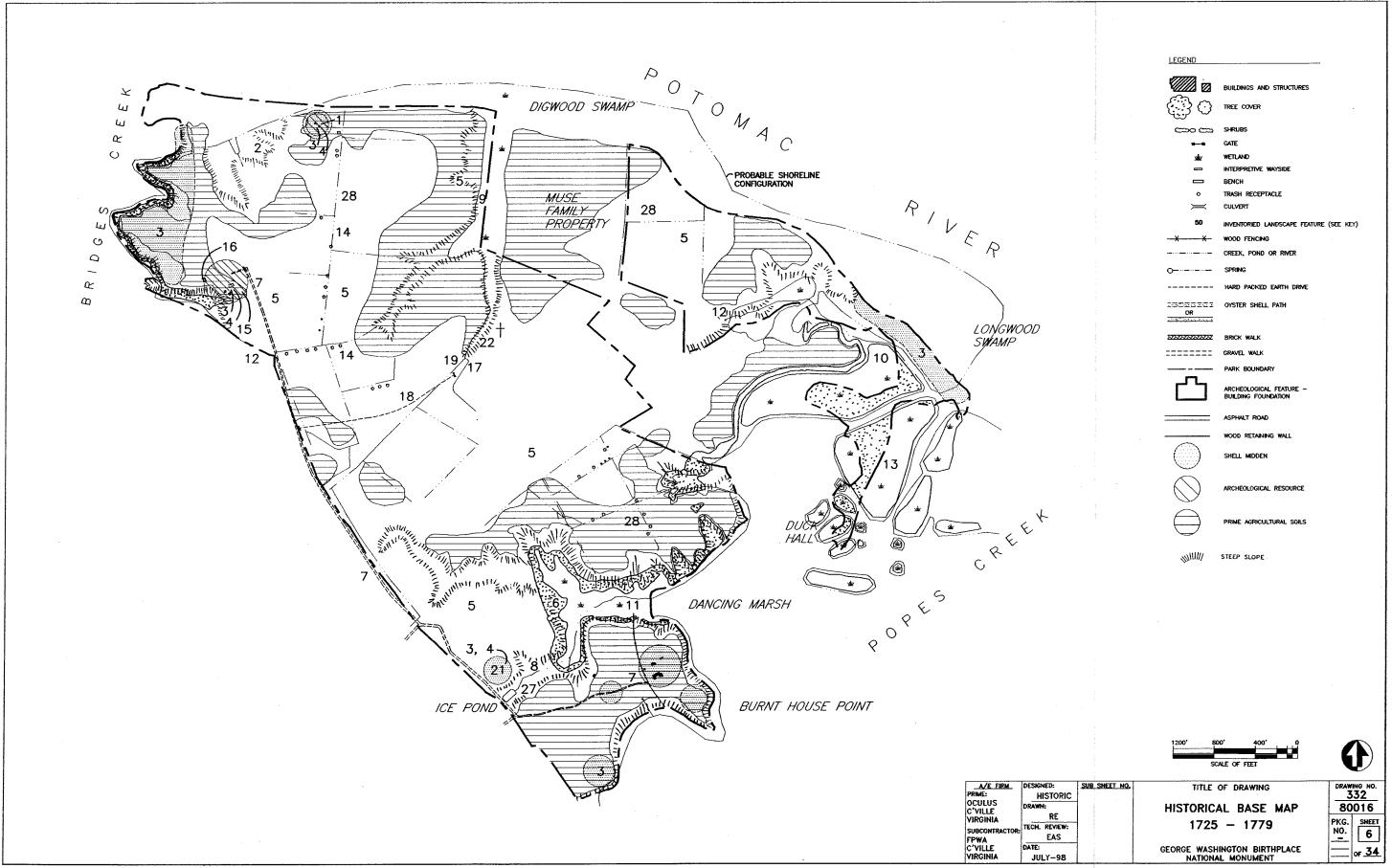
⁹⁰ Hatch, 63.

HISTORICAL BASE MAP 1725 - 1779

Inventory of Landscape Features

#	Feature	Date of Origin
2.	Stream or pond	prehistory
5.	Agricultural fields, pastures	prehistory, post 1657
6.	Woodlands	prehistory
7.	Road/trail to Bridges Creek landing	ca. 1651-67
8.	Creek/drainageway	prehistory
9.	Digwood Swamp	prehistory
10.	Longwood Swamp	prehistory
11.	Dancing Marsh	prehistory
12.	Springs, 2	prehistory
13.	Eastern red cedar groves	prehistory
14.	Hedgerows (conjecture)	ca. 1657
16.	Washington fam. burial ground	1665
17.	Muse family house site (conj.)	by 1667
18.	Road to Muse family property	ca. 1667
19.	Fencing, incl. gates	ca. 1725-79
21.	Possible tobacco shed	by 1722
22.	Muse family burial ground	(conj.) ca. 1700
27.	Ice Pond	ca. 1725-79
28.	Ag. drainage ditches	ca. 1700-50
Knov	wn Archeological Resources	
1.	Henry Brooks house site	ca. 1651-57
3.	Shell middens	prehistory
4.	Agricultural artifacts	prehistory
15.	John Washington house site	ca. 1657-64

^{*} Bold entries indicate a new feature or the alteration of an existing feature during this period.



HISTORICAL BASE MAP

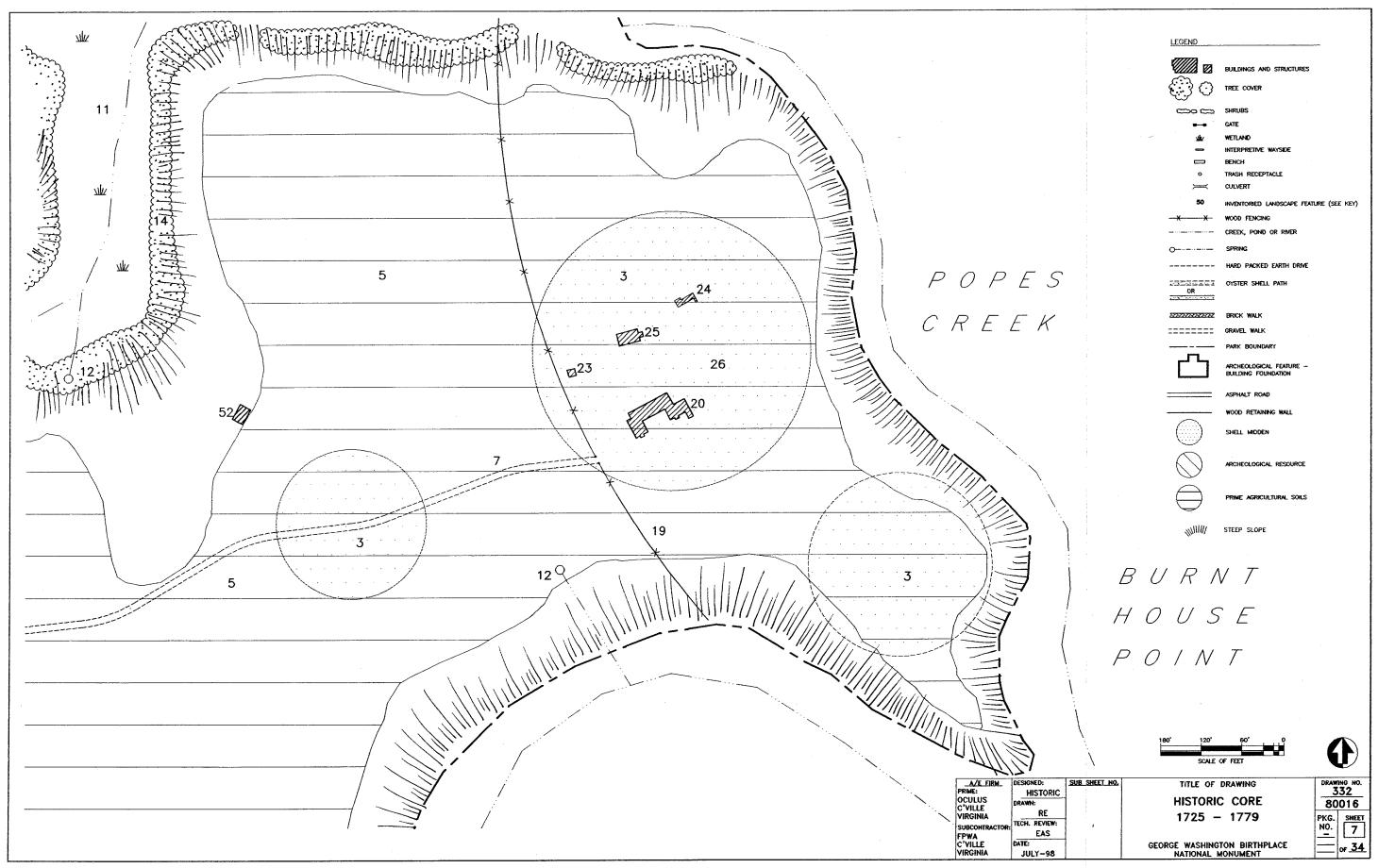
INSET: HISTORIC CORE

Inventory of Landscape Features

Historic Core 1725 - 1779

#	Feature	Date of Origin	
5.	Agricultural fields, pastures	prehistory, post 1657	
7.	Road to plantation	by 1718	
11.	Wetland (Dancing Marsh)	prehistory	
12.	Springs, 2	prehistory	
14.	Hedgerows (conjecture)	ca. 1657	
19.	Plantation fencing	1722-79	
20.	Abbington/Washington house addition lost to fire	by 1722 1722-25 1779	
23.	Possible dairy	1725-79	
24.	Unidentified outbuilding	1725-79	
25.	Kitchen building	1725-79	
26.	Plantation ensemble	1718-79	
52.	Unidentified outbuilding	unknown	
Known Archeological Resources			
3.	Shell middens	prehistory	

^{*} Bold entries indicate a new feature or the alteration of an existing feature during this period.



Washington Family Ownership and Sale of "Wakefield," Subsequent Owners, and Initial Memorialization of the Site, 1779 - 1846

(Map F. Historical Base Map: 1779 - 1846; Appendices A and B)

Introduction

Between 1779 and 1846, the Popes Creek plantation property was little used by the Washington family; by 1784 they had established a new seat, which they named Haywood, across Bridges Creek. The original Washington family Burial Ground [Inv. #16] was abandoned and a new one established at Haywood. Most likely, the outbuildings associated with the Popes Creek plantation ensemble [Inv. #'s 21, 23, 24, 25, 26] quickly fell into disrepair after the house [Inv. #20] was lost to fire and the family moved away. The 1813 Lamkin survey, however, indicates a gate location near the precinct of the remnant family home at "Burnt House Point" along Popes Creek. In any case, natural features of the landscape, such as the wetlands [Inv. #'s 2, 8, 9, 10, 11], springs [Inv. #12], creeks, and woodlands [Inv. #6] continued to exist, and the land continued to be farmed [Inv. #5].

It was also during this period that tobacco culture was replaced by corn and grains, and the raising of livestock. Fencing was most likely used to enclose grazing areas for livestock. Agricultural elements of the landscape apparently included drainage ditches [Inv. #28], hedgerows [Inv. #14], fields, and pastures. Groves of Eastern red cedars [Inv. #13] may have continued to occupy the islands at the mouth of Popes Creek, although by this time it is likely that all timber over the extent of the site had at one time or another been felled for use in construction or to make way for crop land.

The road to Bridges Creek landing [Inv. #7] most likely continued to be used by the family and other local owners for access to the river as well as farm lands. It is indicated only as far as the Washington family burial ground on the 1813 (revised 1859) Lamkin survey, however. The survey also indicates the existence of the Ice Pond [Inv. #27] and a road crossing the pond's dam that appeared to have linked the remnant house site near Popes Creek to the Ice Pond. This road then led to the intersection of the road to the Washington family burial ground, a road to Duck Hall [Inv. #33], and a road leading to the overseer's house at Blenheim. The Lamkin survey also identifies the Duck Hall property, but no house site [Inv. #30] is indicated. It is likely that Duck Hall included, by the end of this period, however, a house, outbuilding [Inv. #31], and ice house [Inv. #32], although little documentation relating to these features has been located.

The Muse family continued to own and occupy "Wickliffe," and their family burial ground most likely continued to be a part of the farmstead [Inv. #22]. It is unclear, however, exactly where the Muse family farm house, or houses, were located since between 1779 and 1846, historical maps indicate Muse family land holdings without illustrating house sites. It is not until the 1879 Lindenkohl map that Muse family houses appear on historic mapping. Historical maps of the period do show a road leading to the head of Digwood Swamp during the period [Inv. #34]. This road most likely provided access to the property of the Muse family. The road ends at what is called the "Great Gate". This feature may correspond to the location of the first dry southern crossing point for Digwood Swamp. The Jane Brooks Higdon Brown home site, which may have been used by the Muse family as tenants of the property at one time, had most likely been abandoned by this period. The names of Raymond and Eileen Washington appear on the Lamkin survey south of the Muse property along Bridges Creek road. Little is known about these owners

or occupants, but a small farmstead, also referenced under the name Raymond Washington, later appears in this area during the twentieth century.

In 1813, the Popes Creek plantation was sold to John Gray, a Fredericksburg lawyer, who farmed the property through tenants. Commemoration of George Washington's life and birthplace began on the site with the laying of a stone [Inv. #29] by George Washington Parke Custis in 1815. Various pilgrimages to the site followed. In 1832, Gray sold the property to David Payne and Henry T. Garnett, and for thirteen years the farm was passed between part-owners, heirs, guardians, and trustees. In 1846, Gray sold the property to John E. Wilson, who moved his family to the site and established a farmstead south of the park at Foxhall.

Establishment of Haywood and the later sale of Wakefield

After inheriting the Bridges Creek quarter, which contained both the Lisson (200 acres west of Bridges Creek) and Washington (125 acres east of Bridges Creek) tracts, William Augustine Washington was in possession of a prime location for a new home directly on the Potomac River, just to the west of Bridges Creek. Interestingly, William Augustine Washington rejected both the Popes Creek and original Washington tract as sites for his new residence. Rather than rebuild a residence on the site of the Popes Creek house after the fire, he chose to move his family to a new plantation seat, "Haywood," constructed by 1784. He also constructed a new family burying ground on the property at Haywood.

By 1802, however, William Augustine Washington's estate was advertised for sale, perhaps in anticipation of a move to Washington, D.C. in 1804. The advertisement constitutes the first written description of the four farms amassed by the Washington family. Described as "Haywood," the 6,000 acre property was described thus: "cultivated as four farms, upon which are all the improvements essential to agriculture"—presumably, the four "farms" were Mattox Creek, Bridges Creek, Popes Creek, and the latest, Haywood. It is clear from this description that the potential for dividing the estate into four separate properties was not viewed as an impediment to its salability: "A convenient division of this estate may be made so as to accommodate gentlemen who might wish to purchase in conjunction." Page 1804.

William Augustine Washington's portrayal of his estate is particularly valuable for its description of the landscape features, which included crop lands, meadows, and woodlands, as well as "navigation at the door," which referred to the landing at Bridges Creek:

It contains by computation six thousand acres of land lying on the Potomac river between Mattox' and Popes' creek, more than a moiety of which is in cultivation. The land is all level....it is peculiarly adapted to the production of Indian corn, wheat and barley; and produces annually heavy crops of wheat and corn of an excellent quality. This estate possesses a large quantity of Meadow lands, that may be reclaimed at a moderate expense; and several hundred acres of natural mowable meadow.

⁹¹ From Hatch, 62, footnote 10. "Haywood—A Valuable Estate in Lands for Sale," the Washington *Federalist*, March 17, 1803, 4, with the advertisement dated Haywood, November 19, 1802.

⁹² Ibid.

Nearly one half of this land is in wood, which affords an inexhaustible supply of timber, rilin [sic: railing?] firewood and cedar ... on the different farms are upward of 1,000 bearing apple trees, and 3,000 peach trees, with a variety of other choice fruits.⁹³

Clearly, by the turn of the century, tobacco production was no longer considered an economically viable crop on this property, as it is not mentioned. Further, the evidence of past tobacco cultivation is evident in the type of crop rotation (corn and wheat) advertised, as well as the mention of "Meadow lands," which were probably abandoned fields in succession. The "natural mowable meadow" acreage may have been a result of a concerted effort to cultivate forage for the ever increasing livestock holdings amassed throughout the eighteenth century, as seen in the wills of both Augustine Washington I and II.⁹⁴ The cultivation of apples and peaches may have begun as early as the late 1690s; by 1718, Abbington's tract contained "orchards" which were purchased by Augustine as part of the property.⁹⁵ The significant acreage in woodlots, almost 3,000 acres, also indicates a continuation of the colonial practice of maintaining large woodlots for timbering, foraging of livestock, and production of lumber for buildings, fences, and necessary products such as hogsheads. It could also include acreage that had returned to forest after tobacco cultivation during the seventeenth century.

Although not mentioned by name, the Popes Creek plantation site was an integral part of this 6,000 acre estate. Use of the names "Wakefield" and "Burnt House plantation" to describe the Popes Creek tract appear to date from this period. Apparently, at least this portion of the estate was not sold, since it reappears in part as "the Burnt house plantation and the Islands and Marsh" in William Augustine Washington's will of 1810. Inherited by his son, George Corbin Washington, a majority of the tract included acreage of the original Popes Creek plantation amassed by Augustine Washington I in the 1740s, as well as property that had been passed down via his collateral relatives, the series of John Washingtons all the way to John Hooe Washington.

Within three years, George Corbin Washington sold his inherited property, "all that tract of land situate & lying in the Parish of Washington and County of Westmoreland known by the name of

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ The rapid clearing of land for tobacco production in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries had a direct influence on the development of forage production for livestock. While livestock were originally free to roam the property and woods in search of food, the poor quality of marsh grasses and a gradual loss of woods wreaked havoc with the planter's ability to keep his livestock fed. As a result, deliberate attempts at hay and grass meadows were instituted throughout this area as early as the 1680s, and were the general practice by the turn of the century. Experiments with grasses were conducted by planters such as Landon Carter, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson throughout the eighteenth century; interestingly, records survive of a "James Wilson" of the Eastern Shore, a planter who meticulously kept track of his meadows. Given the name and the location of his properties, it is quite likely that there is a direct relationship between this Wilson and the Wilson family heir, John Wilson, who came to own Wakefield farm. For information on Mr. Wilson and other colonial planters who instituted meadows as part of their agricultural production of forage, see Pryor, "Forage Crops in the Colonial Chesapeake."

⁹⁵ Deed of sale, Abbington to Augustine Washington. [In Hatch and Flemer notebooks]

⁹⁶ C.A. Hoppin, historian for the Wakefield National Memorial Association, asserted that the name "Wakefield" was used by William Augustine. See *Tylers Quarterly and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, October 1926, 84. "Burnt house Tract" is found in deed of sale from William Augustine's tenure, as he purchased land, "A Certain Messuage tenement or parcel of land" from Nicholas Muse. This parcel was located between the "said Washington's Burnt house Tract" and the head of "digwood Swamp."

⁹⁷ See previous section with respect to William Augustine Washington's purchases from John Hooe Washington, and the relationship of those tracts to the first John Washington's property.

Wakefield," to John Gray, a Fredericksburg lawyer. 98 Judging by descriptions of the transaction, "Wakefield" contained 981.5 acres. Gray augmented his purchase by acquiring additional tracts, including the land at the confluence of Popes Creek and the Potomac River, consisting of the marshes, small islands, and "great Island." The total Washington family acreage acquired by John Gray amounted to approximately 1,300 acres. 99

In 1818, Gray also bought a contiguous property, "Duck Hall," which held sixty acres and abutted Dancing Marsh. This parcel appears to have contained the fifty acres originally deeded to Nicholas Saxton by Henry Brooks in 1662. 100 At least one house was located on the site at this time. It was referred to as "Duck Hall," and was located at the point of the same name jutting into Popes Creek. Occupation of this site by Gray's son, Aitheson, was brief due to his death in 1822. 101 By 1832, the Wakefield estate was again up for sale by Gray, who apparently held the land in tenancy during his ownership. Features that may have been associated with the Duck Hall property during the nineteenth century include the house, shown on the 1879 (revised 1897) Lindenkohl survey, the foundations of which were observed by NPS in the 1930s, an outbuilding associated with the ruins of a large chimney found in the 1930s during the construction of the Duck Hall picnic area, and a farm road, described as a 'wagon path,' that was still in evidence in the 1930s when the area was surveyed by National Park Service (NPS) landscape architects. 102 The 'wagon road' wound through the property to the southwest, eventually connecting to the road to Bridges Creek landing. 103 In addition, at least some of the acreage was shown in the late-nineteenth century as being cleared, and was presumably in cultivation. 104

The 1832 sale of Wakefield to David Payne and Henry T. Garnett was, in all likelihood, a speculative purchase, as there is no evidence that either of them, or Payne's heir and her guardians, ever inhabited the property. For a period of thirteen years, from 1832-1846, the ownership of the Wakefield farm shifted between part-owners, heirs, guardians, and trustees, until it was bought

Although neither remembered any cultivation at Duck Hall Point, both Mr. Latane and Mr. Muse described the area as being covered with "old cedars" similar to the tree cover at Burnt House Point.

⁹⁸ Hatch, 63.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Both Saxton and Wickliffe parcels were 50 acres; however, the exact location of the Duck Hall house ruins were located on the upper Wickliffe parcel. Hatch map.

¹⁰¹ According to information in the Flemer notebooks, Aitheson Gray was "said to have been living on a Mattox Creek farm at the time of his death. This farm was bought after the Wakefield purchase." 77A, "Duck Hall," Flemer notebooks, GEWA archives.

¹⁰² See discussion on NPS development of Duck Hall tract, included in the 1923-1932 and 1932-1976 historic landscape chronology periods of this chapter.

¹⁰³ Goodwin Muse interview; Lawrence Latane interview.

Additionally, the Gray estate may have had slaves: in construction related to the Log House on the Duck Hall tract in 1932, "two old graves were encountered. One skull was taken to the National Museum [probably Smithsonian Museum of Natural History labs] for classification....Dr. Steward pronounced it that of a colored woman who had been buried at least 100 years." Superintendent's Monthly Report, July 1932, 5.

¹⁰⁵ Both Payne and Garnett appear in the 1850 and 1860 censuses as significant slave and property owners in Westmoreland County, Washington Parish, especially Garnett. U.S. Census, 1850, 1860, Free Population Statistics, Slave Population Schedules, Agriculture Schedules.

by John F. Wilson in April 1846.¹⁰⁶ In a public auction advertisement in 1843, the property was described as one of

1336 acres, between 7 and 800 of which are arable and river bottom of superior quality....There is on the premises a small Dwelling-house, with the necessary outhouses, attached to it; overseer's house, barns, and every convenience which could be required on a farm of its size.¹⁰⁷

The "small Dwelling-house" could refer to one of two sites, either Blenheim, or any surviving structures dating from the original Hill-Foxhall seat which had been occupied by tenants; Duck Hall did not appear in tax records after 1832. The "overseer's house" is probably Blenheim. After Wilson bought the farm for his son, John E. Wilson, a large residence was built just north of the site of the old Hill-Foxhall seat, and southeast of the "burned house" ruins. 108

The Origin of the Memorial Sites on the Wakefield Estate

George Corbin Washington's sale of the Wakefield farm to John Gray in 1813 excluded two critical tracts: the site of the burned plantation ruins and the family burial ground. Specifically, George C. Washington stated that his family "reserves the family Burying ground at the Great Quarters also sixty feet square of ground on which the house stood in which General Washington was born." Most likely, the actual site of the birthplace home was not included within the sixty feet square of ground held back from the sale of Wakefield to John Gray, since the chimney and eventual site of the Custis stone were more than sixty feet from the as-yet undiscovered archeological remains of the birthplace home. This reservation is revealing because George Corbin's father, William Augustine, had reestablished his family's cemetery at Haywood in the 1780s, and from all accounts had not sought to preserve the ruins of the "burned house" in any way, but rather salvaged bricks and other building materials for use in building his new home. However, by 1813, the family prestige of the relatives of George Washington was considered worthy of preservation, along with the graves of his ancestors at the original family seat, referred to as the "Great Quarters." This was clearly a manifestation of the early Republic's veneration of the Founding Fathers, although the initial impetus to mark the spot was soon forgotten.

The first ostensible marking of the memorial landscape within the boundaries of the Wakefield farm was by George Washington Parke Custis in June 1815. According to contemporary accounts, Custis sought to commemorate the birthplace—now reserved as a memorial property by the terms

¹⁰⁶ Hatch, 63. John Wilson was a wealthy landowner on the eastern shore of Maryland. Family tradition has it that he had numerous sons, and that in dividing up his property, he sent his son John E. Wilson to the newly acquired Wakefield Farm in Virginia for his inheritance. In the 1850 census, some three years after the purchase, John E. Wilson's state of origin was listed as "Md." Lawrence Latane interview; U.S. Census, 1850, Population Statistics.

¹⁰⁷ Hatch, 63, footnote 20.

¹⁰⁸ 1813 Lamkin survey shows "ruins," more than likely those of the Foxhall seat dwelling, south of the site where Wakefield farm house was built by John Wilson [Fig. 10].

¹⁰⁹ Hatch, 63, footnote 16.

¹¹⁰ According to family tradition, the brick portion of Blenheim was constructed with the bricks from Wakefield. The family selected the site, away from the river, for safety, due to the fact that the British were shelling the homes along the river in the late 1770s, during the Revolutionary War. Flemer notebooks, "Old Homes and Plantations" section. GEWA.

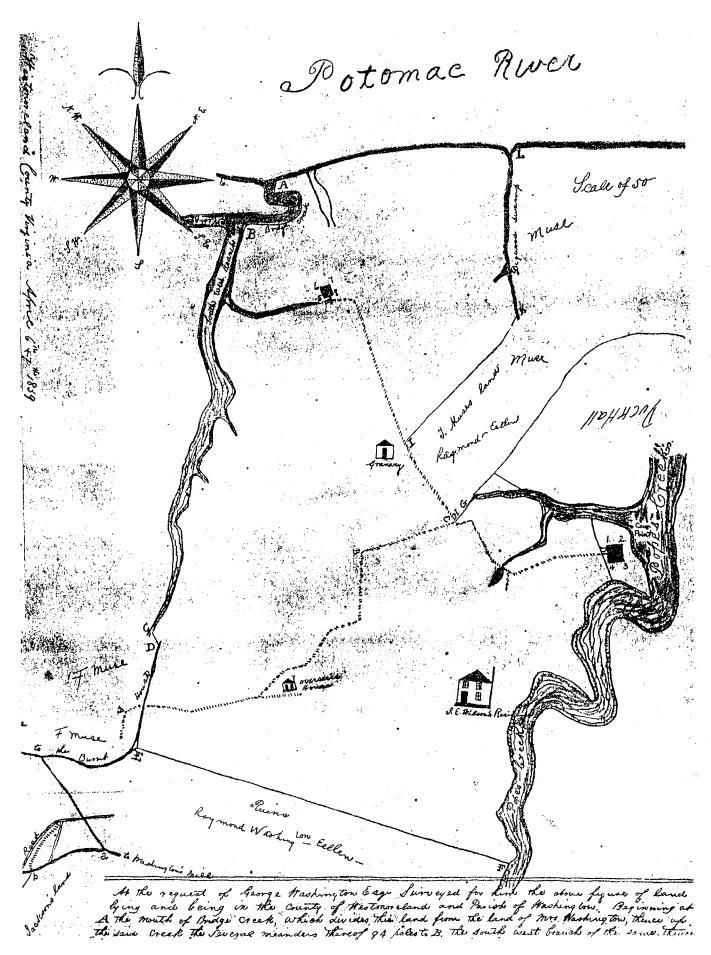
¹¹¹ The Lamkin survey refers to "The Great Quarter Gate corner to Thomas Muse."

of sale—by placing a "freestone slab" on a site within the extant ruins of the burned structure. Although various pilgrimages to the nearly forgotten site were reprinted in newspapers between 1830 and 1850, the exact location of the stone was never clearly defined. This omission created considerable difficulty for later memorial efforts aimed at locating the exact spot of the stone slab.

Conclusion

By the time of the sale of Wakefield Farm, formerly Popes Creek Plantation, to John Wilson, two distinctive landscapes had been created: a working agricultural property complete with the vernacular features common to landholdings of that size, and a much smaller, though potently symbolic, set of parcels specifically held as Washington family memorials—the cemetery and the birthplace site. Although embedded in the larger landscape, these two sites would eventually become the genesis of preservation efforts culminating in the establishment of a national historic site.

¹¹² Accounts in Hatch include the Custis letter describing the event in his memoirs written in 1851, and a newspaper story in the *Alexandria Gazette*, June 1, 1816. Hatch, 64, 66.



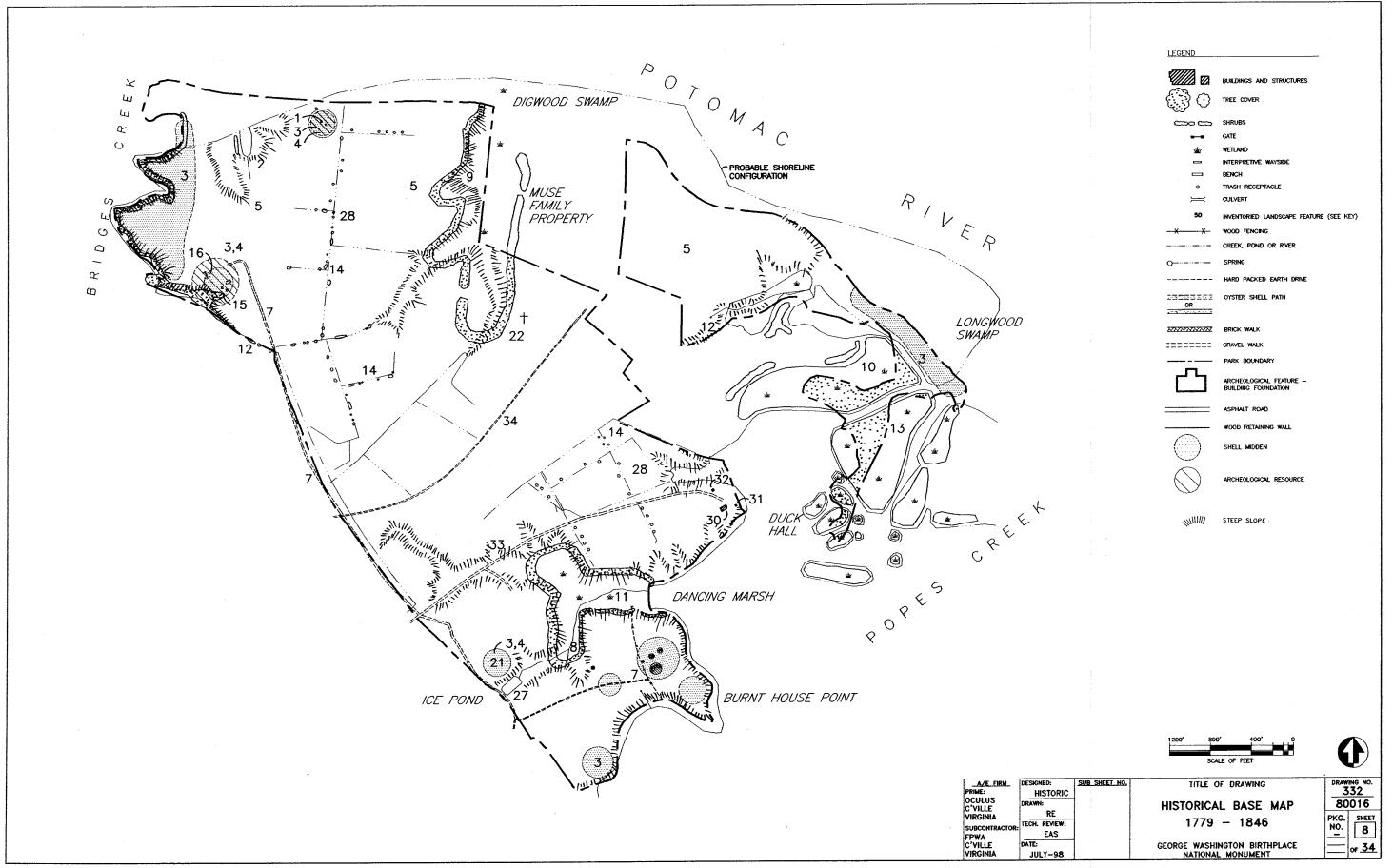
10. Untitled plat of Popes Creek by Samuel Lamkin, 1813, overlaid with Plat of Popes Creek by James W. English, 1859.

HISTORICAL BASE MAP

Inventory of Landscape Features

#	Feature	Date of Origin		
2.	Stream or pond	prehistory		
5.	Agricultural fields, pastures	prehistory, post 1657		
7.	Road/trail to Bridges Creek landing	ca. 1651-57		
8.	Creek/drainageway	prehistory		
9.	Digwood Swamp	prehistory		
10.	Longwood Swamp	prehistory		
11.	Dancing Marsh	prehistory		
12.	Springs, 2	prehistory		
13.	Eastern red cedar groves	prehistory		
14.	Hedgerows (conjecture)	ca. 1657		
16.	Washington fam. burial ground abandoned	1665 ca. 1784		
19.	Fencing, gates	1725-79		
21.	Possible tobacco shed	by 1722		
22.	Muse family burial ground	(conj.) ca. 1700		
27.	Ice Pond	ca. 1725-79		
28.	Agricultural drainage ditches	ca. 1700-50		
30.	Duck Hall house site	1779-1818		
31.	Outbuilding	1779-1818		
32.	Ice house	1779-1818		
33.	Road to Duck Hall	by 1813		
34.	Road to Muse property	by 1813		
Known Archeological Resources				
1.	Henry Brooks house site	ca. 1651-57		
3.	Shell middens	prehistory		
4.	Agricultural artifacts	prehistory		
15.	John Washington house site	ca. 1657-64		

^{*} Bold entries indicate a new feature or the alteration of an existing feature during this period.



HISTORICAL BASE MAP

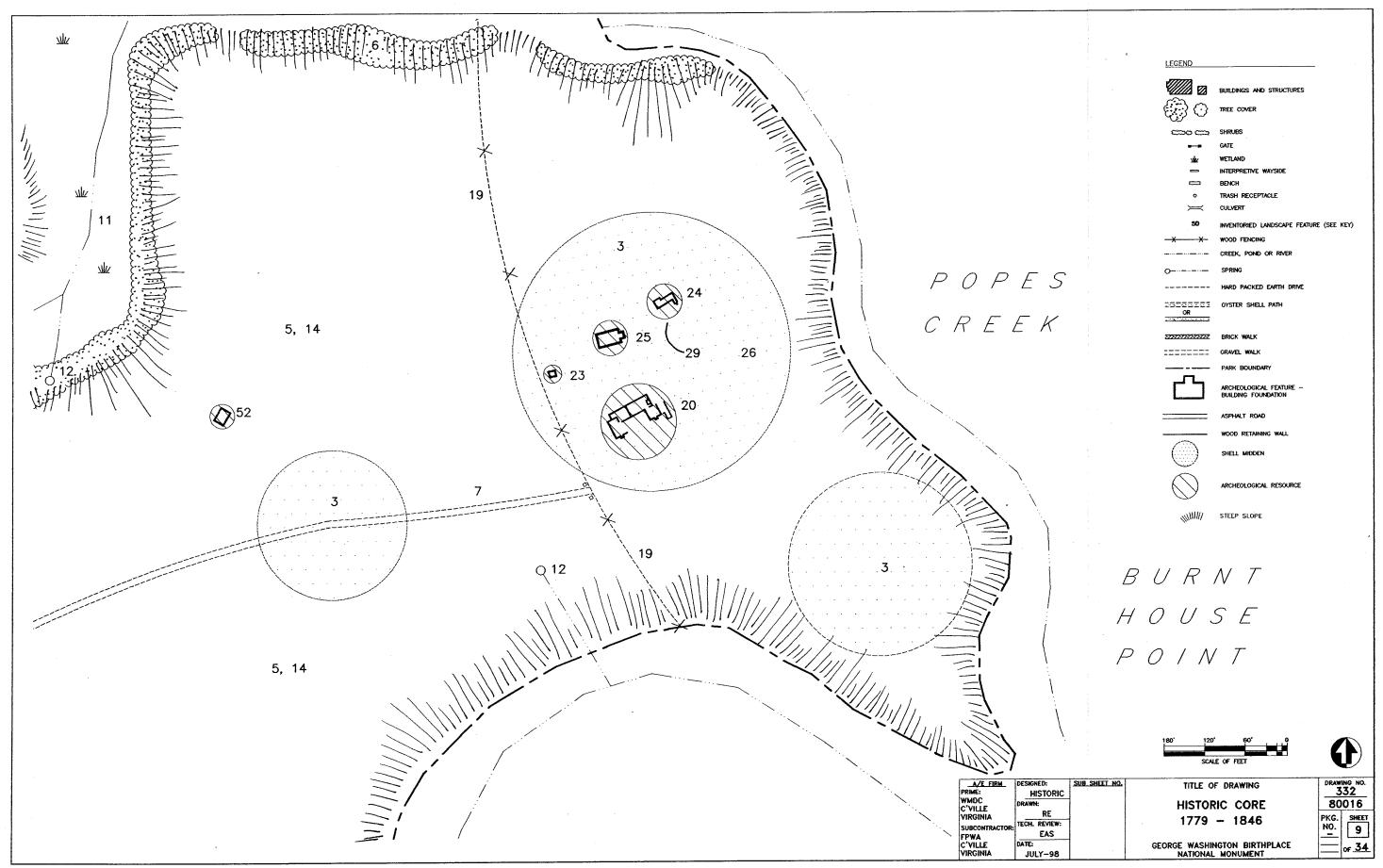
INSET: HISTORIC CORE

Inventory of Landscape Features

Historic Core 1779 - 1846

#	Feature	Date of Origin		
5.	Agricultural fields, pastures	prehistory, post 1657		
6.	Woodlands	secondary, tertiary growth		
7.	Road to plantation	by 1718		
11.	Dancing Marsh	prehistory		
12.	Springs, 2	prehistory		
14.	Hedgerows (conjecture)	ca. 1657		
19.	Plantation complex fencing	ca. 1725-79		
23.	Possible dairy	ca. 1725-79		
24.	Unidentified outbuilding	ca. 1725-79		
25.	Kitchen building	ca. 1725-79		
26.	Plantation ensemble	ca. 1718-79		
29.	Custis stone	1815		
52.	Unidentified outbuilding	unknown		
Known Archeological Resources				
3.	Shell middens	prehistory		
20.	Abbington/Washington house	by 1722, 1725		

^{*} Bold entries indicate a new feature or the alteration of an existing feature during this period.



The Wilson Family and Wakefield Farm; U.S. Government Acquisition of Memorial Sites, and Development of a Memorial Landscape, 1846 - 1923

(Map G. Historical Base Map: 1846 - 1923; Appendices A and B)

Introduction

During the period 1846-1923, a large portion of the Wakefield property was acquired by the Wilson family of Maryland. The Wilsons chose a home site along Popes Creek south of the park, and continued to farm the majority of their holdings. Features of the landscape continued to include fields, pastures, and woodlots [Inv. #5], drainage ditches [Inv. #28], hedgerows [Inv. #14], fencing [Inv. #19], and farm roads.

One of the primary sources of landscape documentation available for the park during this period is the Lindenkohl survey of 1879, rev. 1897. It indicates the presence and locations of primary features of the landscape between Popes and Bridges Creeks in the mid to late nineteenth century, and proved to be a critical tool for understanding the evolution of the park landscape. The features that are documented on the survey include: a large area of successional woodlands [Inv. #6] west of Duck Hall, the George Muse house site [Inv. #35] and orchard [Inv. #36] adjacent to Wickliffe, all of the wetlands [Inv. #'s 9, 10, 11], springs [Inv. #12], and drainageways [Inv. #8] discussed earlier, and the drainageway near Bridges Creek landing [Inv. #2], which appears as a pond or tidal wetland for the first time. Other features include Popes and Bridges Creek Landings, Bridges Creek road [Inv. #7] with an alignment that is different than that included on the 1813, rev. 1859, Lamkin Survey, the Ice Pond [Inv. #27], now Ponds due to the realignment of the road, a road to the George Muse farmstead [Inv. #34], two abandoned house sites near Longwood Swamp [Inv. #s 49, 50], a spring house structure [Inv. #48], as well as a draw-well along Bridges Creek road outside of contemporary park boundaries. Duck Hall appears on the survey as a cleared area connected to Bridges Creek road by a farm road [Inv. #33; no buildings are indicated [Inv. #'s 30, 31, 32] within the property. Finally, two burial grounds appear on the Lindenkohl survey within the site, including those of the Muse [Inv. #22] and Washington [Inv. #16] families.

Subsequent to the Lindenkohl survey, numerous developments associated with the commemoration of George Washington's birthplace were undertaken on the site. These included the construction of a wharf [Inv. #38] and small building [Inv. #39] constructed in 1893-1894 at Bridges Creek landing to provide access to the property from the Potomac, a granite monument [Inv. #42] in 1896 by the U.S. Government on the purported site of the birthplace house ruins, which was surrounded by iron fencing [Inv. #43], a gravel walk [Inv. #44], hard-packed earth road around Burnt House Point [Inv. #45], clearing of trees to establish views to the Potomac [Inv. #46], a dance pavilion [Inv. #51] set in a grove of Eastern red cedar trees [Inv. #13], and perimeter fencing and a gate [Inv. #19] around the parcel under U.S. Government jurisdiction. During excavation undertaken for the construction of the monument, a building foundation [Inv. #24] thought to have been the birthplace was uncovered. Two features that play a prominent role in the oral history of the property are visible in period photographs of the monument: a hackberry tree [Inv. #40] and clumps of fig shrubs [Inv. #41]. Local legend suggests that these plantings, located near the purported site of the birthplace house ruins, dated to George Washington's day.

In 1906, the Colonial Dames of America rehabilitated the Washington family burial ground. Photographs exist of the new concrete block wall and iron gate constructed [Inv. #47] to improve this site's aesthetics.

Wilson Family Ownership

The purchase of Wakefield Farm and its 1336 acres by John F. Wilson in 1846 led to his family's occupation of at least portions of the property from that time until the present day. Between 1784 when the Washington family relocated to Haywood and 1846, the only known owner occupation of lands within current park boundaries occurred at Duck Hall, although it is possible that John Gray's son, during his short tenure on the site, may have managed the Wakefield property.

John F. Wilson was a resident of Maryland. According to one account, he did not reside on Wakefield Farm, but rather built a new residence for his son, John E. Wilson, southwest of the birthplace on the western bank of Popes Creek.¹¹³ In 1867, some twenty-four years after he purchased the property, John F. Wilson transferred ownership of Wakefield Farm to his son, whose descendants in the Latane family currently maintain title to this house site and associated lands.

Except for the two memorial sites—the 60-foot by 60-foot square easement at the ruins of Popes Creek plantation and the Washington family Burial Ground, which remained in Washington family hands until 1858—the Wilsons took control of all acreage as farmers-in-residence. They constructed a house just below "Burnt House Point," in close proximity to the ruins of an earlier seventeenth-century seat, later known as Foxhall, of the original patentee, Richard Hill (1659), and his successors, Richard Griffin (1660) and John Foxhall (also 1660). Foxhall was the grandfather of Jane Butler Washington, who inherited this portion of what was then the Butler estate. 114 Construction of the Wilson house represented the fourth hierarchical shift in the landscape due to the relocation of the property's "center"—from John Washington's site, to Augustine Washington's Popes Creek quarter, to William Augustine Washington's Haywood, and, finally, to the Wakefield site as developed by the Wilson family.

Census information from the period 1850-1860 describes John F. Wilson's son, John E. Wilson, as typical of the larger landowners of the region, and also sheds light on the character of Wakefield farm. In 1850, for example, nearly two-thirds (860) of Wilson's 1360 acres, was listed as "unimproved," a designation that referred to woodlots, old fields, and/or abandoned pasturage. Considering the fact that the land had probably not been aggressively farmed since the days of William Augustine Washington, this designation may have been accurate. On 500 "improved" acres, Wilson raised 1600 bushels of wheat, 3500 bushels of corn, and 25 bushels of Irish and sweet potatoes. His livestock holdings appear to have been considerable, although no hay production was noted in the agricultural census. 115 Besides working oxen, horses, and mules, Wilson owned 36 slaves, which enabled him to re-establish Wakefield farm as a successful agricultural entity. 116

By 1860, Wilson had "improved" another 150 acres as cultivated fields. This new acreage was probably responsible for Wilson's increases in wheat (1,938 bushels) and corn (5,000 bushels), as well as new crops of oats (120 bushels) and hay (33 tons). In 1860, his livestock remained generally consistent with the numbers listed in 1850, with the notable exception of his sheep herd,

¹¹³ Hatch, 64; Flemer notebooks, GEWA archives.

¹¹⁴ Flemer notebooks; Eaton, sheet 4. See earlier discussion of inherited Butler lands as a part of Augustine Washington's estate.

Wilson's livestock holdings were listed as follows: 9 horses, 5 mules, 10 milch cows, 12 working oxen, 15 other cattle, 45 sheep, and 15 swine. U.S. Census, 1850, Agricultural Schedule.

¹¹⁶ U.S. Census, 1850, Slave Population Statistics.

which apparently was sold, and an increase in swine and working animals such as mules.¹¹⁷ The slave population remained relatively stable, with an increase of only one person.¹¹⁸

One period map survives to indicate the character of the landscape during the second half of the nineteenth century: the Lindenkohl survey dated 1879 and amended in 1897. The map was prepared to illustrate the memorialization of portions of the landscape by the Government of the United States [Fig. 11]. This map is very revealing of landscape features, such as vegetative cover, roads, gates, springs, house sites, property owners and boundaries, and river access via landings. The Lindenkohl survey encompasses the area from the western boundaries of Haywood to the eastern border of Popes Creek, including all the acreage of Wakefield farm. Property boundaries, particularly of the estate known as "Whitley" (Wickliffe) correspond directly to the tracts given to Brooks's stepsons, the Wickliffes, in the seventeenth century. Now a part of Wakefield farm, the Duck Hall tract is shown to include about half of its acreage (30 acres) as cleared land. It boundaries correspond to those of the tract given to Nicholas Saxton in the seventeenth-century Brooks property division. Cultivated fields, woodlots, and at least one spring and burial ground are shown on the Muse property. Haywood farm, by contrast, is shown as an "abandoned Mansion."

Of note on this survey is the Muse property, which had ostensibly been occupied by the family since the arrival of John Muse in the late 1660s. The map refers to the region of Muse ownership as "Whitley (Wickliffe)." The name apparently alludes to the land's earliest inhabitants, the Wickliffe brothers. The 1850 census indicates that George Muse owned 160 acres in 1850 and 198 acres in 1860. 122 Whitley is bounded by Digwood Swamp to the west and Longwood Swamp and the Duck Hall tract to the east, and includes a high proportion of cultivated or improved lands. The family cemetery bordering Digwood Swamp, a residence, and an orchard are also shown on the property. A farm road leading northeast from Bridges Creek road provided access to the Muse farmstead and led on toward a location marked as "Popes Creek Landing," a spring, and two additional house sites, which appear to have been abandoned by the time of the survey. These sites may have housed the Wickliffe brothers, Nicholas Saxton, or later Muse relatives.

The road to the Muse farmstead met Bridges Creek road near the Wakefield granary and was part of a larger road network that ran along the edge of cultivated fields and woodlands, through woodlots, and ultimately to the entrance of the Wilson farm at "Pea Hill," noted by Lindenkohl's marking "Outer Gate to Wakefield." Continuing westward, this road [Photo 1] eventually led to the

¹¹⁷ Wilson's livestock in 1860 included: 7 horses, 12 mules, 12 milch cows, 13 working oxen, 17 other cattle, no sheep, 61 swine.

¹¹⁸ U.S. Census, 1860, Slave Population Statistics.

¹¹⁹ "Birthplace of Washington From a Survey by A. Lindenkohl, 1879" with "Note: Location of Monument and other Data added in 1897." Published 1897; unknown U.S. Government office; copies in the Virginia Historical Society and GEWA.

The information added after the initial survey is readily apparent because of its line weight and character. The generally straight alignment of the roads connecting the memorial site to the burial site and landing (1897) is especially noticeable when compared to the other, older roads, which are less regular.

¹²⁰ During the late-nineteenth century, this property was owned by the Muse family, as it had been since at least the time of Augustine II, and probably his father, Augustine, I.

¹²¹ Subsequent records during the development of the Duck Hall tract as a picnic area refer to the uneven ground caused by old corn rows: "It is planned to disc up much of the ground as the old corn rows or ridges render the walking uneven and unsafe for games, etc." Superintendent's Monthly Report, August 1933, 5.

¹²² George Muse, Agricultural Census.

"turnpike" or "King's Highway," now Route 3. By the late-nineteenth century, two other farm residences were sited at Whitley: Charles Muse, along the western side of the entrance road halfway to the main residence; and Robert Muse, north of the wagon road leading east from the main residence to Popes Creek landing. George Muse's farm was much smaller than Wakefield, containing between 160 (1850) and 198 (1860) acres, of which 84% was in cultivation by the later date. With the help of nine slaves, George Muse grew corn, wheat, and hay, and held livestock similar in type to those of Wilson. 124

The house site of John E. Wilson lay on the eastern edge of the Wakefield acreage along Popes Creek. Shown within a fenced precinct with several outbuildings, an orchard, and what seems to be some type of rectangular garden area, the main residence was built close to the intersection of two roads: one leading to the house from Pea Hill gate, and the other extending northeast toward the Ice Pond. Unlike earlier plantation seats, the relationship of the house site to the Potomac River appears to have held less importance, given the network of internal roads. This was most likely due to a shift away from trading market crops via the river. The Wilson house site was apparently chosen for its high ground and proximity to the main road into Wakefield farm, which led from the house through at least two gates to meet what is now Route 3.

This road, located outside of the park, is undoubtedly characteristic of the earliest roads throughout the property: erratic alignments responding to both topography and property boundaries (see the portion paralleling the southwestern boundary of Wakefield marked by "Outer Gate to Wakefield"). A series of structures were located along this road, two of which appear to be house sites with associated orchards. The road also leads to the granary, undoubtedly an important element within this agricultural landscape.

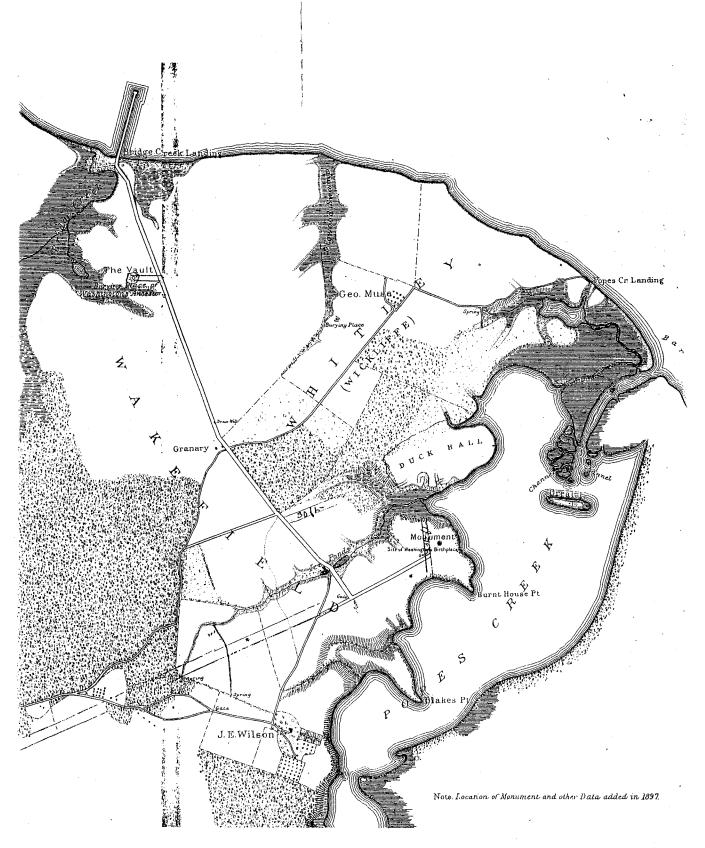
Aside from the road leading from the Wilson house to the "Ice Ponds," and another connecting the Muse family's Whitley/Wickliffe estate to Popes Creek landing and Bridges Creek road, there was also a road that connected the "monument" site to Bridges Creek road. Rights-of-way to this road and to Bridges Creek road were granted to the Government of the United States by John E. Wilson in 1883, for the purpose of allowing public access to the birthplace monument from the river and landing. Based on earlier settlement patterns—in particular, those of the Henry Brooks, John Washington, Abbington, and Whitley (Wickliffe) tracts—Bridges Creek road appears to have been in existence in some form for at least 230 years and possibly much longer if it was in fact used by the Algonquins to connect "Indiantown" and seasonal camps on Popes Creek. 125

Similarly, cultivated fields shown on the Lindenkohl survey had probably been farmed for some time. If, indeed, tobacco cultivation had ceased as a primary crop of the farm prior to William

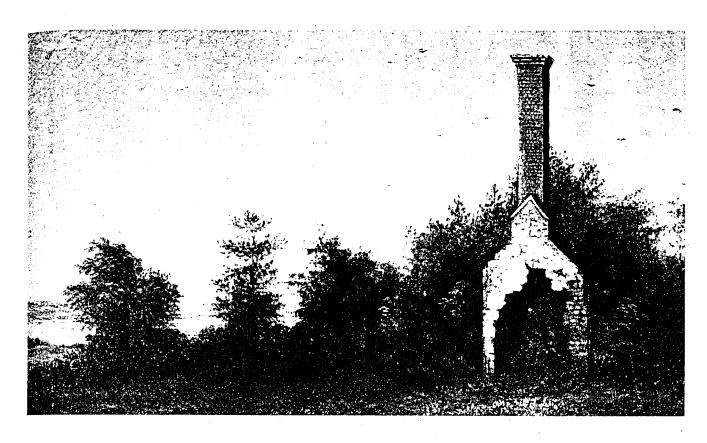
¹²³ These residences were described by Goodwin Muse as each containing barns, poultry houses, and various other outbuildings, which were razed when the properties came under NPS ownership. Some features are extant, such as driveway markers and the ruins of a spring house. The "spring" located south of the R. Muse site was also noted by Mr. Muse as still functioning, and is located in a wooded area. Mr. Muse, however, could not recall any use of Popes Creek landing for boats; this designation probably dates from a much earlier period, along with the road trace winding through the Muse property. Erosion at the landing site has been so significant that any traces of features that may have existed have undoubtedly washed away. Goodwin Muse interview.

¹²⁴ By 1860, Muse reported the following agricultural statistics: 727 bushels of wheat, 750 bushels of corn, 7 tons of hay, 2 horses, 4 mules, 3 milch cows, 4 working oxen, 5 other cattle, 10 sheep, 27 swine—figures which represent a healthy increase over his report in 1850. See U.S. Census, 1850, 1860, Agricultural Schedules, Slave Population Statistics.

¹²⁵ Agricultural ditches lined this roadway in the late-nineteenth century. These ditches were most likely constructed in the early part of the eighteenth century, when slave labor was available to improve the land for cultivation of tobacco and other crops. The road therefore appears to date to at least the early-eighteenth century.



11. "Birthplace of Washington From a Survey by A. Lindenkohl, 1879," with other data added in 1897.



12. "The Kitchen chimney at Wakefield," by Mrs. Sarah Pierpont Barnard, October 9, 1872.

Augustine Washington's property sale advertisement of 1803, acreage planted in corn, wheat, and barley could have been substantial, given the amount of cleared land indicated on the Lindenkohl survey. While this acreage obviously included meadows and old fields, evidence exists that the Wilsons farmed around the birthplace site. An interview with one of Wilson's former laborers, Annanias Johnson, in the late 1930s or early 1940s, revealed that a wheat field had been in existence "for many years on the site known as 'Burnt House Point' where the cedar grove is now." At least two springs and one "draw-well" were located on the Wilson property.

Efforts to Commemorate the Birthplace of George Washington

The 1897 additions to the Lindenkohl survey illustrate the areas of Wakefield farm that were affected by the memorialization efforts of the U.S. Government, namely, the birthplace, burial ground, and road connecting a new wharf at Bridges Creek landing to a granite obelisk marking the purported site of George Washington's birthplace. These efforts were the culmination of several decades of active interest in commemorating the site by the U.S. Government, which followed earlier memorialization efforts of family members and the Commonwealth of Virginia. Unfortunately, a series of myths and misrepresentations about the birthplace site, beginning with the laying of the Custis Stone in 1815, led to confusion and misinterpretation of the site for many, many years.

It is clear from accounts after 1815 that Custis set a memorial stone on what he believed to be the birthplace site based on the existence of a chimney ruin [Fig. 12], cellar, and thicket of fig trees. Pilgrimages to the site between 1815 and 1858 often resulted in published accounts of these elements. One such report noted that "an old chimney, a mammoth fig tree, and a freestone slab ... three feet long by one foot and a half wide and broken in two" constituted the memorial site, which lay within the larger agricultural landscape of "a two hundred acre corn field." The accounts of 1858 and 1874 attempted to identify discrete elements of the birthplace site's architecture, and included a tentative site plan. The confusion and misinterpretation of the site in the 1920s and 1930s partly stemmed from these accounts. Enthusiasts rushed to find the exact spot where the Custis marker had been placed, never questioning the accuracy of Custis's claim to have found the location of the bedroom where George Washington was born. 130

Lewis Washington, the son of George Corbin Washington, represented the family's interests when he deeded the birthplace site reservation and the family burial ground to the Commonwealth of

¹²⁶ Annanias Johnson, "73 years old," interviewed by Philip R. Hough, Superintendent of GEWA. Johnson also told Hough that "Popes Creek was over 6 ft deep and was open water between the house site and the river. The creek has shoaled up a great deal and the marsh grown up within his memory. Sail boats used to run into Bridges Creek. Scows used to be towed into Popes Creek to carry out lumber from a saw mill up near the run."

Both Lawrence Latane and Goodwin Muse remember cattle grazing near the monument, or what they termed "Monument Point." Photographs from the 1920s show a fenced area with wire gate separating the eleven acres of U.S. Government property from the rest of the farm lands.

¹²⁷ One spring is shown near the Wakefield house; the other spring is indicated south of the John Washington site on the fringe of the park boundary. The draw-well shown along Bridges Creek road, near the junction of the Wickliffe farm road and the granary site, still functioned in 1930, according to Lawrence Latane, who supplied construction crews, who were realigning the road, with water from the well. Neither Mr. Latane nor Mr. Muse remembers the second spring site. Latane and Muse interviews.

¹²⁸ Hatch, 67, footnote 33.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 68, footnote 68.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 72, footnote 54.

Virginia in 1858. The deed stipulated that both sites be "permanently enclosed with an iron fence based on stone foundations together with suitable and modest (though substantial) tablets, to commemorate to rising generations these notable spots." A subsequent visit by Virginia Governor Henry Wise, as well as a survey of the land and approval of the project by the state legislature, prompted John E. Wilson to donate additional properties to the memorial sites. These were rights-of-way, including "one acre of land or so much less as may be required so annexed to the reservation of Sixty feet square at the Birthsite—as to contain equal quantities on either side of said reservations," and "one-half acre of land or less if requisite at the Burial place." Wilson had taken an active interest in both the history and upkeep of the ruins on his property since witnessing some of the pilgrimage visits. He had also made an effort to preserve the graves in the vault at the burial ground by filling in depressions to discourage grave robbers. 133

Later records, however, indicate that the Commonwealth of Virginia never fulfilled its legal obligation to the Washington family. For example, the iron fences were never constructed to enclose the sites. The disruption of state government caused by the Civil War is typically cited as the reason for this omission. As late as 1933, a Washington family member was asked to recall whether or not any of the preservation and commemoration efforts had been undertaken. Lloyd Washington, brother to Mrs. John Wilson (Elizabeth Washington Wilson) recalled that

I was frequently there, at that time, and have very distinct recollection of the "Burnt Chimney," locating the Birthplace, of George Washington, and there were never any Tablets, or Fences, Enclosing it, until later, the U.S. Government Erected a Monument, and Enclosed same, with an Iron Fence.¹³⁵

Other eyewitness accounts and graphic illustrations further support the idea that the state never undertook commemorative efforts at the site as promised. By the late 1870s, Congressional interest in placing a monument to George Washington at the site resulted in an initial appropriation of \$3,000 and a site visit by government officials and other visitors, including Gen. William T. Sherman, in October 1879. During the visit, the officials were to determine the condition of the site and necessary measures to protect the ruins; given the dilapidated state in which they found the properties, one of the visitors, Secretary of State William Evarts, became convinced that the birthplace site needed some sort of "structure," as well as a "monument," and eventually won approval for his proposed budget of \$30,000 in 1881. The Commonwealth of Virginia ceded the Washington family properties to the U.S. Government in 1882, thus clearing the way for a national memorial landscape at the site.

Plans for a structure at the birthplace were developed in 1881 by Boston architects Home and Dodd, in response to Evart's intentions for the site. The plans included a proposal for a monumental granite structure enclosing the extant ruins of the "Ancient Kitchen Chimney" and its environs. A set of bronze doors with Romanesque detailing were to furnish limited access to the ruins for designated individuals such as family members. Interestingly enough, the Home and

¹³¹ Hatch, 69.

¹³² Hatch, 69, footnote 45.

¹³³ Wilson also claims to have seen the pieces of the Custis stone, although this is disputed by Hatch. For a description of his activities in preserving the graves at least by 1882, see Thornton A. Washington's description in Hatch, 77.

¹³⁴ The issue of legal conveyance of title, given that the conditions remained unfulfilled, were still under discussion in 1933. See letter from NPS Director Horace Albright to W. Lanier Washington, March 17, 1933. GEWA Park Files.

¹³⁵ Lloyd Washington to Philip R. Hough, GEWA superintendent, February 25, 1933. GEWA archives.

Dodd plans also called for the removal of the vault at the Washington family burial ground, and its placement within this structure. Surviving gravestones were to be mounted on the exterior walls of the building.

Unhappy with the design, R.J. Washington and John E. Wilson sent a letter to newly appointed Secretary of State Blaine, complaining of the architect's intentions, especially their plan to surround the chimney. A representative of the State Department, Dr. F.O. St. Clair, responded by suggesting that more site investigation, or "archeology," was necessary to determine the amount of land required to properly execute the commemorative landscape authorized by Congress. Excavations by a civil engineer were carried out accordingly. ¹³⁶ In addition, Secretary of State Blaine called for the acquisition of additional lands and a 50-foot right-of-way to the birthplace property. With these lands, a public wharf or landing could be developed to render the site more accessible. Wilson was approached and in 1883, 21 acres, including approximately 11 acres at the birthplace and 10 acres composed of a right-of-way [Photo 2] "to the Burying Ground and Potomac River beyond" were purchased. ¹³⁷

No action was taken to effect a memorial structure or monument until 1893-4, when a wharf, 1,050 feet long and 16 feet wide, was constructed at Bridges Creek landing under the supervision of Col. John M. Wilson of the Army Corps of Engineers [Photo 6]. Within two years, another contract was signed for the construction of a memorial marker on the birthplace site. Intended by Secretary of State Gresham to be "a shaft of American granite, high enough to be plainly visible from passing vessels, [at] a distance of five miles," the design was executed by John Crawford & Son of Buffalo, New York, who had previously installed a similar, albeit smaller, monument at the Mary Ball Washington house site in Fredericksburg, Virginia. A light Barre granite shaft, fifty-one feet in height, was placed on a twelve-foot square base, weighing some thirty-five tons 139 and

Both Mr. Latane and Mr. Muse remember seeing the remains of wharf piers and stated that they never remembered the pier as actually being functional. Mr. Muse, in particular, reiterated the fact that the winter river ice damaged the pier beyond repair. Interestingly, Mr. Muse also stated that the origin of the wharf at the site of Bridges Creek landing was part of the plan to land the monument there and transport it to the designated site; however, the weight of the shaft was such that the wharf was deemed incapable of carrying the load. See Photo 6, dated August 1928, of the remaining piers; Latane and Muse interviews.

¹³⁶ Hatch, 72, footnote 55.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 72.

¹³⁸ Flemer notebook: According to one account, "The wharf extended into the river 1,050 feet having a 40 foot landing square on end, the general width being 220 feet. The board walk was to be 4 feet above water and was set on six inch wrought iron piles. There was a nine foot depth of water at the landing end. The estimated cost of wharf was to be \$11,000. It was completed in 1894 at a cost of \$10,971.38. On February 6, 1897 it was badly damaged by ice in the river and later repaired at a cost of \$10,971.38."

¹³⁹ Hatch, 72. "The design selected was a copy of the Washington Monument located in Washington D.C. but on a smaller scale, about a tenth size. It was made of light Barre Vermont granite, the main shaft being a single piece 40'-4" high and weighing 35 tons. The base was twelve feet square and made the total height 51 ft. It was erected in 1896 and was surrounded by an iron fence 36 feet square with a gravel walk all around the outside. Trees were cleared on the river side in order to be seen by traffic going up and down the river....The government property and right of way to the River were also fenced in with a strong wire fence, 18,081 ft. long and all property put under control of the U.S. Engineer, Dept. Of War....A watchman was employed to take care of the place at 300.00 a year." Flemer notebooks. A photograph, dated June 1926, shows the inscribed base plates, which are no longer part of the monument. The background of the photograph also shows the extent of tree cover in the area at the time. Three additional photographs show the shaft being taken down and reset. GEWA archives.

installed on the site on April 2, 1896 [Fig. 13, Photos 3, 4]. ¹⁴⁰ The site became a popular attraction; during the early part of the twentieth century, President Theodore Roosevelt visited the birthplace by boat, landing along the Potomac River and walking down the beach to the monument.

Efforts at creating a memorial landscape during this period did not extend to the "Ancient Burying Ground," which had been visited by Evarts and his party in 1879. Despite the deplorable conditions of the cemetery, the Home and Dodd design was never constructed. However, in 1906, ten years after the obelisk was placed on the ruins of Popes Creek plantation, restoration and preservation efforts at the burial ground were funded by the Virginia chapter of the Society of Colonial Dames of America. According to historical records, the actual labor was undertaken by Washington family heirs, William, James, and Dr. Augustine Latane: 141

A wall of concrete blocks was built around the old vault site, and the floor was laid in cement with the two old gravestones set in the cement. When the cement floor was still wet, Mr. Latane pressed in the names of some seventeen persons who were known to be there buried.¹⁴²

William and James Latane eventually sold the surrounding parcel of farm land to the Wakefield National Memorial Association.

There is no evidence that Dr. Latane or the Colonial Dames attempted any preservation efforts of the old brick vault, which by this time was almost completely covered by earth. ¹⁴³ In addition, the concrete-block wall, complete with wrought iron gate, covered only part of the burial ground [Photo 7], as later excavations and restoration efforts would reveal. ¹⁴⁴ Further, no effort to construct a path from the road to the enclosure was made, although an implicit right-of-way was obtained from John Wilson. A photograph, presumably taken in the 1920s when the Wakefield National Memorial Association bought the acreage, clearly shows the remains of corn stalks

¹⁴⁰ One extant drawing [Fig. 13] of the site conditions, an elevation of the monument, and foundation ruins believed to be the birthplace site was executed by Capt. John Stewart, Army Corps of Engineers. The measured drawings of the ruins were scrutinized in the 1920s during the initial memorialization plans for the birthplace house by Edward Donn and members of the Wakefield National Memorial Association. Map drawer, GEWA.

¹⁴¹ Mrs. Elizabeth Washington Wilson, who married John E. Wilson, was the granddaughter of William Augustine Washington, half brother of George Washington. Her mother was Sarah Tayloe Washington who was born at Haywood in 1800. Her daughter Susan married a Latane. Elizabeth Washington Wilson's daughters Betty Wilson and Susan Latane willed the property to William and James Latane in 1921.

^{142 &}quot;Most of this work was done by the Latane Brothers using a concrete block machine and making a fence of these, then covering the inclosure [sic] with cement into which the different slabs were set." Flemer Notebook, vol. 1, GEWA archives; Notes accompanying the 1939 Master Plan for George Washington Birthplace National Monument, GEWA archives.

¹⁴³ Later excavations would prove just how far below the surface the vault lay prior to 1930: "The principal find was the large family vault, which tradition said was there, but which had apparently disappeared. This was discovered well beneath the surface of the ground." Indications that the vault's existence had not escaped local memory is evident in the fact that the general location was "in what has always been known in the neighborhood as 'The Vault Field,' at Wakefield" Edward A. Donn to Mrs. Rust, memorandum on Gault excavation, April 20, 1930. Wakefield Association files, Fine Arts Commission Records (FAC), Record Group (RG) 66, National Archives (NA) I.

¹⁴⁴ See section below on the Wakefield National Memorial Association's restoration of the vault and archeological investigations of the site by Gault and Company, who exhumed the remains.

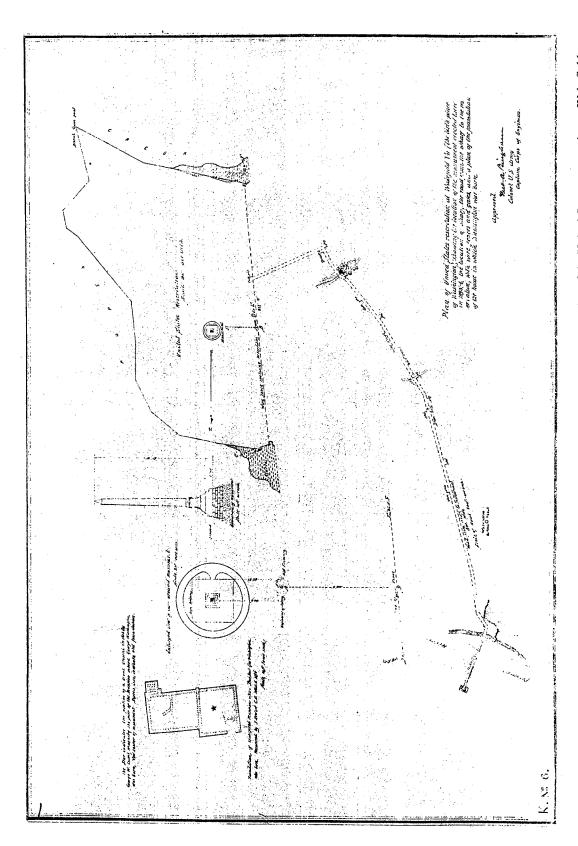
surrounding the wall [Photo 8]. For all intents and purposes, the graves outside the wall were lying under cultivated fields for most of the year.¹⁴⁵

With the establishment of the monument, and, to a lesser degree, the "restoration" of the cemetery, the Washington family properties began to gain public attention as tourist sites. While John E. Wilson contributed greatly to the memorialization of the properties through land gifts and personal involvement as an unofficial guide, historian, and caretaker, the memorial landscape was not fully developed as an historic site until it came under the protection of the Wakefield National Memorial Association and NPS in the 1920s and 1930s.

Conclusion

While agricultural land uses continued to dominate Wakefield even after the property was bought by the Wilson family, expressions of the desire by many to commemorate the birthplace of George Washington began to influence the character of the landscape during this period. Set within the vast expansive of crop fields were the wharf and road leading to the fifty-one foot tall granite monument and the rehabilitated Washington family burial ground from Bridges Creek landing on the Potomac River. The special precinct established around the monument, including wrought iron fencing, an approach road, a dense grove of Eastern red cedar trees, and a pavilion, served as the precedent for later efforts to mark and enhance the site of George Washington's birthplace.

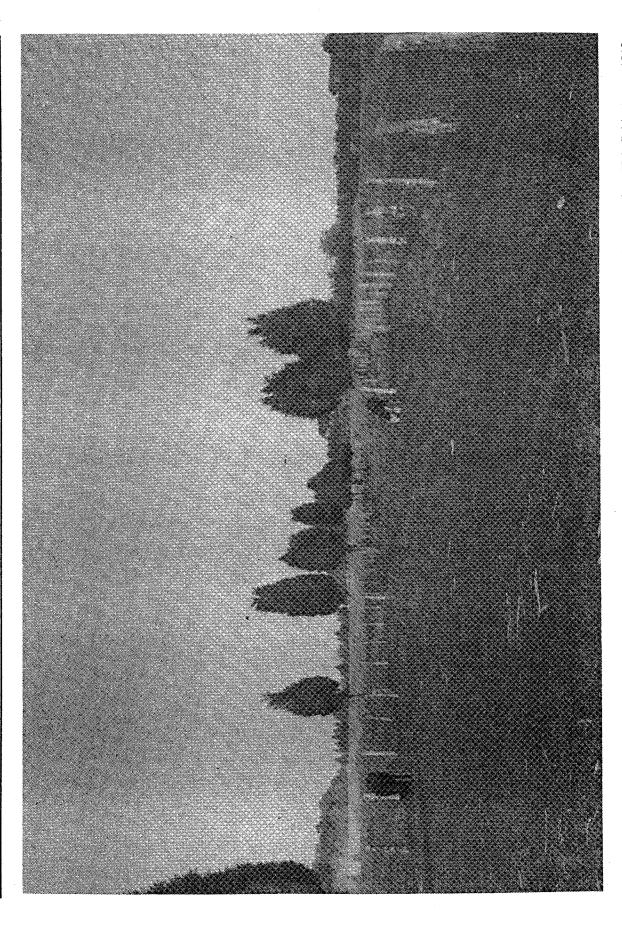
¹⁴⁵ Photograph, Wakefield Association files, FAC, RG 66, National Archives I. Accompanied by letter from chairman of Fine Arts Commission, Charles Moore.

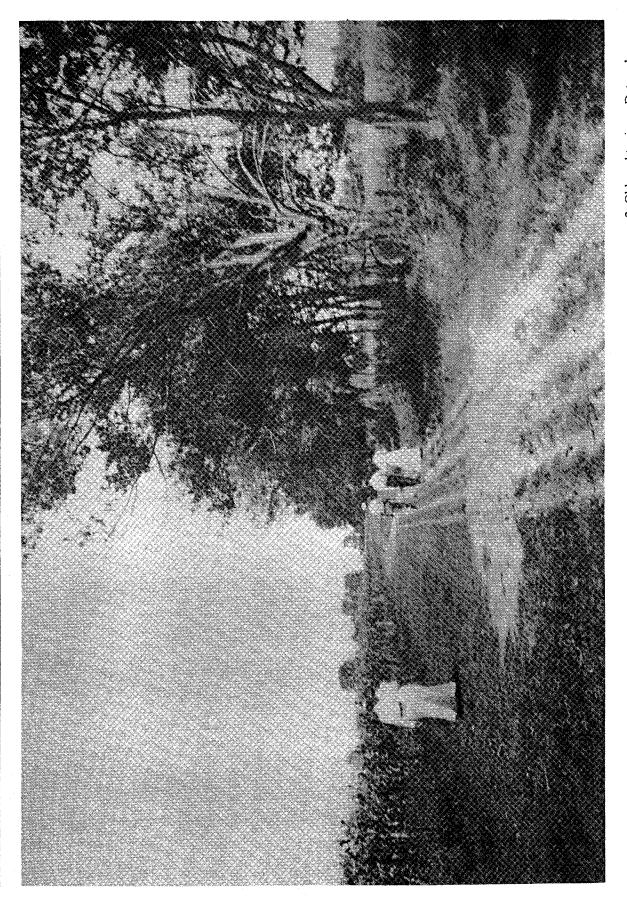


13. "Plan of the United States reservation at Wakefield, Va. (The birthplace of Washington), showing the location of the monument erected there in 1895-1896, the location of wharf, the road from the wharf to the reservation, the wire fences and gates, and a plan of the foundation of the house in which Washington was born," 1897.

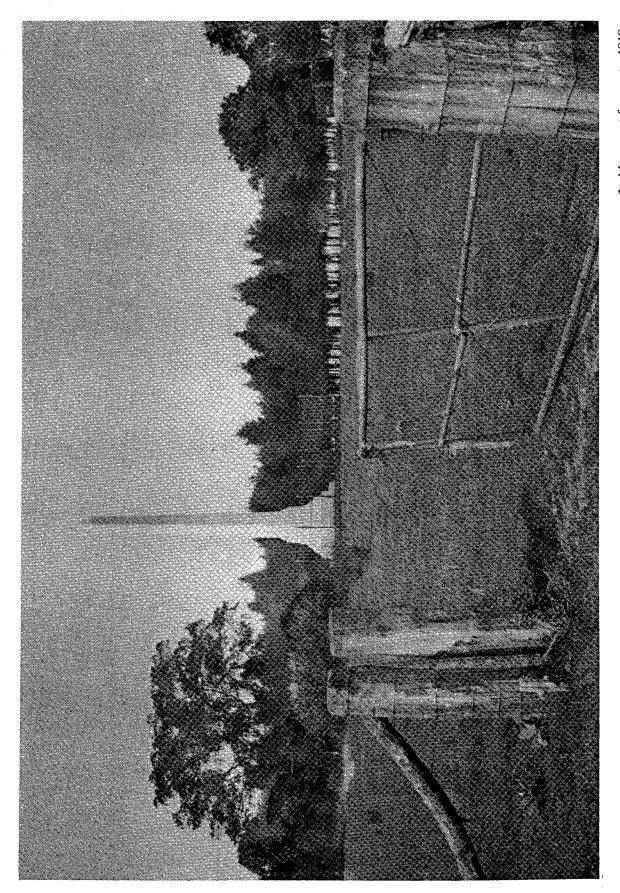
George Washington Birthplace National Monument

Cultural Landscape Report



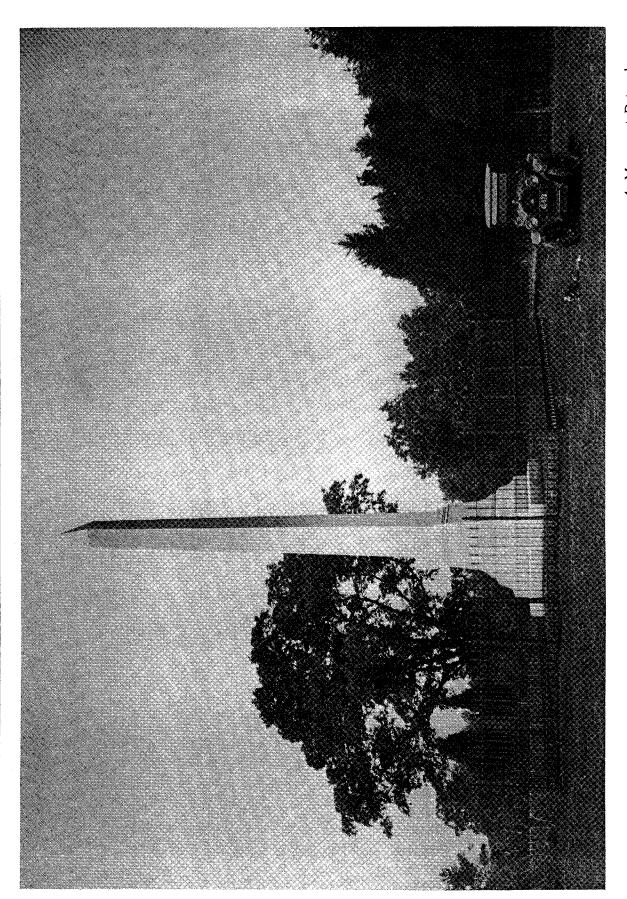


2. Old road to river. Date unknown.



3. Monument from gate. 1918.

Photographs 2/Site Physical History 1846 - 1923



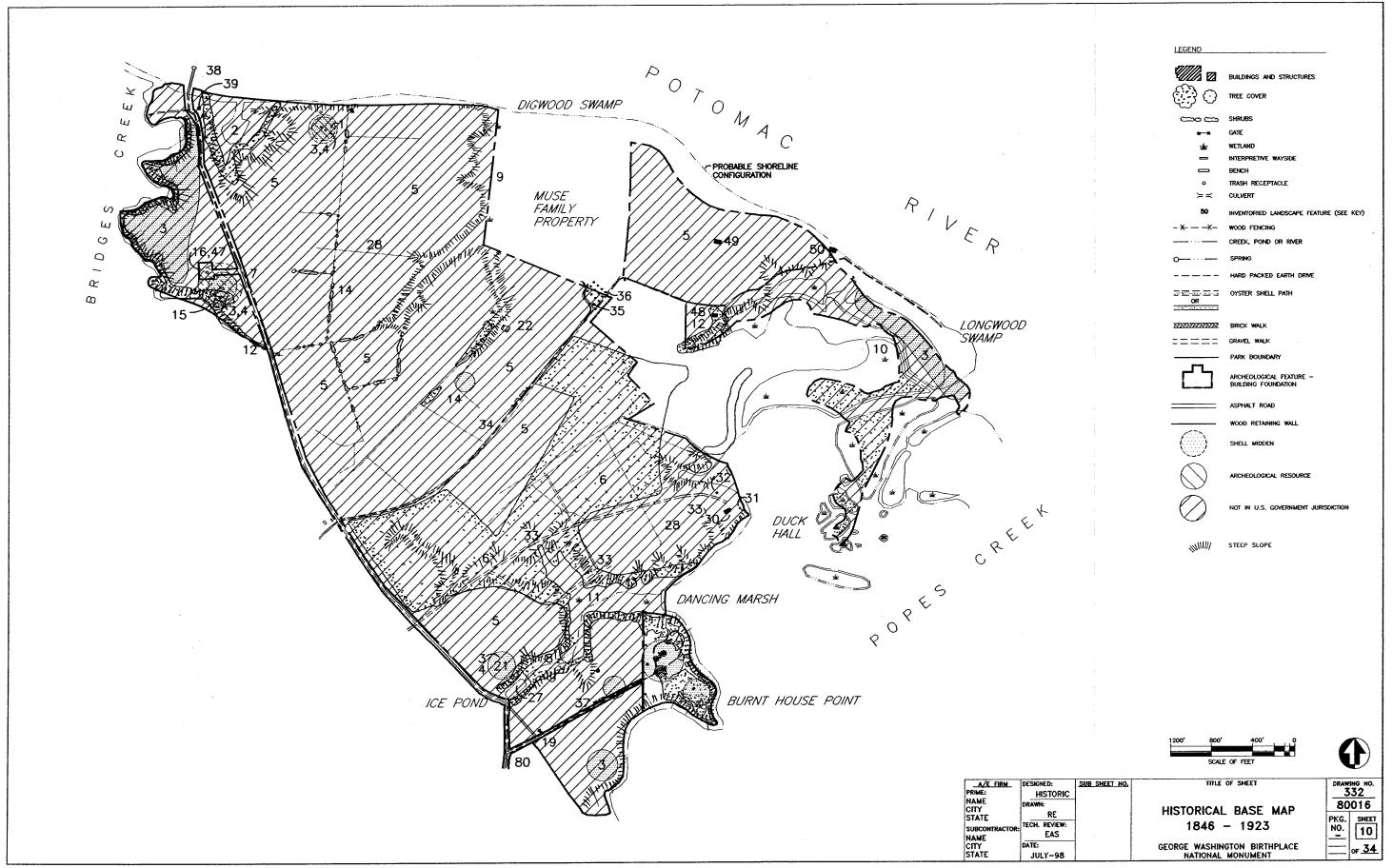
HISTORICAL BASE MAP

1846 - 1923

Inventory of Landscape Features

1846 - 1923

#	Feature	Date of Origin	# Feature Date of Origin			
2.	Pond	prehistory	33. Road to Duck Hall by 1813			
5.	Agricultural fields, pastures	prehistory, post 1657	34. Road to Muse property by 1813			
			35. George Muse house site by 1879			
6.	Woodlands	secondary, tertiary growth	36. Orchard 1846-1923			
7.	Road/trail to	ca. 1651-57	37. Road to birthplace by 1897			
	Bridges Creek landing		38. Wharf at Bridges Creek 1893-94			
8.	Creek/drainageway	prehistory	39. Building assoc. w/wharf 1893-97			
9.	Digwood Swamp	prehistory	47. Renovation-burial ground 1906			
10.	Longwood Swamp	prehistory	48. Spring house (conjecture) by 1892			
11.	Dancing Marsh	prehistory	49. Muse family house site by 1879			
12.	Springs, 2	prehistory	50. Muse family house site by 1879			
14.	Hedgerows (conjecture)	ca. 1657				
16.	Washington fam. burial ground bodies re-interred	ca. 1665 1906	Known Archeological Resources			
19.	Wire fencing-gov't site	ca. 1897	1. Henry Brooks house site ca. 1651-57			
22.	Muse family burial ground	(conj.) ca. 1700	3. Shell middens prehistory			
27.	Ice Ponds	ca. 1725-79	4. Agricultural artifacts prehistory			
21.	new pond est. by road	by 1879	15. John Washington house site ca. 1657-64			
	dam no longer functional	by ca. 1912	21. Possible tobacco shed by 1722			
28.	Agricultural drainage ditches	ca. 1700-50				
30.	Duck Hall house site	ca. 1779-1818	* Bold entries indicate a new feature or			
31.	Outbuilding	ca. 1779-1818	the alteration of an existing feature during this period.			
32.	Ice house	ca. 1779-1818				



HISTORICAL BASE MAP

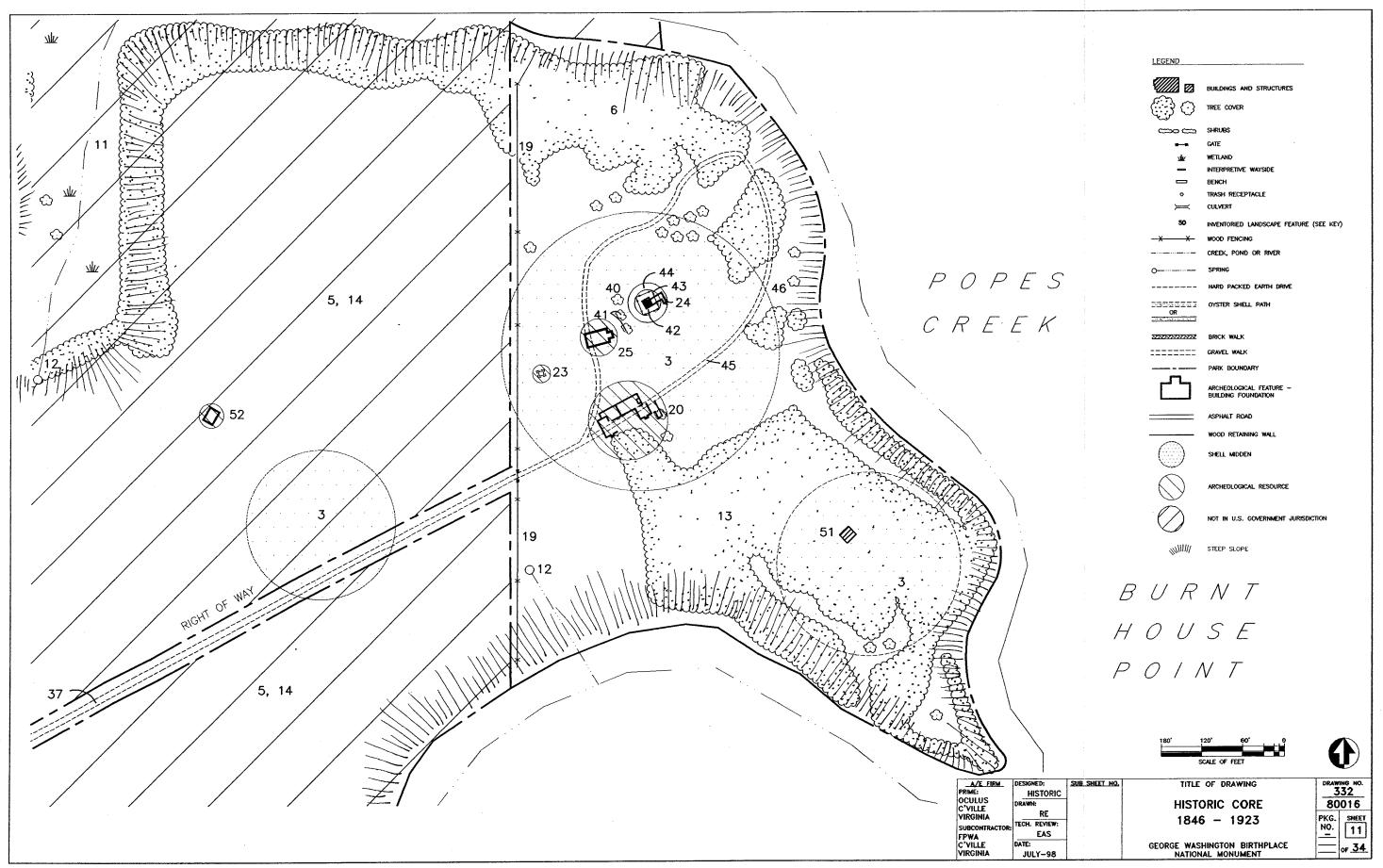
INSET: HISTORIC CORE

1846 - 1923

Inventory of Landscape Features

Historic Core 1846 - 1923

#	Feature	Date of Origin	#	Feature	Date of Origin		
5.	Agricultural fields, pastures	prehistory,	44. Crushed stone walk	1896			
6.	Woodlands	post 1657 secondary, tertiary growth	46.	Road-Burnt House Point Views to river estab'd	1897 1896		
11.	Dancing Marsh	prehistory	51.	Dance pavilion	by 1923		
12.	Springs, 2 Eastern red cedar grove	prehistory ca. 1896	Known Archeological Resources				
14.	Hedgerows (conjecture)	ca. 1657 ca. 1897 by 1897	3.	Shell middens	prehistory		
	Wire fencing-gov't site Road to birthplace		20.23.	Abbington/Washington house Possible dairy	by 1722, 1725 ca. 1725-79		
40.	Hackberry tree	by 1880s	24.	Unidentified outbuilding	ca. 1725-79		
41.	Fig shrubs	by 1880s	25.	Kitchen building	ca. 1725-79		
42.	Granite monument	1896	52.	Unidentified outbuilding	unknown		
43.	Iron fencing	1896					
			 * Bold entries indicate a new feature or the alteration of an existing feature during this period. 				



Wakefield National Memorial Association Development of the Site, 1923 - 1932

(Map H: Historical Base Map: 1923 - 1932; Appendices A and B)

Introduction

An enormous amount of change occurred on site of Popes Creek plantation between 1923 and 1932 due to the commemorative efforts of the Wakefield National Memorial Association and the subsequent establishment of a National Monument on the site. Within the historic core, the granite obelisk monument [Inv. #42] was removed and relocated in 1930 to a new traffic circle [Inv. #81] at the juncture of Bridges Creek road [Inv. #7] and State Route 204, which had been constructed as an entrance to the site in the early 1920s [Inv. #80]. In 1931, the road leading to the birthplace site was improved [Inv. #37], cedar trees were planted in an allée alongside the road [Inv. #83], and a new parking lot was constructed near the birthplace [Inv. #84]. Bridges Creek road was realigned in 1932. A clay pit [Inv. #86] and brick kiln [Inv. #85] were established between 1930 and 1932 to make bricks for many of the Wakefield National Memorial Association's construction projects. A Memorial House [Inv. #87] commemorating the birthplace of George Washington was constructed on the previous site of the monument in 1931; a Kitchen House [Inv. #88] and Spring-House [Inv. #89] were constructed nearby in the same year. A Colonial Garden [Inv. #95], based on plans prepared by NPS landscape architects, was also developed. The garden was enclosed within a picket fence [Inv. #105] and had a cast-stone sundial [Inv. #106] as a focal point. Boxwood hedges [Inv. # 96] were transplanted to the site, and other ornamental plantings [Inv. #104] were established. A trail [Inv. #97] was built around Burnt House Point in 1931, and a brick walk [Inv. #98] was constructed ca. 1932 to connect the Memorial House, the Colonial Garden, and other features. Picket fencing [Inv. #90] was built to enclose these improvements in 1931.

Other amenities were constructed within the historic core during the period, including rest rooms [Inv. #92] and a Pump House [Inv. #91], as well as a storage structure [Inv. #107] and a Utility Building [Inv. #93], with an associated access road [Inv. #94] to house maintenance activities. Fencing [Inv. #108] was constructed to edge this maintenance complex north of the Memorial House area. Additional features developed by 1932 include a flagpole at the parking area [Inv. #100], an "old wagon road" [Inv. #99] leading around the historic core, and a bridge [Inv. #103] leading to a trail system across Dancing Marsh at Duck Hall. Views to Popes Creek, established in the 1890s, were maintained from the Memorial House area.

Five features that appear to have existed within the historic core before the park was established were retained as part of the new landscape: the fig shrubs [Inv. #41] and hackberry tree [Inv. #40] near the birthplace; a tool house [Inv. #101] along Popes Creek; a dance pavilion sited within a grove of cedars on Burnt House Point [Inv. #51]; "Captain's Cove Wharf" [Inv. #102] also along Popes Creek; and a road leading to a borrow pit [Inv. #82] where the Visitor Center parking area would be later constructed. A flagpole was known to exist on an island at the mouth of Popes Creek during this period, but little documentation has been found that discusses its character or use.

New developments at Duck Hall and at the Washington family burial ground [Inv. #16] were also completed by 1932. At Duck Hall, a Log House [Inv. #79] was built, as were two rest room buildings [Inv. #78], and an access road [Inv. #77]. A residential complex was also developed there which consisted of two buildings [Inv. #73] and two garages [Inv. #74], an access road [Inv. #72], tennis courts [Inv. #75], and trails to the historic core and Duck Hall point [Inv. #76]. These were developed by NPS to house park employees. At the Washington family burial ground,

a new brick enclosing wall [Inv. #59] was constructed, along with a pedestrian walk [Inv. #60] edged by ornamental plantings [Inv. #61], a parking area [Inv. #58], and a maintenance access road [Inv. #62].

Newly realigned Bridges Creek road also saw new developments, such as wooden fencing [Inv. #'s 19, 57] to its east, and an allée/hedgerow of cedars [Inv. #56] along much of its length. Muse family holdings also appear to have undergone numerous changes during this period including three new house sites [Inv. #'s 66, 67, 68], a pond with an earthen impoundment [Inv. #54], and a well site [Inv. #70] with a road leading to it [Inv. #71]. The nearby Raymond Washington property [Inv. #64] south of the Muse farm included a house site with various outbuildings and an access road [Inv. #65] during this period.

Existing features of the site that became part of the new park included the pond near the Potomac River [Inv. #2]; various agricultural fields [Inv. #5] with associated hedgerows [Inv. #14] and drainage ditches [Inv. #28]; as well as natural systems such as successional woodlands [Inv. #6]; the drainageway [Inv. #8] and Ice Pond [Inv. #27]; Digwood Swamp [Inv. #9]; Longwood Swamp [Inv. #10]; Dancing Marsh [Inv. #11]; and four springs [Inv. #12]. The existing grove of Eastern red cedar trees [Inv. #13] was maintained at Burnt House Point, and the Muse family burial ground [Inv. #22] located near Digwood Swamp remained a part of the Muse family farmstead. It is not known whether the George Muse house [Inv. #35] and orchard [Inv. #36] were still extant during this period, although the road leading to the property continued to be used [Inv. #34].

Elsewhere, the wharf at Bridges Creek landing had fallen into disrepair and was no longer functional at this time.

Wakefield National Memorial Association Activities

On the evening of June 11, 1923, a group of individuals met at the home of Josephine Wheelwright Rust in Washington, D.C., to form "an Association to be known at [sic] the 'Wakefield National Memorial Association.' [Their] object [was] the preservation of the birthplace of George Washington." Organized by Mrs. Rust, the association was defined by the "object and scope" of preserving

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.¹⁴⁷

By June 1923, Mrs. Rust had already secured an option on some fifty acres of Augustine Washington's eighteenth-century holdings, including the burial vault. The goal of founding an association was ostensibly to raise both financial and political support for her cause. The motivation behind Josephine Rust's efforts and the beginning of the Wakefield National Memorial Association¹⁴⁸ were further explained in a 1924 presentation program for

¹⁴⁶ "Minutes of the First Meeting of the Wakefield National Memorial Association, June 11, 1923." Typescript copy, Wakefield Files, FAC Records, RG 66, NA I.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 1.

¹⁴⁸ For the sake of brevity in this report, the Wakefield National Memorial Association will hereinafter be referred to as the Wakefield Association.

celebrating Washington's birthday on February 22; threats to the site by "private shooting and fishing clubs" prompted the purchase of selected parcels, and it appears that seventy acres were now under purchase option by the Wakefield Association. However, the Wakefield Association clearly intended to take on much more:

Until 1923 the road from the main highway into the Wakefield Estate was usually impassable; but now the State of Virginia and the Government have built a gravel road, which is a beginning of needed improvements. This Association had acquired seventy acres of tolerable land adjoining the Government owned land, including the tombs of the Washington family, and ultimately it hopes to acquire all the property between Bridges Creek and Popes Creek, a total of one thousand acres. 150

The founding of the Wakefield Association occurred at a time in which historic preservation was receiving a good deal of attention due to the actions of John D. Rockefeller, who had announced his intention to restore the core of the colonial capital of Williamsburg, as well as the U.S. Government's two divisions concerned with public property, the War Department and National Park Service (NPS). Given the publicity associated with the Rockefeller project in Williamsburg, it is likely that Mrs. Rust was at least partly influenced by efforts to reconstruct the colonial scene there.¹⁵¹

The impetus behind historic preservation efforts of the War Department and NPS was more complex. Since the Civil War, the War Department had found itself the custodian of historic sites, the majority of which were battlefields, although, in some cases these sites were the homes or properties of famous generals, far from the site of any battle. The first U.S. Government efforts at Popes Creek were executed through the Army Corps of Engineers, who were responsible for the property. However a major shift in policy occurred in the 1920s after congressional pressure led to the restoration of the Lee Mansion at Arlington. This was a watershed event in the history of the War Department's treatment of historic sites.

At this time, NPS was under the direction of Stephen Mather, who had led the agency from its inception in 1916. Mather's assistant, Horace Albright, who succeeded him in 1928, sought to move the emphasis of the National Park Service toward historic preservation—in his words, to "go rather heavily into the historical park field." Albright immediately set out to challenge the War Department's jurisdiction over historic sites, particularly in the East, but his efforts stalled in the face of congressional opposition fueled largely by War Department resistance. Taking a different tack, Albright decided that the creation of historical parks within NPS would eventually sway Congress toward transferring properties out of the War Department and into the custody of his agency. His first opportunity to establish historic preservation as a top priority in NPS appeared in

¹⁴⁹ WNMA program, typescript, dated February 22, 1924. Wakefield Association files, FAC, RG 66, NA I.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 2.

¹⁵¹ Interestingly, John D. Rockefeller was not the first patron for the restoration of Washington's birthplace suggested to Mrs. Rust. A letter from "Richard" (Washington) of December 27, 1923, regarding the Latane Brothers' land purchase, stated that "I believe Henry Ford would buy this land for us, if we set things right before him. If he did it could boost us wonderfully if such a fact could be given to the press—the battle would be then half won due to the notoriety it would give us." Washington to Mrs. Rust, December 12, 1927, Wakefield files, FAC, RG 66, National Archives.

¹⁵² Charles B. Hosmer, Jr. *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949*, vol. I. (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia for the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Preservation Press, 1981), 476.

1930, when the George Washington Birthplace National Monument was created by an act of Congress. The enabling legislation stipulated that the National Park Service would administer the site.

Between 1924 and 1930, however, the War Department's interest in its eleven-acre "reservation" at Wakefield increased, primarily due to the attention drawn to the site by the Wakefield Association. Charles Moore, the director of the U.S. Fine Arts Commission and a member of the Wakefield Association, sought to involve the Army Corps of Engineers in excavations at the birthplace site in 1925. Maj. James O'Connor of the Army Corps of Engineers was placed in charge of the project. The express purpose of the Wakefield Association was to build a "replica" manor house on the birthplace site occupied by the U.S. Government monument; it is unclear whether the Wakefield Association was interested in pursuing archeological investigations or not. Moore, however, was specifically interested in identifying the "exact location of the house on the Wakefield reservation." O'Connor's reply to Moore regarding this request was short and pointed: "The funds allotted to this office are for the purposes of constructing an approach road to the reservation and for ordinary maintenance, and therefore none are available for an investigation such as you suggest." Evidently, this refusal was not a deterrent, as Moore and Mrs. Rust proceeded, with a permit from the Corps in 1926, to privately fund excavations to determine the exact location and extent of the foundation ruins mapped by Capt. John Stewart in 1895.

Hook also commented on the vegetation extant in 1926, which was believed to have originated in the colonial period: "To the west of the foundations there are fig bushes growing which natives assert are the original plants which were there at the time George Washington was born. Tradition has it that fig bushes grew outside the bed room [sic] window. To the east of the monument along the top of the slope running down to Popes Creek many flowers are growing which the residents of the vicinity believe were planted there before the house was burned."

A.J. Hook to War Department, April 9, 1926. Wakefield files, FAC, RG 66, National Archives.

Moore's reaction to these excavations is documented, and interestingly enough, reveals his hesitation with respect to basing a reconstruction of the house on what ruins had been found. His idea was much more restrained than that which was eventually approved by Congress. Moore's move away from the idea of a "replica" is seen in his failed proposal:

It is proposed by the Wakefield National Memorial Association to maintain the outlines at least of these foundations. The rest house and museum which the Association expects to build will be erected on a convenient site, but not on the birthplace site, which will show the outlines of the house. The new structure will show a house of the period, but of course, will not attempt to reproduce the Washington house.

¹⁵³ Charles Moore, FAC, to Major James O'Connor, April 25, 1925. Wakefield Association files, FAC Records, RG 66.

¹⁵⁴ O'Connor to Moore, June 15, 1925. Wakefield Association files, FAC, RG 66, NA I.

¹⁵⁵ In correspondence to the War Department, A.J. Hook, the engineer used by the Wakefield Association for these excavations related the following: "... purpose of making explorations to determine the extent of the foundations of the house in which George Washington was born....The idea was to locate foundations more extensive and other than those located by the Government when the monument was built....Work was begun at 9:00 a.m. on April 9, 1926, by 3 laborers under the supervision of Mr. William Wilson, who was also in charge of the excavations at the time the monument was constructed in 1896. Mrs. Harry L. Rust, President of the Memorial Association, with 12 other ladies present, witnessed the work. An attempt was made to find and follow out the walls shown on the old plan (B-218-27) of foundations which was made at the time the monument was erected....At the time the monument and fence were erected and the circular gravel walk put in the remaining walls were very likely destroyed. The old gravel walk, now overgrown with grass, is entirely underlaid by brick from these old foundations, many with the old shell mortar still adhering to them....According to Mr. Wilson who was present when the monument was erected, the gravel walk was placed on top of brick which came from the old foundations."

Disagreements between representatives of the War Department and the Wakefield Association soon arose over how the site was to be developed. Moore wrote to O'Connor in July 1925, questioning the Corps's plans for "the construction of a [concrete] road to and about the monument," that would serve as a connector between the state road constructed in 1923 and the birthplace site. ¹⁵⁶ In doing so, he set the stage for a long series of conflicts regarding the "park's" design:

The plan called for a concrete road. As you know the highway from Fredericksburg to the entrance of Wakefield is gravel and from the entrance into the Government grounds is also gravel. Would it not be a strange thing to put in a concrete road work in a purely rural setting, and is there any necessity for putting a road around the monument?¹⁵⁷

O'Connor's reply contained within it the seeds of further conflict, as it referred to the Corps' increasing involvement in plans for the eleven-acre birthplace site:

Present plans contemplate ending the proposed road at the line of the Wakefield reservation and studies are being made as to the development inside the grounds. The concrete road is planned as a matter of economy in eliminating expensive maintenance charges inherent in less permanent types of roads.¹⁵⁸

Dissatisfied with O'Connor's explanation, Moore wrote to Dwight Davis, Secretary of War. Davis assured Moore that "this Department is in sympathy with the general ideas of the Wakefield Association and is desirous of cooperating with it in the improvement of Washington's birthplace." However, he also wrote that "[T]he construction of a concrete road connecting the Reservation with the State Highway will fill an urgent need at the present time, and will provide a roadway which obviates the continuous maintenance costs necessary for gravel roads." In addition, Davis refused any assistance, presumably in response to a query by Moore, for funds to improve any other feature of the landscape except the road, such as the "Government wharf which is now wrecked and cannot be used." This exchange presaged the impending battles over the siting of the replica to be built by the Wakefield Association.

Also contained in Davis's letter was a presumption that would color the War Department's dealings with the Wakefield Association for at least several more years:

it is understood that the Wakefield Memorial Association does not now have available sufficient funds for the immediate execution of its plans for the improvement of the lands surrounding the Government Reservation. It seems probable, therefore, that the raising of funds and the completion and execution of the Association's plans may require several years. ¹⁶⁰

Critical to this ongoing dialogue was the fact that the Wakefield Association had garnered considerable Congressional support, resulting in legislation authorizing it to "build, operate, and

Moore to Lyon G. Tyler, November 10, 1926, Wakefield Association files, FAC Records, RG 66, NA I.

¹⁵⁶ Period photographs show the alignment of the road before its construction as State Route 204 in 1923. GEWA photograph files; NPS photographic archives, Harpers Ferry.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ O'Connor to Moore, July 20, 1925. Wakefield Association files, FAC, RG 66, NA I.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

maintain upon the plot of ground owned by the United States at Wakefield, Westmoreland County, Virginia a replica, as nearly as may be practical, of the home in which George Washington was born," with the stipulation that such plans be approved by the Secretary of War and the Fine Arts Commission. Sometime in 1927, the Wakefield Association acquired the services of Washington architect Edward Donn, who had previously restored Woodlawn Plantation in Mount Vernon, Virginia. A site plan of the "Grounds" addressing three separate areas was prepared by Donn's office in 1927 [Figs. 16, 17]. Apparently these were not to be unified aesthetically; each of the areas—the replica house at the birthplace site, Duck Hall and the "Log House," and the Washington family burial ground—looked completely different. 163

Donn incorporated both Mrs. Rust's ideas and research prepared by Arthur Hoppin, a professional genealogist who functioned as a historian for the Wakefield Association, into the design of the replica house. Hoppin's work, guided by the belief that the Custis stone and the U.S. Government monument had been accurately sited at the birthplace of George Washington, was a combination of research and folklore based on oral histories and recollections of the site. Hoppin's ire had apparently been raised by a nineteenth-century conjectural illustration of the birthplace as a rustic cottage, drawn by Benjamin Lossing, and used by Charles Moore in his publication, *The Family Life of Washington*. ¹⁶⁴ Using information gleaned from an interview with a Washington family member, Hoppin urged Donn to model the birthplace replica on a frame structure in Providence Forge, Virginia, which the descendant claimed was a copy of the original Popes Creek house. Donn's assistant, Albert Erb, visited the site, surveyed and measured it, and copied details to be used in Donn's plan. Mrs. Rust requested that the house be constructed of brick instead of wood due to maintenance considerations. Donn's drawings of 1927 show his conjectural view of the house, as well as the nearby "Ancient Kitchen" outbuilding. ¹⁶⁵

Despite the fact that the Wakefield Association was sure of approval of its plans by the Fine Arts Commission, the War Department did not easily relinquish control over the site. In the fall of 1927, a visit was made to the site by Donn, Maj. Brehon Somervell of the Army Corps, and two noted professionals, Milton Medary, president of the American Institute of Architects, and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. whose national reputation as a landscape architect was undisputed. The result of this visit was that Donn was forced to inform Mrs. Rust that all three of the authorities were against placing the replica house on the foundations believed to be the original site,

In August, 1929, Donn sent "two blueprints of my first plan of what was probably the WAKEFIELD of 1732," which referred to the replica house and the kitchen. Donn to Rust, August 15, 1927, Wakefield files, FAC, RG 66, National Archives.

¹⁶¹ Hosmer, 479.

¹⁶² Hoppin, Hatch references.

¹⁶³ See later discussion of the burial ground plan and its accompanying controversy which revealed the Wakefield Association's desire to memorialize the site with no historic context, while the birthplace was to be reconstructed as it would have appeared in the colonial period of Augustine Washingtons I and II.

¹⁶⁴ Charles Moore, *The Family Life of Washington*, Boston and New York, 1926.

¹⁶⁵ Donn outlined his intention with respect to the outbuilding located on what was believed to be the old kitchen site, based on nineteenth-century eyewitness accounts of the ruins of an old chimney. "The outside ancient kitchen, is to have its huge chimney and fireplace, with small rooms at the end so that it can be used as a residence for the superintendent or caretaker. The garden and grounds are to be developed very simply and informally, the whole effect to be such as was customary in 1732, on a farm or plantation of the better class." Donn to Rust, May 2, 1929, Wakefield files, FAC, RG 66, National Archives. Mr. Goodwin Muse, whose father served as caretaker for the property under NPS, remembers spending the nights with his father in the second story rooms of the kitchen. Goodwin Muse interview.

reasoning that the replica would eventually come to represent the "actual house in which that event took place." ¹⁶⁶ Instead, they recommended preservation of the foundation ruins, and siting the house close by, but not on, the ruins. A letter to Charles Moore from Milton Medary indicated that the Army Corps of Engineers was developing its own plans in response to the visit, as well as an inappropriate proposal for the site's development based on Somervell's observations:

Yesterday I received a note asking whether I could meet Major Somervell and Major Brown to look at some studies which have been made for this project. This is all I know of the situation since our visit some time ago with you, when the development proposed at that time seemed so utterly out of keeping with the simple atmosphere which still surrounds the little point of land where the original house was built.¹⁶⁷

Objections to Donn's plans were overruled by the Fine Arts Commission on December 15, 1927. Believing that "there is sufficient documentary testimony as to the character of the house to guide the architect as to size and general disposition of the location of the buildings appertaining to the mansion," the Commission approved both the house design and its "location ... on the original site." While the recommendations of Olmsted and the others were not followed, the actual birthplace foundation fortuitously remained preserved due to the fact that it had not yet been discovered, as will be seen later in this section.

Construction of the replica birthplace house on the site of the purported foundation necessitated the relocation of the monument; however, the reasons for its relocation went beyond the need to clear the site for construction. As stated by Moore:

The monument is of a design once used in cemeteries, but now generally regarded as inappropriate even for such uses. It is manifestly inappropriate to mark a birthplace.¹⁶⁸

Accordingly, Josephine Rust submitted the plans to Secretary of War Dwight Davis for his approval, with a written explanation as follows:

The plans so far made call simply for a mansion house, but they are to be followed by others or the buildings appurtenant thereto, according to the practice in colonial Virginia. Also gardens, both ornamental and kitchen gardens....The main points to

¹⁶⁶ Hosmer, 481. Donn wrote to Mrs. Rust of the visit, stating that "Mr. Olmsted is going to make a study of the layout of the grounds as he thinks it should be. He will be here again next week to go into the matter. As an authority on laying out and planning this sort of thing, no one in this country stands any higher, his opinion should have weight in final analysis." Despite his reputation, the Wakefield Association did not consult Olmsted on the site plan, probably because of a letter he wrote to Charles Moore, in which he passionately argued against placing the replica house on the ruins of the foundation that had been excavated.

Donn to Rust, November 19, 1927; Olmsted to Moore, March 18, 1929; both letters in the Wakefield files, FAC, RG 66, National Archives.

¹⁶⁷ M. B. Medary to Charles Moore, November 15, 1927. Wakefield Association files, FAC, RG 66, NA I.

In 1927, the Army Corps of Engineers made studies of their own in regarding the site's development both to maintain their jurisdictional authority over the site, and in case the Wakefield Association failed to raise the requisite financial resources.

¹⁶⁸ Charles Moore to Josephine Rust, December 15, 1927. The Commission also reviewed the Wakefield Association's proposal to construct a "building for the refreshment of the public and accommodation of visitors" on the Duck Hall tract, with the actual plans for the building to be submitted at a later time.

be considered at this time are two—First, the character and location of the house; Second, the removal of the monument. Until these two points are settled the subordinate features must remain in abeyance.¹⁶⁹

Davis' responded by refusing to agree to construction on the foundation ruins and by announcing that the department was proceeding with its own concept plan for the eleven-acre parcel administered by the U.S. Government. Davis wrote that

With reference to your request for approval of the location for the house and the removal of the monument from the proposed site, I would state that the Department has requested an appropriation of funds for the employment of an architect and the preparation of plans for a *proper development of the Government Reservation at Wakefield*. Accordingly, I do not wish to approve a definite location for the house until the studies which such an appropriation will make possible have been completed and *plans for the complete development of Wakefield* have matured.¹⁷⁰

Evidence of the War Department's development of a separate study lies in a letter written to Mrs. Rust in October of that year, in which a Mr. Eugene Baker, landscape architect, reveals his involvement in assisting "Major Brehon Somervell of the U.S. Engineer Office in making a landscape design for the layout of the Government Reservation at Wakefield." Davis outlined the proposed development in an explanation to Rep. John Morin regarding H.R. 12807, a bill under consideration by Congress that had been mentioned to Mrs. Rust. It appears from this letter that the War Department intended to supersede most of the Wakefield Association's efforts, with the exception of the construction of the replica house:

The bill provides for the improvement of Wakefield along the general lines of a tentative plan formulated by the District Engineer charged with immediate supervision of the reservation [Somervell]. This place [sic: plan?] includes rather extensive water development, including dredging, filling, and jetty construction, to enable boats to reach the reservation by way of Popes Creek, and an airplane landing field to make the reservation conveniently accessible by air....

The other features of the plan include the purchase of about fifty acres of additional land and the general improvement of the reservation. These features are very desirable and I recommend that they be authorized. 172

Josephine Rust to Dwight Davis, February 2, 1928. Wakefield Files, FACE, RG 66, NA I.

¹⁶⁹ Josephine Rust to Dwight Davis, December 22, 1927. Wakefield Association files, FAC, RG 66, NA I.

¹⁷⁰ Dwight Davis to Josephine Rust, January 31, 1928. Wakefield Association files, FAC, RG 66, NA I. Present author's emphasis.

¹⁷¹ E. Eugene Baker to Josephine Wheelwright Rust, October 17, 1928. Wakefield Files, FAC, RG 66, NA I.

¹⁷² Dwight Davis to John Morin, May 23, 1928. Wakefield Files, FAC, RG 66, NA I.

Elements of Davis's plan seem to be derived from those of the Wakefield Association, as outlined by Josephine Rust in a letter to him dated February 2, 1928. In her response to Davis's refusal to authorize construction on the ruins, Rust informed Davis that the Wakefield Association already had a landscape plan, which included "a house for the caretaker," and a wharf on the Popes Creek acreage already owned by the Wakefield Association. A visitor's house, the proposed development on the Duck Hall tract, was also discussed as necessary due to the projected increase in visitors as a result of the utilization of the "Government and State road ... built from the main highway to Wakefield some three years ago." (1925)

The Somervell plan was presented to a congressional committee on February 8, 1929. At this time, Somervell requested \$5,000 to "prepare plans for the improvement of Wakefield," but upon direct questioning, he admitted that his "tentative plans" required the enormous sum of \$450,000 as the "cost of construction." This sent the committee members into a frenzied discussion over the merits of spending that much money on a controversial site as opposed to reallocating the funds, as one member suggested, to purchase Mount Vernon instead. As a result of the meeting, and possibly a bit of political and private pressure exerted from other sectors, Dwight Davis relinquished his resistance to the construction of the replica house on April 13, 1929. The for all intents and purposes, the influence of the War Department upon the birthplace site was over.

Meanwhile, Wakefield Association members were making significant social connections in order to continue purchasing land between Bridges and Popes Creeks. Arthur Hoppin secured an agreement with the John D. Rockefeller organization, whereby Rockefeller would purchase the acres then under option by the Wakefield Association through his representative, Kenneth Chorley, and the "River Holding Corporation." The amount of purchase, \$110,000, was to be matched by the Wakefield Association for the purposes of construction by January 7, 1931. In 1929, the River Holding Corporation held four parcels totaling 266.88 acres in trust for the Wakefield Association¹⁷⁵ [Fig. 14]. This land had been purchased from the Latane family (heirs to John Wilson) and contained land contiguous to the existing 11.88 acre reservation, which consisted of two parcels (47.87 and 12 acres), that had formerly been part of the Abbington tract purchased by Augustine Washington. The other two parcels included the Washington family burial ground and John Washington site (37.54 acres), and a large area of cultivated fields (167.47 acres) that included the Henry Brooks site and much of the land he left to his wife and daughter in the 1660s, which was later acquired by Augustine Washington. In 1929, the Wakefield Association's holdings otherwise consisted of a small parcel at the burial ground, the Duck Hall tract (67.58 acres) [Fig. 15], and the Raymond Washington farm, a contiguous property (31.20 acres) that appears to have been part of the original Abbington tract purchased by Augustine Washington in 1728.¹⁷⁶ The assembled acreage of these parcels was, according to the 1929 plat, some 377.54 acres, with 365.66 owned by the Wakefield Association, and 11.88 administered by the U.S. Government.

Much negotiating remained, however, as Mrs. Rust faced obstacles on two fronts. First, the Wakefield Association was not raising money fast enough to match Rockefeller's grant by January 1931, and second, disagreement regarding both the validity of Donn's designs and the desirability of construction on the ruins continued, prompting increased concern by Rockefeller that the

¹⁷³ One influential member of this committee, Rep. Louis Cramton, undoubtedly already represented the interests of NPS in remarking upon the "controversy" of the site, a fact which Major Somervell denied. In addition, lengthy discussions about the merits of the \$218,000 estimate for a water access point from Popes Creek ultimately produced a consensus among the committee members that the War Department's proposed study plans were inappropriate, due to the fact that the project was never likely to be approved at that level of expenditure.

[&]quot;Statement of Maj. Brehon B. Somervell, District Engineer, Preparation of Plans for Improvement of Birthplace of George Washington, Wakefield, VA." GEWA archives.

¹⁷⁴ Hosmer, 481.

¹⁷⁵ "Plat showing "Property At Wakefield VA. Birthplace of George Washington," dated Feb. 12, 1929; hand-drawn map in Hoppin files, GEWA. One tract was transferred from the Latane family to the Muses, and then into the River Holding Corporation's hands.

¹⁷⁶ Residential development existed on the 31.20 acre site, referred to as "Raymond Washington's place," at this time. This area eventually housed the NPS service and utility area (including the water tower).

property be properly reconstructed. In response to these concerns, George Washington Birthplace National Monument was created by presidential proclamation on March 30, 1931.¹⁷⁷

Seeing that the Wakefield Association's funds might prove insufficient, Mrs. Rust appealed to Congress to appropriate \$50,000 for site improvements, with an additional \$15,000 to cover the expenses of moving the monument to a new site. Skillful legislative maneuvering by Rep. Louis Cramton, whose influence upon preservation can be seen in the early 1920s restoration of the Lee Mansion, resulted in his call for custody of the site to be transferred to NPS, undoubtedly at the urging of Horace Albright, who saw this as an opportunity to gain an "historical park." Meanwhile, private pressure from the Rockefeller organization communicated to Mrs. Rust through Cramton sought to ensure authenticity and maintenance of the proposed work. In order to effect the proper development of the site, the resulting appropriation to the Wakefield Association placed custody of the site in the hands of NPS, which immediately was to assume a supervisory role in the design of the site.¹⁷⁸

Aware of the earlier conflicts between the Wakefield Association and the War Department, NPS Director Albright made an initial gesture to Mrs. Rust during a meeting of the Wakefield Association on April 12, 1930, by offering the services of NPS engineer O.G. Taylor as surveyor. 179 Most of the individuals responsible for site development during this period were present, including Mrs. Rust, Charles Moore, Edward Donn, Horace Albright, and his two assistant directors, A. E. Demaray and W. B. Lewis. Taylor, a former resident engineer at Yosemite National Park, was to make surveys of the area, as well as a full topographic map. Albright also suggested incorporating NPS landscape architects into the planning process. This suggestion prompted the following exchange, which may be indicative of the Wakefield Association's previous dealings with the Army Corps of Engineers:

Mr. Moore remarked that their preference would be a young man, who was not too set in his ideas, and Mr. Albright assured him that all the landscape architects in the National Park Service are young men, who have been trained to plan for structures, roads, trails, etc., in national parks so that the natural landscape may be preserved in so far as it is possible to do so.¹⁸⁰

Architect Edward Donn had by this time, however, completed plans for both the birthplace site and the burial ground. A trace drawing entitled "WAKEFIELD, showing development of the eleven acres owned by the government of the United States—suggested by Edward W. Donn, Jr., Architect," shows his suggestions for the grounds at the birthplace site as well as at the "log house," camping areas, and dock to be located on Popes Creek on the Duck Hall tract [Fig. 19] which had been acquired by the Wakefield Association.¹8¹ Interestingly enough, this drawing also contains a detail of Donn's treatment of the base of the monument, showing a baroque composition of figures seated on an elevated plinth well over twelve feet in height.

Donn's plans focused primarily on the birthplace site. He proposed an approach to the site through an "avenue of cedars" lining the State road, leading first to a circular turnaround containing the relocated monument, and then beyond to the birthplace. Parking areas were to be established on the

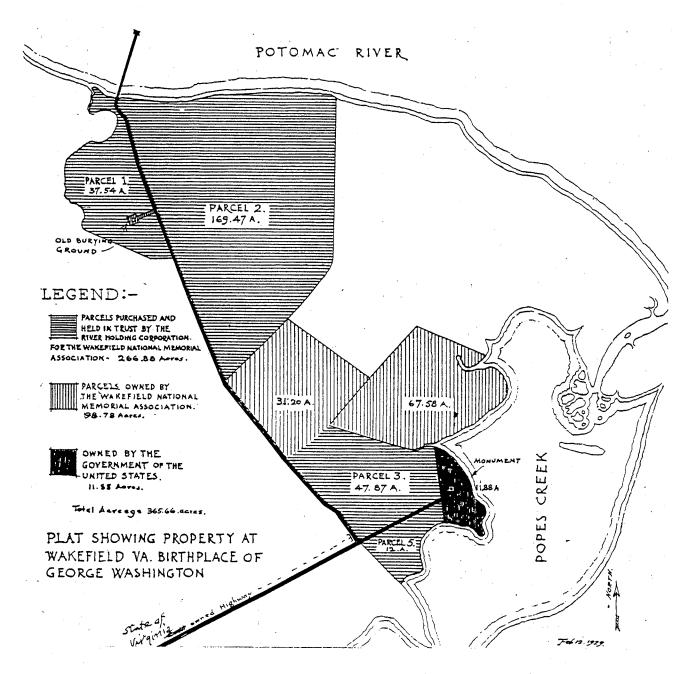
¹⁷⁷ By Herbert Hoover, No. 1944—March 30, 1931—47 Stat. 2446.

¹⁷⁸ Legislative appropriation, January 23, 1930; account in Hosmer, 483-4.

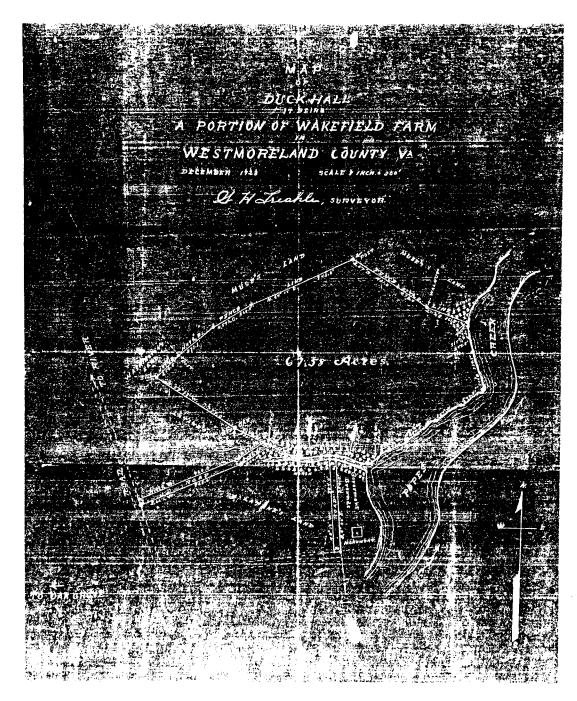
¹⁷⁹ "Minutes of the Meeting of the Wakefield National Memorial Association, held April 12, 1930." Wakefield files, FAC, RG 66, National Archives.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 2.

¹⁸¹ Drawing dated February 19, 1929, and signed by Donn. Wakefield files, FAC, RG 66, National Archives.



14. "Plat Showing Property at Wakefield VA. Birthplace of George Washington," 1929.



15. "Map of Duck Hall It Being A Portion of Wakefield Farm in Westmoreland County, Va.," December 1923.

left side of the entry road past the turnaround. Beyond the parking area, the entry road would lead to the birthplace precinct, an area enclosed by a brick wall and entered through a pair of gates. Cars would have been able to travel through the gates to a circular drive located northwest of the mansion and kitchen buildings. The mansion was to be connected by a walk to the kitchen outbuilding and a series of kitchen and ornamental gardens extending southward toward Popes Creek. Only three buildings were included on this plan: the mansion, the kitchen, and a small, undefined outbuilding north of the mansion. Donn's plan also called for a trail to follow the contours of the shores of Popes Creek.

Donn's plans reflected the intentions of the Wakefield Association as they had evolved throughout the six years of its existence. The "beautiful park" originally conceived as featuring a "replica of the house in which Washington was born and a log cabin as emblematic of the home of the first settlers," was, by 1930, an elaborate proposal outlined by the Wakefield Association in a document more than likely prepared to accompany Donn's plans to NPS. In detailing the development of the 367 acres (modified from the 1929 figures), three areas of emphasis were considered: the excavation and marking of the John Washington house site, site development at the birthplace ruins, and restoration of the family burial ground. Specifically, the Wakefield Association's plans called for:

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. 182

The monument's removal was initiated on August 9, 1930 after a contract was assigned to James O. Caton & Sons on July 15. Caton's contract involved "moving the monument, fence and old foundations, re-cutting base and pedestal, and extending the monument base." By September 10, the new concrete foundation was in place, and equipment was available to restore the shaft to its former position on the base. The entire operation was completed by December 1930.

On December 12, 1930, a contract in the amount of \$45,000 was also let to J. J. Jones and Conquest of Richmond, Virginia for the construction of the mansion house and kitchen. In preparation for construction, an elaborate plan to produce bricks made of Wakefield clay was set into motion. Kenneth Chorley, representing the Rockefeller interests, was persuaded by Albright's

¹⁸² Mrs. Harry Lee Rust, Sr., "Restoration of George Washington's Birthplace," including "Proposed Plans," "What Has Been Done Thus Far," "Cooperation of the United States Government," "Cooperation of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.," December 15, 1930. Typescript. Wakefield Association files, FAC, RG 66, NA I.

¹⁸³ Mrs. Rust noted that the relocation required removal of the original base materials, in recognition of the fact that "the base of the monument has been re-designed." Rust, December 15, 1930, 2. It is unclear, considering Donn's elaborate plans, whether all of the redesigned base made it back to the monument. The "base extension stone" pieces were delivered to the site by Caton by September 10, 1930. O.G. Taylor, "Condensed Report of Restoration Work to Date," September 10, 1930, NPS. Wakefield files, FAC, RG 66, National Archives.

assistant, Arthur Demaray, to loan the experienced brick-makers, then involved in the Williamsburg restoration, to the Wakefield Association. A kiln was established on the site in the field immediately west of the reservation where clay deposits 1,000 feet west of the house site were found to be suitable for brick production [Photo 12]. Donn and Taylor supervised the kiln operations, with Donn approving the size and color of the bricks. By September 1930, 130,000 bricks had been produced for use; according to Donn and Taylor, some 320,000 bricks would ultimately be required for the construction of the Mansion, Ancient Kitchen, and Graveyard Wall. The house was completed in the summer of 1931.

In September 1930, Donn instructed NPS engineer O.G. Taylor to dig a test trench through a surficial anomaly they had discovered in the historic core area. Taylor's account stated 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 'U'-shaped building of considerable size. The long side is the bottom of the 'U', 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 unto two rooms. The bottom of the cellar walls are 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 'U' 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. 188

During the summer and fall of 1930, 250,000 hand-made bricks were made at Wakefield in the old manner in a field adjacent to the birthsite and from clay obtained less than 1,000 feet from the birth-house. These bricks were made in the old time manner by brick makers brought from North Carolina and the bricks were burned in Dutch up-draft kilns by using oak cord wood. By careful burning and the use of the proper kind of wood sufficient glazed brick ends were obtained to give character to the Flemish Bond brick laying [sic] used in the construction of the mansion.

Taylor, "Report on Brick making," Annual Report to the Director, NPS. NPS records, RG 79, National Archives.

188 Hatch, 88.

¹⁸⁴ "Arrangements were made with Todd & Brown Inc., Building Contractors doing the Rockefeller restoration work at Williamsburg, for the loan of their brick making force. This force, including one white foreman and six colored men, moved to Wakefield July 8th." Taylor, Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ See Photo 12. Oliver Taylor reported that "The brick making plant was located in the open field, on a south slope, about 600 feet north of the Mansion Site. The clay was obtained from the bluff about 300 feet farther north." The brick making operation was discontinued for the season on November 20, 1930 after having produced 240,000 usable bricks. Oliver Taylor, "Brick making at Wakefield," report to NPS, November, 1930; Taylor, "Report of Work at George Washington Birthplace National Monument for the Month of November 1930," NPS records, RG 79, National Archives.

¹⁸⁶ Taylor, Ibid., 1. The old brick kilns were removed and the sites cleared by September 1932, when "about 20,000 unused bricks [were] stacked up for future use. Many loads of bats were dumped in the old clay pit." Superintendent's Monthly Report, September 1932, 4.

¹⁸⁷ In the 1931 Annual Report for the site, Oliver Taylor wrote a synopsis of the brick making endeavor:

While this massive foundation, which came to be known as "Building X," raised doubts about the purported location of the birthplace in the minds of Edward Donn, O.G. Taylor, and others involved in the project, Historian Charles Hoppin was not willing to reconsider the issue. He stated

I do not believe that there is anything whatever, or ever was anything, that can or ever could alter the site of the birthhouse; and so I have no particular interest in the other buildings located elsewhere other than their existence at one time or another proves that the birthhouse was solely used as a residence for the members of the Washington family. 189

Many aspects of the newly uncovered foundation suggested that it, and not the foundation chosen as the site of the Memorial House, represented the birthplace of George Washington. For example, the size of the new foundation could easily have accommodated the 1762 inventory of Washington family furnishings, which the foundation discovered earlier could not. Also, later excavation in 1936 revealed

'bits of pottery, earthenware, salt glaze and glass,' colored plaster, melted glass, straight pins, forks, buttons, and even a bridle bit. About the evidence of fire—'almost every relic recovered showed signs of having been in a fire. There was an abundance of ashes and several charred bits of wood. One of the latter appears to have been an oak beam 7 inches square.' 190

In his 1942 "Orientation Report" about George Washington Birthplace National Monument, David Rodnick concludes that

... The 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.¹⁹¹

Despite the likelihood that the Memorial House was being built in an inaccurate location, the Wakefield Association continued with their construction plans, and the building was completed in 1931.

Also during this period, NPS provided landscape architectural assistance to the Wakefield Association in planning for the park. Charles Peterson, the first National Park Service landscape architect assigned to the eastern half of the country, was asked by Albright to become involved in the proceedings at Wakefield. Peterson, however, was heavily involved in work at Colonial National Monument and recommended that they bring in another landscape architect, probably from the San Francisco office, to assist the project. Roswell Ludgate eventually filled this role, although Peterson monitored progress at the site. Peterson was particularly distressed by the excavation of the site for the Memorial Mansion, as he noted in a letter of November 21, 1930:

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 91.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 93.

The 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. To increase the offensiveness of the situation, the material is being hauled away by fresnos and wheelbarrows without even a competent observer on the ground.

In the first place, why the original foundations preserved, strengthened and augmented should not be sufficient to hold up the building is not obvious. 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. With this added to the scrambling of the remains at the burying ground, we have been laid open to serious and justified criticism.¹⁹²

Even after it was built, the Memorial House continued to prove controversial. The term "replica" had been used to describe the structure commissioned by the Wakefield Association and partially funded by the United States Government. However,

neither the builder nor the architect had ever claimed that the place was an exact copy. Edwin Conquest, the contractor, warned a Richmond member of the association while the Memorial Mansion was under construction: "Mr. Donn states that it is not his idea that the present building is to represent an exact reproduction of Washington's birthplace. Such a thing, however desirable, would not be possible because the original building was burned in 1780 and no plans or specifications for it are now in existence." Donn asked Albright if "well meaning enthusiasts" would stop using the word *replica* to describe the building he had designed as typical of the period. ¹⁹³

In November 1930, Roswell Ludgate began research on colonial gardens in preparation for the installation of a garden to the east of the mansion. He first wrote to the Olmsted Brothers for advice, and later solicited support from Albright for field trips to "Virginia estates" in the spring, when the gardens would be in bloom. Evidently, time constraints obviated these site visits, as within the month Ludgate submitted a plan and detailed description of the garden for Mrs. Rust's approval. The plan had two distinct sections of plantings, composed of plants known to have been used in colonial gardens, and a brick walk edged by boxwood to be transplanted from Campbellton, a nearby estate. 194 The entire garden was to be enclosed by a picket fence, with a sun-dial serving as centerpiece.

¹⁹² Charles Peterson to the Director of the Wakefield Project, November 21, 1930. NPS records, RG 79, National Archives.

¹⁹³ Hosmer, 490.

The boxwood at Campbellton was important to the Wakefield Association's plans due to the traditional belief that it had been rooted from clippings originally taken from Popes Creek plantation. No documentation exists to substantiate this claim; Oliver Taylor took strict precautions during the summer drought in 1930 to make sure that the boxwood was well-watered before it was to be transplanted. This eventually occurred in April and May 1931. A Washington family member, Henry Tayloe Washington, who had resided at Campbellton during his youth "identified boxwood hedges, which were transplanted from his old home....among which he used to play as a boy, and stated that he thought they were larger 60 years ago than they are now." Oliver Taylor to Mrs. Rust, August 19, 1930, NPS records, RG 79, National Archives; Charles Davis, Lewis and Valentine Nurseries to Mrs. Rust, May 29, 1931; Wakefield Files, FAC, RG 66, National Archives; Superintendent's Monthly Report, January 1934, 10.

As would be the case with the burial ground, the design intentions of NPS came into conflict with those of the Wakefield Association. Specifically, NPS landscape architects proposed presenting a colonial garden as accurately as possible. Although Mrs. Rust and members of the Fine Arts Commission were impressed with Ludgate's plan, the donors who were furnishing the money for the garden were more interested in establishing a memorial to Mary Smith Jones Moore. Mrs. William Sherrard, in particular, objected to the colonial plan, primarily because of the rather pedestrian nature of the kitchen garden plantings. Instead, Mrs. Sherrard wanted a "beautiful memorial garden," with the sundial playing a commanding role as a memorial piece, stating that "if 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." 195

Despite the fact that Albright had directed Ludgate to stop the bidding on the garden until a meeting could be held to straighten out this dilemma, Peterson wrote a stringent memo advising the Director 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." During the resulting garden summit at the park, Mrs. Sherrard capitulated when Mrs. Rust offered to return the donated funds. Ludgate's plan was partially installed during the spring and summer of 1931; by December 1931, the "Colonial Garden" had been completely staked, and "enclosed with a picket fence made of hand hewn lumber" [Fig. 22, Photo 19].

Luckily, other landscape planting proposals were less contentious. Throughout the spring of 1931, an aggressive program of transplanting vegetation to the historic core area from other areas of the park property was being carried out. Two of the legendary survivors from earlier pilgrimage accounts—the fig trees and the hackberry tree¹⁹⁸—were joined by a variety of cedars, hollies, sweetgum, and "471 mountain laurel," in addition to the transplanted boxwood hedges from Campbellton.¹⁹⁹ The Wakefield Association remained active with the landscaping, planting "a tree box at the Southeast corner of the Mansion and one plum and one cherry in the area west of the

The figs were large bushes when he first remembered coming here, and he said he had eaten many a fig from them over 50 years ago. The Hackberry tree was about as big as it now is. He said 'It quit growing long ago.'

Philip R. Hough, Superintendent of GEWA, typed interview with Annanias Johnson, 1932.

Charles Davis to Mrs. Rust, invoice from Lewis and Valentine dated May 29, 1931, Wakefield files, FAC, RG 66, National Archives; Lewis and Valentine Nursery to Mrs. Rust, invoice dated February 20, 1931, Wakefield files, FAC, RG 66, National Archives; Ludgate to Mrs. Rust, February 6, 1931, NPS records, RG 79, National Archives; Mrs. Rust to Ludgate, February 12, 1931, Wakefield files, FAC, RG 66, National Archives; Oliver Taylor, report of work for November, 1930 to Director of NPS, December 6, 1930, NPS records, RG 79, National Archives.

Photographs of the transplanting process can be found in the GEWA photo files.

¹⁹⁵ Mrs. William Sherrard to Mrs. Rust, April 12, 1931. Wakefield files, FAC, RG 66, National Archives.

¹⁹⁶ Peterson to Albright, April 27, 1931. NPS Records, RG 79, National Archives.

¹⁹⁷ Superintendent's Monthly Report, December 1931, 2. GEWA archives.

¹⁹⁸ Superintendent Hough's interview with Annanias Johnson, the son of a former Wilson slave who had worked at Wakefield all his life documented Johnson's recall of the figs and hackberry tree:

¹⁹⁹ An invoice from Lewis and Valentine Nursery, Ardmore, Pennsylvania, to Mrs. Rust detailed the numbers and types of transplantings, including the mountain laurel, "100 cedars ... 4 sweetgum, 9 *pinus virginiana*." In addition, Mrs. Rust had purchased three crapemyrtles from a "Mrs. Henry Mason, Montross, Virginia" that Lewis and Valentine also transplanted to the park. The majority of this work took place between December 1930 and February 1931.

Ancient Kitchen" as late as December 1931.²⁰⁰ Ludgate had hired "Senior Gardener Broderick" during these months, probably to oversee the almost continual planting of new materials throughout the property. In addition to plantings at the burial ground by the Davey Tree Expert Company, trees such as cedars were planted "around the monument circle and along the road to the Mansion [Photo 11]."²⁰¹ In December 1932, the Davey Company also transplanted trees to the newly constructed residential area in the Duck Hall tract.²⁰²

The full-scale development of the park by NPS can be seen in the document, "Map of a Portion of George Washington Birthplace National Monument," dated 1932 [Fig. 23].²⁰³ Within the historic core area, at least four structures were built in addition to the replica house and the kitchen: the well-house (later identified on a park brochure map as a "fountain"), two comfort stations, and a utility building. The well-house was located between the replica house, the kitchen house, the comfort stations to the north of the replica house (hereinafter referred to as the Memorial House), and the utility building near the location of the brick kiln, which had since been torn down.²⁰⁴ One structure, a tool house, apparently existed in the historic core area along the banks of Popes Creek northeast of the new parking area before 1932 [Photo 10]. A photograph of the building dated

²⁰⁴ The well-house dates at least to November 1931, when it was mentioned in the Superintendent's Monthly Report. Two comfort stations were built by Allen J. Saville, Inc. in May 1932, as noted in the Superintendent's Monthly Report. The utility building was built between July and September 1932, as noted in the Superintendent's Monthly Reports for those two months. Interestingly, Charles Peterson wrote to Superintendent Hough regarding the design for the utility building:

The design of this building to which we have given careful study, simulates that of an old Colonial barn, and its general outline, together with the location which we have decided upon, should be a valuable addition to the Colonial plantation picture which we are trying to effect at Wakefield.

"George Washington Birthplace National Monument," NPS brochure map, 1932-33; Superintendent's Monthly Reports, November 1931, May, July, August, September 1932, GEWA archives; Peterson to Hough, July 16, 1932, NPS records, RG 79, National Archives.

Several other features indicated within the historic core on the 1932 map are not described or verified in written documentation of the period. These include the small pier into Popes Creek, the flagpole, and an unknown "probable building site" which has been designated an archeological resource. Goodwin Muse remembered the pier. Muse interview.

One feature that does not appear on the 1932 map but is shown in a 1932 photograph is a rustic pavilion photographed by George Grant, NPS photographer. Goodwin Muse recalled that this pavilion was sited "two-thirds of the way between the house and 'Monument Point' in the cedar grove" and that it was used for evening dances where a Victrola was set up. References to a "War Department pavilion" were found in the Superintendent's Monthly Report for February, 1933, in which Philip Hough stated that "The pavilion standing in the cedar grove which we inherited with the property was razed." Presumably, the two accounts refer to the same pavilion. Goodwin Muse interview, George Grant photograph, 1932, from the NPS photographic archives, Harpers Ferry; Superintendent's Monthly Report, February 1933.

²⁰⁰ Superintendent's Monthly Report, December 1931, 2. GEWA archives. The Superintendent's Monthly Report for January 1932 contained a list of all the landscape materials planted at the site by the Wakefield Association up to that point.

²⁰¹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, November 1931, 4.

²⁰² "We now have three willow oaks, two elms, five red cedars, a holly and an apple set about the two houses....These trees were replacements of guaranteed specimens on their original contract which had died." Superintendent's Monthly Report, December 1932.

²⁰³ GEWA map files.

1928, as well as park files detailing known construction and treatment information about this building, indicate that it existed at the time the park was established. It was razed by NPS in 1976 when a new trail between the Visitor Center and the historic core was constructed. An arc-like path was also constructed in front of the Memorial House. This path connected the Memorial House and the new parking area but was labeled with a misleading appellation: "old wagon road" on the map. Judging from oral histories and aerial photographs of the area prior to construction of the Memorial House, a road trace associated with the granite monument and other features at Burnt House Point did exist. This trace, however, had a much different alignment than the so-called "old wagon road," and may have been meant to evoke an association with the plantation entrances of larger estates such as Carter's Grove, Westover, or even Mount Vernon, although its purpose is not made clear in the historic record.²⁰⁵

In May 1931, sealed bids were accepted by NPS for the construction of other park features: "1.25 miles of clay gravel road with appurtenances, 160 sq. vds. brick walks, 1380 sq. vds. gravel walks, 1350 lin. ft. log rail, 1500 lin. ft. split rail fence, 153 4" to 14" dia. trees transplanted, various vines and shrubs."206 The contract, awarded to the Davey Tree Expert Company of Kent, Ohio in July 1931, called for "Roads, Paths, Walks, Fences, Parking Area and incidental Planting."²⁰⁷ Perhaps the most dramatic change that took place in the park during this construction effort was the realignment of some 1.25 miles of Bridges Creek road between the monument circle and the burial ground. According to Goodwin Muse, the road was shifted twenty yards to the east of the original alignment. ²⁰⁸ Other significant alterations to the park landscape implemented by the Davey Tree Company included improvements to the road leading from the monument to the historic area; new parking areas at the burial ground and the historic core area; a brick walk leading from the Memorial House to and through the Colonial Garden; a gravel walk leading through the cedar grove around Burnt House Point; a new split-rail fence lining the "old wagon road" to separate the house from demonstration plots of "colonial crops;" cedar plantings around the monument circle and on the edge of the entrance road leading to the historic area; and a cobble gutter around the base of the monument circle.²⁰⁹

Fences designed by NPS landscape architects Peterson and Ludgate were installed throughout the period from 1932-34, and included split-rail fencing and "stake and rider" gates made of chestnut.

²⁰⁵ See the aerial photographs dating from 1927-29, probably taken by the War Department; one of them is reproduced in Hatch, 4. Other photographs taken in the mid-1920s by E. B. Thompson show a scene of "car camping" in the cedar grove, an event which further explains the use of the oddly-aligned road trace around the monument. Mr. Muse recalled, however, that people generally parked their cars outside the "government gate" and fence at the entrance to the U.S. Government reservation land. GEWA photo files, NPS photographic archives, Harpers Ferry; Muse interview.

²⁰⁶ Oliver Taylor, report to Director on sealed bids for contract, May 5, 1931, NPS records, RG 79, National Archives.

²⁰⁷ Superintendent's Monthly Report, July 1931, 3.

²⁰⁸ This shift in alignment is apparent on the 1936 map of the park whereby, northwest of the burial ground parking area, the historic alignment meets the newer alignment through a curved section of road. The ditches which line the western edge of the present road were previously described as being located to the east of the original Bridges Creek road. Both Mr. Muse and Mr. Latane recalled their fathers working on the road project, and hauling gravel from the banks of the Potomac River on the northern edge of the Muse property. Lawrence Latane and Goodwin Muse interviews.

²⁰⁹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, November 1931, 3-4. The Davey Tree Expert Company contract also involved work at the Burial Ground besides the parking area, namely, a gravel walk to connect the grave site to the parking area, and plantings along this walk including "cedars, dogwoods, gums, and other trees and shrubs, the planting extending to and around a brick wall." Ibid.

This type of gate was originally installed by the Davey Tree Company in 1932 in the historic core between the parking lot and the entrance path, and was described by Peterson as "fitted together with pegs and utiliz[ing] a bent white wythe instead of a hinge."²¹⁰ Picket fences were also installed in the historic core [Photo 15], enclosing the colonial garden, house and kitchen areas, the well-house, and comfort stations as well as the "Building X" site.

The Wakefield Association's intentions to build a "log house" on the Duck Hall tract, as well as camp sites, a loop road, and a trail to a dock, stemmed from their belief that since a "log house stood on this tract originally ... we wish to build a similar structure, thus giving the spirit of the earlier period of American life as well as that of George Washington's boyhood."²¹¹ In April 1932, the Wakefield Association let a construction contract for the Log House to Jones & Conquest, the same firm that had completed the birthplace house. Donn's design for the building was described as having

a cafeteria, a shop and a few rooms for over night accommodations. It will have a wide porch and situated as it is in the woods on a point commanding a delightful view across the water toward the mansion it should prove popular with the visitors. The structure, which is also known as the Log Lodge, is being erected in memory of Mrs. Rust who was the prime factor in the restoration of Wakefield.²¹²

The lodge was completed in October 1932 [Photos 22, 23].

Concurrent with the Wakefield Association's Log House project was NPS's development of two residences for park employees, a spur road leading to the residences, and a loop road to the Log House and picnic areas, as well as trails linking Duck Hall to the birthplace site. The residences, in particular, were conceived of by Peterson as a type of village, "decentralized and placed on the ground as Virginia country houses should be," preferably sited on the Raymond Washington tract. Peterson was overruled by Assistant NPS Director Arthur Demaray and resident engineer Oliver Taylor, and the residences were eventually sited off of a spur road at the entrance to the Duck Hall tract. In 1932, a contract for two residences and garages was awarded to Allen J. Saville, Inc. The Saville crew gained access to the site by May 23 via existing "farm roads," which the Jones & Conquest crews had used when they began construction of the Log House the

²¹⁰ Superintendent's Monthly Report, December 1932, 3. Charles Peterson described the work in a letter to W. E. Carson of the Virginia Commission on Conservation and Development in 1932:

The 'stake and rider' split rail fence at Wakefield was built under contract with the Davey Tree Expert Company of Kent, Ohio. They subcontracted this work to messrs. Pettit and Pomeroy of Oak Grove....This fence was made of split cedar, though, chestnut, where it is available, is probably better.

Peterson to Carson, November 29, 1932, NPS records, RG 79, National Archives.

In January 1934, park crews were again building gates to be put in place by anticipated CCC labor crew. Hough reported that "these are made of hand-hewn chestnut material and fitted with mortise and pegging, in colonial manner. One 10-foot gate and seven 12-foot gates were thus made. It will require about as many again before the job is finished." Superintendent's Monthly Report, January 1934, 5.

²¹¹ Rust, December 15, 1930, 3. The "log house" referred to must have been that of the Duck Hall residence of Aitheson Gray, although there is no certain confirmation of this or its construction type.

²¹² Superintendent's Monthly Report, April 1932, 3.

²¹³ Peterson to Demaray, June 26, 1931; August 28, 1931. NPS records, RG 79, National Archives. Raymond Washington tract—see later discussion.

previous month.²¹⁴ The residences were completed in August 1932, as was the Duck Hall road, which was surveyed and laid out by Peterson.²¹⁵

The day after the Saville project began, construction was initiated on another NPS designed landscape feature: a 400-foot footbridge across Dancing Marsh linking the "Mansion Grounds with the Log Lodge." It was completed in June [Photo 16].²¹⁶ A trail system was built between the residential area and the birthplace house, complete with another twelve-foot bridge crossing part of the Dancing Marsh above the Ice Pond. Another reference to "Mr. Peterson's plan" is found here, stating that "the trail approaching the Dancing Marsh footbridge from the Mansion grounds has been relocated and constructed under Mr. Peterson's plan. The old trail was subject to washing out and was too steep, both of which difficulties are now removed."²¹⁷

In addition to the planned development of the birthplace site and the Log House, one of the Wakefield Association's primary goals was to "rescue from decay and preserve the old family vault and burying ground which is in a most neglected condition." The 37.54 acre parcel bought by John D. Rockefeller's River Holding Company from the Latane brothers in 1929 contained the burial ground; the initial purchase of related land in 1924-25 by the Wakefield Association of 70 acres included "another right of way from the Government road to the Washington graveyard and 50 feet around the Washington graveyard." It appears unlikely that Mrs. Rust and the Wakefield Association knew the extent of the John Washington site until the 1930 survey and excavations by NPS engineer, O.G. Taylor; instead, their attention focused on the most obvious site component, the Washington family burial ground.²²⁰

Superintendent's Monthly Report, February 1933, 7.

²¹⁴ These "farm roads" were the traces of the Duck Hall entrance road which had formerly connected Duck Hall Point with Bridges Creek road, crossing the Raymond Washington tract.

²¹⁵ Superintendent's Monthly Report, August 1932. GEWA archives.

²¹⁶ Superintendent's Monthly Report, May 1932, 1-2.

²¹⁷ Superintendent's Monthly Report, September 1932, 2. A notation in the August 1932 report referred to filling the marsh for sections of the footbridge: "A new trail from the residences to the Mansion grounds has been started. This will require some filling across a marsh and a twelve foot bridge, and will make it possible to walk from the office to the residences in about three minutes." August 1932, Superintendent's Monthly Report, 2.

²¹⁸ "Wakefield National Memorial Association," typescript statement announcing celebration of George Washington's birthday, February 22, 1924. Undated. NA, RG 66.

²¹⁹ Charles Moore to Maj. James O'Connor, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, April 25, 1925. Wakefield Association files, FAC, RG 66, NA I. The majority of the 70 acres was the "60 odd acres denominated on the Wakefield map as Duck Hall," with additional acreage of "a right of way from Duck hall to the Government lands."

A letter from the Latane Brothers to Mrs. Rust regarding the "vault field," as it was traditionally called, related that another offer of "\$500.00 per acre for about 100 acres of land" had been made; presumably, this was the motivation for Mrs. Rust to suggest the Rockefeller-sponsored purchase of the property shortly thereafter. Latane Brothers to Mrs. Rust, October 22, 1929. Wakefield Association files, FAC, RG 66, NA I.

After Taylor's survey, the next individual to show interest in the John Washington site was Superintendent Philip Hough, who in February 1933, described activities in the area:

On February 27, we went to work in a field near the river bank at a point opposite the burial ground where much brick in the soil indicated an old house had stood. We found a fine foundation measuring about 12 feet square and eleven bricks deep, the top course being a foot under the surface to which depth it had been reduced by plowing. This undoubtedly was a smoke house....We are inclined to believe that other buildings stood nearby.

The Wakefield Association's desire to create a "shrine" in the manner of Mount Vernon extended conceptually to the burial ground:

Further the tomb should be reconstructed on the site of the graveyard after the manner of the original tomb at Mount Vernon or in some other simple but adequate fashion.²²¹

At this time, neither the Wakefield Association nor their architect, Edward Donn, knew the extent of the burials outside the wall, or the details of the largely submerged brick vault [Fig. 21]. In plans dated as early as November 15, 1927, Donn's concept for the restoration was based on a walled precinct that included a core area of what appear to be nine grave sites within concentric circles of an inner walk, a set of plantings, and an outer circle of paving and ground cover [Fig. 18]. This core was set within a larger square space filled with a "dense plantation of Cedars and Holly," and bounded by a brick wall which then narrowed on either side of the pathway leading to the road. The "dense plantation" also bordered the path, which ended at the road in a semi-circular form containing a smaller circle. The entire space was contained within this brick wall. Donn's insistence on a densely vegetated precinct was in stark contrast to the open character of the surrounding corn fields still farmed by the Latane brothers.²²²

A second plan submitted by Donn (May 12, 1930) eliminated the use of the circular form, substituting a square space embedded within a rectilinear geometry extending all the way to the street [Fig. 20]. The entry way, however, still contained a semi-circular form.²²³ The eleven graves shown in this plan were treated more as vaults, surrounded by a gravel walk and plantings of "myrtle" (vinca) and boxwood. The "dense plantation" of cedars was retained. This planting plan was hotly contested by NPS landscape architects in 1931.²²⁴

In 1930, after the Gault excavations, Donn elaborated on his intention:

In September 1933, Hough further reported preservation efforts at the site:

About 150 bricks from the John Washington house at Bridges Creek which had been temporarily stacked in a concealed location but exposed to the elements were collected, cleaned, and placed in safe storage. These are a most interesting lot of bricks because of their unusual small size.

Superintendent's Monthly Report, September 1933, 6.

²²¹ Charles Moore to Albert Bushnell Hart, Harvard University, February 17, 1928. Moore stated that the John Washington site should be "located by excavation of the foundations in the neighborhood of the graveyard and that this location should be appropriately marked." Wakefield Association files, FAC Records, RG 66, NA I.

²²² See Donn's drawings of the Burial Ground, 1927.

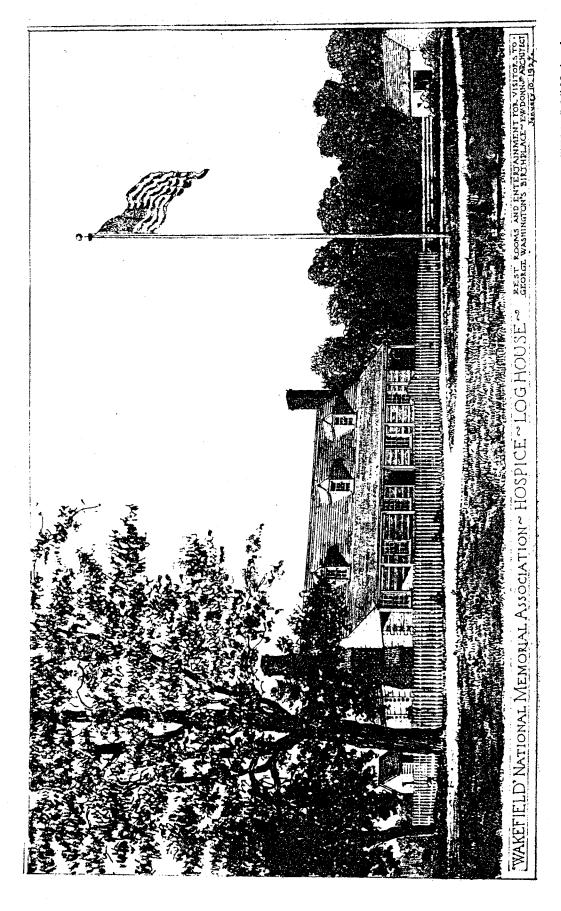
Although Donn's name is noted on the plan, correspondence regarding the scheme between NPS landscape architects and the Fine Arts Commission attribute the plan to a "Mr. Vitale." Peterson to Albright, May 4, 1931.

Ferruccio Vitale was the landscape architectural consultant to the Fine Arts Commission, and an estate garden designer from New York. Vitale's suggestions for Donn's plan were outlined in a letter to Charles Moore which contained a sketch of the proposed revisions:

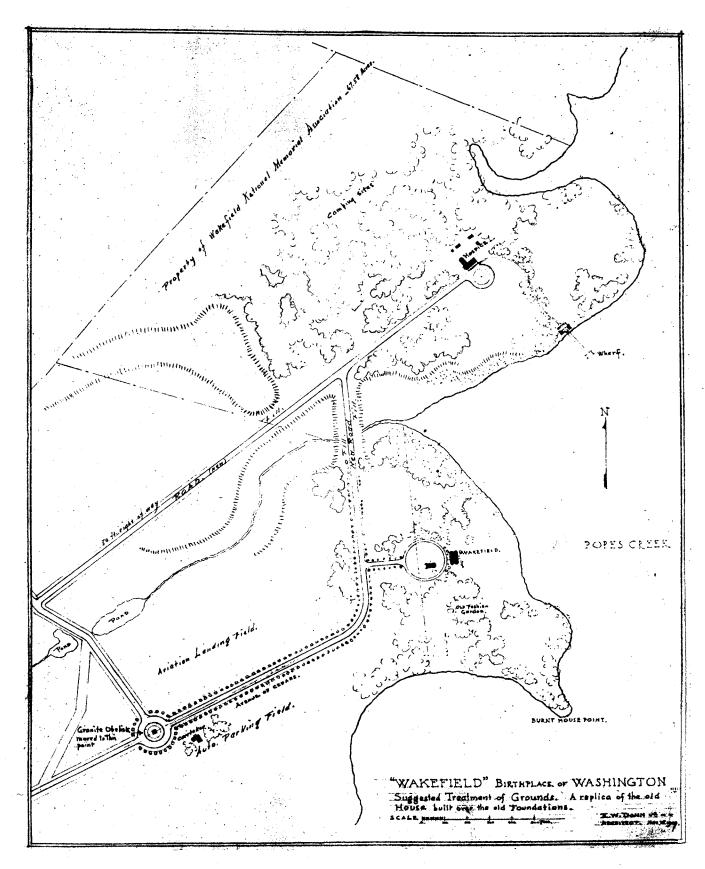
I fully agree with you that a double line of cedars would undoubtedly look very thin. With the scheme of a brick walk in the center, it is possible to have four rows which would be rather impressive. I have tried your suggestion of a grass panel and two paths, as per enclosed sketch.

Ferruccio Vitale to Charles Moore, April 29, 1930.

²²⁴ See following discussion.



16. Rendering of the proposed "Wakefield' National Memorial Association • Hospice • Log House," designed by E.W. Donn, Architect, January 10, 1927.



17. A proposal for "Wakefield' Birthplace of Washington, Suggested Treatment of Grounds," designed by E.W. Donn, Architect. November 15, 1927.

The laying out of the burying ground, with its approach, is shown on the print of a drawing made by me, in which I suggest that a sarcophagus like tomb, or monument, such as was common in the seventeenth century, be placed on top of the vault and an inscription reciting the facts of the vault underneath, its occupants, and all that. It is not feasible or desirable to show the vault, it has always been below the ground and should so remain. The planting of cedars and other landscaping shown, should begin without delay.

The brick wall which I have shown enclosing the site and approach, might be delayed some, but I think it very important. Anything less than this is to my mind, showing lack of reverence and respect for this historical and hallowed spot.²²⁵

Shortly after NPS became the custodian of the nascent historic park in 1930, the landscape division apparently drew its own version of the "proposed graveyard improvement," copies of which were requested by Mrs. Rust. In turn, NPS asked the Wakefield Association for Donn's conceptual plan. NPS landscape architects Charles Peterson and Roswell Ludgate received the Wakefield plans in November 1930; in April 1931—the same time that the vault was being consecrated—Charles Peterson questioned the appropriateness of Donn's plan in a letter to NPS Director Horace Albright:

I have been giving considerable thought to the expensive planting scheme laid out for the Washington family burial plot. It would seem that while there may be certain reasons for getting all of our work at Wakefield done in a hurry this year, there are on the other hand certain advantages in giving this permanent feature plenty of study. There has always been some doubt in my mind about the advisability of placing this extremely formal plan out by itself in the middle of a Virginia corn field.²²⁶

Peterson's objections raised the ire of Charles Moore, whose tight-lipped reply to Albright only served to fuel the controversy:

I understand that there is some difficulty as to the treatment of the graveyard at Wakefield. The design that has been made is a very simple one, consistent with the practice in Colonial Virginia, and I think there should be no change in it. The graveyard is, of course, the property of the Wakefield National Memorial Association, Inc., and the stones already set were made to suit such a graveyard as has been planned.²²⁷

Detecting the same sort of rationalization that had plagued the construction of the Memorial House, Peterson wired Ludgate to "take another day if you can visit and photograph any additional colonial burying grounds."²²⁸ In this, he signified his resolve to hold the Wakefield Association accountable for its assertion that it was representing the historic scene of the original graveyard. In his mind, a clear schism existed between the two positions:

Granting that the design itself may be colonial, I think that the real difficulty is that the design is out of scale with the rest of the project. As I understand it, we were

²²⁵ Donn to Mrs. Rust, April 20, 1930. Wakefield Association files, FAC Records, RG 66, NA I.

²²⁶ Peterson to Albright, April 9, 1931. GEWA archives.

²²⁷ Moore to Albright, April 28, 1931. GEWA archives.

²²⁸ Telegram, Peterson to Ludgate, April 27, 1931. GEWA archives.

more or less pledged to restore Washington's birthplace as nearly as possible with the scant data which remains. I had always thought of the burying ground as being part and consistent with the rest of the Wakefield work. It is certainly improbable that any large development at the burying ground ever existed, and to attempt to make monumental the graves of the Washington family does not seem consistent to any scale with the simple country house being built on the birth site. The problem of picking which idea is to be carried out for the burying ground seems to be largely an administrative one. The Service will have to decide between a scheme which purports to celebrate the Washington family or a scheme which could possibly have been once built to serve the existing needs and economics of the eighteenth century.²²⁹

As a letter from Ludgate attests, Moore did not accurately assess the Wakefield Association's intentions as drawn by Donn:

The attitude of Mr. Donn and the Wakefield Association in the matter of the cemetery is not one of adhering strictly to Colonial precedent and developing the area along the lines of contemporary burial grounds. Quite the reverse is true. They feel that the birthplace area alone is to form the idealized Colonial estate picture, and that what is done at the graveyard has no bearing on the rest of the development.

The present rather monumental scheme developed by Mr. Donn is felt by them to be necessary as a means of properly paying homage to the antecedents of George Washington. A simple, typical Colonial graveyard would not, in their minds, accomplish this. It would be too much like the former development, which consisted of a wall of cement block surrounding a few slabs set in the ground.²³⁰

At a meeting on May 11, 1931, all the principal parties—with the notable exception of Donn—agreed on a compromise which primarily focused on the plantings: thickening the approach planting and removing the trees from the enclosed graveyard space. A "new garden scheme incorporating the square grass plots" was also presented, which along with the other changes, was accepted by Moore on the condition that Donn also accept them. Interestingly, Moore commented that "he and Mrs. Rust really preferred a simplier [sic] scheme from the beginning."²³¹ The ultimate determinant of the Washington family burial ground restoration was probably more of a compromise than the Wakefield Association expected, due primarily to the exorbitant costs of the Donn plan, estimated by Ludgate at \$50,000, while the NPS plan, forgoing the extensive use of a brick wall, was judged to cost "about \$10,000."²³²

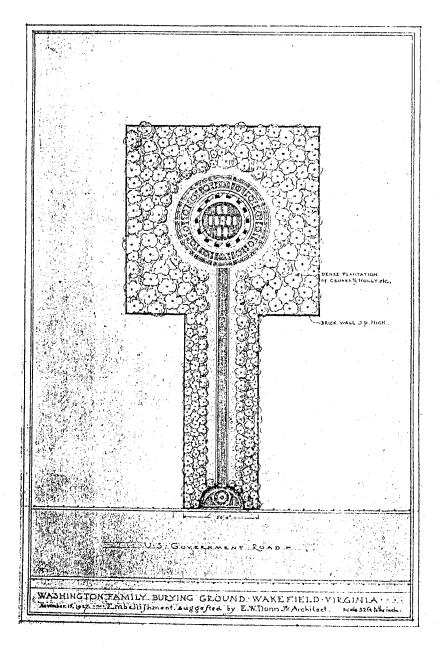
In April 1930, the Wakefield Association hired William A. Gault & Son, Inc. of Baltimore to excavate the burial ground in preparation for this elaborate restoration. Detailed drawings of the location of grave sites both within and without the 1906 concrete block wall [Fig. 21] were made; notations of the sites where gravestones were originally laid, as well as those set down in the 1906 project were also made. The old persimmon tree, noted by project manager Albert Sehlstedt in his

²²⁹ Peterson to Albright, May 4, 1931. GEWA archives.

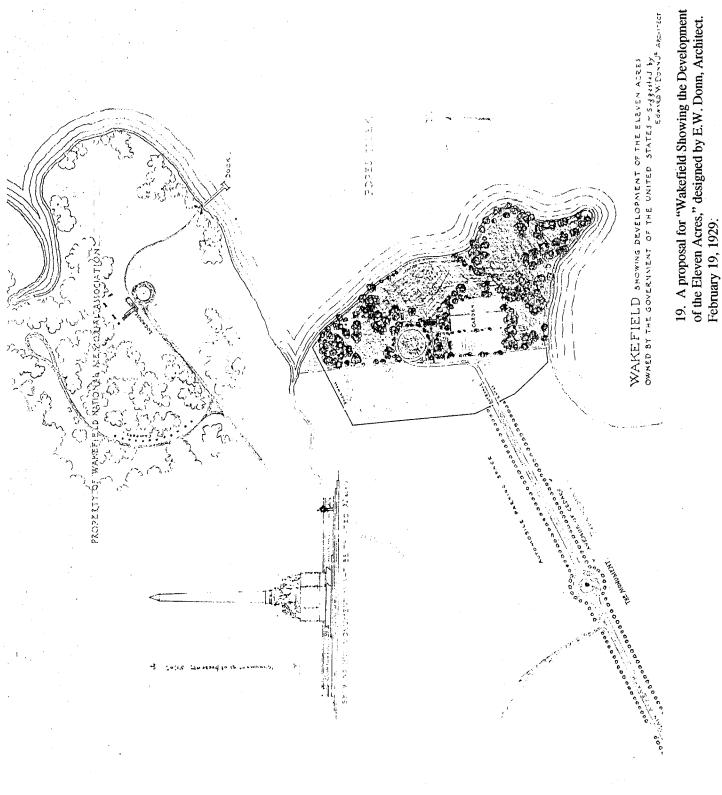
²³⁰ Ludgate goes on to describe the ultimate difference between Donn's design and that offered by the NPS landscape architects in terms of their responsibility to their clients: Donn's work was for a commercial client, whereas that of NPS was ultimately to be built for the American public. Ludgate to Albright, May 6, 1931. GEWA archives.

²³¹ This plan was evidently one showing the modifications by Vitale discussed earlier. Peterson file memorandum "Wakefield Plans," dated May 15, 1931. GEWA archives.

²³² Ludgate to Albright, May 4, 1931. GEWA archives.



18. A proposal for the "Washington Family Burial Ground, Wakefield, Virginia" designed by E.W. Donn, Architect. November 15, 1927.



interview with Philip Hough in 1934, was described at that time as being outside the wall; however, there is a representation of a tree stump within the walls drawn on the Gault excavation sheets.²³³ These sheets, drawn over a period of days, show the sequential excavation of the site. The original family vault, uncovered during the digs on April 15-16, was found to have one corner beneath the 1906 wall, and was sited generally at odds with the square orientation imposed by the wall. During the Gault excavation, a total of thirty-two burials were discovered: twelve in the old vault, and twenty either in the enclosure or outside the wall. These remains, "each in a silk bag tagged with a silver label bearing the coordinate measurements of the original location," were eventually reburied in a new vault covered with a "three thousand pound lid" and sided with a new tablestone of Aquia freestone on April 27, 1931.²³⁴

As for the 1906 wall and fragments of old markers and gravestones, only two of the original "stones bearing inscriptions" were saved.²³⁵ The other markers, including the 1906 cement plates inscribed by Augustine Washington, were removed. According to the Sehlstedt interview, these materials, in addition to many of the old brick bats from the vault and the concrete block, were reused in restoring the vault. Hough stated that

he [Sehlstedt] was ordered by Mr. Donn to use as much of the old material as possible in building the new vault, and it is possible that some of the old cement bearing the lettering of 1906 was incorporated in the new vault.²³⁶

The Aquia Creek sandstone for the markers was obtained from the historic quarry in Stafford County, where the characteristically buff-colored stone was quarried from the 1750s for such prominent public buildings as the Capitol and White House, as well as for decorative trim on many nearby churches and residences. Due to a problem with poor quality stone, the quarry was closed in the early 1920s; its reopening in the mid-1920s was somewhat fortuitous for the Wakefield project; however, within a short period of time cracks were noted in the tablestone. The Gault Company informed Mrs. Rust that inferior stone from that quarry had been a recurring problem. In the late 1920s, the quarry was permanently closed. Wakefield Association files, FAC, RG 66, NA I; Lounsbery, 299.

Hough's account of the surviving gravestones was written in a memorandum to the NPS Director in 1941:

Local tradition has it that they were found leaning against a tree in the old Family Burial Plot following a raid on the place in the 1860s by Ohio cavalrymen. Their original positions are not known. When improvements were made in 1906 by the Colonial Dames of Virginia, the stones were imbedded in cement in the floor of the new inclosure [sic]. During improvements on account of the Wakefield Association in 1930-31, the stones were removed and put in storage under a shed at Popes Creek site, where I found them after local members of the Washington Family had protested their removal from the Burial Plot. I then placed them flush in the ground, back of the Vault, where they now repose.

Hough to Director, NPS, June 12, 1941. NPS records, RG 79, National Archives.

²³³ In describing excavation efforts at the John Washington site in 1933, Superintendent Hough referred to its location in a "field [which] has been called the 'Apricot Orchard' for many years, although no apricot trees stand there today." These "apricots" were likely persimmons. Superintendent's Monthly Report, February 1933, p. 7.

²³⁴ Notes to 1939 Master Plan, GEWA.

²³⁵ These original gravestones—for Jane Butler Washington, and the children, John and Mildred Washington—were replaced in the restored burial grounds on August 8, 1934. Superintendent's Monthly Report, August 1934, 8. A sketch by Donn dated January 22, 1932 showing a design for mounting the old gravestones was found in the Wakefield Association files, FAC, RG 66, NA I.

²³⁶ Albert Sehlstedt, interview with Philip Hough, August 13, 1934. GEWA archives.

Donn's memorandum to Mrs. Rust regarding the excavation detailed the original design and construction of the vault and noted that "Mr. Sehlstedt is negotiating for sufficient old brick, from a neighboring ruin, to do the work."²³⁷ As for the wall surrounding the graveyard, the design was again a compromise between Donn and NPS landscape architects Peterson and Ludgate; bricks of "Wakefield clay," fired in the same manner as those for the Memorial House, were utilized in the construction of the wall.

It is unclear when the burial ground restoration was completed, although it appears to have occurred some time in 1931. The contract with the Davey Tree Expert Company in July 1931 included the parking area, and a gravel walk from the parking area to the grave sites, "lined with cedars, dogwoods, gums, and other trees and shrubs, the planting extending to and around a brick wall."²³⁸ In 1932, reference was made to the "10,000 plants of ground myrtle (vinca minor) which were set along the main path [Photos 13, 14]."²³⁹

Conclusion

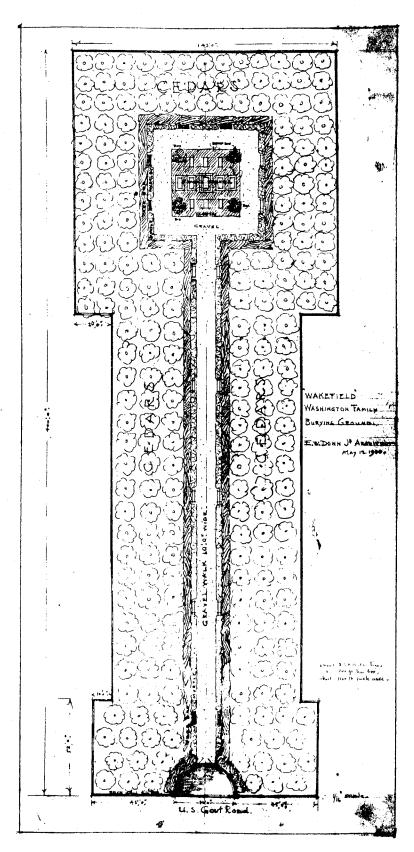
At a meeting on June 22, 1931, the Wakefield National Memorial Association voted to formally turn over its land and holdings to the U.S. Government, and legal transfer of the deed was effected on that date. In a ceremonial transfer of the property, the Wakefield Association presented the land and holdings to the U.S. Government, to be administered by NPS, on May 14, 1932. 240 Although the Wakefield Association's primary members, such as Charles Moore, and its architect, Edward Donn, continued to supervise aspects of the park's development (such as signage and the colonial gardens), their role was greatly diminished by the arrival of NPS and its design and construction resources. By 1931, the Wakefield Association had left a tremendous mark on the landscape that included roads and trails, ornamental plantings, buildings and structures, and other features that were to be administered by the National Park Service. It was now the responsibility of new park superintendent Philip Hough to complete the unfinished aspects of the park, to render it accessible to the public, and to effect management of the various cultural, historic, and natural features associated with the park landscape.

²³⁷ Perhaps these "old bricks" were the bats strewn about the ruins of Haywood, still in Latane family hands, which were used for renovation projects on the farm throughout the period. Donn to Mrs. Rust, April 20, 1930. Wakefield Association files, FAC Records, RG 66, NA I.

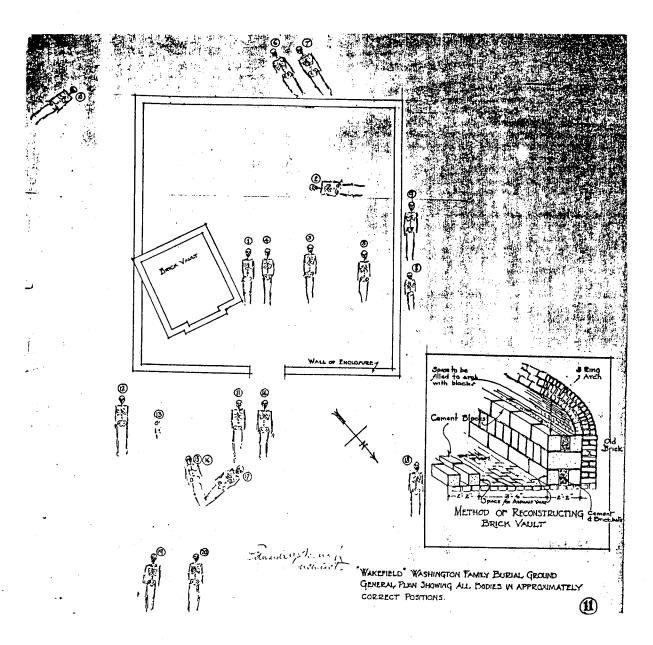
²³⁸ Superintendent's Monthly Report, November 1931, 1.

²³⁹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, October 1932, 2. GEWA archives.

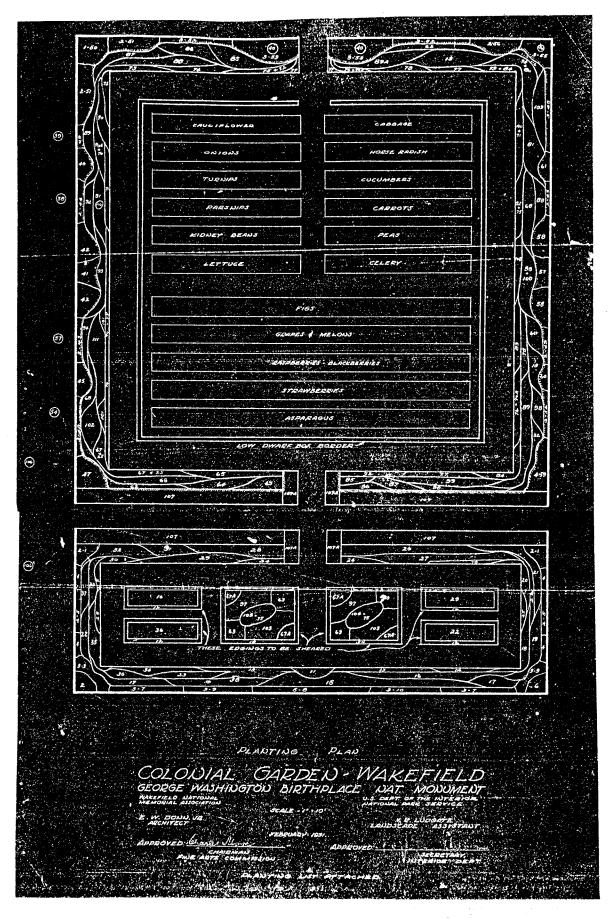
²⁴⁰ At this time, a post office was established at the park, with the stamp, "Washington's Birthplace." The first postmistress was Julia Augusta Washington who later married Robinson John Muse.



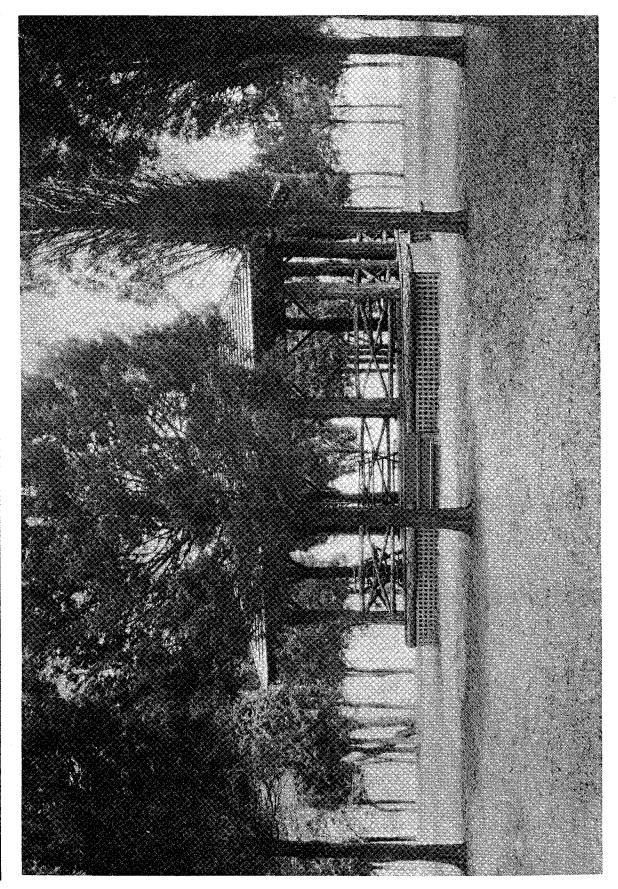
20. A proposal for "Wakefield' Washington Family Burying Ground," designed by E.W. Donn, Architect, May 12, 1930.



21. "Burial Grounds, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Wakefield, Va.," July 1930.

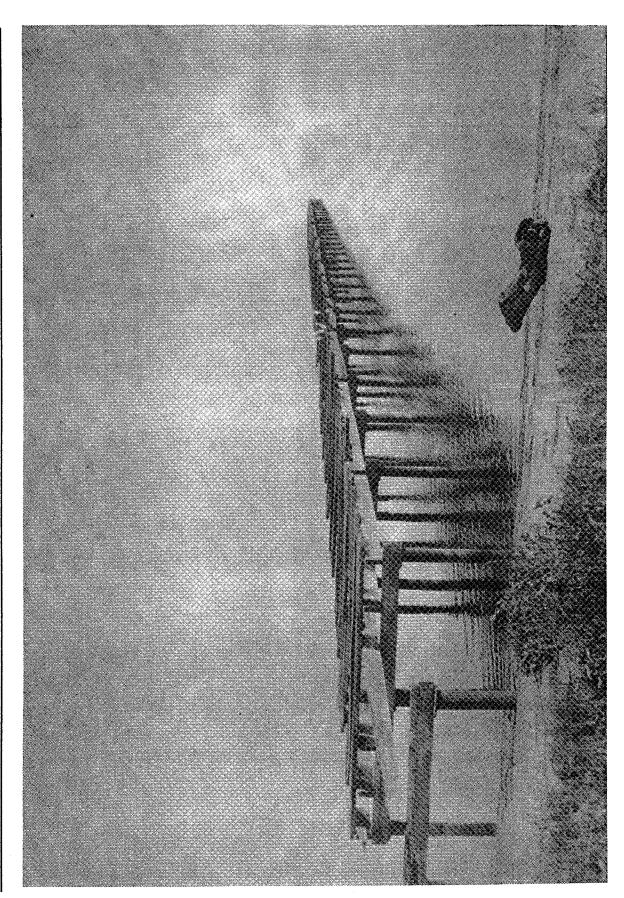


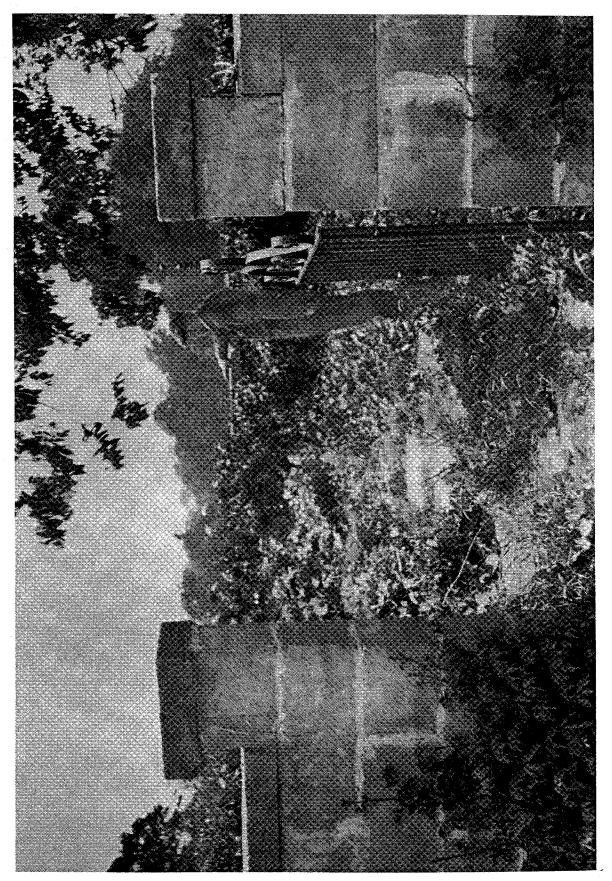
22. "Planting Plan, Colonial Garden—Wakefield," February 1931.



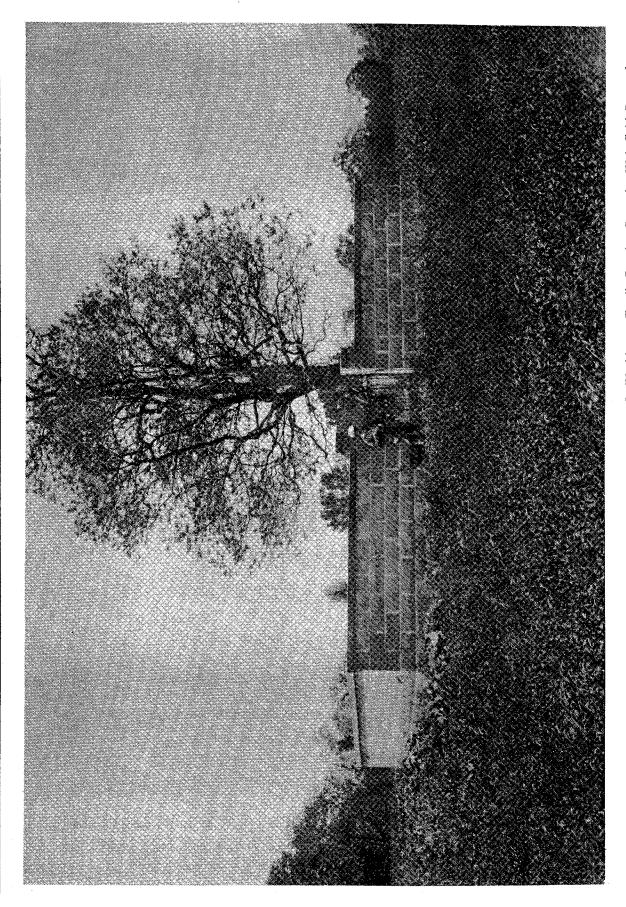
5. The dance pavilion at Burnt House Point. Date unknown. (Existed while the monument was sited in the historic core)

Photographs 2/Site Physical History 1923 - 1932

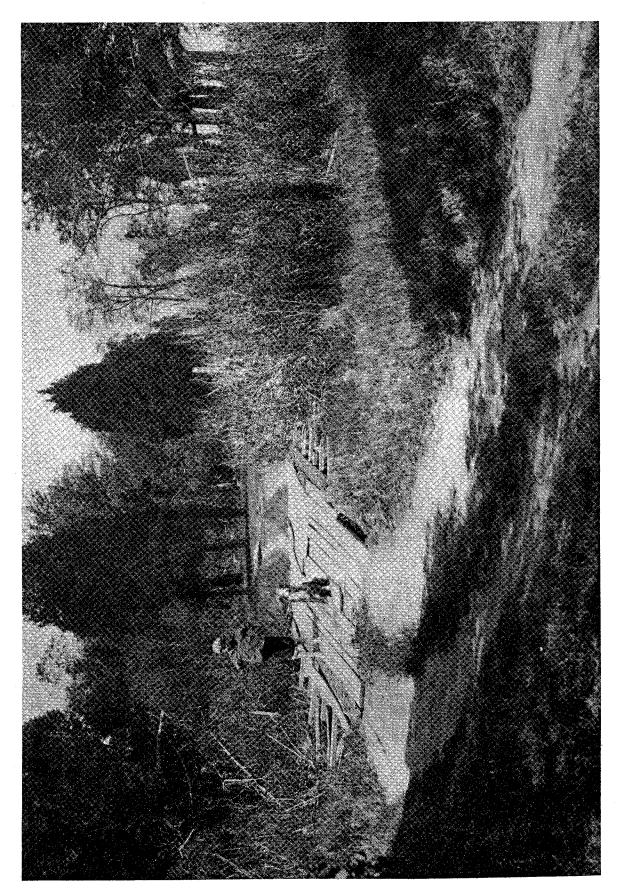




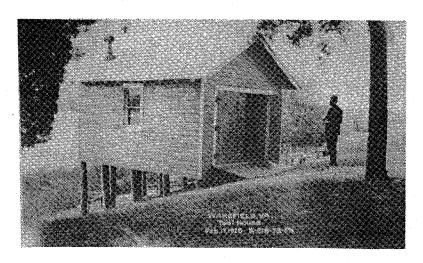
7. Graveyard. May 1928.



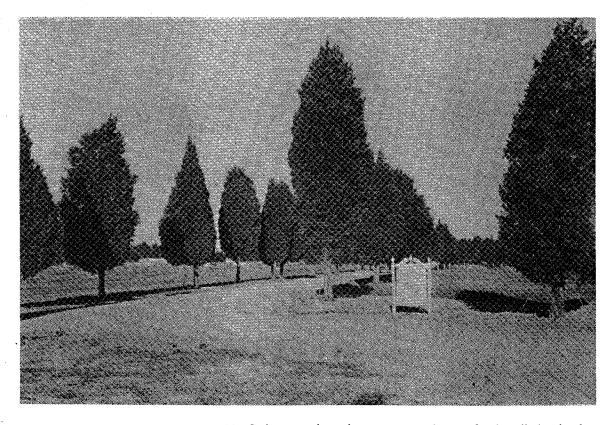
8. Washington Family Burying Ground at Wakefield. Date unknown.



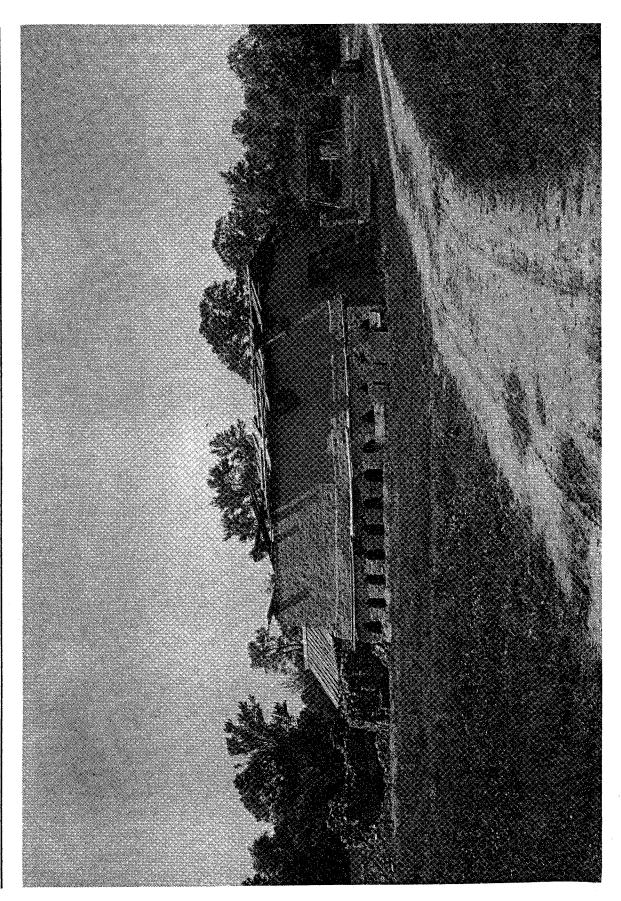
9. Bridge over Bridges Creek, Wakefield. Date unknown.



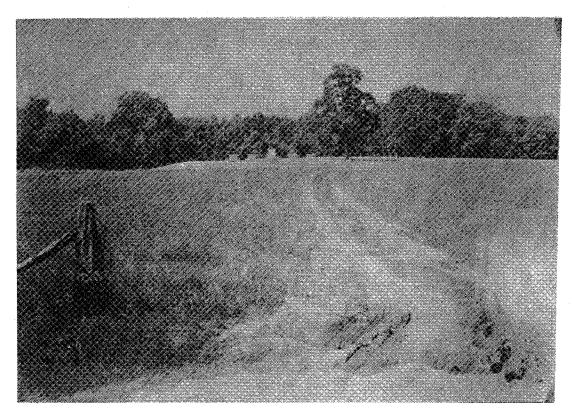
10. Tool house. February 17, 1928.



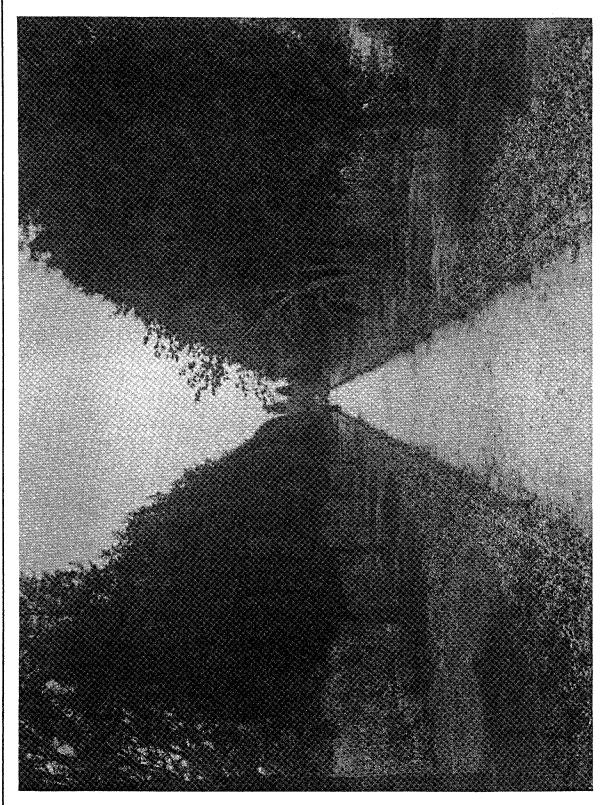
11. Cedar trees along the entrance road soon after installation by the Davey Tree Expert Company. Ca. 1931.



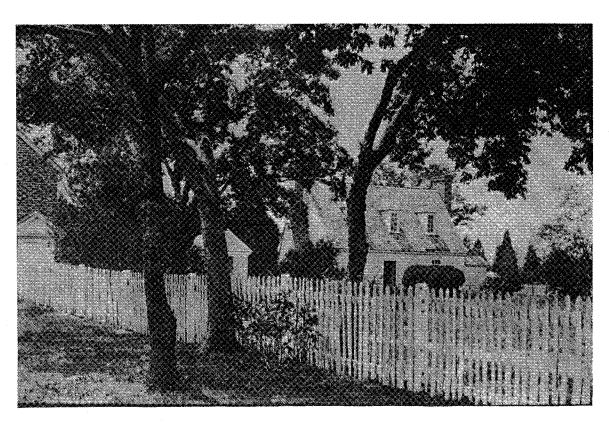
12. The brick kiln where the bricks for the mansion were made. May 14, 1932.



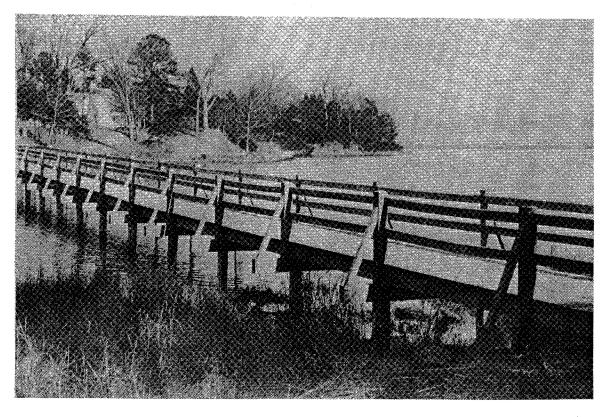
13. View of the Burial Ground from Bridges Creek Road prior to the construction of the wall and the planting of trees. 1932.



14. The walk leading to burial ground of George Washington ancestors. May 15, 1932. (See photo 35 in chapter 3 for a comparative view of 1996 conditions)



15. View of the picket fence, the north end of the mansion and the kitchen. May 15, 1932.



16. The foot bridge across Dancing Marsh with the Log House in the background as seen from historic core. January 24, 1932.

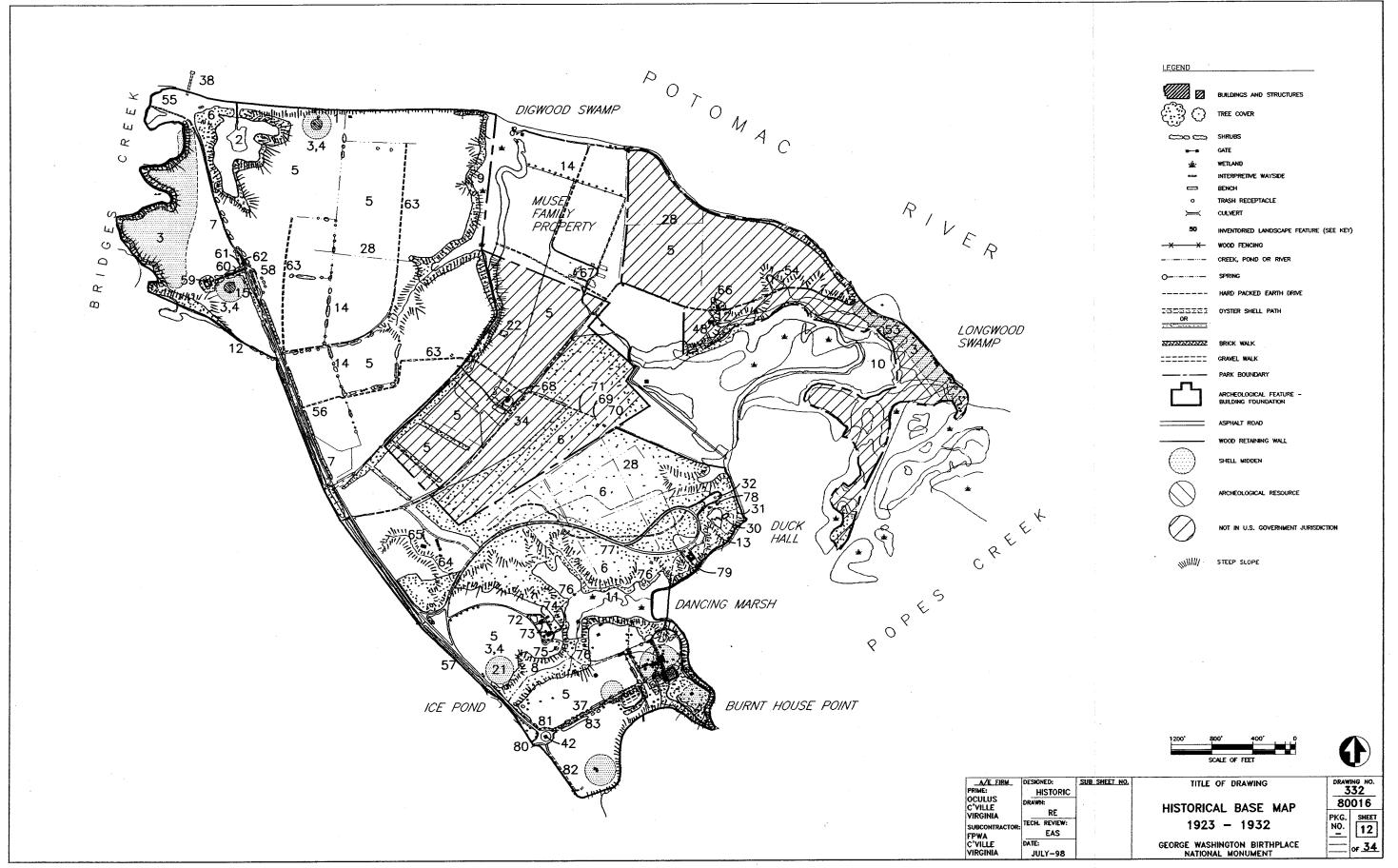
HISTORICAL BASE MAP

1923 - 1932

Inventory of Landscape Features

1923 - 1932

#	Feature	Date of Origin	# Feature	Date of Origin	
2.	Pond	prehistory	65. Road to R. Wash. site	by 1932	
5.	Agricultural fields, pastures	prehistory,	66. R.J. Muse house site	by 1932	
		post 1657	67. Harry Muse house site	by 1932	
6.	Woodlands	secondary, tertiary growth	68. Fred Muse site, driveway	by 1932	
7.	Bridges Creek road	ca. 1651-67	69. Muse family house site	by 1932	
	realigned	1931	70. Well site	by 1932	
8.	Creek/drainageway	prehistory	71. Road leading to well	by 1932	
9.	Digwood Swamp	prehistory	72. Road to residence area	1932	
10.	Longwood Swamp	prehistory	73. Employee residences, 2	1932-34	
11.	Dancing Marsh	prehistory	74. Garages, 2 at residences	1932	
12.	Springs, 2	prehistory	75. Tennis courts	1932-34	
13.	Eastern red cedar grove	by ca. 1930s	76. Trails between residences, 1932		
14.	Hedgerows (conjecture)	ca. 1657	historic core, Log House		
22.	Muse family burial ground	(conj.) ca. 1700	77. Road to Log House area	1932	
28.	Agricultural drainage ditches	ca. 1700-50	78. Rest room buildings, 2	1932	
34.	Road to Muse property	by 1813	79. Log House	1932	
37.	Crushed stone road to birthplace		80. Approach road to site	1923	
20	resurfaced	1931	81. Traffic circle	1931	
38.	Wharf at Bridges Creek landing		82. Road to borrow pit	by 1932	
42.	Granite monument relocated	1896 1930	83. Cedar allée	1931	
48.	Spring house	(conj.) by 1892	Known Archeological Resources		
53.	. Flagpole	by 1923	Henry Brooks house site	ca. 1651-57	
54.	. Pond (conjecture)	ca. 1923-32	 Thenry Brooks house site Shell middens 	prehistory	
55.	Road acr. Bridges Cr.	by 1931	4. Agricultural artifacts	prehistory	
56.	. Cedar allée/hedgerow	1931	15. John Washington house site	•	
57.	. Wood fencing	1930-32	21. Possible tobacco shed	by 1722	
58.	. Parking area	1931-32	30. Duck Hall house site		
59	. Renovation-burial ground	1930-31		ca. 1779-1818 ca. 1779-1818	
60.	. Oyster shell walk	1931	~		
61.	. Ornamental plantings	1931	32. Ice house	ca. 1779-1818	
62.	. Maintenance access road	by 1932	* Bold entries indicate a new feature or the alteration of an existing feature during this period.		
63.	. Farm roads	by 1932			
64.	. Raymond Wash. site	by 1932			



HISTORICAL BASE MAP

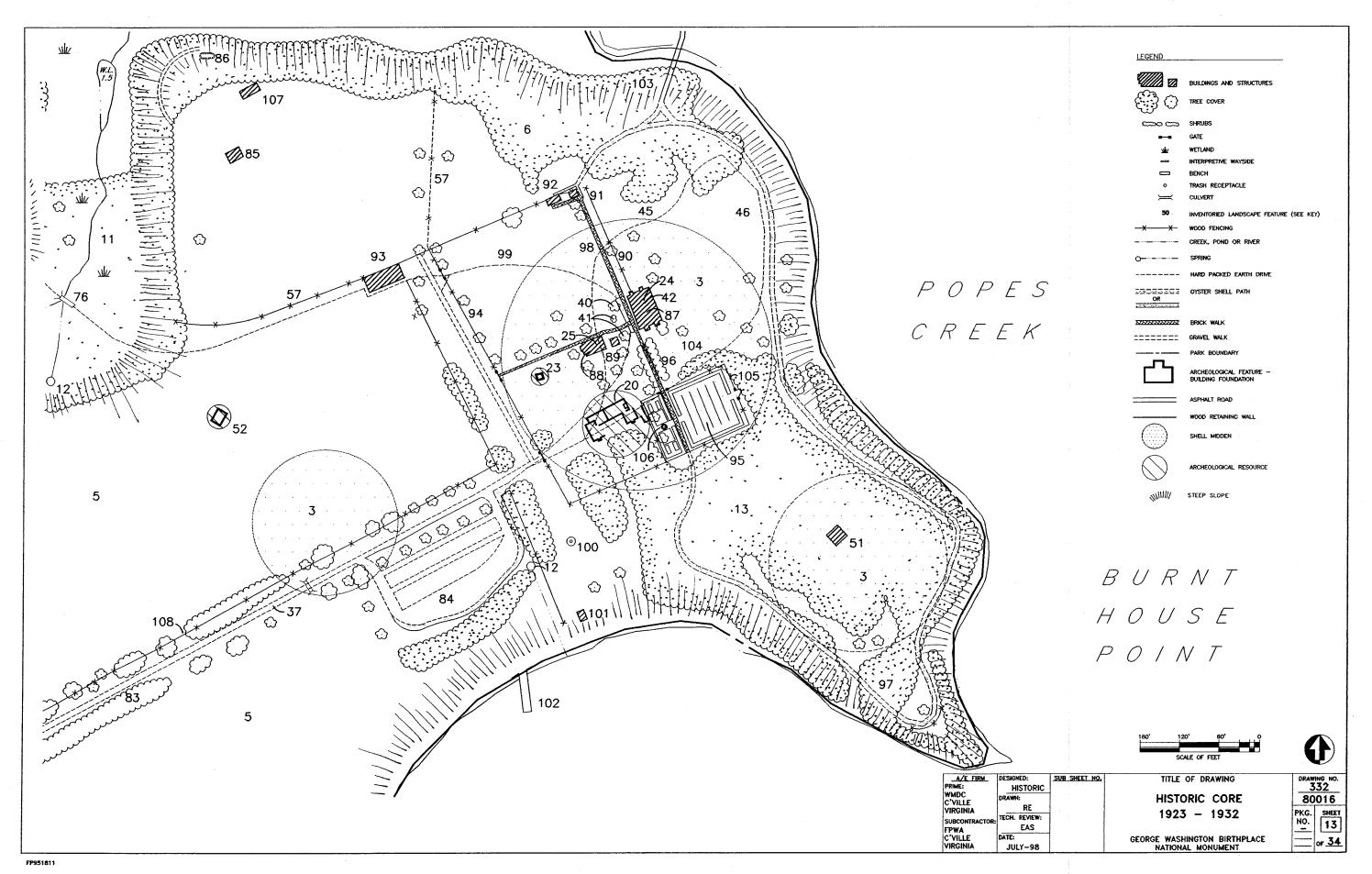
INSET: HISTORIC CORE

1923 - 1932

Inventory of Landscape Features

Historic Core 1923 - 1932

#	Feature	Date of Origin	#	Feature	Date of Origin	
5.	Agricultural fields, pastures	prehistory,	93.	Utility building	1932	
		post 1657	94.	Road to utility building	1932	
6.	Woodlands	secondary, tertiary growth	95.	Colonial Garden	1930-31	
11.	Dancing Marsh	prehistory	96.	Boxwood hedges	1931	
12.	Springs, 2	prehistory	97.	Trail-Burnt House Point	1931	
13.	Eastern red cedar grove	ca. 1896	98.	Brick walks	ca. 1932-35	
37.	Crushed stone road to birthplace resurfaced	by 1897 1 931	99.	"Old Wagon Road"	1931	
			100	.Flagpole	1932	
40.	Hackberry tree	by 1880s	101	.Tool house	by 1928	
41.	Fig shrubs	by 1880s	102	.Captain's Cove wharf	by 1932	
42.	Granite monument	1896,	103	.Footbridge-Dan. Marsh	1932	
	relocated	1930	104	.Ornamental plantings	1930-31	
45.	Road around Burnt House Point discontinued	t 1897 ca. 1931	105	.Colonial Garden fencing	1931	
46.	Views established to river	1896	106	Sundial	ca. 1931-32	
51.	Dance pavilion	by 1923	107	Storage structure	1932	
57.	Wood fencing	1930-32	108	3.Fencing	1931-32	
76.	Trails between residences	, 1932				
	historic core, Log House		Known Archeological Resources			
83.	Cedar allée	1931	3.	Shell middens	prehistory	
84.	Parking area	1932	20.	Abbington/Washington house	by 1722, 1725	
85.	Brick kiln	1930	23.	Possible dairy	ca. 1725-79	
9.6	removed	1932	24.	Unidentified outbuilding	ca. 1725-79	
	Clay pit	1930		foundation destroyed	1931	
	Memorial House	1931	25.	Kitchen foundation destroyed	ca. 1725-79 1931	
	Colonial Kitchen House	1931	52.		unknown	
	Spring House	1930-31	J4.	Officendified outputteding	GHAHO WH	
	Picket fencing	1931	* Bold entries indicate a new feature or the alteration of an existing feature during this period.			
91.	Pump house	1931				
92.	Rest rooms	1932				



The Establishment and Development of George Washington Birthplace National Monument as a National Park Service Property, 1932 - 1976

(Map I. Historical Base Map: 1932 - 1976, Photos 17, 18, and 21, Appendices A and B)

Introduction

The historic chronology period 1932-1976 is characterized by two bursts of intense site physical development concentrated between 1932 and 1935, and between 1968 and 1976. The intervening years saw little change at the park. Between 1932 and 1935, many of the improvements focused on the completion of features and systems initiated primarily between 1930 and 1932. Many of these developments were intended to improve visitor access and services, and some took advantage of the availability of CCC labor assigned to work in the region. Between 1968 and 1976, physical developments at the park concentrated on the implementation of ideas presented in a 1968 master plan, which recommended the establishment of a "living farm" within the park. To this end, a Morgan horse training facility was established at the park, and the historic core was further developed to interpret eighteenth-century agricultural practices to the visitor.

Changes at the park between 1932 and 1935 included removal of the wharf [Inv. #38] and reconfiguration of the turn-around at Bridges Creek landing [Inv. #7]; construction of additional fence sections along Bridges Creek road [Inv. #19]; and the addition of a guardrail [Inv. #60] at the pedestrian walk to the Burial Ground to prevent vehicular access. In the Log House area, developments included the construction of a Nature Trail [Inv. #121], wharf and boat house [Inv. #130], picnic area with rustic tables and settees[Inv. #126], chemical cart house [Inv. #123], and service road, walks, and parking area [Inv. #122]. Views to Popes Creek were enhanced through the removal of vegetation [Inv. #127], and an "ancient" pear tree thought to enhance the setting was shored up to prevent its limbs from breaking [Inv. #128]. Two rest room buildings were constructed at the picnic area in 1932 [Inv. #78].

Also during this period, the Raymond Washington farmstead [Inv. #64] located south of the Muse property was removed; portions of it were relocated to State Route 204. Porches, brick walks [Inv. #73], and tennis courts [Inv. #75] were added to the residential area that already included two dwelling units and two garages [Inv. #74]. The Ice Pond dam [Inv. #27] was rebuilt in 1933, and a brick-faced culvert was constructed at the road crossing. A pump house [Inv. #109] was built near the Ice Pond to provide water to the historic core.

In the vicinity of the monument, granite curbing and a cobble gutter [Inv. #81] were added to the traffic circle; and a gate [Inv. #37] was constructed at the entrance road to the birthplace. Elsewhere, CCC labor undertook ditching of Dancing Marsh for mosquito control [Inv. #11]; erosion control measures were implemented along the banks of Popes Creek below the pedestrian walk [Inv. #97]; and the dance pavilion [Inv. #51] was removed from Burnt House Point. The park entrance sign [Inv. #166] was most likely constructed during this period, although its date of origin is not known at this time.

Later additions to the park historic core included a post office in 1937 [Inv. #134, Photo 20], a barn named for the Rockefellers in 1938-39 [Inv. #135], a shed in 1936, that was later demolished in 1966 [Inv. #133], a gate house in 1939, that was converted into a fowl house in 1975 [Inv. #136, Photo 24], an administration building in 1940 [Inv. #137], and a gasoline house in 1940, that was demolished in 1954 [Inv. #138].

In order to interpret eighteenth-century farming practices and crafts, two additional fowl houses [Inv. #'s 139, 140], a pond for the fowl [Inv. #161], and associated fencing [Inv. #160], and an oxen shed [Inv. #141], three hog pens [Inv. #'s 142, 145, 146], a tobacco/exhibit shed [Inv. #143], and a log corn-house [Inv. #162] were constructed between 1968 and 1970. In association with these structures, demonstration plots of agricultural crops [Inv. #144] were established, and an orchard [Inv. #147] was planted. In 1955, the Colonial Garden was rehabilitated to include a new configuration of planting beds [Inv. #95, Fig. 29]. The bridge between the historic core and Log House area [Inv. #103] was lost to a hurricane in 1963. The Colonial Kitchen House [Inv. #88] underwent renovations in 1954 and 1976 to accommodate NPS administrative offices and an employee rest room; the Pump House [Inv. #91] was converted to a storage facility; and the Utility Building [Inv. #93] was adapted for use first as a craft demonstration building and later as a Farm Workshop. Finally, in 1972, new interpretive waysides [Inv. #132] were added to the historic core area.

Developments after 1935 elsewhere in the park included the construction of a Naval Range Station in 1954 [Inv. #148]. Located at the edge of the beach at Bridges Creek landing, the station was used as a weather shelter under a special-use permit with the park. The Navy's attempt to expand the facility in 1972 was not supported by the park and was therefore not undertaken. In 1996, the facility was removed and its functions relocated to a more permanent structure beyond park boundaries. Nearby, the bridge across Bridges Creek [Inv. #55] near the landing at the Potomac fell into disuse.

The flagpole [Inv. #53] and the island upon which it was located at the mouth of Popes Creek were lost to storm damage; erosion control measures such as piers [Inv. #131] and breakwaters [Inv. #118] were constructed near Longwood Swamp and along the shores of the Potomac to prevent additional soil loss. A pump station [Inv. #119] and water tower [Inv. #120] were constructed on the site of the Raymond Washington farmstead in 1975, and At Duck Hall, the Log House [Inv. #79] underwent interior alterations in 1969 and 1975, a picnic shelter [Inv. #124] was constructed in 1939 that was lost to fire in 1958, the original rest rooms [Inv. #78] were replaced by a comfort station [Inv. #125] in 1975, and a stone drinking fountain [Inv. #129] was built, although the date of this feature's construction is not known. In 1972, new interpretive waysides were sited along the park's circulation routes to interpret historic, cultural, and natural features associated with the life of George Washington [Inv. #132]. In the mid-1970s, additional fencing [Inv. #57] was added along Bridges Creek road.

Between 1968 and 1975, a facility comprised of a Morgan horse barn [Inv. #111], four paddocks [Inv. #112], a training ring [Inv. #113], six pasture sheds [Inv. #114], an equipment storage building [Inv. #115], hay storage building [Inv. #116], gasoline house [Inv. #117], and an access road [Inv. #110] were established and maintained near Digwood Swamp to breed and train Morgan horses for use by park rangers and police in east coast NPS units. A similar facility existed at Point Reyes, California to serve west coast NPS units. By 1975 or 1976, however, this enterprise had become a financial burden and was discontinued. Park maintenance operations were later moved to the horse facility.

Early Park Development

While the new NPS property, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, was not officially inaugurated as an historical park until 1932, it was, in fact, already under the influence of NPS landscape architects and engineers after 1930. It was during these and the following two years that many of the park's features were conceived and constructed, despite the absence of a master plan. This early period was marked by a number of controversies, first over signage to mark the birthplace site, and later over "Building X" and the construction of a park administration building.

Prior to Wakefield's dedication by the Wakefield Association, disagreement arose over the wording of a placard to mark the birthplace. As summarized in Charles Hosmer's *Preservation Comes of Age*,

Moore had asked Edward Donn to prepare the inscription, which won the approval of the association's board at the November 30, 1931 meeting. Hoppin had never respected Moore's sense of history, and the casting of the metal tablet caused a real storm once Hoppin saw the last sentence: "The house is not a copy of the original; it is typical of Virginia Houses of the period."...He was afraid that an admission of failure to produce an exact replica would stain the memory of Mrs. Rust (who was not mentioned on the marker) and cast doubts on all the researches and publications of the association over the years. Donn, on the other hand, was trying to state as clearly as he could what had happened from the moment he began to design the house....The profession of historical archaeology simply did not exist in the United States when "Building X" came to light, so the deadline of the 200th anniversary of Washington's birth won out over research....The custodians of Wakefield, in their rush to create a dignified memorial, had accidentally saved the ruins of the Washington birthplace by burying them....

The conflict over the plaque and the assertion that Wakefield was a "typical house" of the period raged until Moore in 1933 removed the plaque from the lawn.²⁴¹

As noted in the previous section, the controversy over the foundations of "Building X" continued to plague those associated with the park. When, in 1932, park staff found the space within the Colonial Kitchen limited for administrative functions, a proposal was made to construct a park museum and office building on the foundations of "Building X." Hosmer states that

Tom Vint, chief of the Park Service Branch of Plans and Design, asked that the building be erected in the general area of the existing foundations in order to provide a "typical scheme of colonial times," but he did not think the foundations should "control" the positioning of the building itself. Such a course ... would have been a major change in policy. In fact, Vint believed that use of the old location would necessitate a significant change in the geometrical arrangement of the plantings and roads. [Verne] Chatelain scribbled on the margin of a report dealing with the proposed museum-office that he would agree to putting it on the "Building X" site under some conditions. "I concur in this only if it does not involve any interference at all with the foundations. They must not be destroyed.

The plans for the new building foundered because of limited income and the increasing emphasis on historical accuracy in the National Park Service staff.

Opinions varied greatly as to where to locate the new facility. The controversy was not resolved until 1940, when an administration building was finally constructed beyond the parking area at the edge of the historic core.

Additional excavation of the "Building X" foundations were undertaken in 1936, leading Fiske Kimball, who was, according to Charles Moore "the authority on Colonial architecture," to write

....The southern group of foundations discovered in 1936 solves everything. I see no escape from the belief that these, hitherto unknown, were the foundations of the mansion house. They show a house of exceptional importance for the early 18th

²⁴¹ Hosmer, 492.

century—a house of four major rooms downstairs with four major chimneys, fully commensurate with the extent of Augustine Washington's inventory.²⁴²

Despite the controversies and new archeological findings that quickly altered the management issues associated with many park resources, Superintendent Hough continued to plan for implementation of necessary improvements. With the completion of the Memorial House, relocation of the monument, construction of the Log House, and restoration of the burial grounds, the key elements of the park landscape were in place, but much remained to be accomplished. As early as October 1933, Hough began requesting the preparation of a master plan. In its absence, however, various other site plans were drawn and approved, including those for a "colonial crop layout."²⁴³ By December 1932, some sort of landscape plan had apparently been designed for the park, probably by superintendent Hough in conjunction with landscape architects Charles Peterson and Roswell Ludgate. This early plan has not been located; however, reference to a "plan submitted by the Superintendent to the Landscape division" is made in the Superintendent's Monthly Reports. The plan apparently included recommendations for planting the two fields south of the mansion, which were to contain an "exhibition of colonial crops," as outlined below:

one and one half acres of tobacco, one acre of peanuts, five and one half acres of corn and a small cotton patch. This land, approximately eight acres, has already been plowed in order to break up the heavy sod which has resulted from years of no tillage....it will have maximum museum value. Possibly a couple more acres in another section may be devoted to corn in order to provide feed for a yoke of oxen which we hope to own and use some day. The Superintendent believes that a yoke of oxen at work in the fields or pulling a cart about the place on maintenance work will add greatly to the colonial picture we intend to create at Wakefield.²⁴⁴

The agricultural crops were to be used as wildlife fodder, while "'twists' of Wakefield tobacco [were] sold as souvenirs at the Log House."²⁴⁵

The park's intent to create a "colonial picture" was reinforced by farming operations on neighboring properties. After selling their land to the River Holding Company, the Latane brothers leased their former lands in order to grow crops and pasture livestock. By March 1932, two major fields, one surrounding the burial ground, and another between the road to the Muse family

Johnson's ancestors worked as slaves for the Wilsons; several individuals surnamed Johnson appear in the census rolls for 1850-1860 as household slaves for neighboring families. Superintendent's Monthly Report, April 1933, 5. U.S. Census, 1850, 1860, Free Population Statistics.

²⁴² Hatch, 93.

²⁴³ For example, a notation in Hough's Superintendent's Monthly Report for February 1934: "On February 3, this office received five approved plans, viz. 1) Trails and fences 2) Fire Engine Houses 3) Landscape plan for the road triangle 4) Log House improvements, and 5) Landscape plan for Wakefield road." These plans are in addition to other plans, such as the Duck Hall improvements and colonial crop fields, etc. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, February 1934, 5.

Superintendent's Monthly Reports, October 1933, 3; January 1933, 3. GEWA archives.

²⁴⁴ Superintendent's Monthly Report, December 1932.

²⁴⁵ Ibid. In April 1933, Superintendent Hough reported that

Tobacco seed beds were prepared and planted—sufficient to produce plants for setting out two acres. Tobacco culture is difficult and requires expert handling. The Monument has engaged a venerable old gentleman ... Annanias Johnson—to be responsible for this work and who is experienced in this line.

property and the Potomac River, were farmed by the Latanes in an official capacity as "Permittees." The National Park Service constructed a half mile of wire fencing on these parcels so that "the Permittee [could] turn in a band of sheep to graze in the fields adjacent to the river." Noting that this barbed-wire fence was an "emergency measure," the report also stated that "a permanent split-rail fence as specified by the landscape division" would soon replace it.²⁴⁶ The Latanes farmed the two parcels with a "natural sequence of crop rotation used in this section since early times, viz., grazing, corn and wheat, in a three year plan."²⁴⁷ According to Lawrence Latane, the leasing option was continued up until the death of his two uncles, William and James, within the last decade.²⁴⁸

The site-specific plans drawn by NPS landscape architects between 1930 and 1932 addressed the further development of Duck Hall, which included the "old Raymond Washington place," a parcel of 31.5 acres purchased from the Wakefield Association. Although the tract fronted Bridges Creek road, by the 1930s the farm road leading to the house site was little more than a spur-road from the Muse property access road. Raymond Washington and his mother were allowed to stay on as tenants, and Washington's small "store" was temporarily allowed to remain at the edge of the Muse access road. ²⁴⁹ In 1934, the Washingtons vacated the property, which had a main residence, outbuildings, and a fruit orchard. ²⁵⁰ Hough's plans to find tenants willing to work the colonial crop fields did not materialize, and as a result, plans were made for adaptive reuse of the structures. At least one of the buildings, "a small shed," was moved to the area of the residences built at the entrance of Duck Hall, "to serve temporarily as a fire engine house." ²⁵¹

The group of old buildings at the 'Raymond Washington place' were vacated on March 1st after the termination of the former owners five year lease, which was not renewed. An examination showed that the place was in better shape than was thought. The house is in serviceable condition as are several sheds and small barn....We were pleased to find several fruit trees, but which needed cultivation. Under the direction of our Landscape Gardeners several apple, cherry and pear trees were pruned, sprayed and painted.

Superintendent's Monthly Report, March 1934, 5.

An NPS map produced as part of the visitor brochure continued to show a cluster of buildings labeled "Farm House." NPS map, "George Washington Birthplace National Monument," 1947.

²⁴⁶ Superintendent's Monthly Report, March 1932. These two fields were described as a "37.54 acre tract with the exception of the space occupied by the Burial Grounds, site of the John Washington buildings, planting and twenty-five feet therefrom on all sides" and the "175.37 acre tract lying on the East side of the new road leading to the Burial Grounds, and between the 'Raymond Washington tract' and the Potomac River." Hough to Director, NPS, November 29, 1932. NPS records, RG 79, National Archives.

²⁴⁷ Superintendent's Monthly Report, January 1934, 7.

²⁴⁸ Lawrence Latane interview.

²⁴⁹ The five-year lease terminated in 1934, at which time Washington moved this store to a new location on Route 204. According to Goodwin Muse, this "store" sold bootleg liquor. NPS records, RG 79, National Archives; Muse interview.

²⁵⁰ Superintendent's Monthly Report, March 1933, 5; "Pruned and painted fruit trees on Raymond Washington place. Much brush and briars removed from orchard." Superintendent's Monthly Report, April 1933, 6.

²⁵¹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, November 1933, 5. In 1934, Hough examined the site:

Construction of the picnic grounds at Duck Hall point began in August 1933, with funds provided by the Public Works Program.²⁵² In February 1934, a contract was let to the Anchor Post Fence Company of Washington, D.C., for the picnic tables and "park settees" to be placed in the cleared area. This furniture was compatible with the "rustic" style of other NPS detailing at the time, being of the "same type as are in use in the National Capital Parks."²⁵³ Two miles of trails throughout the tract were begun in May 1934, with funds from the Public Works Administration:

About a mile and a half of new woodland trails connecting the Mansion grounds via footbridge, the Log House, and the picnic grounds will be built. These trails will be kept as natural and simple as possible, consisting of about two inches of clay and fine gravel rolled onto smooth ground producing a slight raise to avoid water standing in the tread. Ground litter is being raked over the edges of the new surface to conceal their artificial nature, and which seems to be working satisfactorily.²⁵⁴

The trail system for the picnic ground area had been cleared a year earlier, when "vista cuttings [were] made along the bank as marked by the Landscape Division."²⁵⁵ This work was completed in June 1934.²⁵⁶

It is interesting to note that although Peterson and Ludgate were deeply concerned about the foundation ruins and historical accuracy at the historic core, evidence of earlier occupation at Duck Hall was summarily demolished during the tract's development, with the notable exception of an "ancient pear tree." During the picnic area's construction, the remnants of the Duck Hall house were almost entirely destroyed; a pile of bricks shown in a period photograph was identified as the building's sole remains. According to Goodwin Muse, however, brick bats can still be seen along Duck Hall point's shoreline at low tide, indicating that the historic remains may simply have been dumped off the cliffs at the point. In September 1934, rudimentary excavation revealed a "double fireplace with the pair arranged back to back—one with beveled interior surfaces and the

....an old pear tree probably in existence at the time of the Washington family's residence at Wakefield ... [a]t present ... is in a rather dangerous condition. The heart is entirely rotted out and what branches exist are supported by a hollow shell. To prevent any injury to the tree, which is probably the only living link between the early days at Duck Hall and the present, it is proposed that a rustic palisade be built around the weakened trunk. See plans "A" and "B."

Nelson Royal, Jr., "Field Trip" memorandum to NPS Director, September 1935. Two small blueprints accompanied this report in NPS records, RG 79, National Archives.

²⁵² "At this writing, about 1700 feet of gravel paths have been built and a great amount of dead brush and rubbish cleared from the ground and banks. The grass has been mowed and much small live brush cut." Superintendent's Monthly Report, August 1933.

²⁵³ Superintendent's Monthly Report, February 1934, 6. The GEWA Annual Report for 1934 contained photographs labeled "new rustic tables and benches made from plans prepared for use in the district parks." GEWA Annual Report, 1936. NPS records, RG 79, National Archives.

²⁵⁴ Superintendent's Monthly Report, May 1934.

²⁵⁵ Superintendent's Monthly Report, May 1933, 5.

²⁵⁶ Superintendent's Monthly Report, June 1934, 4.

²⁵⁷ Concern for this specimen was voiced by another NPS landscape architect, Nelson Royal, Jr., during his inspection visits in 1935, following on the heels of efforts by "Mr. Thompson of the Branch of Forestry." Thompson had spotted the tree, and recommended cable braces to protect it from falling over. Royal, however, preferred a more elaborate treatment:

²⁵⁸ Muse interview.

other square," indicating the possible site of a kitchen outbuilding.²⁵⁹ The foundations of both the house and chimney were noted on the 1932 NPS map of the park; however, a third possible outbuilding—an icehouse, located at the northwest corner of the point abutting the marsh ²⁶⁰—was never identified by NPS, although it was mentioned in interviews with both Lawrence Latane and Goodwin Muse. Further evidence of historic occupation was found near the Log House, when preparations for sinking the fuel-oil tank uncovered "two old graves," one of which contained the remains of "a colored woman who had been buried at least 100 years," and was presumably a slave at Duck Hall.²⁶¹ The remaining traces of agriculture at the site, including remnants of corn furrows, were graded flat: "The surface of the area was disked, harrowed and rolled to obliterate the old corn row ridges which constituted a dangerous surface for running or playing games." ²⁶²

Other work completed at the Duck Hall tract during this period focused on the residential area. Porches and brick walks for each of the two houses were constructed between January and March 1934. It is possible that the tennis court indicated as completed in 1932 was not constructed east of the residences until 1934.²⁶³

Another feature proposed for Duck Hall was a "pier for landing rowboats," first suggested in a site plan by Edward Donn, the Wakefield Association's architect.²⁶⁴ Duck Hall point was surveyed by NPS landscape architects on September 18, 1933, just weeks after President Franklin Roosevelt had attempted to visit the site by boat during the Labor Day weekend but was unable to "find a channel into Popes Creek so the attempt was abandoned."²⁶⁵ Although the Duck Hall pier was eventually sited in 1935 and built in 1936, the desire for a Popes Creek landing area near the historic core was keen.²⁶⁶ The 1932 map of the park shows a pier on the eastern bank of the historic core area fronting Popes Creek. Use of this pier must have been severely limited, however, given the siltation problems in evidence by that time. In November 1933, the park obtained funds for a field survey related to the proposed dredging of Popes Creek by the Army Corps of Engineers. The call for a field survey echoed earlier work completed by Major Somervell and his office prior to the War Department's disengagement from the site in 1929-1930.²⁶⁷ In March 1934, the Army Corps of Engineers surveyed the marshes at the mouth of Popes Creek in order to prepare estimates for dredging a boat channel.²⁶⁸ This survey resulted in a new map of the

²⁵⁹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, September 1934, 7.

²⁶⁰ This site is evident today, and shows up as a distinctive topographic depression on maps from the 1930s. Both Mr. Latane and Mr. Muse identified this site as that of an icehouse, but archeological investigation is needed to determine its exact nature. Latane and Muse interviews.

²⁶¹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, June 1932, 5.

²⁶² Superintendent's Monthly Report, September 1933, 2.

²⁶³ Superintendent's Monthly Reports, January 1934; March 1932.

²⁶⁴ Superintendent's Monthly Report, September 1933, 2.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Royal, "Field Trip," September 1935; GEWA Annual Report, 1936, with photographs of a "newly constructed pier ... built in the Duck Hall picnic ground at a point not visible from the Memorial Mansion." GEWA archives.

²⁶⁷ Superintendent's Monthly Reports, November 1933, 4. See earlier discussion of the Army Corps of Engineers development plan including a water approach to the site.

²⁶⁸ Work had been undertaken in other wetland areas of the park. In May 1933, "ditching the Dancing Marsh as recommended by the Public Health Service was done partially as a mosquito control measure." Superintendent's Monthly Report, May 1933, 7.

park based on field work and aerial photographs. Superintendent Hough noted with respect to the new map that

however it will not be of benefit other than to show our marshy areas correctly. This monument has no accurate map—which fact it [sic] a distinct handicap.²⁶⁹

The proposed dredging was never ultimately undertaken; the pier was built at Duck Hall Point.

A map drawn by O.G. Taylor in 1932 provided baseline data for the banks of the Potomac River, which were suffering from erosion estimated at two to three feet per year. Under severe weather conditions, ten or more feet of shoreline might be lost. Hough reported one such incident:

Our greatest damage inflicted was in the erosion of the banks of Popes Creek in front of the Mansion where upwards of fifty tons of earth slipped into the creek. At two places definite benches were washed out thus leaving a permanent record of the water's height.²⁷⁰

In 1934, work by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) attempted to stabilize the eroded banks just north of the historic core area:

Earth was hauled in dual-wheeled dump trucks across the side lawn north of the Mansion, and sent down the bank in chutes which carried the material to the desired places where it was shoveled and tamped into position, restoring the old slope. Before completion the slope will be sodded and spiked down with wooden spikes.²⁷¹

In conjunction with the work at Duck Hall, landscape crews repaired the "old ice-pond dam," creating a half-acre pond "to guarantee a larger supply of water for our lawn sprinkling system":

In addition to park features, major archeological losses have occurred due to shoreline erosion, not the least of which are American Indian sites, undoubtedly numerous, and the neighboring Haywood estate and cemetery, both of which have been covered by water within the last twenty years.

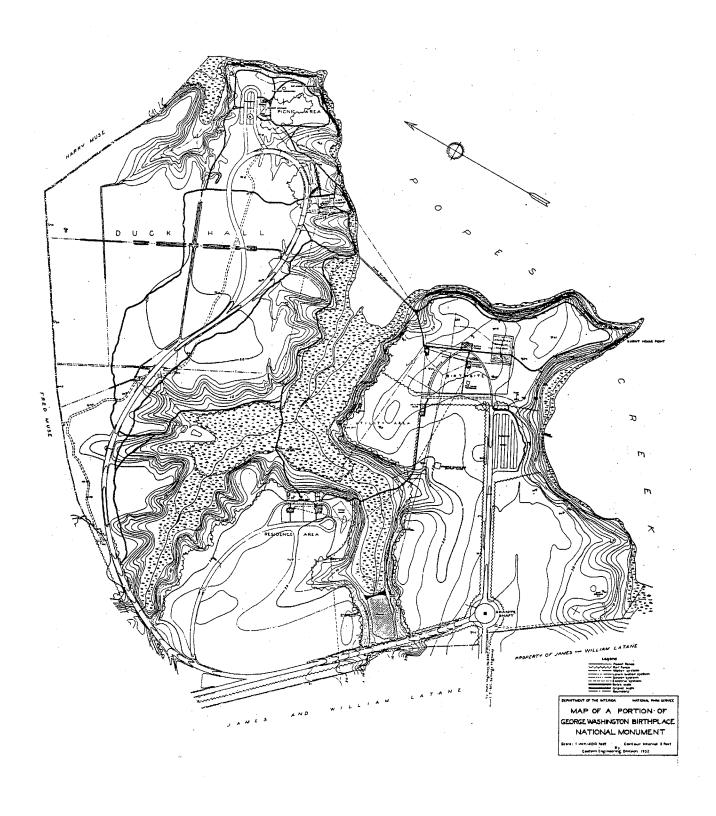
Evidence of silt deposits in Popes Creek can be detected by comparing historic aerial photographs; Mr. Muse described the movement of the banks at the opening of the creek as a wholesale shift to the east. In addition, Mr. Muse recalled a one-acre "island" that formerly sat just to the east of the site known as Popes Creek landing on period maps, complete with its own flagpole. This site has since disappeared, along with an American Indian midden found on the site by NPS archeologist David Orr.

Latane and Muse interviews; historic photographs, GEWA archives.

²⁶⁹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, September 1934, 5. Hough reiterates his call for a master plan, in spite of the fact that a year earlier, in November 1993, he had drawn up a development plan, which was "prepared and submitted with the request that a meeting of representatives of the National Park Service and the Wakefield Memorial Association be held for the purpose of formulating a Master Plan for this monument." Superintendent's Monthly Report, November 1933, 4. By 1936, a full-color map of the park was issued in conjunction with USGS [Fig. 24]. Superintendent's Monthly Report.

²⁷⁰ Superintendent's Monthly Report, September 1933, 1. Reports of severe shoreline depletion and damage to structures by river surges were relatively common occurrences. More than one park feature (such as the landing at Popes Creek built in the 1980s by NPS, Duck Hall pier, and Dancing Marsh footbridge) has fallen victim to storm damage. Evidence of contemporary efforts to control the erosion are found in the remnants of a sea-wall built by Mr. Horner in the past twenty years.

²⁷¹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, January 1934, 5.



23. "Map of a Portion of George Washington Birthplace National Monument," 1932

The old pond has been out of use for about 20 years, we are told, and as a result the new pond is full of small trees and brush, which of course in time will die and provide an open body of water. The break in the dam was rebuilt with logs and clay to insure strength, and topped with sand.²⁷²

A month later, in May 1933, Hough reported that "a pit was dug in the bank near the old Ice Pond for the reception of the new water pressure tank soon to be installed in connection with improvement of the lawn sprinkling system."²⁷³

Other landscape alterations took place at this time as well. As previously mentioned, an "old pavilion erected by the War Department in the Cedar Grove" [Photo 5] was razed in January 1933, and a utility area was partially enclosed by 250 feet of "new split-rail fencing,"²⁷⁴ and in June 1933, the fencing around the utility area was completed, creating a two-acre pasture for horses.²⁷⁵ In November 1934, Hough stated that "A small henhouse was built and set-up [sic] out of sight of the public for the bantam chickens making their home there."²⁷⁶

Besides the additional 100 feet proposed for the utility area, another fencing project was completed later in the year:

hand split and riven posts, rails and pickets were made and assembled for a stretch of new fencing on the Mansion grounds ... span[ning] the distance of about 100 feet between the Mansion and the Colonial garden and complet[ing] the rectangle embracing the rear lawn.²⁷⁷

In February 1934, a Civil Works-funded "rail fence project" was begun:

New stretches, with gates, bounding the two fields devoted to colonial crops, on either side of the entrance road were completed before the 22nd

....approximately 3/4 of a mile of new fence on the Monument boundary parallel to the Burial Ground Road was started....Ten gates of hewn chestnut were completed for use in the new fences.²⁷⁸

....the mile-long stretch of split-rail fence from the ice pond to the Burial Grounds was completed.²⁷⁹

In order to prevent over-eager tourists from driving their cars up the path to the walled burial ground, "[A] new rustic guard rail" was set in place at the entrance in November 1933.²⁸⁰ A single

²⁷² Superintendent's Monthly Report, April 1933, 4-5.

²⁷³ Superintendent's Monthly Report, May 1933, 5.

²⁷⁴ Superintendent's Monthly Report, January 1933, 4-5.

²⁷⁵ Superintendent's Monthly Report, June 1933, 4.

²⁷⁶ Superintendent's Monthly Report, November 1934, 5.

²⁷⁷ Superintendent's Monthly Report, April 1933, 4.

²⁷⁸ Superintendent's Monthly Report, February 1934, 6.

²⁷⁹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, March 1934, 5.

²⁸⁰ Superintendent's Monthly Report, November 1933, 5.

guard rail was apparently insufficient, as Nelson Royal's field report in September 1935 indicates, proposing that "two sections of guard rail be constructed to prevent visitors from driving automobiles up to the grave sites." Cedar rails, stripped of their bark, were used to edge the parking areas in April 1933,282 and granite curbing was installed around the monument circle in early 1934.283

The Birthplace benefitted from a limited period of CCC assistance under the National Recovery Act. In December 1933, sixty-nine CCC laborers went to work at the park under the auspices of the Civil Works Program.²⁸⁴ Sixty men were used as a labor crew working on various projects on the grounds, while the "historical program employed one man at the Monument and one man and three women at the County Courthouse engaged in research."²⁸⁵ The landscape crews set out immediately; by the end of December, nearly half of the remains of the old government wharf at Bridges Creek had been removed, and a sign mounted near the recently rehabilitated Ice Pond announced "Federal Civil Works Project, #1-282."²⁸⁶

In September 1933, Westmoreland County announced its purchase of 1200 acres two miles downstream from the park on the Potomac River. Adjacent to the Stratford Hall estate, this tract was shortly to become "Northern Neck State Park," with site improvements slated for construction by CCC labor forces. By the next year, the park was renamed "Westmoreland State Park" [Fig. 28]. In 1933, the new state park's superintendent visited George Washington Birthplace to study the "architectural details of this colonial restoration—this in connection with plans for the

While the curbing solved certain aesthetic and functional problems around the monument traffic circle itself, Royal Nelson noted in September 1935 that the outside of the circle needed more definition:

The gutter bordering the circular grass panel around the shaft should be repeated on the opposite side of the drive, around the circle. The center between a smooth grass edge on one side and ragged edge on the other side of the drive is unpleasant. As soon as practical the proposed granite curb and gutter around the shaft circle should be built. The massive column of stone needs more architectural setting than the plain grass turf affords.

Royal Nelson, Jr., "Field Report," September 1935. NPS records, RG 79, National Archives.

²⁸¹ Nelson Royal, Jr., "Field Report," September 1935. NPS records, RG 79, National Archives.

²⁸² Superintendent's Monthly Report, April 1933, 5.

²⁸³ The contract was awarded to William J. Crawford, Jr., of Buffalo, NY, whose father had furnished and constructed the monument in 1896. Crawford subcontracted the curbing work to Corson & Gruman of Washington, D.C., who imported granite curbing from Mt. Airy, North Carolina. Superintendent's Monthly Report, December 1934, 5.

²⁸⁴ The original crew at Westmoreland State Park was a "skeletonized CCC camp from Idaho," to be filled with "local enlistment." Superintendent's Monthly Report, September 1933, 9.

The next month, CCC Camp SP-19 was established at that site, and portions of the newly enlisted crews worked at GEWA. Superintendent's Monthly Report, October 1933, 3.

²⁸⁵ The Civil Works Program was initiated on December 16, 1933, as an unemployment relief program that was part of the National Recovery Act signed by Franklin Roosevelt. Superintendent Monthly Reports, December 1933, 1; January 1934, 1.

²⁸⁶ Superintendent's Monthly Report, December 1933, 2, 10.

construction of buildings on the new State Park."²⁸⁷ When GEWA's Civil Works project funds ran out in April 1934, the CCC crews were dispatched to the construction of the state park.²⁸⁸

In June 1934, a representative from the Bureau of Public Roads arrived to inspect the condition of the park's road system, which was slated for resurfacing. Bids were opened in August, with the contract awarded to T. E. Ritter Company of Norfolk, Virginia. The project included regrading and resurfacing, and was to be completed by December 1934. A "plan for the new turn-around and parking area on the river beach" was approved in time to be included in this contract in October; also included was the "construction of a spur service road at the Tea Room [Log House]." The work, delayed by heavy rains in late November, was completed in early 1935, at which point all the "grade and subgrade material [was] in place." The new turnaround did not, however, prevent local traffic from continuing over the small wooden bridge which linked Bridges Creek road and landing with a farm road leading to Haywood [Photo 9]. This road trace is noted on both the 1936 [Fig. 24] and 1947 NPS maps. According to Lawrence Latane and Goodwin Muse, use of the road was only discontinued two decades ago. 291

Two proposed new features were under discussion during the 1937-1938 season: an orchard at the historic core, and a new stable and paddock. The necessity for such a feature was debated until 1939, when a sketch of the proposed orchard was drawn by NPS landscape architects and submitted to NPS Regional Director Roy Appleman.²⁹² Plans for the stable were likewise debated

The "erosion control" Hough refers to was for deteriorating trails, which were buttressed in a manner that suggests that modern archeological methods regarding stratigraphic relationships remained were not yet in practice:

In connection with our trail work considerable sod was required on storm damaged banks. This was removed from the colonial garden. The earth thus exposed was found to contain much relic material which was carefully saved for future study.

Hough, Superintendent's Monthly Report, June 1934, 5.

Aside from the issue of historical appropriateness, Hough maintained that more landscape plantings were needed in the historic core area to "partially conceal some of the necessary improvements in our Utility Area, such as the new horse barn, the equipment shed, the proposed oil house, and the Utility Building," noting that "[A]s one approaches the Monument the most prominent feature is the end of the Utility Building, and this should be de-emphasized.

²⁸⁷ Superintendent's Monthly Report, September 1934, 3.

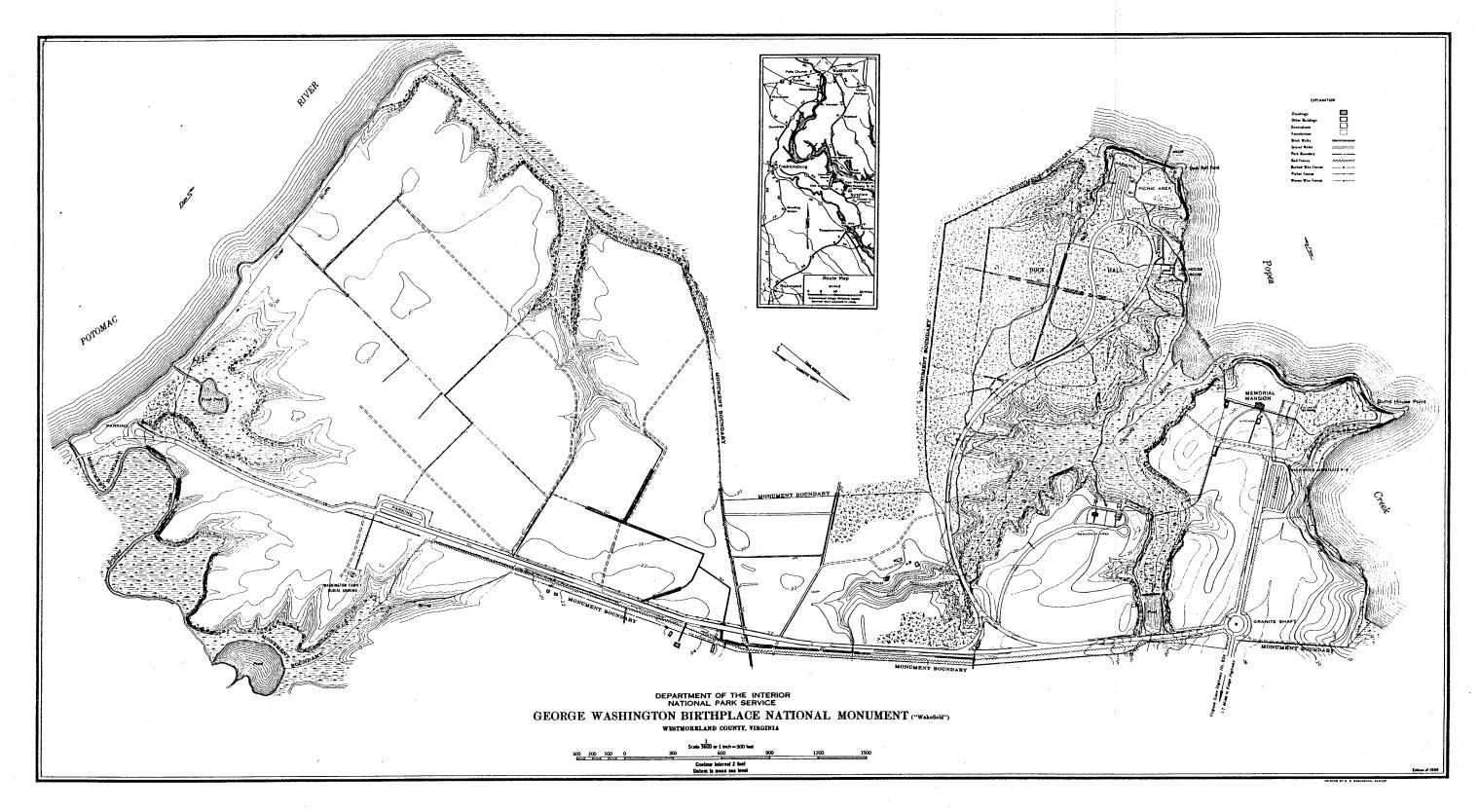
²⁸⁸ Superintendent's Monthly Report, April 1934, 1-2. Hough noted that "not all jobs completed, especially the historical research component ... All improvement work started, except erosion control, was left in such shape that completion may be indefinitely postponed. The repairs to the banks of Popes Creek in front of the Mansion should be completed, but at present there is no means to accomplish it other than through the loan of CCC men from one of the other camps."

²⁸⁹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, June 1934, 2; August 1934, 4; September 1934, 5; October 1934, 3.

²⁹⁰ Superintendent's Monthly Report, November 1934, 5.

²⁹¹ According to Mr. Latane and Mr. Muse, this farm road was the means of access to the Haywood estate from the time the Popes Creek plantation burned in 1780 until a subdivision was built to the west of the Haywood site in the 1960s-1970s. A photograph of the bridge, date unknown, was found in the NPS photographic archives, Harpers Ferry.

²⁹² In his correspondence to Appleman, Superintendent Hough was insistent regarding the necessity of an orchard to complete the colonial scene. NPS historian O.F. Northington also wrote to Appleman, citing historic accounts of an apple orchard on the site as late as 1833. John Wilson's account of the "crabapples" on the site when it was in ruins during the late-nineteenth century was also used to support the request.



24. "George Washington Birthplace National Monument, National Park Service," 1936.

before being built in 1937; the primary objections were raised by Appleman, who felt that a utility area and stable were "improperly located for a plan of permanent development of the area for historical interpretation to the public." A slightly earlier letter pointed to another point of sensitivity for Appleman, one that reflected the disastrous consequences of hasty development:

The latter [Appleman] wishes to have conveyed to you, after having examined the plans for the proposed work, that in his opinion, the stable is located too close to the historic area of Wakefield; that is, it is in fairly close proximity to the house and nearby grounds where *considerable archaeological investigation must yet be done before a plan can be evolved for the treatment of this area.* It is his opinion that the proposal to change the worm rail fence to posts in pair and rails should be viewed with considerable skepticism as being historically inappropriate for the general restoration scene at Wakefield which it is desired to achieve.²⁹⁴

In November 1933, a "development outline" was drafted for a joint committee of NPS and Wakefield Association representatives, with the express purpose of "formulating a Master Plan for this monument." The plans for the park's development reflected a combination of Wakefield Association memorialization efforts and attempts by NPS to establish standards for the treatment of historic sites, in order to avoid conflicts such as those surrounding the Colonial Garden and burial ground plans. Otherwise, NPS landscape architects, under the direction of Thomas Vint, generally followed the design aesthetic first instituted by the western national parks, including guidelines for landscape preservation, park structures and roads design, complete with standard rustic detailing for features ranging from benches to guardrails; creation and protection of scenic viewsheds; use of native vegetation in a "program of landscape naturalization;" and trail construction, among others. 296

Two factors delayed the preparation of a master plan until 1939: the formulation of a land protection strategy designed to prevent the encroachment of inappropriate development,²⁹⁷ and the continuing need for historical research and more substantial archeological documentation of the landscape; new site features, such as the stables, orchard, and a museum/administration building,

Northington to Appleman, March 1937; Hough to Appleman, January 1938. NPS records, RG 79, National Archives.

²⁹³ Herbert Evison to Director, NPS, October 27, 1937.

²⁹⁴ Russell to Director, NPS, for Appleman, October 13, 1937. NPS records, RG 79, National Archives. Present author's emphasis.

²⁹⁵ Draft outline, Superintendent's Monthly Report, November 1933, 4. Hough's earlier comments on the need for a Master Plan for the park can be found in the Superintendent's Monthly Reports for January and October 1933.

The influence of the Western Field Office under the guidance of Thomas C. Vint can be seen in the correspondence and actions of his proteges, Charles Peterson and Roswell Ludgate, landscape architects who developed early designs for the park. Also in evidence at GEWA was the application of a park design aesthetic that had evolved within NPS's landscape division between 1927-32. Conflicts arose, however, due to NPS's and the Wakefield Association's differing approaches to preserving and enhancing the historic nature and character of the landscape. For a thorough history of NPS park design, see Linda Flint McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1993).

²⁹⁷ Hough's calls for a master plan and Congressional legislation regarding land acquisition for GEWA were continual throughout the mid- to late-1930s. Correspondence between R. MacGregor, evidently an NPS official, to Raymond B. Poeppel, who was the "Resident Landscape Architect" at the park in 1937, echo the sentiments and issues addressed during this period. See 1937 letter from MacGregor to Poeppel, NPS records, RG 79, National Archives.

were continually being proposed, then rejected, due to the sensitivity of siting them in the historic core.²⁹⁸ In 1939, a five-sheet master plan was finally signed by Interior Secretary Harold Ickes, NPS Director Arno Cammerer, and Superintendent Philip Hough. The plan proposed land acquisitions and documented the locations of known archeological investigations. One sheet, entitled "Developed Area Map with Road & Trails," [Fig. 27] showed the park landscape as it existed in 1936.²⁹⁹ Another sheet, entitled "The Mansion Area," [Fig. 26] included an enlargement of the historic core area. The sheets contained notes relating to physical and historical descriptions of specific features and proposed developments indicated in three areas: "Administration Buildings and Museum," a "Picnic Area for Colored People," and further archeological and historical investigation of the burial grounds, presumably referring to the John Washington site.³⁰⁰ Few of the developments proposed in the 1939 master plan have been undertaken to date, however.

In 1939, a small "museum display of relics found on the place" was located in one ground-floor room of the Memorial House, adjacent to a "clerk's office" and bathroom, both of which were seen as intrusive on the "desired effect." Also located in the building were small upstairs bedrooms used as ranger's quarters, which had been intended to be shown as "servant's living quarters." The basement held a "central heating plant and small photograph laboratory." These conditions were considered inadequate to the needs of the park. The Master Plan proposed the construction of a new set of administration buildings and an interpretive museum. In 1940, a small administration building was constructed adjacent to the parking lot west of the historic core area. The building was removed in 1976 when the Visitor Center was constructed.

The master plan also identified a proposed "Picnic Area"—clearly meant to allow for segregated recreational areas—to be located between the Bridges Creek landing turnaround and the pond near the Henry Brooks site. This picnic area was never constructed. The master plan makes no mention of the Brooks settlement located in this area, despite its obvious relationship to the proposed new interpretation of the John Washington and burial ground sites.³⁰¹

Included as part of the master plan's recommendations regarding land acquisition was a "property status" sheet [Fig. 25] that showed adjacent lands considered critical to the protection of the park's historic character and boundaries. Among these properties were those of the Charles Muse ("F.C.," 62 acres); Harry Muse (the Wickliffe seat, 108 acres); and Robinson John Muse ("R.J.", 94 acres), whose land bordered the Duck Hall tract to the west and covered a significant area of Potomac River frontage [Fig. 28]; a series of small islands at the mouth of Popes Creek owned by James and William Latane; and, most critical in Hough's view, the C. E. Muse (170 acres) and Morris (100 acres) tracts, which lay directly to the north and east of the historic core along Popes Creek. C.E. Muse's property, in particular, threatened scenic viewsheds from the core area due to the development of beach cottages known as "Muse's Beach." The notes that accompanied the "property status" sheet outlined a proposed acquisition of "approximately 1600 acres."

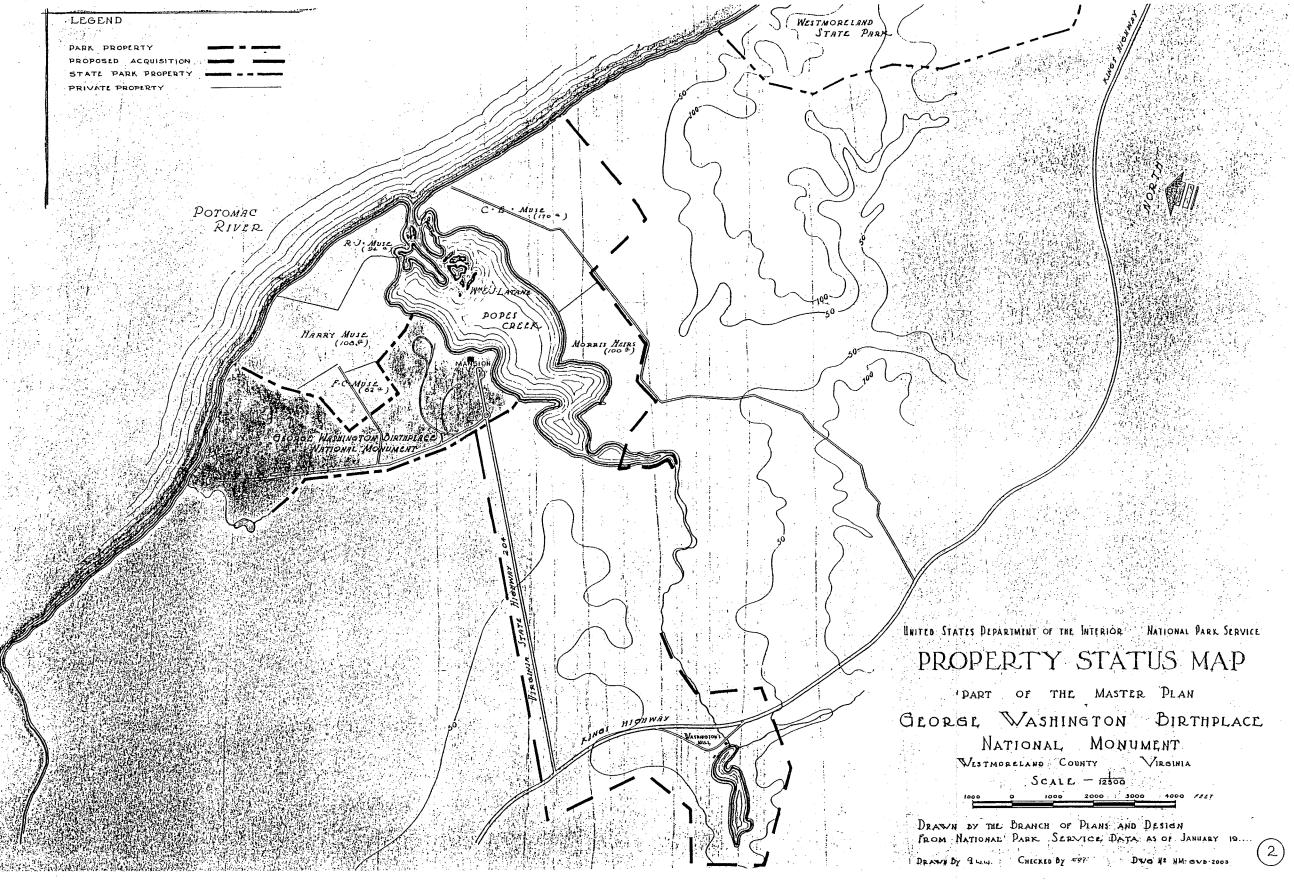
²⁹⁸ Present evidence suggests that of these three, only the stables, or "horse barn," were built during this period. A "General Development Plan" for the park dated 1966 [Fig. 30] shows the site of an "administration building" south of the existing parking lot. Further investigation may indicate when the other features were installed at the historic core.

²⁹⁹ Map entitled "George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Department of the Interior, National Park Service," scale 1:300, "edition of 1936." GEWA map archives.

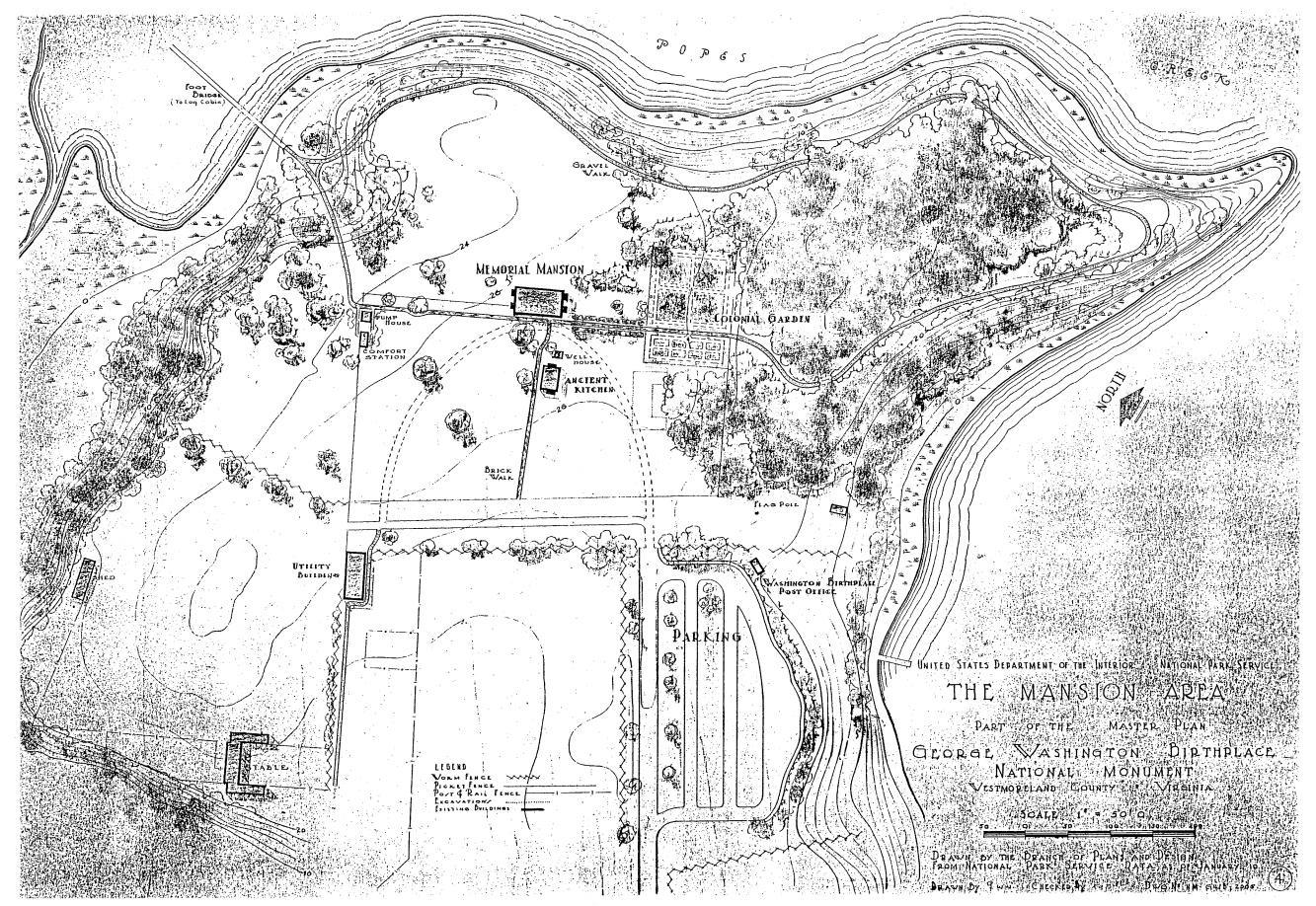
³⁰⁰ Appended typewritten notes, GEWA Master Plan, 1939 edition. RG 79, Cartographic Division, National Archives.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

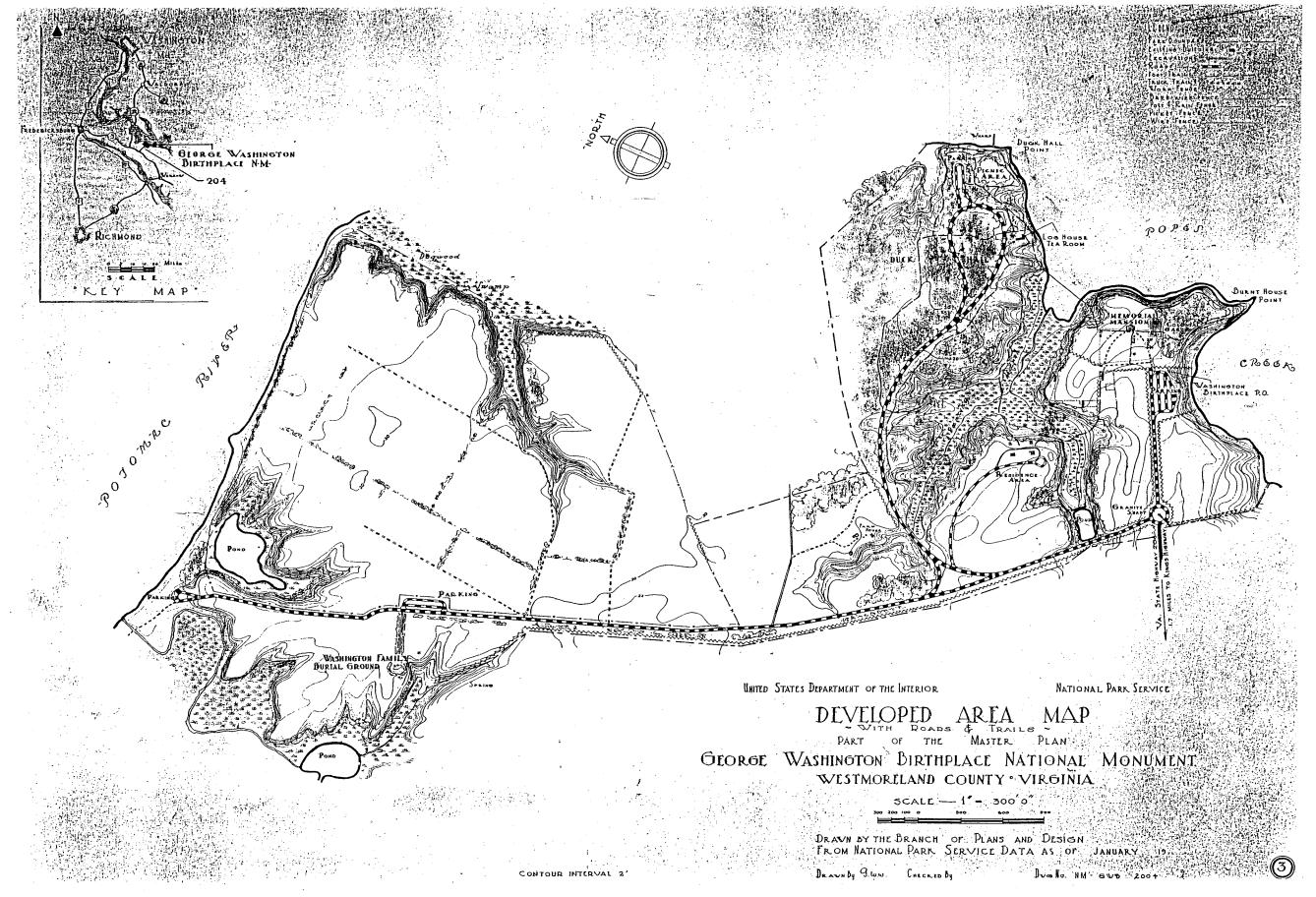
³⁰² Hough had drawn a map of the acreage deemed vulnerable to development as early as June 6, 1936; see untitled map dated 1•24•44 and initialed by P.R.H. (Philip Hough), GEWA map archives. In addition, the views across from



25. "Property Status Map, Part of the Master Plan, George Washington Birthplace National Monument," National Park Service, 1939, rev. 1940.

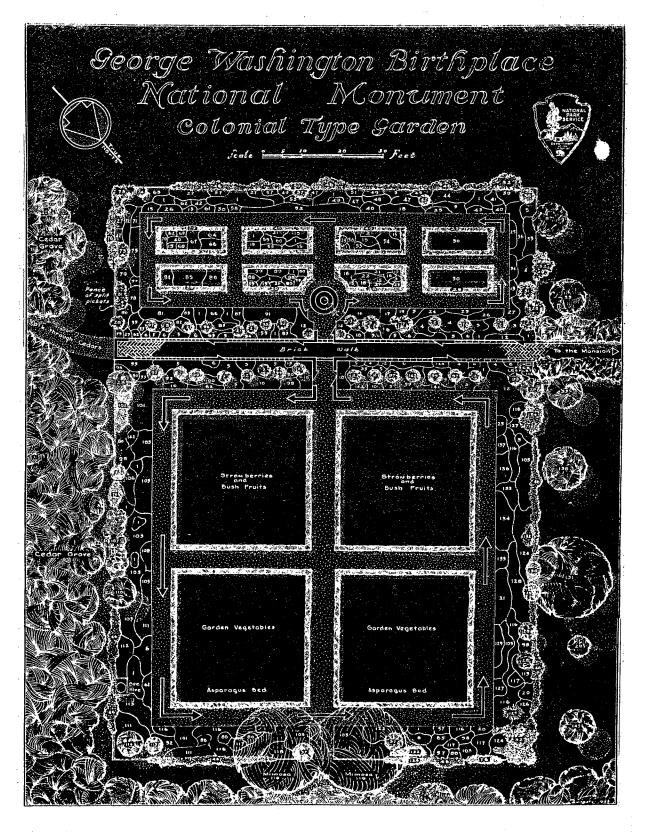


26. "The Mansion Area, Part of the Master Plan, George Washington Birthplace National Monument," National Park Service, 1939, rev. 1940.



27. "Developed Area Map, Part of the Master Plan, George Washington Birthplace National Monument," National Park Service, 1939, rev. 1940.

28. "Portion of Westmoreland County." n.d., ca. 1949.



29. "George Washington Birthplace National Monument Colonial Type Garden," 1955.

a buffer strip north of VSH No. 204, all property between this highway and Popes Creek and east of Kings Highway to the present boundary, an area around Washington's Mill and Mill Pond, and areas to the south of Popes Creek, directly opposite the present owned area, and the land lying between the present boundaries and the Potomac River.

Of these areas the buffer strip along Route No. 204 and the area south of Popes Creek are proposed to provide protective areas and to forestall possible infringement of undesirable developments which may interfere with scenic views and impair the present historical atmosphere.

The area around Washington's Mill Pond is recommended because of its possible historical value and close connection with the development at Wakefield.³⁰³

The issue of scenic control escalated into a full-blown proposal to acquire 1,000 adjacent acres, to protect not only viewsheds, but also the natural environment. A memorandum from acting regional director H.K. Roberts to NPS Director Arno Cammerer included Hough's two statements regarding the critical need for action: "Statement of the Necessity for Scenic Control at the Birthplace" and "Statement of the Desirability of Popes Creek, Virginia, as a Wildlife Refuge." Little historical documentation regarding the response to this proposal exists. However, it appears that no action was immediately taken on these proposals. Since 1972, however, the park has thrice acquired additional parcels, helping to protect park viewsheds, and increasing its access to wildlife habitat such as Longwood Swamp. These parcels include the F.C. and R.J. Muse properties listed above. The R.J. Muse parcel, located adjacent to the Potomac River, became a loblolly pine plantation in the early 1980s. Portions of the plantation were planted with autumn olive specifically to provide food and habitat for wildlife. The parcels added to the park since the 1970s, however, total only about 162 acres, and do not begin to address the 1,600 acre recommendation made in the 1939 master plan, or the later proposal to acquire 1,000 adjacent acres.

Post-War Developments

With the onset of U.S. involvement in World War II, park development came to a standstill. Since few records exist for the park between the early 1940s and 1966, it would seem that the landscape underwent very little physical change during this time. The only known development during this period entailed a new design for the Colonial Garden [Fig. 29] in 1955. In 1963, the wooden footbridge connecting the historic core and Log House areas was lost during a storm and was

the historic core area were significantly threatened by the Muse's Beach cottages, which Hough addressed in a memorandum to the NPS Director, December 6, 1938. NPS records, RG 79, National Archives.

Regarding the suggested "Wildlife Refuge," Hough reported the recent activity in the area which more than likely led to this proposal:

The marshes are regularly trapped. The Creek is actively worked by commercial crabbers in season. The river beaches in front of the memorial mansion are seining [sic] grounds for commercial fishermen. Five blinds were used last winter for shooting ducks over Popes Creek.

Ibid.

³⁰³ Appended notes, GEWA Master Plan, 1939 edition. RG 79, Cartographic Division, National Archives.

³⁰⁴ Statements by Philip Hough, Superintendent, in H.K. Roberts to NPS Director, May 10, 1940. NPS records, RG 79, National Archives. Hough emphasized the need for protected park viewsheds so that "from its portals [they] should be of the highest inspirational quality." Views of the development at Muse's Beach were a particular threat to the historic viewsheds of the park.

never replaced. Otherwise, the fundamental structure of the park landscape as it had been developed prior to World War II remained intact.

In 1966, a general development plan was initiated [Fig. 30] that outlined plans for utility, residential, and public recreation areas. It also proposed acquisition of Muse family tracts, some of which were owned by this time by Gordon and Garnett Horner, and called for the development of an interpretive program for the John Washington and Henry Brooks sites. Proposed Duck Hall improvements included restoration of the Dancing Marsh footbridge, and installation of interpretive signage along the Nature Trail. Proposals for the acquisition of land owned by the Muse family recommended the reservation of a tract just north of the Raymond Washington site for use as a "residence for farm laborers," with another area slightly north of it set aside for a new "utility area." Also proposed were a new picnic area, shelters, and a comfort station just north of the Harry Muse farm. This area would utilize the existing farm road to the house, with a new section of road proposed to connect the area along the river.

In a later revision to the general development plan, dated April 1967, all development proposals for the Muse property had been eliminated, and the proposed maintenance and farm-laborer residential areas were relocated to the Raymond Washington site. The new picnic area was moved to a location in the Duck Hall tract. The revised plan also proposed an additional recreation area to the west, sited directly on the Potomac River, for "passive beach uses" such as "nature observation, scenic vistas, walking, and sitting," as well as a nature trail encircling the Henry Brooks site, the open leased agricultural field, and Digwood Swamp. Bridges Creek road was to be "obliterate[d]" between the parking area opposite the Washington family burial ground site all the way to the beach turnaround, and a new spur-road, leading from the burial ground parking area to a new picnic area near the site proposed as a "picnic area for colored people" in the 1939 master plan, was to be constructed.

The revised general management plan of 1967 was included as a component of the new park master plan adopted in 1968. The master plan founded its recommendations on the park's commitment "to provide for the highest quality of use and enjoyment for the visitor ... to conserve and manage for their highest purpose the natural, historical and recreational resources ... and to communicate the cultural, inspirational and recreational significance of the American heritage,"306 To this end, a substantial expansion of park features intended to increase recreational and interpretive opportunities were proposed. In the historic core area, proposals included the addition of a new visitor center, expanded interpretation of "Building X," and new interpretive trails; as well as the obliteration of intrusive existing structures such as the comfort station, storage shed, stables, utility shed, post office, parking area, and administration building; and the establishment of a "living farm exhibition." At this time, approximately 170 acres of agricultural land were farmed by the owners of adjacent properties under special agricultural permit. The master plan recommended continued use of these permits until the acreage might be needed to expand historic farm operations. The "living farm" was to offer "self-guiding tours of [the] living farm area, demonstrations of farm tools, livestock of the times ... period crops, [and the restoration of] dependencies," while the new visitor center was to convey the theme of George Washington's birth and boyhood, in addition to housing administrative offices, a Wakefield Association "sales facility," a fee collection site, a new post office, and a "civil defense facility," then located at the Memorial House. The visitor center would also offer opportunities to enjoy the "historic vistas" across Popes Creek,³⁰⁷ and serve as a trailhead to the new "self-guiding history trail."

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ GEWA master plan, 1968, 7-9.

³⁰⁷ Other plans for the historic core area included a possible relocation of the Colonial Garden and the stabilization of the "Building X" ruins. "General Development Plan," GEWA, November 1966. GEWA archives.

Other documents reviewed for this report that date to the 1960s indicate that proposals were made for a "George Washington Country Parkway" and "Potomac Heritage Trail," two parallel circulation systems designed to link various aspects of George Washington's life associated with sites at Washington, D.C., Mount Vernon, Ferry Farm, George Washington's Birthplace National Monument, Williamsburg, and Yorktown. Neither of these systems was ever established. The master plan, however, makes recommendations for land acquisition between the proposed parkway and the monument entrance at S.R. 204, in order to ensure protection of this approach road. The 1968 master plan also recommended that the Log House be rehabilitated to serve as an overnight stopping place and/or restaurant for travelers of the Potomac Heritage Trail.

The 1968 master plan mentions that the Colonial Garden had recently been "rejuvenated," and that the Wakefield Association maintained a "hothouse and cutting garden for developing sales items and to aid in management of the colonial garden." It also mentions the "new" well which "will serve as a supply to the proposed visitor center and other buildings now present." The master plan further states that

Vehicle access to the present utility area is by way of the monument circle, through the parking area and on the gravel road in back of the memorial house and kitchen. The road is mistakenly used by many visitors who have to then turn around at the maintenance area to return to the proper parking area. The road and maintenance area are intrusions on the mansion grounds' colonial environment.³¹⁰

It recommends that "the existing maintenance area be removed from the historic scene and new facilities for storage and work space [be] developed at a site outside the critical historic zones."³¹¹ As will be seen in the following period, many of these recommendations were implemented as part of the Visitor Center complex constructed in 1976, and the transfer of the maintenance facilities from the historic core that same year.

Additions made to the historic core area during this time reflect proposals to interpret the park as a "living Colonial farm." The establishment of a Morgan horse farm was seen as part of this concept, although it was also intended to serve the East Coast as part of a bi-coastal NPS training and breeding program. The West Coast center, still in existence, was located at Point Reyes, California.

The program for the 1969 dedication of the Morgan horse farm included the following text:

Generations ago, when North America owed allegiance to a distant king, a romping little boy ran about the Potomac plantation where he was born in 1732. Today, the National Park Service here interprets on a "Living Colonial Farm" the life and times of that child. The sounds he heard, the smells he smelled are all here encountered. Here eighteenth century crops and farm animals flourish on Virginia Tidewater acres encompassed by the placid flow of Pope's Creek. Here other children of other times, and grown-ups too, can experience the environment which shaped the immortal Washington.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 55. A photograph of the greenhouse is located in the GEWA park building files. The former location of this building remains undetermined, however.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 55. The well is located beneath the water tower, later constructed on the old Raymond Washington property.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 55.

³¹¹ Ibid., 55.

For many years George Washington's birth site lay neglected, the old home long gone. Then various efforts, notably the work of the ladies of the Wakefield National Memorial Association, saved a sizeable part of the land to become in the early 1930s, along with a Memorial House, the George Washington Birthplace National Monument. The "Living Farm" development accelerated during the 1960s.

The independent nation was Washington's legacy. An obscure contemporary, a poor New England school teacher named Justin Morgan, left only a horse, but it was a remarkable horse, the progenitor of an American strain to be called the Morgan, strong and tireless, suitable either for riding or pulling. The popularity of the breed almost led to its extinction, since stallions were used to improve other stock more than to perpetuate the Morgan line. The Morgans were saved, however. They ornament the show ring and serve usefully wherever horses remain necessary to do man's work. In some of the national parks, horses are still vital for daily operations. Now, thanks to the generosity of private donors and the vision of Mrs. Richard Colgate of Oldwick, N.J., a Morgan Horse Farm has been established at George Washington Birthplace National Monument to provide mounts for the National Capital Park Police and Park Rangers throughout the National Park System.³¹²

Established in 1968, the horse farm development included a barn, four paddocks enclosed by 5,000 feet of split-rail fencing, a clay-surfaced training ring, an entrance road and parking area, and utility improvements such as a septic tank and underground electrical lines. Park files indicate that six pasture sheds were also constructed in 1968; two of the sheds survive today. Mrs. Richard M. Colgate of Oldwick, New Jersey donated twelve Morgan horses, including two stallions, eight brood mares, a show mare, and a gelding. Over the eight years of the facility's operation, the number of horses grew to forty. In the mid-1970s, the facility became a financial burden to the park, and was discontinued. The maintenance facilities, previously located at the edge of the historic core, were relocated to the horse barn and associated outbuildings in 1976.

In 1972, Catherine Shouse sold 62.3 acres of land, which she had acquired four years earlier from Fred C. Muse's widow Marguerite, to the United States of America, subject to a number of stipulations. The parcel, located across Digwood Swamp from the horse farm, provided an added buffer to the park; it also contained the site of the Muse family burial ground. The deed documenting the land transfer indicates that the parcel was

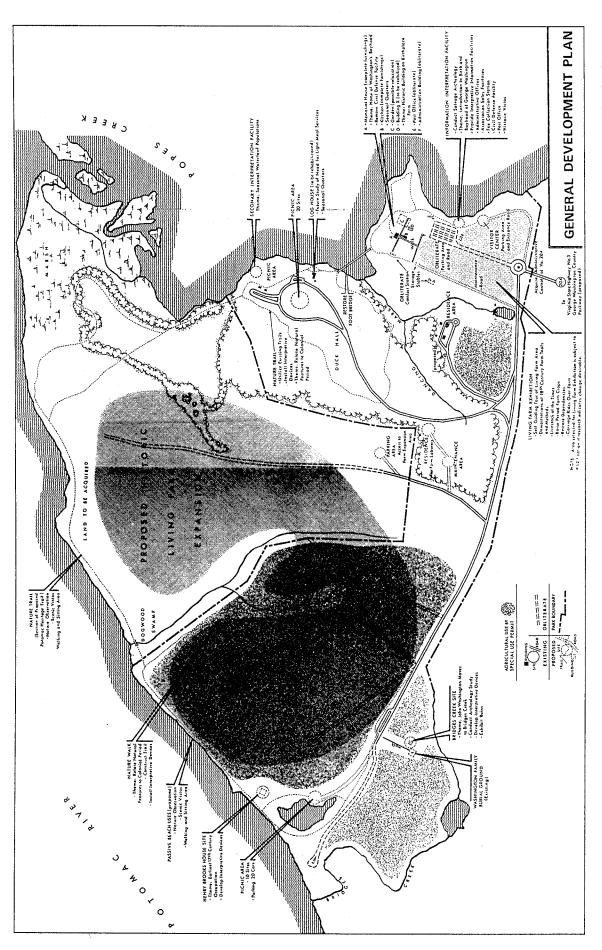
[subject], however, to existing easements for public roads and highways, for public utilities, for railroad and pipelines.

[subject], also, to existing 20 foot private right-of-way as presently located, through above-described property to farm properties north of same and, also the rights created by a private family cemetery situated on said premises and the right of visitation and maintenance created thereby.³¹³

No mention is made of the remnants of the George Muse dwelling and orchard known to have been on this property during the nineteenth century. Documentation regarding the demise and removal of these features has not been located to date.

³¹² NPS program, "Dedication. The Morgan Horse Farm a part of the Living Farm," George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Washington's Birthplace, Virginia, October 13, 1969.

³¹³ The Circuit Court, Westmoreland County, Virginia. Deed Book 229, Page 353.



30. "General Development Plan," Master Plan for George Washington Birthplace National Monument, National Park Service, 1968.

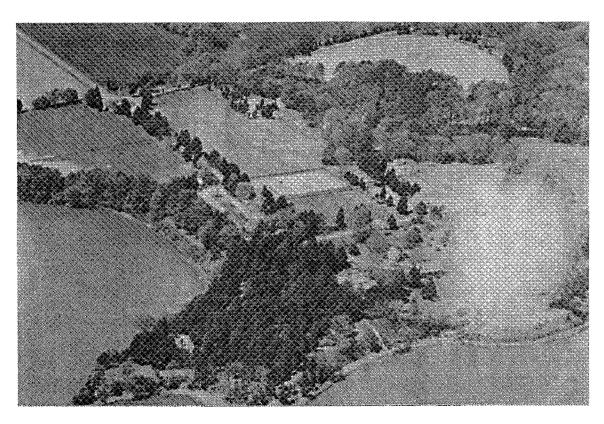
A number of other changes occurred at the park in the decades following World War II. At Duck Hall, two comfort stations were demolished and a new facility was constructed in 1975-76, and a picnic shelter, constructed in 1939, was lost to fire in 1958. A second shelter, probably constructed in the early 1980s, exists at Duck Hall today. The Log House underwent interior alterations in 1969 and 1975 as part of its conversion to a conference facility. Similarly, the Colonial Kitchen in the historic core was remodeled to accommodate NPS offices and rest room facilities in 1954 and 1976. The gate house, once located at the entrance to the historic core area east of the traffic circle, was converted to a fowl house in 1975, and moved to a new location near the Spinning and Weaving Room, next to additional fowl houses, constructed ca. 1968, and a small pond. Other historic core area improvements included the 1968 construction of a log cornhouse, as well as oxen, tobacco, and exhibit sheds, and demonstration plots of crops. In 1972, the park installed a series of interpretive waysides at the historic core, along the Nature Trail system near the Log House, at the Burial Ground, and at the Henry Brooks site overlook. These signs interpret historic, cultural, and natural resources using the voice of George Washington, as he might have remembered his early years on the property. Utility improvements included a septic system west of the Ice Pond, a water sprinkler system in the Colonial Garden, automatic trough waterers associated with the livestock areas of the historic core, and a water faucet near the hog pens.

It is thought that the bridge across Bridges Creek near the landing on the Potomac River went out of use in the 1960s or 1970s. According to personal interviews with long-time area residents Goodwin Muse and Lawrence Latane, this bridge served as the only connection to the property known as Haywood from the time of its establishment in the 1780s until the development of a subdivision in 1960s or 1970s created a new access route to the region. Finally, a pump station and water tower were constructed in 1975, providing the park with a steady water supply from the well located on the old Raymond Washington property.

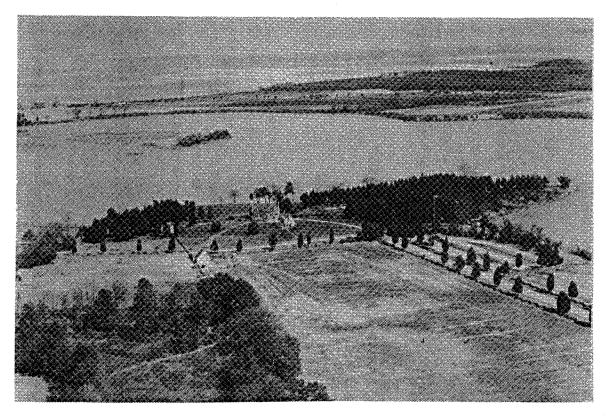
Conclusion

George Washington Birthplace witnessed few changes between the early projects associated with the opening of the park, and the 1960s. The park's first few years saw the construction of various buildings and structures, parking facilities, walks and trails, picnic areas, and plantings. Behind the scenes, these improvements were accompanied by various planning projects establishing management and maintenance procedures. Important archeological investigations were also undertaken to resolve some of the mysteries surrounding the foundation of "Building X." Although a master plan was prepared in 1939-1940, the park underwent very little change until a new master plan was prepared in 1968.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the park witnessed a burst of activity related to the establishment of a living farm and a representative eighteenth-century plantation. Interpretation through agriculture, craft displays, and livestock typical of the period was supported by interpreters dressed in eighteenth-century costume. Structures, fencing, walks, and plantings were added to the historic core to support the goals of the living farm. Projects such as the establishment of the Morgan horse farm and removal of the maintenance and administrative functions from the historic core contributed to the goals of the living farm. It was also during this period that the park began to act on recommendations made in the 1930s and 1940s, acquiring parcels within the park's critical viewsheds in order to maintain the historic scene. This practice continued during the following period.



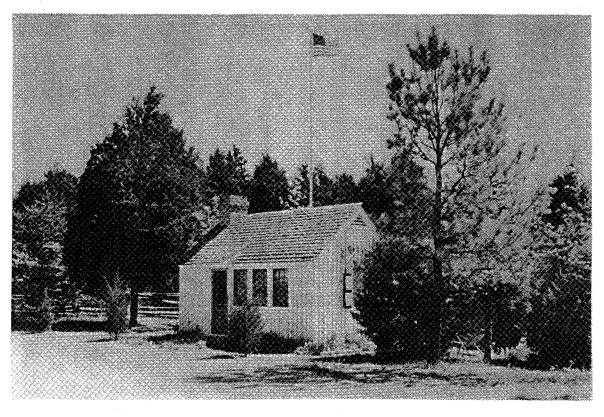
17. Aerial view looking east of George Washington's Birthplace National Monument. 1933.



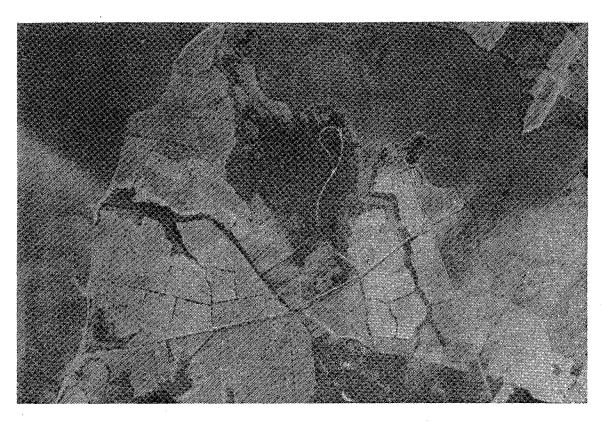
18. Aerial view looking southwest of George Washington's Birthplace National Monument. Date unknown.



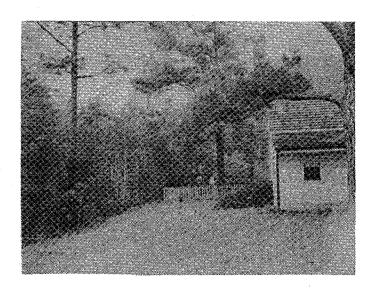
19. Colonial Garden with dove cote. 1938.



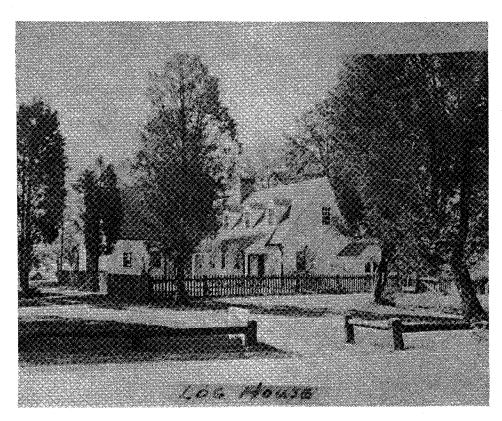
20. The post office at the entrance to the historic core area. April 23, 1938.



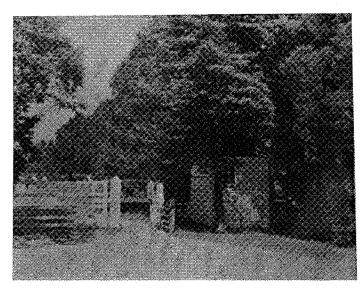
21. Aerial photograph of George Washington Birthplace National Monument. 1941.



22. The Log House. Date unknown.



23. The Log House. Ca. 1960s.



24. Gatehouse. Date unknown.

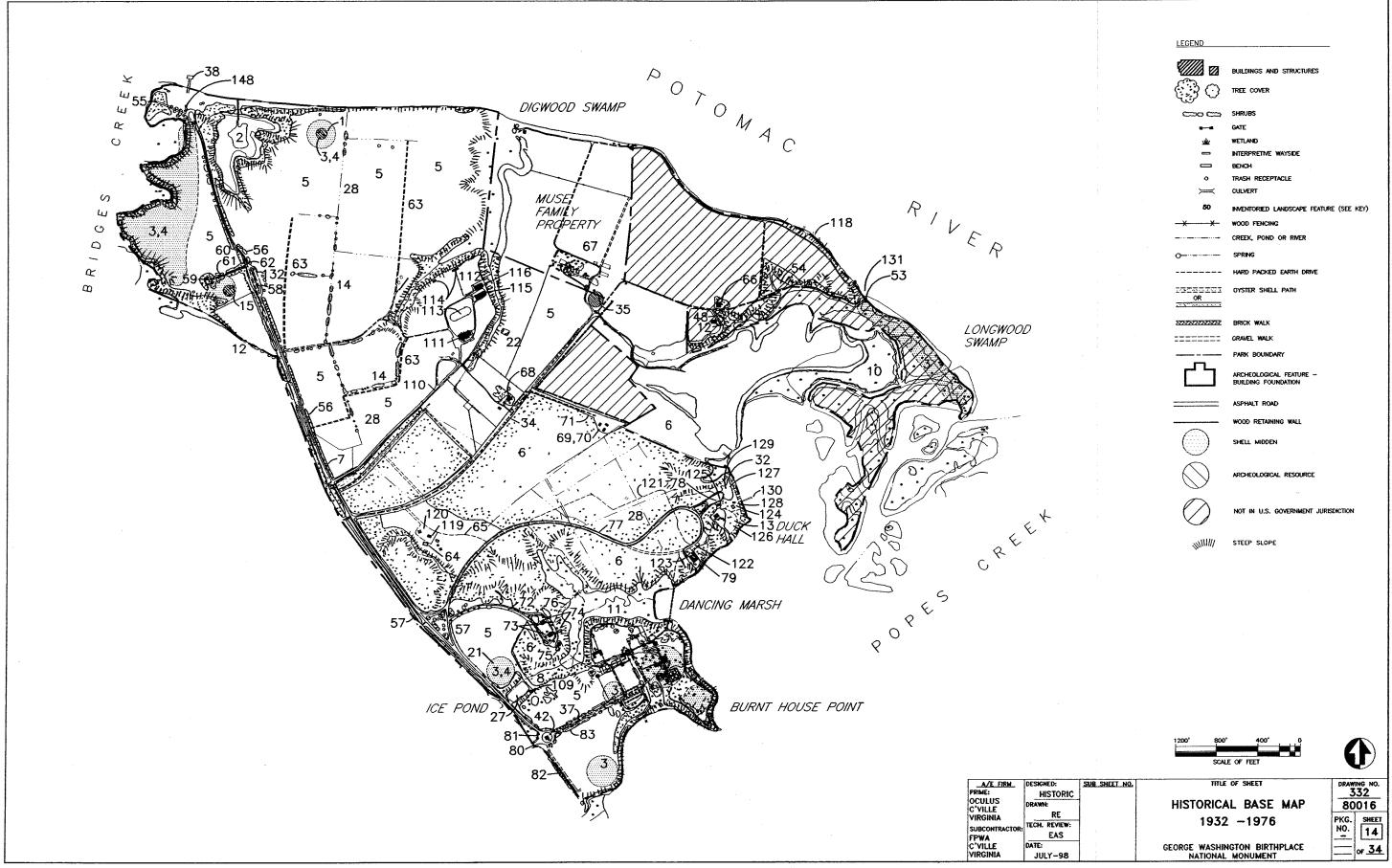
HISTORICAL BASE MAP 1932 - 1976

Inventory of Landscape Features

1932 - 1976

#	Feature	Date of Origin	#	Feature	Date of Origin
2.	Pond	prehistory	59.	Renovation of burial ground	1930-31
5.	Agricultural fields, pastures	prehistory, post 1657	60.	Oyster shell walk addition of guard rail	1931 1933
6.	Woodlands	secondary,	61.	Ornamental plantings	1931
_		tertiary growth	62.	Maintenance access road	by 1932
7.	Bridges Creek road realigned circ. turnaround rehab'd	ca. 1651-57 1931 1934	63.	Farm roads	by 1932
			64.	Raymond Washington site	by 1932
8.	Creek/drainageway	prehistory		vacated, shed moved-res.	1934
9.	Digwood Swamp	prehistory	65.	Road to Raymond Washington rehab'd for utility area	by 1932, ca. 1976
10.	Longwood Swamp	prehistory	66.	R.J. Muse house site	by 1932
11.	Dancing Marsh ditching a/t mosquitoes	prehistory 1933		Harry Muse house site	by 1932
12.	Springs, 2	prehistory	68.	Fred Muse house site, driveway	by 1932
13.	Eastern red cedar grove	by ca. 1930s	69.	Muse family house site	by 1932
14.	Hedgerows (conjecture)	(conj.) ca. 1657	70.	Well site	by 1932
22.	Muse family burial ground	(conj.) ca. 1700	71.	Road to well	by 1932
27.	Ice Pond	ca. 1725-79	72.	Road to employee residence area	1932
21.	dam rehabilitated	1933	73.	Employee residences, 2	1932-34
28.	Agricultural drainage ditches	ca. 1700-50		Porches, brick walks	1934
34.	Road to Muse property	by 1813	74.	Garages, 2 at residence area	1932
37.	Crushed stone road to birthplace resurfaced	1931	75.	Tennis courts	1932-34
			76.	Trails between residences,	1932
38.	Wharf at Bridges Creek landing removed by CCC		77	historic core, and Log House	1022
42.	Granite monument	1896	77.	Road to Log House, picnic area	
72.	relocated	1930	78.	Rest room buildings, 2 removed	1932 1975
48.	Spring house	(conj.) by 1892	79.	Log House	1932
53.	Flagpole	by 1923		alterations	1969, 1975
	site lost to erosion	unknown	80.	Approach road to site	1923
54.	Pond (conjecture)	ca. 1923-32	81.	Traffic circle around monument	
55.	Road/bridge across Bridges Cr.	by 1931		granite curbing, cobbles	1933-34
56.	use discontinued	1960s-70s	82.	Road to borrow pit repl'd by Visitor Center	by 1932 1975-76
57.	Cedar allée/hedgerow Wood fencing	1931	83.	•	1931
57.	•	1930-32 1974-75		Ice Pond pump house	1933
58.	Parking area	1931-32			1968
				1	

# Feature	Date of Origin	# Feature	Date of Origi	
111.Morgan horse barn	1968	128. "Ancient" pear tree	unknown	
112.Paddocks	1968	129. Stone drinking fountain	unknown	
113.Training ring	1968	130. Wharf and boat house	1935	
114.Pasture sheds, 6	1968	131.Pier, bulkheads	1935	
115. Equipmt. stor. structure	1968	132. Interpretive waysides	1972	
116.Hay storage structure	1968	148. Naval Range Station	1954	
118.Breakwater	unknown			
119. Water pur. station	1975	Known Archeological Resource		
120.Water tower	ca. 1975	1. Henry Brooks house site	ca. 1651-57	
121. Nature Trail	1934	3. Shell middens	prehistory	
122. Service road, walks, pkn	g1933-35	4. Agricultural artifacts	prehistory	
123.Log House storage shed/	ca. 1935-37	15. John Washington house site	ca. 1657-64	
chemical cart house		21. Possible tobacco shed	by 1722	
124. Picnic shelter lost to fire	1939 1958	32. Ice house	ca. 1779-18	
125.Comfort station	1975	* Bold entries indicate a new feature of the alteration of an existing feature during this period.		
126.Picnic area	1933			
127. Vista cuttings	1932-34			



HISTORICAL BASE MAP

INSET: HISTORIC CORE

1932 - 1976

Inventory of Landscape Features

Historic Core 1932 - 1976

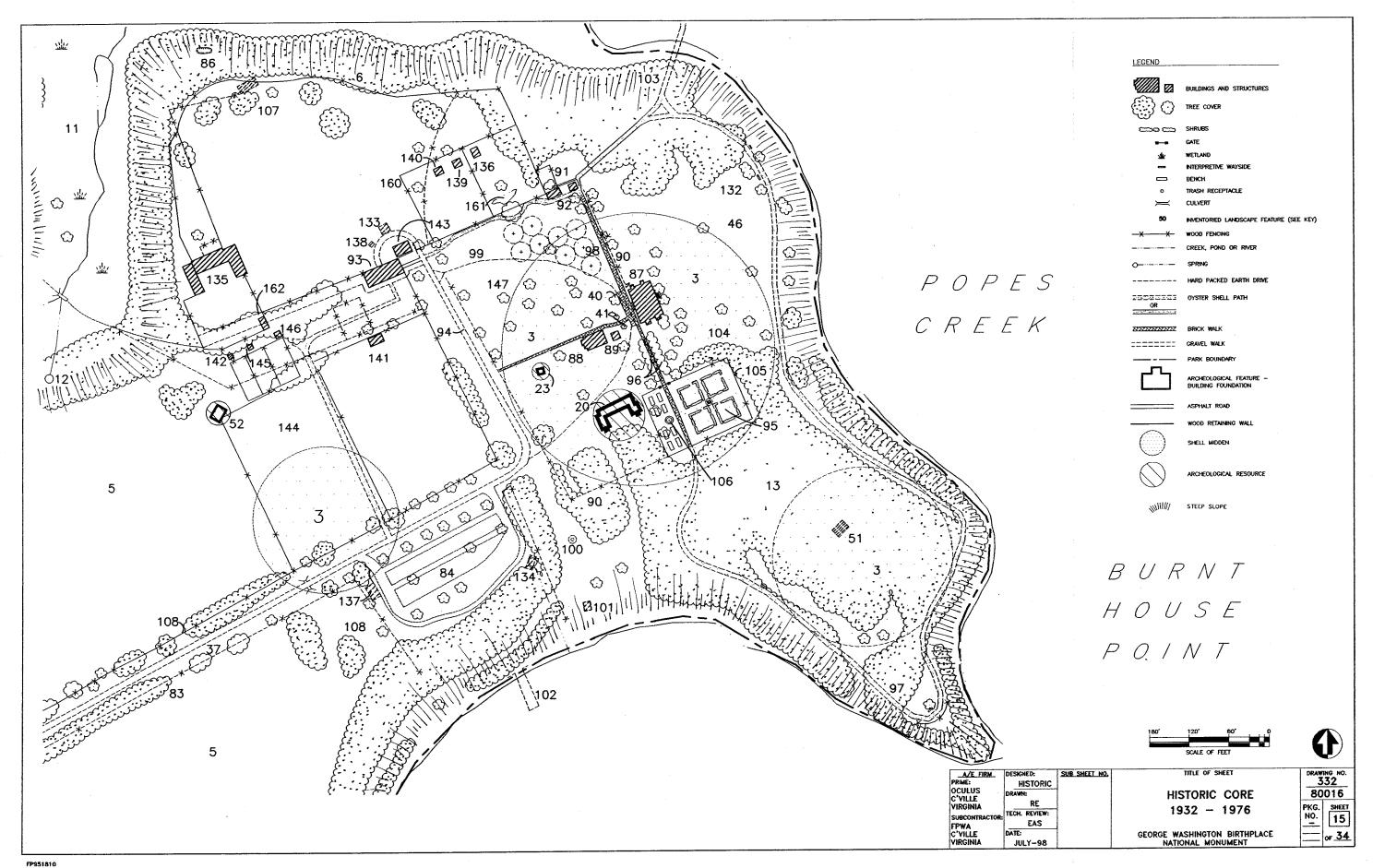
#	Feature	Date of Origin	#	Feature	Date of Origin
5.	Agricultural fields, pastures	prehistory,	98. Brick walks	ca. 1932-35	
_	***	post 1657	99.	"Old Wagon Road"	1931
6.	Woodlands	secondary, tertiary growth	100.	Flagpole removed	1932 1975
11.	Dancing Marsh ditching a/t mosquitoes	prehistory 1933	101.	Tool house removed	by 1928 1975
12.	Springs, 2	prehistory	102	Captain's Cove wharf	by 1932
13.	Eastern red cedar grove	ca. 1896	102.	removed	by 1976
37.	Crushed stone road to birthplace resurfaced	e by 1897 1931	103.	Footbridge acr. Dancing Marsh lost to hurricane	1932 1963
40.	Hackberry tree	by 1880s	104.	Ornamental plantings	1930-31
41.	Fig shrubs	by 1880s	105.	Colonial Garden fencing	1931
46.	Views established to river	1896	106.	Sundial	ca. 1931-32
51.	Dance pavilion removed	by 1923 1933	107.	Storage structure removed	1932 unknown
76.	Trails between residences, historic core, and Log House	1932	108.	Fencing portions removed	1931-32 by 1976
83.	Cedar allée	1931	132	.Interpretive waysides	1972
84.	Parking area	1932	133	.Shed	1936
86.	Clay pit	1930		removed	1966
87.	Memorial House	1931	134	.Post office removed	1937 1975
88.	Colonial Kitchen House alterations	1931 1954, 1976	135	Rockefeller Barn	1938-39
89.	Well house	1930-31	136	.Contact station	1939
90.	Picket fencing	1931	137	.Administration building removed	1940 1975
91.	Pump house rehab'd as stor. structure	1931 1975-77	138.	Gasoline house	1940 1954
92.	Rest rooms	1932	139.	.Central fowl house	1968
	rehab'd as Spin/Weaving			.Western fowl house	1968
93.	Utility building alterations	1932 1935		Oxen shed	1968
94.	Road to utility building	1932		.Western hog pen	1968
95.	Colonial Garden	1930-1931	143.	Exhibit (tobacco) shed	1968
	alterations	by 1955	144.	Demonstration crops	ca. 1968
96.	Boxwood hedges	1931		.Central hog pen	1970
97.	Trail around Burnt House Point erosion control measures			Eastern hog pen	ca. 1968

# Feature	Date of Origin
147.Orchard	ca. 1970
160.Fencing	ca. 1968
161.Fowl pond	ca. 1968
162.Log Corn house	ca. 1970

Known Archeological Resources

3.	Shell middens	prehistory
20.	Abbington/Washington house	by 1722, 1725
23.	Possible dairy	ca. 1725-79
52.	Unidentified outbuilding	unknown

^{*} Bold entries indicate a new feature or the alteration of an existing feature during this period.



Addition of the Visitor Center, 1976 - 1996

(Map J. Historical Base Map: 1976 - 1996; Appendices A and B)

Introduction

The most significant changes that occurred at the park during this period involved the completion of work associated with the construction of the Visitor Center [Inv. #149], gift shop and post office [Inv. #150], and associated access road [Inv. #151] and parking area [Inv. #152]; removal of the 1930s-era parking area and visitor contact complex; and the relocation of park maintenance facilities to the former Morgan horse farm [Inv. #111]. The historic core area continued to be augmented by new buildings, fencing, and agricultural display plots intended to enhance the living farm concept proposed in the 1968 master plan. By 1976, the relocation of visitor contact and maintenance facilities enabled the park to focus on presenting a coherent image of a representative eighteenth-century plantation within the historic core. The rest rooms were converted into the Spinning and Weaving Room building [Inv. #92] in order to interpret eighteenth-century craft, some of the existing brick walks were reset and new sections were added [Inv. #95], and the original park contact station was converted into a fowl house [Inv. #136]. A new trail system was developed to connect the Visitor Center to the historic core along the banks of the Potomac River [Inv. #153]. During construction of this trail, it is thought that one of the two springs [Inv. #12] located in the historic core was lost, and a tool shed [Inv. #101], known to have existed as early as 1928, was removed.

By 1976, other improvements had been completed at the park such as a utility complex that included a water tower with a 50,000-gallon capacity [Inv. #120], a water purification and pump house [Inv. #119], and an access road [Inv. #65]. A new picnic shelter [Inv. #154] was constructed at Duck Hall in the early to mid-1980s, replacing an earlier shelter that had been lost to fire, and a new trail [Inv. #158] connecting the Log House with the picnic area was constructed in 1993. A new garage and storage structure [Inv. #155] was constructed near the park personnel residences, replacing a tennis court [Inv. #75]. Two utility structures were present by this period in the historic core area, one of which was a sewage pump station [Inv. #'s 163, 164]. At least one additional fowl house was also constructed in the late 1960s [Inv. #159]. A storage structure, used to store equipment such as lawn mowers, was also constructed within the core area behind the Farm Workshop during this period [Inv. #165].

Additional parcels were acquired for the park from the Horner family in 1978 and 1996 within the area formerly referred to as the Muse family property. The parcel acquired in 1978 was subsequently planted as a loblolly pine plantation [Inv. #156]. In 1996, the Naval Range Station was removed [Inv. #148], and its functions relocated beyond park boundaries. Finally, new interpretive signage [Inv. #157] was added at the park during the 1990s, specifically at Bridges Creek landing and at the Washington family burial ground.

The Visitor Center

The map archives at George Washington Birthplace National Monument contain a set of drawings, dated October 1974, which detail the construction of the Visitor Center and entrance station [Figs. 31-34]. Although the set is marked "As-Constructed Drawings," other available documentation suggests that the building and its related features were not completed and open to the public until 1976. It is thought that the complex was completed in time for celebrations of the American Bicentennial. The Visitor Center complex shown on the drawings includes the main building, intended to house interpretive displays, audiovisual facilities, rest rooms, a visitor contact station, and NPS administrative offices. A second building, shown connected to the Visitor Center by a

covered walk, was built as a post office and gift shop to be administered by the Wakefield Association. The site plan for the complex includes a brick plaza with planting beds in the front of the building, concrete sidewalks, and a wood deck overlooking Popes Creek on the building's rear facade. A lift station and septic tank are located to the east of the building on the plans. A flagpole and trash receptacles are also indicated on the drawings. The Visitor Center complex today reflects very closely the information included in these plans.

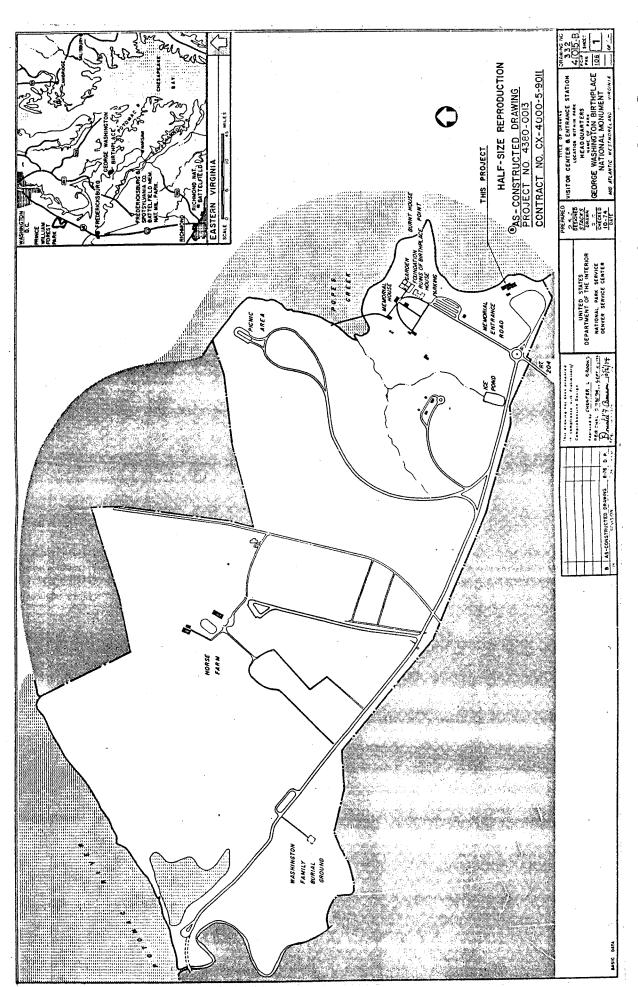
Other developments associated with the Visitor Center complex include the parking area located to the southwest, a new entrance road leading southeast from the traffic circle to connect the new parking area, and the addition of ornamental trees and shrubs along the road and parking bays. Wood fencing types used elsewhere in the park were added along the road. Construction of the parking area and Visitor Center was preceded by archeological investigation. The parking area was developed on the site of a borrow pit. During excavation, a large shell midden was discovered. Careful construction methods were employed to assure that this shell midden was left intact beneath the parking area.

The Historic Core

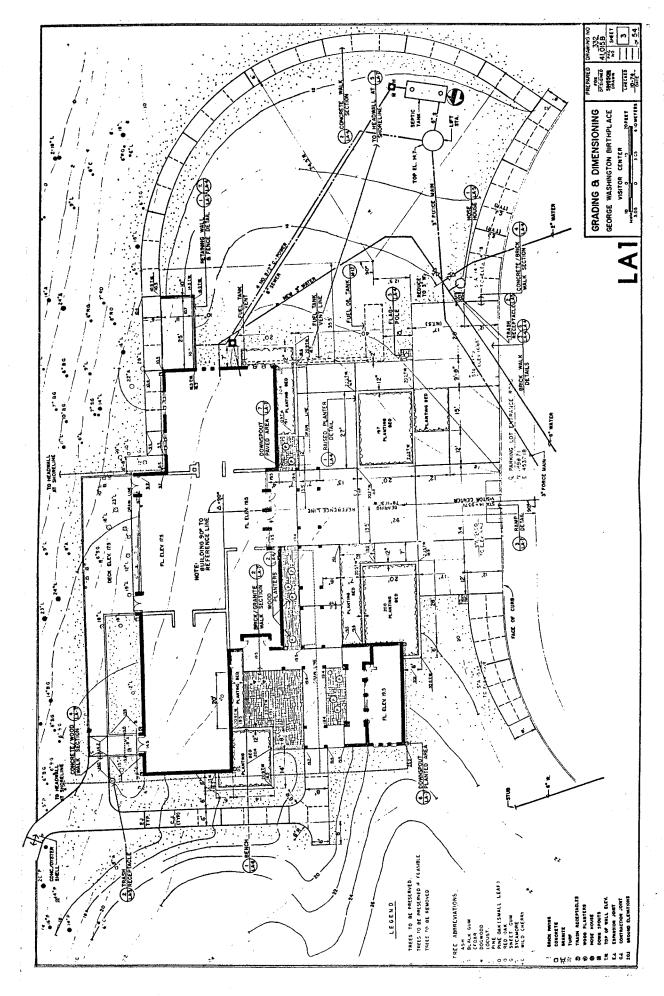
The drawings of the Visitor Center project also include a demolition plan for the parking area west of the historic core. The demolition plan details relocation of the existing flagpole, and demolition of the existing park administrative office, parking lot, and the post office. The plan does not indicate a treatment for the tool shed also shown on the plan. It is known that this building was removed in 1976 to incorporate a new trail section leading from the Visitor Center to the historic core along Popes Creek. Within the core, the rest rooms located near Dancing Marsh were converted into a structure called the Spinning and Weaving Room between 1975 and 1977; many of the brick walks were reset including those in the Colonial Garden and leading to the birthplace and dairy foundations; and maintenance functions were relocated to the horse farm area. The existing entrance road was excavated and removed, a new bituminous pavement and base course were added, and the road margins were reshaped.

Other Park Developments

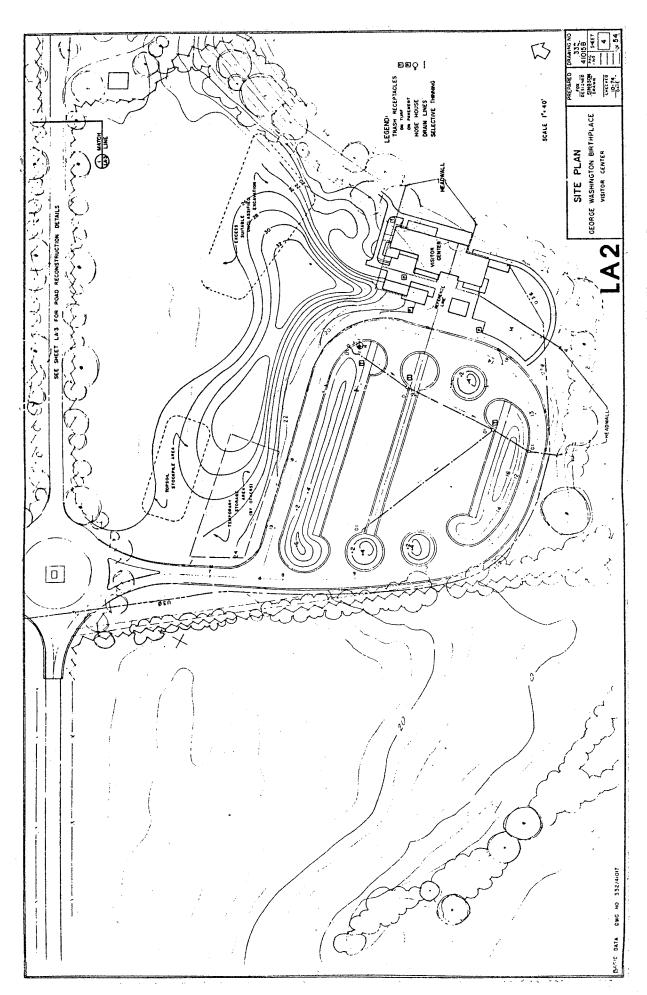
A number of other changes occurred elsewhere in the park after 1976. Changes at the residential area included the removal of the tennis court and the addition of a new garage/storage structure. The trail linking the residences and the Log House was lost when a causeway across Dancing Marsh eroded. A new picnic shelter was constructed at Duck Hall during the early to mid-1980s, and a new trail section was constructed to connect the Log House to the picnic area in 1993. In 1983, a loblolly pine plantation and wildlife habitat planting of autumn olive was established on an 82-acre parcel located along the Potomac acquired from the Horners in 1978. In 1976, the horse farm was discontinued; the barn was converted to a maintenance facility, and the sheds were adapted for machinery and supply storage. By 1996, two of the six pasture sheds constructed in 1968 were still extant. All other features of the original Morgan horse training facility were rehabilitated to accommodate maintenance operations. An area near Popes Creek landing adjacent to Longwood Marsh was used as a pistol range. New interpretive waysides were added in some locations around the park, such as at the Washington family burial ground, to reflect the archeological investigations that had been undertaken in the mid-1970s. In 1996, an additional 12acre parcel was purchased from the Horner family. Both of the parcels purchased from the Horners are located between Popes and Bridges Creeks, and were formerly part of the Muse family property that abutted Washington family property.



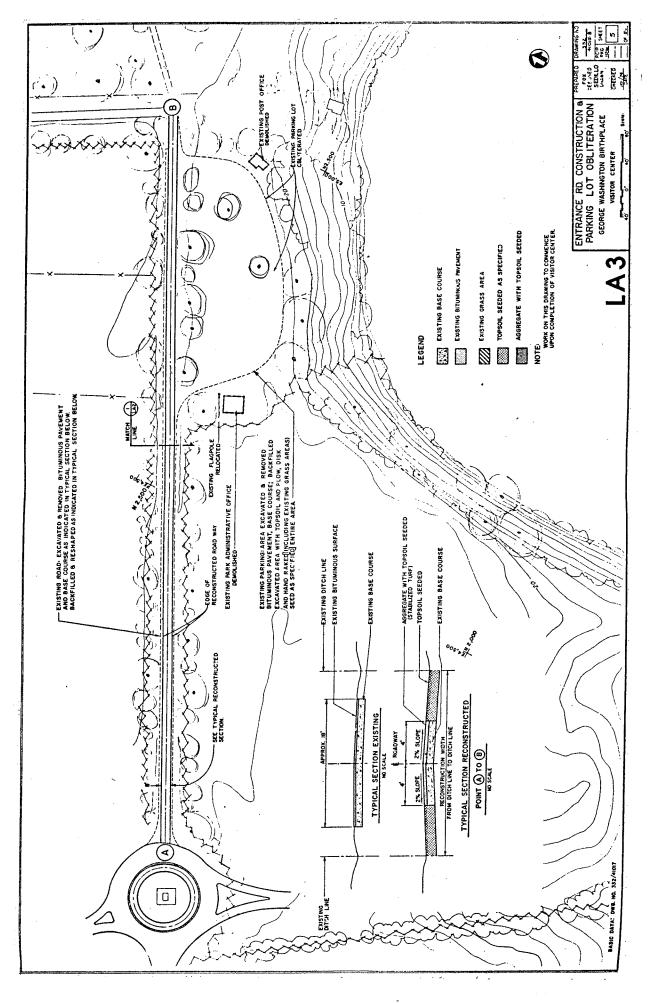
31. "Visitor Center & Entrance Station, George Washington Birthplace National Monument," National Park Service, 1974.



32. Grading and Dimensioning, George Washington Birthplace Visitor Center," National Park Service, 1974.



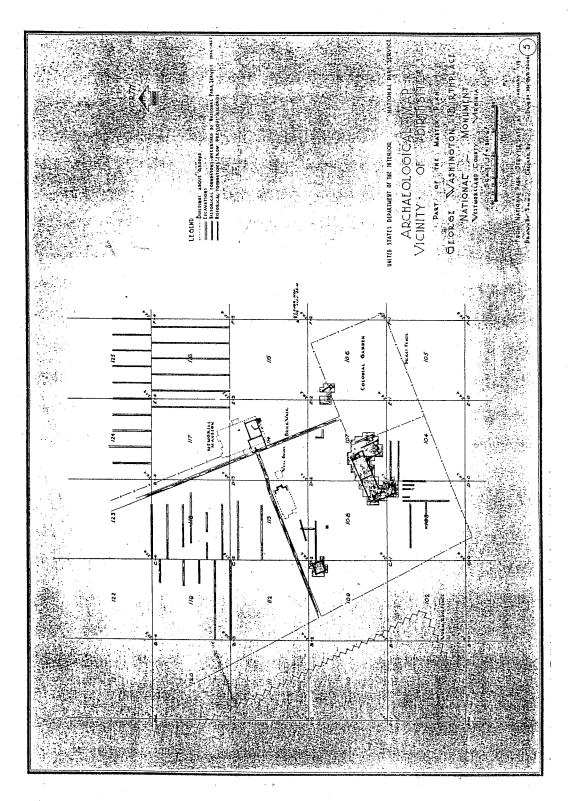
33. "Site Plan, George Washington Birthplace Visitor Center," National Park Service, 1974.



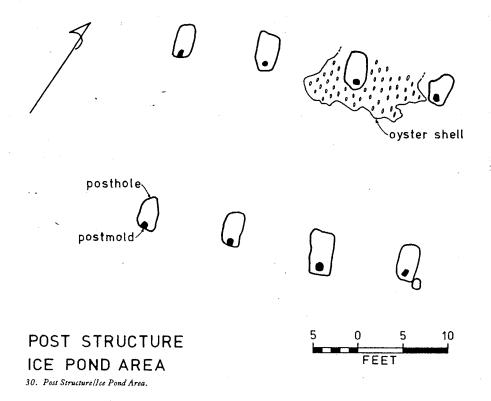
34. "Entrance Road Construction & Parking Lot Obliteration, George Washington Birthplace Visitor Center," National Park Service, 1974.

Conclusion

Since 1976, the park has successfully established distinct zones that allow for a physical and visual separation of the Visitor Center and parking area, the historic core, the maintenance area, the burial ground, and the Log House and picnic area. The establishment of the Visitor Center provided the park with expanded parking, interpretive, and administrative facilities, while reducing visual and interpretive conflicts within the historic core. Similarly, the relocation of the maintenance facilities from the historic core to an area that is screened from view from popular park visitation sites has allowed the park to expand interpretation of the living farm concept within the historic core and has reduced visual and functional conflicts within this important interpretive area. One of the immediate goals of the park is the reconstruction of the bridge connection between the historic core and the Log House and picnic area. This bridge will physically tie these areas together, uniting the interpretive opportunities available within the historic core with the Nature Trail system, and allowing for a more cohesive visitor experience.



35. Details of Archeological Investigations: Memorial House/Garden area, in *Popes Creek Plantation*, Charles E. Hatch, Jr., 1979.



36. Details of Archeological Investigations: Post Structure, Ice Pond area, in *Popes Creek Plantation*, Charles E. Hatch, Jr., 1979.



drainage ditch

HENRY BROOKS SITE

LEGEND

brick

soil stain

 $\begin{bmatrix} \vdots \\ \end{bmatrix}$

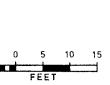
robbed wall line

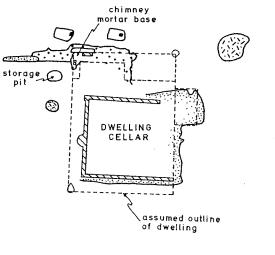
7.73

trash pit

•

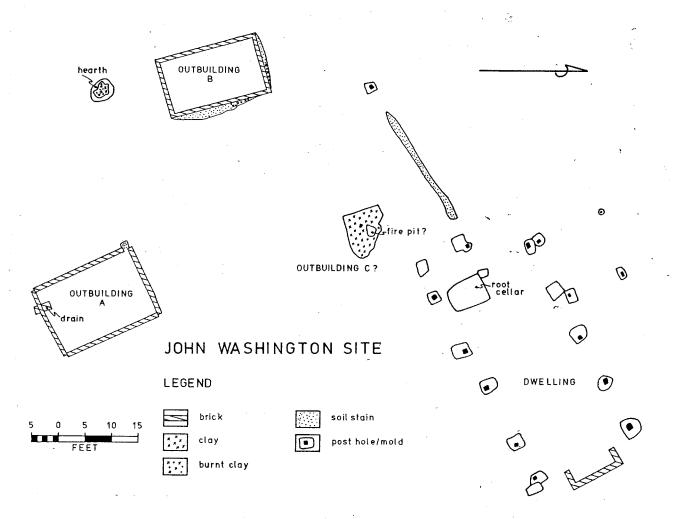
post hole/mold







37. Details of Archeological Investigations: Henry Brooks site, in *Popes Creek Plantation*, Charles E. Hatch, Jr., 1979.



38. Details of Archeological Investigations: John Washington site, in *Popes Creek Plantation*, Charles E. Hatch, Jr., 1979.

HISTORICAL BASE MAP

1976 - 1996

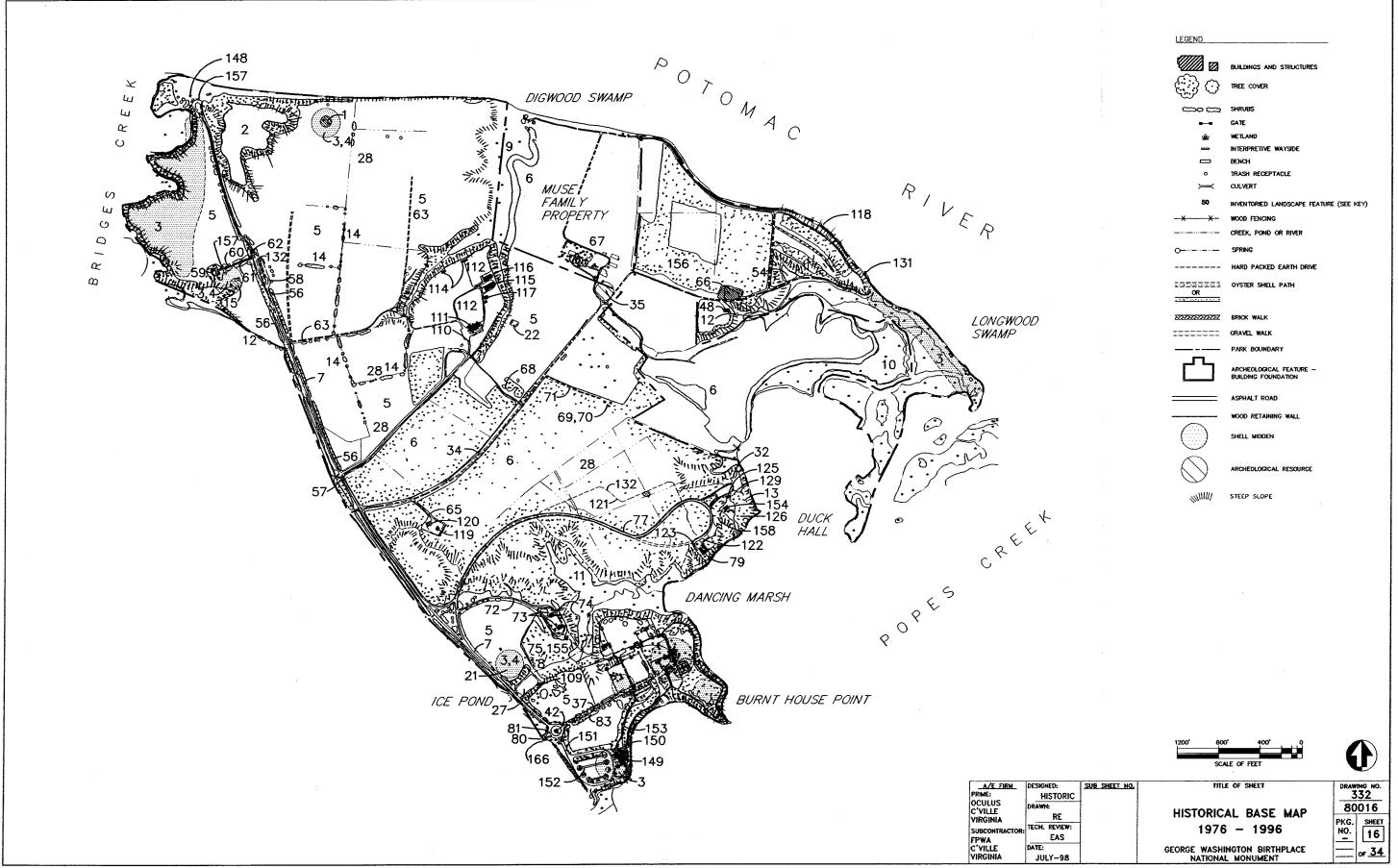
Inventory of Landscape Features

1976 - 1996

#	Feature	Date of Origin	#	Feature	Date of Origin
2.	Pond	prehistory	72.	Road to employee residence area	. 1932
5.	Agricultural fields, pastures	prehistory,	73.	Employee residences, 2	1932-34
6.	Woodlands	post 1657 secondary,	74.	Garage at residence area one garage lost	1932 unknown
7.	Bridges Creek road	tertiary growth ca. 1651-57	75.	Tennis courts removed	1932-34 unknown
0	realigned	ca. 1931	76.	Trails between residences,	1932
8. 9.	Creek/drainageway	prehistory		historic core, and Log House causeway lost	ca. 1995
9. 10.	Digwood Swamp Longwood Swamp	prehistory	77.	Road to Log House, picnic area	1932
10.	Dancing Marsh	prehistory	79.	Log House	1932
12.	Springs, 2	prehistory prehistory	80.	Approach road to site	1923
13.	Eastern red cedar grove	by ca. 1930s	81.	Traffic circle around monument	1931
14.	Hedgerows	(conj.) ca. 1657	83.	Cedar allée	1931
22.	Muse family burial ground	(conj.) ca. 1700	109.	Ice Pond pump house	1933
27.	Ice Pond	ca. 1725-79	110.	Access road and parking	1968
	dam rehabilitated	1933	111.	Morgan horse barn	1968
28.	Agricultural drainage ditches	ca. 1700-50	1.10	rehab'd for maintenance	1976
34.	Road to Muse property	by 1813		Paddocks (split rail fencing)	1968
37.	Crushed stone road to birthplace resurfaced	e by 1897 1931		Pasture sheds, 6 4 lost	1968 unknown
42.	Granite monument	1896		Equipment storage structure	1968
4.0	relocated	1930		Hay storage structure	1968
48.	Spring house	(conj.) by 1892		.Gasoline house	unknown
54.	Pond (conj.)	ca. 1923-32		Breakwater	unknown
56.	Cedar allée/hedgerow	1931		Water purification/pump station	
57.	Wood fencing	1930-32		Water tower	ca. 1975
58.	Parking area	1931-32		Nature Trail	1934
59.	Renovation of burial ground	1930-31		Service road, walks, parking	1933-35
60.	Oyster shell walk	1931	123.	Log House storage shed/ chemical cart house	ca. 1935-37
61.	Ornamental plantings	1931	125.	Comfort station	1975
62.	Maintenance access road	by 1932		Picnic area	1933
63.	Farm roads	by 1932		Stone drinking fountain	unknown
	Road to utility area	ca. 1976		Stone pier, timber bulkheads	1935
67.	Harry Muse house site	by 1932		•	

#	Feature	Date of Origin
132.	Interpretive waysides	1972
148.	Naval Range Station removed	1954 1996
149	.Visitor Center	1976
150	.Gift shop/post office	1976
151	.Access road	1976
152	.Parking area	1976
153	.Trail to historic core	1976
154	.Picnic shelter	ca. 1980s
155	.Garage/storage shed	unknown
156	.Loblolly pine plantation	ca. 1983
157	.Interpretive waysides	unknown
158	.Trail between Log House picnic area	,1993
166	.Park entrance sign	unknown
Kno	wn Archeological Resources	
1.	Henry Brooks house site	ca. 1651-57
3.	Shell middens	prehistory
4.	Agricultural artifacts	prehistory
15.	John Washington house site	ca. 1657-64
21.	Possible tobacco shed	by 1722
32.	Ice house	ca. 1779-1818

^{*} Bold entries indicate a new feature or the alteration of an existing feature during this period.



HISTORICAL BASE MAP

INSET: HISTORIC CORE

1976 - 1996

Inventory of Landscape Features

Historic Core 1976 - 1996

<u>#</u>	Feature	Date of Origin	#	Feature	Date of Origin	
5.	Agricultural fields, pastures	prehistory,	97.	Trail around Burnt House Point	1931	
		post 1657	98.	Brick walks	ca. 1932-35	
6.	Woodlands	secondary, tertiary growth		portions reset, additional walks added	1980s	
11.	Dancing Marsh	prehistory	99.	"Old Wagon Road"	1931	
12.	Springs, 2	prehistory	104.	Ornamental plantings	1930-31	
12	one lost during const.	1976	105.	Colonial garden fencing	1931	
13.	•	Eastern red cedar grove 1896 106. Sundial		Sundial	ca. 1931-32	
37.	Crushed stone road to birthplace resurfaced	by 1897 1931	108.	Fencing	1931-32	
40.	Hackberry tree	by 1880s	132.	Interpretive waysides	1972	
41.	Fig shrubs	by 1880s	135.	Rockefeller Barn	1938-39	
46.	Views established to river	1896	136.	Contact station eastern fowl house, large	1939 ca. 1976	
76.	Trail between residence and historic core areas	1932	139.	Central fowl house	1968	
83.	Cedar allée	1931	140.	Western fowl house	1968	
84.	Parking area	1932	141.	Oxen shed	1968	
	removed	1976	142.	Western hog pen	1968	
86.	Clay pit	1930	143.	Exhibit shed (tobacco shed)	1968	
87.	Memorial House	1931	144.	Demonstration plots of crops	ca. 1968	
88.	Colonial Kitchen House	1931	145.	Central hog pen	1970	
90	alterations	1976	146.	Eastern hog pen	ca. 1968	
89.	Gazebo	1930-31	147.	Orchard	ca. 1970	
90.	Picket fencing no longer extant	1931 ca. 1996	153.	Trail to historic core	1976	
91.	Storage structure rehab'd from pump house	1931	157.	Interpretive waysides	unknown	
			159.	Eastern fowl house, small	unknown	
92.	Spinning and Weaving Room rehab'd from rest rooms	1932 1975-77	160.	Fencing	ca. 1968	
93.	Farm Workshop	1932	161.	Fowl pond	ca. 1968	
94.	Road to Farm Workshop	1932	162.	Log Corn house	ca. 1970	
9 5 .	•		163.	Fenced utility	unknown	
73.	Colonial Garden walks reset, additional walks added	1930-31 ca. 1980s	164.	Sewage pump station	unknown	
			165.	Storage structure	unknown	
96.	Boxwood hedges	1931				

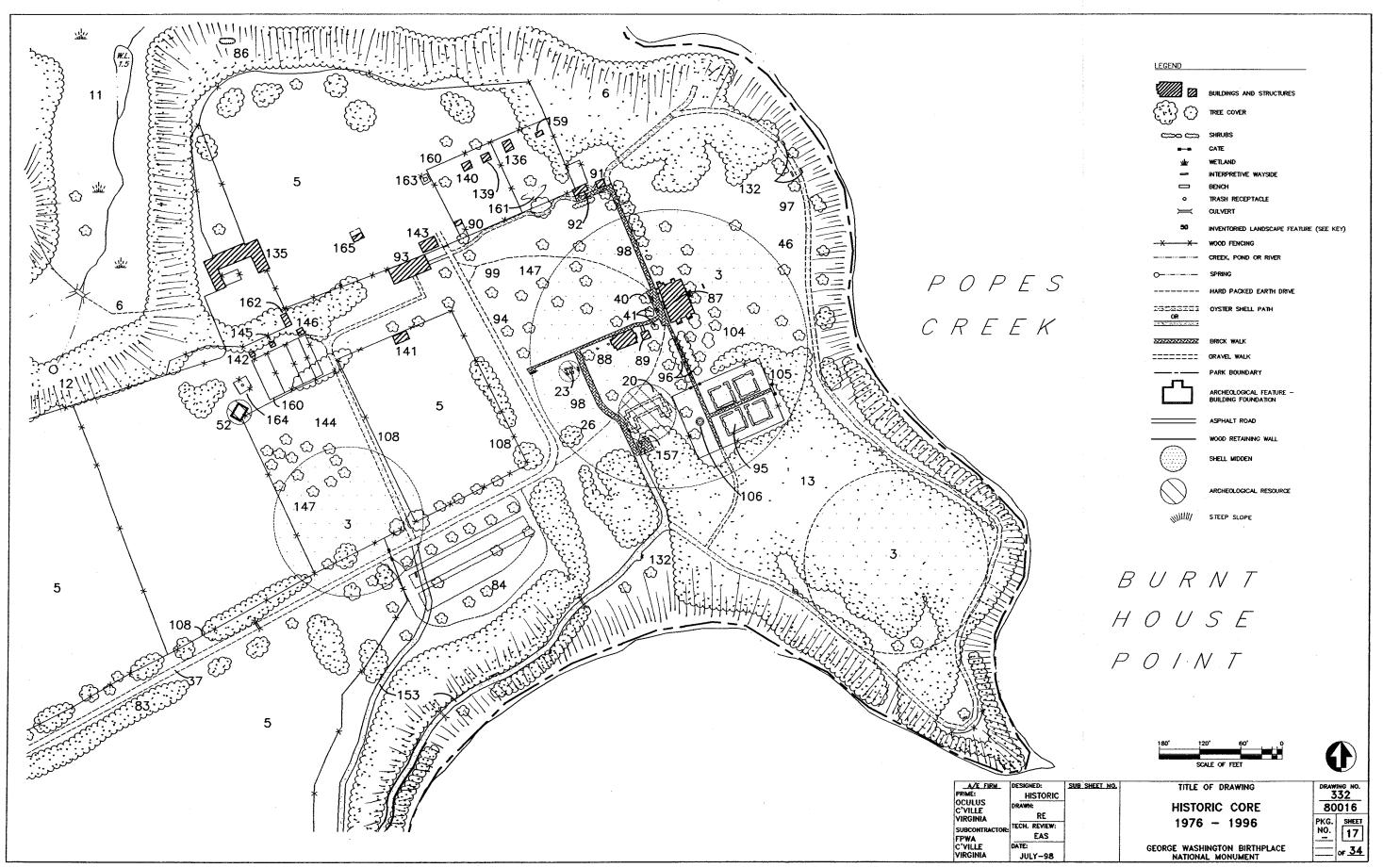
#	Feature	Date of Origin
Kno	own Archeological Resources	
3.	Shell middens	prehistory

20. Abbington/Washington house by 1722, 1725

23. Possible dairy ca. 1725-79

52. Unidentified outbuilding unknown

* Bold entries indicate a new feature or the alteration of an existing feature during this period.



3 • Existing Conditions Documentation
5 • EXISTING CONDITIONS DOCUMENTATION

3 • Existing Conditions Documentation

(Maps K. 1996 Existing Conditions Documentation, and L. Photographic Station Points)

Introduction

This chapter includes written, graphic, and photographic documentation of 1996 existing landscape conditions at George Washington Birthplace National Monument. This documentation is based mainly upon field investigations of the park and its environs through walking and driving tours, but also draws upon primary and secondary sources, such as the *Soil Survey of Westmoreland* County, USGS quadrangle mapping, and natural resource reports and documents provided to OCULUS by the National Park Service, for important information.

This chapter is introduced by a site description of the park that also provides some basic contextual landscape information. An overview of overall landscape organization follows. Thereafter, existing conditions documentation is presented in two sections: the National Monument landscape, and the Historic Core landscape. Both sections include descriptions of existing landscape features, systems, and land-use patterns using ten landscape characteristics—patterns of spatial organization; land uses and activities; natural features and systems; vegetation; views and viewsheds; circulation systems; buildings and structures; cluster arrangements; small-scale features; and potential archeological resources—to organize the information. The landscape characteristics selected to organize the narrative description of the George Washington Birthplace National Monument landscape are based upon the guidance offered in National Register Bulletin 30: *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes* and National Register Bulletin 18: *How to Evaluate and Nominate Designed Historic Landscapes*. Both of these documents provide methodologies and approaches to viewing, understanding, and presenting the existing landscape that were utilized to establish a framework for this Cultural Landscape Report (CLR).

Primary features of the landscape have been given inventory numbers that are referenced in the text, on Map K, and in Appendix B. These inventory numbers are consistent with the numbers used to identify the same features in the site physical history chapter of this report.

Some park features are included on NPS's List of Classified Structures (LCS). The primary descriptions of these features notes their associated LCS numbers in brackets.

Photographic documentation of representative primary landscape features follows each section of this chapter. The photographs are referenced in the text and on photographic station points maps (Map L and L1) that indicate the location and orientation of each view.

This chapter also includes condition assessments of inventoried landscape features. The features are first identified by name and inventory number. They are then given a condition rating of either good, fair, poor, or unknown based on the National Park Service's (NPS) "Cultural Landscape Inventory, Draft User's Manual." Short descriptions of condition-related issues observed in the field follow the ratings.

Site Description

George Washington Birthplace National Monument is located 38 miles east of Fredericksburg, in Westmoreland County, Virginia. The Potomac River forms the park's northern boundary. Two creeks, Popes and Bridges, form the eastern and western boundaries of the park. State Route 204, a two-mile spur road leading north from State Route 3, provides access to the park.

Geologically, George Washington Birthplace National Monument is found within the Coastal Plain physiographic province, an area of unconsolidated sedimentary deposits, especially sand and young sedimentary rocks, to the east of the Fall Line; landforms associated with the Northern Neck portion of the Coastal Plain include necklands, uplands, and cliffs. According to the Westmoreland County soil survey,

neckland is nearly level and ranges in elevation from less than 10 feet to about 50 feet above sea level. It borders most of the waterways and extends into the lower portions of the upland. The dividing line between neckland and upland is mainly marked by a distinct slope or scarp that starts at an elevation of about 50 feet and rises to about 100 feet.¹

The park is composed entirely of neckland. Elevations throughout the park range from sea level near the water bodies to approximately 27 feet above sea level in the vicinity of the park entrance and portions of the historic core. Park topography is generally level to gently sloping, and includes plateaus cut by creeks and other wetlands. Due to the tidal nature of the Potomac and the proximity of the park to the Chesapeake Bay, the mouths of the creeks are brackish.

The park also falls within the Lumbee-Leaf-Lenoir soil association. According to the Westmoreland County soil survey, these soils are

poorly drained and somewhat poorly drained, level to nearly level, loamy soils on the low marine terrace. This association consists of broad flats bordered on the north and east by the Potomac River and its tidal estuaries....Seasonal wetness is common in this association....About one third of the acreage of this unit has been cleared and is mostly used for cultivated crops. The uncleared acreage consists of wet, flat areas and steep areas around drainageways that are generally in mixed softwoods and hardwoods. Seasonal wetness is the main limitation for farming in this association. The better drained soils and the soils that have been artificially drained are suitable for cultivated crops, mainly corn and soybeans. Increasing organic matter content and using lime and fertilizer to offset acidity and low natural fertility are the main management needs. The soils in this association are well suited to trees.²

Many of the individual soil types noted in the survey as occurring within park boundaries have been identified as prime farmland, which,

as defined by the USDA is the land that is best suited to producing food, feed, forage, fiber, and oilseed crops. It has the soil quality, growing season, and moisture supply needed to economically produce a sustained yield of crops when it

¹ John C. Nicholson, *Soil Survey of Westmoreland County, Virginia*, United States Department of Agriculture Soil Conservation Service in cooperation with Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1981, 1.

² Ibid., 5.

is treated and managed using acceptable farming methods. Prime farmland produces the highest yields with minimal inputs of energy and economic resources, and farming it results in the least damage to the environment.³

George Washington Birthplace National Monument and its surrounding landscape is dominated by rural agricultural land uses, patterns, and features. Large expanses of open fields; an extensive system of drainage ditches; hedgerows of Eastern red cedars and other old field pioneer plant species; pine plantations and woodlots; farm roads of crushed stone, hard-packed earth, and grass; and wood-frame residences and outbuildings are typical of the region.

Areas within and adjacent to the park continue to be utilized for agricultural purposes ranging from crops and pasture to forestry. While tobacco farming was once prevalent in this region of the state, the predominant crops currently being grown in Westmoreland County are small grains and soybeans, with some farmers producing ornamental trees and shrubs, or truck crops such as tomatoes. Ditching along field margins for drainage can be a critical component of successful farming operations in the area because of the seasonal high water table that can delay spring planting. Many examples of agricultural drainage ditches can be observed along the edges of crop fields in the region and at the park. They are also present in many woodland areas where agriculture has been abandoned.

In addition to agricultural fields, the park and the surrounding area also boast a variety of natural resources, including many hydrologic features and a diverse flora. Vegetation at the park is diverse due to the variety of hydrologic and soil conditions; approximately 400 plant species, within 93 plant families, have been identified at the park. Plant habitats range from wetland to upland, and plant communities range from naturally evolving successional stands to highly managed agricultural lands and ornamental plantings. The brackish waters of the Potomac, coupled with the protected inlets of some of the tidal creeks, have given rise to a mixture of salt- and fresh-water marsh plant communities. Swamps dominated by sweetgum, red maple, and dogwood, and emergent wetlands containing non-woody species are also present. Upland communities include agricultural fields, monocultural stands of pine planted for timber, and woodland areas undergoing secondary succession. It is likely that most of the upland areas within the park have been intensively farmed at some time during the past three hundred years.

The diverse plant communities on the site, in addition to plentiful water resources, sustain a variety of animals. Bald eagle nesting sites have been identified within the region. These are currently the focus of federal protection efforts. A large number of birds, and a variety of mammals, reptiles, and amphibians have also been observed at the park during studies undertaken by local colleges and other groups.

Many of the park's historic and cultural features and systems are located in close proximity to one of the three adjacent water bodies. Views to and across water are a captivating aspect of the park's visitor experience. Settlement along these waterways, however, carries a price. Potomac River bank erosion caused by the incremental but constant rise in sea level since the last Ice Age, natural tidal and wave patterns, and their possible acceleration due to siltation from upstream development, boat wakes, and failed erosion control measures is thought to contribute to an average loss of .36 feet of river bank per year. Historic features of the park may, at some time in the distant future, be threatened by this incremental but constant erosion of the river bank. Some loss of prehistoric archeological resources has most likely already occurred, and others are believed currently to be threatened.

³ Ibid., 29.

Cultural resources dating from various periods of the site's history are numerous and varied. Most are referenced geographically in this report as components of different developed areas. Moving from the southeastern to the northwestern corner of the park, these areas are often referred to in the text as the: Visitor Center complex, historic core, park entrance, Log House and picnic area, residences, utilities complex, noncontiguous parcel, maintenance facilities, Washington family burial ground, northwestern fields, and Bridges Creek landing. The cultural components that comprise the park, arranged geographically, are introduced in an overview description below.

The southeastern corner of the park contains two densely developed areas—the historic core and the Visitor Center complex. The focus of the historic core is the brick Memorial House, which was constructed in the 1930s to commemorate George Washington's birthplace. The other features of the area include wood-frame outbuildings, a replica Colonial Garden, demonstration agricultural plots, worm- and split-rail fencing, pasture lands, paths, and a trail system. The historic core provides numerous opportunities for interpretation of the features, programs, and history of the site, including interpretive waysides, displays, and demonstrations by guides in eighteenth-century costume illustrating period agricultural practices and crafts. The historic core is linked by a trail to the Visitor Center complex, constructed in 1976 to provide visitor services, multi-media interpretive programs, and offices for park staff. The Visitor Center complex is sited on Popes Creek, beyond the viewshed of the historic core area.

Another area of the park containing a variety of visitor services is the Log House and picnic area, located west, and beyond the viewshed of, the historic core along Popes Creek. This area contains parking, picnic tables, grills, a picnic shelter, drinking fountain, information board, comfort stations, and access to a nature trail. South of the picnic area is the Log House, a structure built in the 1930s that is used by the park for meetings and conferences and to lodge overnight guests of NPS.

To the south of the Log House and picnic area is the residence complex consisting of two dwellings and two garages, an access road, ornamental plantings, walks, a trail and footbridge connection across Dancing Marsh to the historic core, and a trail leading towards the Log House. This complex was constructed in the 1930s by NPS to house park personnel. The two residences are sited in close proximity to one another and are similar in form, but distinct in terms of size and roof type. West of the residence area is a utility complex set in the woodlands that occupy the central portion of the park. Included in this utility complex is a well, water tower, and water purification/pump house structure.

To the northeast of the utilities complex, the park includes a non-contiguous parcel bordered by the Potomac to the north, Popes Creek and Longwood Marsh to the east, and privately-owned land to the west and south. A loblolly pine plantation comprises the majority of the land cover in this area. Remnants of earlier occupation of this area are visible throughout the parcel. These include a dammed pond, a dilapidated spring house, and evidence of an abandoned house site. The privately-owned lands that occupy the area between park parcels are held by the Muse family. Members of the Muse family currently farm much of their property, and, under special permit, portions of the park-maintained agricultural fields.

Southwest of the Muse property, within park boundaries, is a Muse family burial ground that may date from the eighteenth century [Photo 57]. Six gravestones are evident, although there are thought to be many more unmarked interments associated with the burial ground. The only other feature associated with the cemetery is a black walnut tree; the burial ground is otherwise set within an open hay field. The Muse family retains the right to access and maintain the burial ground.

Beyond the cemetery to the west is Digwood Swamp. Adjacent to this wetland is the park maintenance complex. Associated facilities include an access road, a large maintenance building, adapted from its former use as a horse barn, and four additional structures. The area still contains

paddock fencing dating from the establishment of a Morgan horse training facility on the site during the 1960s and 1970s.

A second cemetery, the Washington family burial ground, is located along Bridges Creek road between the park entrance and Bridges Creek landing. This burial ground was established by John Washington in the late-seventeenth century and contains the remains of many of George Washington's ancestors. The site was rehabilitated in 1906 and again in the 1930s. Features of the burial ground include a brick enclosing wall with an iron gate, crypts and sarcophagi, interpretive waysides, a parking area, oyster-shell walkway, and ornamental plantings. Near the cemetery wall is the site of John Washington's late-seventeenth century farmstead, identified through archeological investigation. Beyond the burial ground parking area is the site of the first patent settlement on this land, that of Henry Brooks. The site, which has been identified through archeological investigation, dates from the mid-seventeenth century. Northwest of the burial ground, Bridges Creek road terminates in a turn-around at Bridges Creek landing. Until recently, Naval Range Station #17, a building constructed and maintained by the U.S. Navy within park boundaries, was located west of the turn-around. This structure, which was removed in fall 1996, was used by the Navy "to test naval guns by firing them into the Potomac River."

Overall Landscape Organization

George Washington Birthplace National Monument is characterized predominantly by large, level terraces edged by drainageways, marshes, and open water bodies. Marshlands, wetlands, and other water resources extend inland in the northwestern, north central, northeastern, and southern portions of the park. Each is bounded by steeply sloped embankments. Because the wetlands are poorly suited to development, building complexes, circulation systems, and agricultural activities have been sited on the uplands. The wetlands, therefore, have served as an important structuring element in the landscape over time.

Agricultural fields dominate the northern and western portions of the park, with the primary visitor activity centers—the historic core, Visitor Center, park entrance, and Log House and picnic area—clustered in its southeastern corner. Bridges Creek road parallels the park's western boundary and is sited beyond the limits of most major drainage swales. This road serves as a circulation spine from which all other park roads arise. A series of secondary roads lead east or northeast from Bridges Creek road, providing access to sites and features such as the Muse family property and noncontiguous parcel, Log House and picnic area, maintenance area, and residence area. Each of these areas is sited on an upland terrace edged by wetlands. Internal circulation connections between developed areas are rare; it is generally necessary to return to Bridges Creek road to travel from one developed area to another. The fact that Bridges Creek road eventually dead-ends at the Potomac belies the water-dominated history of region. Although the landing no longer plays an important role in circulation and travel, and this association is made through interpretation.

⁴ James L. Mote, "DRAFT National Register Nomination for George Washington Birthplace National Monument," National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1994, section 7, 11.

National Monument Landscape

Patterns of Spatial Organization

The predominant character of the George Washington Birthplace National Monument landscape is derived from the open, level nature of its agricultural fields framed by hedgerows of trees and shrubs, fences, woodlands, and deeply cut drainage swales, also edged by trees and shrubs. In many cases, the open agricultural fields afford long views to and across open water. The relatively straight lines of these agricultural patterns contrast strongly with the organic and crenate forms of the drainageways and wetlands that edge the uplands. Patterns derived from the agricultural heritage of the site also contrast with 1930s-era park developments, such as the Log House and picnic area, that incorporate long, sweeping curves into road and trail design and the planting of ornamental trees and shrubs to accentuate views, walks, roads, and visitor use areas.

Land Uses and Activities

Existing land uses at George Washington Birthplace National Monument include agriculture, such as crop land, pasture, and timberland; housing; lodging/conference; cemetery; administrative; visitor services; museum/interpretive; commercial; open space/undeveloped; open space/recreational; utility; wildlife management; and service/support/storage.⁵ Until recently, the Naval

agriculture (crop land): planted or cultivated areas in which stands of vegetation are managed to yield products for consumption by humans or domestic animals and/or livestock.

agriculture (pasture): planted or cultivated areas kept open for or through grazing by livestock.

agriculture (timberland): wooded areas where naturally occurring or planted trees are harvested for their timber to be used as fuel, construction materials, or pulp for paper.

housing: residences owned by NPS and utilized to house park personnel.

lodging/conference: buildings used as temporary overnight accommodations for NPS visitors and invited guests, and for NPS-authorized meetings of groups and associations.

cemetery: known sites of human burials.

administrative: buildings, structures, or other locations utilized for park management operations.

visitor services: buildings, structures, or other locations where visitor amenities and facilities, such as rest rooms, drinking fountains, and information, are available.

museum/interpretive: buildings, structures, interpretive waysides, and other locations where visitors are provided with interpretive programs, including guided and self-guided tours, materials, displays, and/or literature.

commercial: buildings, structures, and other areas where goods are available for purchase.

open space/undeveloped: large areas that do not currently support specified land use activities or contain substantial physical developments.

open space/recreational: areas of designated passive recreational activities such as hiking or picnicking.

utility: buildings, structures, and other locations where park services, such as water, electricity, or propane gas, are stored, purified, or distributed.

wildlife management: areas where rare, threatened, or endangered species of plants or animals are known to exist, and where the park has taken an active role in protecting them.

⁵ The land use designations used in this report are defined as follows:

Surface Weapons Center, Department of the Navy, retained a special use permit for maintaining an observation Range Station at Bridges Creek landing along the Potomac River at the terminus of Bridges Creek road. This feature has been removed from the park landscape and is not accounted for in the following description of land uses.

Examples of the various land uses and activities that occur at George Washington Birthplace National Monument include:

Agriculture (crop land): large, open areas east of Bridges Creek road, are maintained in hay fields by NPS and local farmers holding agricultural leases.

Agriculture (pasture): fenced fields west of the historic core and east of the granite monument are used to pasture cattle.

Agriculture (timberland): the noncontiguous northern parcel of the park acquired in 1978 from the Horner family is dominated by an even-aged stand of loblolly pine that was planted in the early 1980s.

Housing: two residences located to the west of the historic core house park personnel.

Lodging/conference: the Log House is used for temporary lodging of NPS guests and for meeting and conferences.

Cemetery: two known cemetery sites exist within park boundaries—the Washington family burial ground, and the Muse family burial ground. Two human burials were discovered near the Log House during excavation of the site for construction in the 1930s. One appeared to be the remains of an African American, possibly a slave.

Administrative: park administrative offices are located primarily in the Visitor Center.

Visitor services: the Visitor Center complex and the Log House and picnic area include rest room facilities, drinking fountains, brochures, and other printed information for visitors. Park staff are also available to assist visitors at the Visitor Center.

Museum/interpretive: multi-media interpretive programs are located in the Visitor Center, and interpretive waysides occur along the pedestrian walks and trails, park roads, and at the Washington family burial ground.

Commercial: a gift and book shop, located next to the Visitor Center, is operated by the Wakefield National Memorial Association.

Open space/undeveloped: the successional woodlands located to the west and east of the picnic area access road, and the park's wetlands, marshes, and other hydrologic systems constitute the primary areas of undeveloped open space.

Open space/recreational: the picnic area, Nature Trail, and beach at Bridges Creek landing allow for limited passive recreation at the park.

Utility: the park includes electrical and telephone lines and poles, a 430-foot well with a 50,000-gallon elevated water tank, three other secondary well systems, a pump house, three sewage

service/supply/storage: buildings, structures, or other locations where maintenance and security equipment and operations are housed, and park storage occurs.

pumping stations, 12 septic tanks, and two drain fields. A propane gas tank is located adjacent to the Log House, and a well structure to its north.

Wildlife management: bald eagle nesting sites have been identified within the park. The park directs visitors are directed to stay away from sensitive nesting habitat during the late winter and early spring.

Service/support/storage: park maintenance and storage facilities are located primarily in the maintenance area west of the Muse property access road. Park storage and use of equipment also occurs at the Log House.

Natural Features and Systems

Open water bodies and associated wetland and marsh resources are an important part of George Washington Birthplace National Monument landscape. As mentioned earlier, open water systems—the Potomac River, Bridges Creek [Photo 42], and Popes Creek—edge the park on three sides. The Potomac River in this region currently has few pollution problems due to upstream manufacturing or chemical industries. Local water quality is generally good; sediment load varies due to the amount of development occurring upstream and the effluent from nearby wastewater treatment plants. Erosion of the river bank, however, is a serious problem over much of the Northern Neck, and specifically along the northern park boundary [Photo 61]. Comparative analyses of the Potomac River banks within and around the park using historic aerial photographs and on-site measurements have provided an estimate for average erosion rates. While some areas appear to be undergoing erosion at an average rate of .36 feet per year, other areas of the shoreline, such as near Bridges Creek landing, have undergone accretion. Since 1656, for example, up to one thousand feet of shoreline may have been lost to erosion near the mouth of Popes Creek. It is not known to what extent evidence of earlier occupation has been lost through erosion. Remnants of failed erosion control measures including the bulkheads exist along the Potomac River bank northwest of Longwood Swamp [Photo 62].

Popes and Bridges Creeks have been studied for inclusion in the Estuary Reserve Program under the jurisdiction of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. Signing of the enabling legislation by the governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia will afford these two creeks an additional level of protection.

Fifteen distinct ecological communities exist at the park, including palustrine, lacustrine, estuarine, and riverine wetlands, as well as various upland associations. Within the park, wetland areas include: the freshwater pond [Inv. #2, Photo 44] located near the sandy beach of Bridges Creek landing [Photo 40]; Digwood Swamp to its east, which similarly drains into the Potomac [Inv. #9, Photo 51]; Longwood Swamp, located near the mouth of Popes Creek [Inv. #10, Photo 64]; Dancing Marsh, located to the north of the historic core along Popes Creek [Inv. #11, Photo 82] an associated perennial stream or drainageway [Inv. #8]; and three springs located northwest of the historic core, south of the pine plantation, and near the John Washington site [Inv. #12]. A fourth spring is thought to have existed near Popes Creek within the historic core area, although it appears to have silted up during construction of a new trail system in the 1970s. The park also includes two man-made ponds: the Ice Pond located along Bridges Creek road to the northwest of the traffic circle [Inv. #27, Photo 32], and an unnamed pond located within the northern noncontiguous parcel of the park once owned by the Muse family [Inv. #54, Photo 65]. This pond appears to have been constructed during Muse family ownership, although its date of origin and intended use have not been identified.

Marshes located within the park contain a variety of salt- and fresh-water plant species. Site-specific marsh composition is dependent on the level of inundation from brackish (mesohaline)

Potomac tidal flushing. Upstream portions of the creeks and drainageways are designated as Freshwater Mixed marshes, and downstream portions are considered Brackish Water Mixed marshes. Popes Creek is edged by interior delta marshes dominated by saltbushes and cordgrasses, pocket marshes, such as Dancing Marsh and Longwood Swamp dominated by saltmarsh cordgrass, and embayed and fringe marshes along the shore. Adjacent areas of higher ground, including Great Island near the mouth of Popes Creek, are forested with such species as hackberry and American holly. Marsh area appears to be declining due to erosion, and many small marsh islands have been lost, reduced in size, or fragmented over the past few years. Species composition has changed noticeably over the past twenty years. Areas that once were dominated by *Iva frutescens* are now dominated by grasses of the genus *Spartina*. The cause of this change has not yet been determined. Specimens of the potentially invasive alien species *Phragmites australis* or common reed have also been observed within the marsh system. It is unclear at this time whether these specimens will prove disruptive to the marsh ecosystem.

These wetlands and marshes are important habitats that support a variety of plant and animal communities and species. They are also important elements in flood control and storm-water management. The quality of the park's water resources and the health of associated plant communities is currently being monitored and studied to ensure proper management of these resources. Agricultural activities that occur within their watersheds have the potential to leach pesticides, herbicides, nitrates from animal waste, and eroded soil into these sensitive resources. NPS has established guidelines for agricultural use of park land that preclude or limit the application of chemical herbicides and pesticides, and other amendments that will negatively affect water quality, and encourage other practices aimed at preserving natural resources.

The majority of the park's upland areas are maintained in agriculture or as mown lawn with specimen trees and shrubs. The central portion of the park, however, contains a successional woodland comprised of an uneven-aged, layered plant community characterized by trees and shrubs tolerant of hydric soils and conditions [Inv. #6]. Sweet gum, sycamore, dogwood, red maple, American holly, and a variety of oaks are the dominant species of this woodland community. Overstory, understory, shrub, and herbaceous layers exist variously throughout the woodland. Some of the larger trees appear to be at least one hundred years of age. The actual age of the older specimens in this woodland is not known, however. Determination will only be possible by taking and analyzing core borings. Evidence of the area's agricultural history is indicated by the presence of remnant drainage ditches throughout the woodland, and pine trees within the understory.

Cultural responses to the site's natural resources include the siting of road systems in the upland areas to avoid crossing drainageways and wetlands whenever possible, the use of culverts and drainage ditches to carry stormwater beneath roads and drain fields, the siting of houses near springs, and the damming of drainageways to form ponds.

Vegetation

The vegetation identified within the park is varied and representative of diverse habitats and associations. Native species and exotics are present, although the majority of the exotic species reside in the historic core area and are associated with ornamental planting beds and interpreted gardens and demonstration plots. A survey of park flora, undertaken in 1984-85, identified approximately 400 different plant species within 93 plant families. The study provides an overall list of species for the park; otherwise, however, little documentation exists regarding plant communities, their ages, or their associated land-use history.

The plant associations and communities evidenced during field investigations for this report include hay fields, hedgerows, mown-grass lawns, pine plantations, successional woodlands, salt- and

fresh-water marshes, emergent wetlands, Eastern red cedar groves and allées, display beds and gardens, ornamental planting beds, ornamental tree and shrub plantings, and disturbance vegetation representative of abandoned cultural uses. These plant communities are variously managed by the park. Many, such as the agricultural crop land and mown lawn areas, require constant maintenance. Other communities, such as the wetlands and successional woodlands, are allowed to evolve and change naturally, except in visitor use areas where safety issues are addressed.

Between the maintenance area and the Potomac River, much of the park is maintained in open hay fields [Inv. #5, Photo 56] edged by hedgerows of Eastern red cedar and other pioneer tree and shrub species [Inv. #14, Photo 55]. Rows of Eastern red cedars, interspersed with hackberries and oaks, also line Bridges Creek road [Inv. #56]. Set within the northwestern hay fields is the large subtidal pond ringed by native tree and shrub species. The pond and its associated vegetation appears to provide habitat for many bird and animal species.

Digwood Swamp to the east is edged by deciduous trees and shrubs; marshland and swamp comprise the lower wetlands. The deciduous trees that edge Digwood Swamp also serve to screen the maintenance area from view from the rest of the park. In addition to the open fields that generally characterize the maintenance area, vegetation there includes stands of young pine, successional woodlands, and a boxwood nursery [Photo 48].

Nearby, at the Washington family burial ground, **native and exotic trees and shrubs** have been planted along the pedestrian walk [Inv. #61, Photo 35], around the brick enclosing wall, and within the cemetery itself. The native plant species include dogwood, Eastern red cedar, southern red and white oak, sweetgum, hackberry, American holly, and oakleaf hydrangea. The exotic ornamentals include boxwood and crapemyrtle.

Vegetation associated with the access road leading to the Muse family property and the northern noncontiguous park parcel includes a successional woodland; hay fields; a black walnut tree at the Muse family cemetery; a loblolly pine plantation; Longwood Swamp; and disturbance, native and exotic ornamental, and native pioneer vegetation associated with an abandoned house site. Woodlands [Inv. #6] flank both sides of the Muse family access road. To the east is the layered woodland described in the previous section on "Natural Features and Systems." To the west are variously-aged pine plantations. The park's 82-acre noncontiguous parcel also includes a ten-tofifteen-year-old stand of loblolly pine [Inv. #156, Photo 58], planted in a grid approximately six by nine feet on center. The pine plantation's central area, some of which is seasonally wet, has been planted with autumn olive as wildlife habitat [Photo 59]. The autumn olive plantation coexists with young sweetgum trees and wetland shrubs and grasses. To the east, the pine plantation is edged by Longwood Swamp, portions of which include marshlands. Trees and shrubs observed in this area include swamp chestnut oak, red maple, sweetgum, dogwood, and hackberry. Autumn olive appears to have spread from the pine plantation into nearby areas. This parcel also includes an abandoned house site along the grass farm road between Longwood Swamp and the crushed stone access road evident due to disturbance vegetation, planted ornamentals such as yucca, and young pioneer tree species [Photo 67].

Elsewhere in the park are groves and allées of Eastern red cedar trees, hay fields, and ornamental plantings of native and exotic species. The Log House and picnic area includes a large **grove of cedars** [Inv. #13]. The lower limbs of these trees have been removed, and mown-grass lawn is maintained beneath the evergreen canopy [Photo 71]. **Cedars** have also been planted around the outer ring of the traffic circle, along the crushed stone road leading to the historic core from the traffic circle [Inv. #83], and, as mentioned, in allées that edge much of Bridges Creek road. A band of mown grass edges the road and the line of cedars; the grass beyond the mown band is maintained at a slightly taller height [Photo 43]. Northwest of the traffic circle, hay fields and pasture flank the road. To the southeast of the traffic circle is the Visitor Center and parking area.

This complex has been planted with a variety of **native and exotic trees**, **shrubs**, **and ground covers**. Within the parking area, trees such as willow oak, red oak, redbud, crabapple, and pine, and shrubs such as boxwood, are surrounded by lawn [Inv. #152]. The plaza in front of the Visitor Center contains planting beds, some of which are raised, that feature honey locust trees, shrubs such as azalea, heavenly bamboo, and barberry, and herbaceous plants such as daylilies, dusty miller, and marigold. A large planting bed adjacent to the gift shop includes such species as American holly, forsythia, quince, crapemyrtle, azalea, barberry, yucca, winter jasmine, and 'helleri' holly. Other plantings associated with the Visitor Center include rhododendrons, English ivy, cotoneaster, and boxwood to the east of the building, and trees such as hackberry, scarlet oak, black locust, and willow and red oak along the walk to the service area. A large clump of clipped quince screens a sewage-lift station structure to the south of the Visitor Center. Vegetation along the banks of Popes Creek includes grasses and native woody perennials, with trees such as sycamore at the higher elevations.

A local threat to native plant populations at the park are invasive alien species. Observed in the course of field investigations were two upland invasive alien species: autumn olive and Japanese honeysuckle. Autumn olive apparently was included as part of the loblolly pine plantation in the northern, noncontiguous portion of the park to generate food for wildlife. This species has already spread to the banks of the Potomac and has the potential to rapidly displace desirable native trees and shrubs. Japanese honeysuckle, a typical component of disturbed areas and farmland in the southeast, also has the potential to disrupt native plant populations and is very difficult to control once established. Honeysuckle was observed west of the loblolly pine plantation, along the banks of Popes Creek near the Visitor Center parking area, and elsewhere on the margins of existing agricultural fields. Within the wetlands, particularly Longwood Swamp, small populations of common reed were observed. This invasive alien species has the potential to dominate freshwater marsh systems and displace other species, but provides little or no food for bird and animal populations.

Views and Viewsheds

Views are an integral part of the visitor experience at George Washington Birthplace National Monument. Long views are a constant part of the visitor experience due to the large number of expansive open spaces created by agricultural fields, and the proximity of many developed sites to water resources. This having been said, very few specific designed views were identified during field investigations. Two important designed views that were observed include the axial view of the granite monument from the park approach road [Photo 26], and the straight view framed by canopy trees along the pedestrian walk to the Washington family burial ground [Photo 35]. The view of the granite monument is framed by red maple trees and woven wire fencing that parallel the road and edge the agricultural fields to either side [Photo 25]. Eastern red cedars encircle the monument, forming a dark, evergreen backdrop for the obelisk. Similarly, the long, straight pedestrian walk to the Washington family burial ground is edged to either side by a dense planting of canopy and understory trees. The walk terminates at a central wrought-iron gate and brick wall that encloses the burial ground. The largest crypt structure or gravestone is sited on axis with the walk.

Other views and viewsheds noted during field investigations at the park include a long view toward the historic core from the traffic circle. This view follows the existing crushed stone road, which is also framed by an allée of Eastern red cedars; views across open agricultural fields from Bridges Creek road are framed by loose allées of irregularly planted Eastern red cedars along the road; views to the historic core from the Log House area [Photo 76]; and views to the Potomac from the Muse property access drive and the grass road that parallels the river within the northern noncontiguous portion of the park [Photo 60]. Views of the residence and maintenance areas have

been carefully screened from visitor use areas using vegetation. The utilities complex is partially visible from Bridges Creek road during the winter months.

As discussed below in the historic core section of this chapter, views to and across Popes Creek are a very important part of the park landscape. The Visitor Center and Log House and picnic area were sited to take advantage of views to the creek. Park planning documents dating to the 1930s have identified the need to protect the far, eastern banks of Popes Creek from development due to the importance of views to this area from the park. Maintenance of the rural agricultural character of parcels within view of the park is seen as critical to conserving the setting of the George Washington Birthplace National Monument.

Circulation Systems

Access to the park is via **State Route 204**, a two-mile spur road that terminates at the traffic circle around the granite monument [Inv. #80, Photo 27]. Route 204 is a rural roadway bordered by residences and agricultural fields. It runs northeast from State Route 3, a major eastwest highway of the Northern Neck that connects the region with Fredericksburg. As it nears the park, the road is edged by wire and wood-post fencing that encloses open agricultural fields. An allée of red maple trees [Photo 25] frames the road and a view of the granite monument and park entrance sign [Photo 26]. The monument is set within the center of a **traffic circle** [Inv. #81] from which park roads lead to the southeast, northeast, and northwest. To the southeast, a short spur-road leads to the main visitor parking lot and the Visitor Center [Inv. #151]. To the northeast, a gated **crushed stone road** leads to the historic core [Inv. #37, Photo 28]. To the northwest, **Bridges Creek road** provides access to the remainder of the park, as well as to various private properties that abut the park [Inv. #7].

A short spur-road and one-way loop system lead to the Visitor Center complex from the traffic circle. Concrete curb and gutter, mown grass, and wooden worm fencing edge the road. Planted berms lining the bays of the **parking area** help to screen views of the complex. **Concrete walks** parallel the parking bays and lead toward the Visitor Center [Inv. #152, Photo 29]. The entrance to the Visitor Center is edged by a brick and granite-cobble **terrace**. Rectangular planting beds framed by wooden strips and brick planters break up the expanse of the terrace. A concrete walk leads east along Popes Creek from the terrace and provides access to the building's service area. Picnic tables are sited along this walk.

A trellis structure covers the brick terrace that extends between the Visitor Center and Gift Shop buildings. At the northeastern edge of the Gift Shop, the terrace is joined by a **path system** leading to the historic core [Photo 30]. The first section of the trail is composed of a concrete walk leading northeast from the Visitor Center to a fork, where the trail surface changes to crushed oyster-shell; both sections of the trail beyond this point lead toward the historic core [Inv. #153]. The eastern section follows the edge of the Popes Creek embankment, while the western trail follows higher ground.

From the traffic circle, it is also possible to follow a crushed stone road northeast to the historic core. Access to this route, which once served as the main entrance to the park, is currently limited with a gate; cattle are often allowed to graze in the fields to either side of the road, and there is no fencing to separate visitors from the cattle. An allée of Eastern red cedars lines the length of the crushed stone road.

Northwest of the traffic circle, Bridges Creek road (also Beach Road) [List of Classified Structures (LCS) #03B] serves as a spine for all other circulation in the area. This 16-foot-wide road travels the length of the park—approximately one-and-one-half miles—before terminating in a circular turn-around and parking area located at Bridges Creek landing along the Potomac River. Drainage

ditches parallel this roadway for much of its length [Photo 31], as do Eastern red cedars. Culverts carry creek flow and stormwater, channelized in the drainage ditches, beneath the road: at the Ice Pond; at the triangle where roads to the picnic area, employee housing area, and Bridges Creek road intersect; and elsewhere. The ditches end in swales associated with Dancing Marsh.

From Bridges Creek road, a series of roads arise which lead to various park features including the: residence, utilities complex, noncontiguous parcel, maintenance, and Log House and picnic areas. The asphalt **roadway leading to the residence area** [Inv. #72] terminates in a loop that encircles the residences. Paved walks lead to the front and rear doors of the dwellings from the loop. Two garage structures are located to the outside of the loop. An **earth-tread trail** and **footbridge** across Dancing Marsh links the residence area to the historic core [Inv. #76, Photo 81]. Another trail leads in the direction of the Log House area. This trail was rendered impassable by a storm that caused the loss of an earthen causeway across Dancing Marsh.

Another **asphalt road**, which arises at Bridges Creek road triangle with the road to the residence area, leads to the Log House and picnic area [Inv. #77]. This road traverses a successional woodland, parallels Dancing Marsh for much of its length, and terminates in a one-way loop that provides access to and parking for the Log House and picnic area. At the Log House, a small **concrete parking pull-off** edges the road [Inv. #122]. Overflow parking is accommodated by a grassy open area across from the concrete parking area. West of the Log House, there is a crushed stone spur-road that provides access to a propane tank and shed. An **earth-tread trail**, constructed relatively recently, leads between the Log House and picnic areas [Inv. #58]. The picnic area parking area arises at the top of the loop. Wooden worm fencing and barrier structures edge the parking area. The earth-tread **Nature Trail** traverses the woodland that edges the Log House and picnic area access road. The trail crosses the road in two locations, effectively encircling the one-way loop road and the Log House [Inv. #121]. Interpretive signs have been placed along the trail to explain the features observed along its length, such as remnant agricultural drainage ditches [Photo 69]. The southern portion of this trail along Dancing Marsh is closed seasonally to prevent visitors from disturbing sensitive wildlife habitat [Photo 73].

A short distance to the northwest along Bridges Creek road, a third **roadway** arises which leads **to the Muse family farmstead** and the park's northern, noncontiguous parcel [Inv. #34]. Ditches line the road to either side, and overhead electric lines parallel the road to the west. This narrow crushed stone lane provides access to a utility area that includes a 50,000-gallon water tank located a short distance from Bridges Creek road. A gate limits access into the utility area. To its north, there is a remnant earth-and-grass driveway that leads west. The entrance to the drive is marked by two concrete bases that appear to be missing pillars or caps. A cluster of yucca plants sits near the southern base, and a log has been placed across the driveway trace to limit access. Further to the north, the road splits into three branches. The western branch serves as a driveway to the Muse family farm. The eastern branch follows an agricultural field. The northern branch leads toward the noncontiguous park parcel and the Potomac River. This grass road eventually ends in a T-intersection with another grass road that parallels the Potomac River. The eastern branch eventually leads to Longwood Swamp, where it turns and continues north and west, eventually leading back to the northern fork described above.

The fourth road that leads northeast from Bridges Creek road provides access to the park maintenance complex [Inv. #110, Photo 46]. Before terminating in the maintenance complex, the road forms a small loop. Sand and crushed stone are stockpiled along the edge of the loop. Just beyond the loop, to the east of the primary maintenance facility, there is a gate in the fence that edges the road. Here, the abandoned driveway south of the Muse family property discussed above connects to the maintenance-area access road. Immediately to the north, the road leads to the primary maintenance facility and its two parking areas. It then continues on to form a loop that provides access to additional utility and storage structures. From this loop road it is also possible to access a system of farm roads located across Digwood Swamp [Inv. #63]. The road crosses

Digwood Swamp via a culvert [Photo 53]. The farm roads lead to various fields, to areas where a large pile of debris is stockpiled [Photo 54], and back to Bridges Creek road south of the Washington family burial ground parking area.

Just beyond the junction of the farm access road and Bridges Creek road is a **small asphalt parking area** that is associated with the Washington family burial ground [Inv. #58]. The parking area is located to the east of Bridges Creek road, and is edged by a line of cedars and worm fencing. To the west of Bridges Creek road, a **crushed oyster-shell path** [Inv. #60] leads to the burial ground; pedestrians must first cross the road before visiting the cemetery. A **maintenance equipment access route** to the burial ground parallels the oyster-shell walk to its north. A rustic wood gate limits access to the route [Inv. #62, Photo 37].

Bridges Creek road terminates in a tear-drop-shaped turn-around near sandy Bridges Creek landing along the Potomac River [Photo 38]. Parking is available along the margins of the turn-around and in a designated overflow parking area located along the banks of Bridges Creek [Photo 41]. Wooden barriers lining the roadway limit vehicular access to the beach. An interpretive wayside, consisting of three signs placed in an arc, is located between the turn-around and the beach. The wayside illustrates the history of this area as a landing point.

Buildings and Structures

The buildings and structures located at the park, outside of the historic core, include the brick wall and pillars enclosing the burial ground; a remnant spring house located near the pine plantation; six structures at the maintenance complex; two residences and two garages associated with the residence area; a water tank and water purification/pump house structure at the utility area; a picnic shelter, comfort station, Log House, and storage shed located at the picnic area; the pump house and granite monument located within near the park entrance; and the Visitor Center complex located in the southeastern corner of the park. Each of these is described in more detail below.

The **brick wall** that encloses the Washington family burial ground [Inv. #59, Photo 36] is approximately five foot-six inches in height, and surrounds a square, open area seventy feet on a side. The brick is laid in a Flemish bond pattern. The top of the wall curves to meet a pair of gate pillars that flank the wall's opening along its eastern facade. The wall is capped with a decorative band of chamfered, molded bricks, and corbelling of the bricks occurs in places. The pillars are square and approximately six feet in height, with extended capitals. Cast iron gates are set between the pillars. They are constructed of a simple frame, infilled with pickets, and are finished with a pediment reminiscent of the Colonial Revival period.

A deteriorated **remnant spring house** is located near the pine plantation [Inv. #48, Photo 66]. This structure is a rectangular frame building with a standing-seam, metal, gable roof. The foundation, which is missing, appears to have been either a concrete strip footing or concrete block piers. The window frames have wood muntins. A rusted pump set in a concrete slab was observed inside the structure.

Within the maintenance complex, there are several buildings and structures. The main **maintenance building** [Inv. #111, Photo 47] was originally constructed as a barn for Morgan horses in the 1960s, and has been adapted for its current use as a maintenance and administrative facility. It is a wood-frame structure that sits on a concrete masonry foundation and is clad with wood siding painted white. The roof is gable, with asphalt shingles, and features three cupolas. An interesting element of the maintenance building is the series of three brick chimneys located along its southern exterior facade. Nearby is located the park's radio repeater tower.

Storage facilities located in the maintenance area include a hay storage structure, equipment storage structure, and two pasture sheds [Photo 50]. The **hay storage structure**, which is of post-and-beam construction, is partially clad in plywood that has been painted white [Inv. #116]. This structure is open across the front to allow for access to the maintenance equipment and hay stored inside. The wood posts located across the front opening of the structure are set directly in the ground. The low, gable roof is covered with rolled felt over plywood.

The **equipment storage structure** is also of post-and-beam construction partially clad in plywood [Inv. #115]. This structure is painted white and has a low gable roof covered with rolled felt over plywood. It is also open across the front to allow access to maintenance equipment and hay; wood posts located across the front opening of the structure are set directly in the ground.

Two **pasture sheds** [Inv. #114], dating to use of the area as a Morgan horse breeding and training facility, are located in the maintenance area. One is associated with a horse corral and is currently used for storage [Photo 52]. Both structures are of post-and-beam construction, with unpainted board-and-batten siding, and shed roofs clad with rolled felt.

Also associated with the maintenance area is a small **gasoline house** of wood-frame construction, with vertical board-and-batten siding painted white, a hip roof with wood shingles, and a concrete foundation [Inv. #117]. Utility structures located next to the gas shed include an oil tank and two gas tanks with associated pumps [Photo 49].

Within the residence area, there are two residences and two garages. The **residences**, constructed in 1932, are wood-frame buildings with brick foundations [Inv. #73]. Both are clad with wood weatherboards, and the gable roofs have wood shingles. The smaller of the two residences is a one-and-one-half-story building with dormers, a brick chimney, and an enclosed porch with a shed roof [Photo 78]. The porch foundation, cladding, and roof material are similar to that used on the main building. The larger residence is a one-and-one-half-story building with a wood-shingled gambrel roof [Photo 79]. It, too, has dormers and a brick chimney, a larger enclosed porch with a shed roof, and a small, single-room, one-story attachment with a gable roof. The porch and attachment foundation, cladding, and roof material are similar to those used on the larger residence. Both buildings are painted white, although the masonry is unpainted.

A **garage** is located behind the smaller house [Inv. #74]. It is a wood-frame structure with wood siding and a wood-shingle roof set on a concrete pad foundation.

A second, larger garage and storage shed is located southeast of the larger house [Inv. #155, Photo 80]. This wood-frame structure has two bays and a pyramidal roof with a shed-roof attachment. The garage is clad with wood weatherboards painted white; the roof is of wood shingles. The storage shed attachment is vertical board-and-batten painted white, with a roof clad with rolled felt, possibly over plywood.

Within the utilities complex, the **water tower** is an elevated metal structure designed to hold up to 50,000 gallons of water [Inv. #120, Photo 68]. The **water purification/pump station** structure [Inv. #119] located nearby is a small, square, one-story, concrete block structure with a gable roof clad in asphalt shingles.

At the Log House and picnic area, there is a post-and-beam **picnic shelter**, with a concrete floor and wood-shingle hip roof [Inv. #154, Photo 70]. Nearby is a **comfort station** constructed of concrete block with a concrete foundation and hip roof clad with wood shingles [Inv. #125]. The structure is sided with vertical wood boards. A privacy fence partially screens this building from the picnic area parking lot.

The **Log House** [LCS #29] is a one-and-one-half story wood frame building clad with rough-hewn boards and logs [Inv. #79, Photo 74]. The floor-plan is L-shaped; a porch borders the structure's entire southeastern facade. The building has a brick chimney, a stone foundation, and two gable-roof sections clad with asphalt shingles. Associated with the Log House is the **storage Shed (also Log House storage shed, fire cart shed, chemical cart house)** [LCS #30], a square plan (10 feet x 10 feet), one-story frame structure with an asphalt-shingle pyramidal roof [Inv. #123, Photo 75]. The shed is constructed on a concrete foundation and covered with weatherboards. It has no windows and the door is not paneled.

Near the Ice Pond is a **pump house** [LCS #35], a one-story, square (8 foot by 8 foot), brick structure [Inv. #109, Photo 33]. It has a wood-shingle, gable roof over Flemish-bond brick bearing-walls with weatherboards on the end walls. The structure has a nine-pane double-hung window and simple wood door. The pump house supplies water to the historic-core area.

The **Ice Pond dam** [LCS #35A] is an earthen structure, 4 feet tall, 135 feet long and approximately 8 feet wide, that forms a pond from a stream emptying into Dancing Marsh [Inv. #27].

The granite monument, (also Memorial Shaft, George Washington Monument) [LCS #03] is a stone obelisk that was constructed from light Barre Vermont granite in 1896 [Inv. #42, Photo 26]. The shaft is 42 feet in height and the pedestal is 9 feet-4 inches in height. The shaft and pedestal stand on a three-stepped square base, also made of granite, that is 12 foot square. The pedestal rests on a square base that is 18 inches high with a 20-inch-high plinth and a canted edge and a cap molding. The granite monument was designed to be a one-tenth replica of the Washington Monument in Washington, D.C.

The **Visitor Center** is a large, one-and-one-half story, modern, brick structure with a mix of gable and shed-roof forms with asphalt shingle cladding, clerestory windows, and a masonry flue along the upper ridge [Inv. #149]. The building has a concrete foundation. Fenestration is composed of large glass panels, either casement or non-operable, with non-divided lights. Two sets of double, glass doors mark the main entrance to the building. A door in the rear of the building leads to an elevated wood deck that protrudes from the building's northern facade. The Visitor Center is set into the side of a hill. The main entrance is located at the upper portion of a bilevel first floor. Once inside, it is possible to access the lower portion of the first floor, where the interpretive displays are located. A lower, basement level is also used for park storage, building mechanics, and the park library.

The Visitor Center is connected to the **concession building (also gift shop)** via a covered trellis structure [Inv. #150]. This building is a one-story, modern, brick structure with a mix of gable and shed-roof forms, asphalt shingle cladding, and a clerestory window along the roof ridge. It, too, has a concrete foundation, and large glass window panels with non-divided lights.

Cluster Arrangements

There are few building clusters located outside of the historic core. Those that do exist are found within the maintenance, residence, Log House and picnic, and Visitor Center areas. Each of these clusters is sited adjacent to an open-water or wetland system.

Six buildings and structures comprise the maintenance area complex. These buildings are, for the most part, oriented northwest to southeast. With the exception of the two storage structures, these buildings are widely spaced and do not form any particular spatial configuration through their siting.

The residential area contains two buildings set within a loop road. The residences are similarly oriented, and aligned with each other. They have been sited approximately two hundred feet apart and form an open space between them.

At the picnic area, the picnic shelter and comfort station form something of an edge to the grove of Eastern red cedars and the picnic tables sited beneath them. They are sited in close proximity to one another but are not oriented to establish a shared space between them.

The Visitor Center and gift shop are connected through an overhead trellis system. Together, in their arrangement and relationship to adjacent spaces, they help form two pedestrian terrace areas.

Small-scale Features

Small scale features observed within the park are associated with boundary demarcation, site utilities, interpretation, and circulation. They are described below.

Traffic signs are standard ("stop," "yield," "do not enter," and "speed limit") regulatory signs constructed of painted sheet metal bolt-mounted onto pressure-treated posts.

Directional signs are constructed of metal and mounted with bolts on pressure-treated wood posts. The faces of the signs have a brown background with cream colored lettering or pictograms.

The **park entrance sign** is a rectangular, painted, wooden sign panel, set within a raised wood frame. A carved wood NPS emblem is bolted onto the wood panel of the sign, and park information is etched and painted on the wood panel beneath and beside it [Inv. #166, Photo 26].

Interpretive wayside panels are of two types. The first type, which is smaller in size, consists of a single metal frame set at an angle on dual central metal posts, or double frames set on triple posts, containing text and illustration panels [Inv. #132, Photo 34]. The second type has a larger text area and is also set in an angled metal frame set on dual metal posts located to either side of the frame. One example—the Washington family burial ground wayside—also includes a brick base. Another variation is the wayside located at Bridges Creek landing where three waysides are sited together in an arc [Inv. #157, Photo 39].

Fencing types at George Washington Birthplace National Monument include barbed wire and woven wire on wood posts; four-board; and three styles of quartered-log worm [Inv. #'s 57, 112]. Worm fencing is the most prevalent. Sections are often elevated above the ground using bricks at corner bends. The three types of worm fencing observed at the park are:

- Simple stacked fencing made up of quartered logs;
- Simple, stacked, quartered logs placed between posts set at the stacking corners; and
- Simple, stacked, quartered logs with lean-up quartered logs set at the stacking corners.

Beginning at the granite monument and continuing to the northwest, Bridges Creek road is edged by approximately 1500 feet of fencing to its west and 350 feet to its east. This fencing is included on the List of Classified Structures [LCS #03A]. The fencing to the east of Bridges Creek road terminates north of the Ice Pond; the fencing to the west of Bridges Creek road runs almost to the Washington family burial ground. The final 50-foot section of this fencing was replaced or reconstructed in the 1970s.

Four types of gates are found in the park and are composed of the following detailing:

- A heavy-timber cantilevered arm supported by a cross-brace, hinged and mounted on 12"x 12" stained posts;
- Quartered log panels, set in four-rail frames and cross-braced in both directions, hinged and mounted on log posts;
- Metal or plastic chains with wood posts; and
- Top-bolted cut pipe on a wood post with a notched wood-post rest.

The majority of park **trash receptacles** are metal, painted brown, with animal-proof extension lids. The receptacles are chained to wood posts set in concrete pads. **Whiskey barrel trash receptacles** are also located along the pedestrian path leading from the Visitor Center to the historic core.

Rustic wooden benches, both backless and with backs, are located along the pedestrian path to the historic core.

Wood-tie retaining walls edge the pedestrian path leading to the historic core along Popes Creek [Inv. #153].

Wood ties are used as **headwalls** in some places for culverts carrying storm-water beneath the pedestrian path. Metal **drains** associated with drop inlets also occur along the path to the historic core. **Stone headwalls** mark the locations of culverts along Bridges Creek road. A **brick headwall** with two outflow pipes edges the culvert leading beneath Bridges Creek road into the Ice Pond.

Utility lines and poles service the maintenance, residence, Log House and picnic, and Visitor Center areas. Additional lines service the water tank and Muse family properties. Poles are creosote-treated wood.

A metal propane tank is located near the Log House.

Remnant bulkheads constructed of wooden piers are located along the Potomac River shoreline in the northeastern corner of the park. Nearby, north of Longwood Swamp, there are remnant concrete slabs inset with metal pipes [Inv. #'s 118, 131, Photo 63].

A sophisticated network of hand-dug single and double line **ditches** [LCS #63] drain an extensive area of the park, in particular the agricultural fields that edge Bridges Creek road [Inv. #28]. The ditches vary in depth from approximately 6 inches to 3 feet and are approximately 4 feet wide. These ditches connect to natural drainage swales and are evident in successional tree stands as well as maintained fields. More contemporary grass-lined drainage swales edge the roads in various locations.

Gravestones and tablets (sarcophagi) [LCS #04] at the Washington family burial ground include tablestones of Aquia creek sandstone [Inv. #59]. There are five raised and two grade-level sarcophagi; the lids of the raised sarcophagi are approximately 3 feet-5 inches by 6 feet-5 inches and the grade level sarcophagi are 5 feet-5 inches by 2 feet-9 inches. The vaults are brick. At the Muse family cemetery, there are six small granite headstones with rounded or squared tops and carved text.

A single, tall, metal **Flagpole** with an American flag is located outside the Visitor Center.

Metal bicycle racks are also located outside of the Visitor Center.

Storage and mail and newspaper boxes are metal upright structures set on wood posts that contain secure cubicles for various purposes. These are located near the traffic circle, the Log House, and the utilities complex.

Picnic tables with benches constructed of wood planks and metal frames are found near the Visitor Center and in the picnic area [Inv. #126].

Metal **grills** that are small, square, low to the ground, and set on metal poles, are located at the picnic area [Inv. #126].

A stone **drinking fountain** composed of smooth stones stacked into a pyramidal shape and set in place with mortar, with a metal basin and spout on top, a spout on the side, and a drain alongside on the ground, is also located in the picnic area [Inv. #129, Photo 72].

Also located at the picnic area is a large wooden bulletin board/informational sign constructed of six by six wood posts with pointed finials. A gable overhang spans the two wood posts and helps to protect the bulletin board beneath from stormwater.

Known and Potential Archeological Resources

Known and potential archeological resources discussed in this section include sites mentioned in archeological reports provided to OCULUS by NPS, sites of missing features identified in the site physical history, and surficial anomalies identified during field investigations. Chapter Two contains more information regarding the role of these known and potential resources in the historic landscape. In some cases, little is known about a resource other than its general location. Even vague references to potential archeological resources have been included here in the hope that the information may prove useful to future research efforts.

In the northwestern portion of the park, potential and known archeological resources include American Indian shell-middens and agricultural artifacts uncovered during investigations of the Henry Brooks [Photo 45] and John Washington house sites; these two early settlements themselves; the Washington family burial ground; a nearby spring site; possible trash pit locations nearby; earlier alignment(s) of Bridges Creek road; agricultural ditches; the historic wharf at Bridges Creek landing, and an associated structure.

Evidence of American Indian occupation and temporary settlement of this landscape currently exists in the form of **shell middens** [Inv. #3] at the Henry Brooks and John Washington sites, along Bridges Creek and the Potomac River, and beneath the Visitor Center parking area. Other as yet undiscovered important sites may be located within park boundaries. These could be predicted by archeologists based on findings at similar study areas, and investigations based on predictions could yield important information about the nature of the landscape prior to occupation by Henry Brooks. While investigations of the **Brooks site** [Inv. #1] have already been undertaken, additional excavation may yield information regarding other landscape resources of this early farm complex. Similarly, the **John Washington site** [Inv. #15], **nearby spring site** [Inv. #12], possible **trash pit locations**, and the **family burial ground** [Inv. #16] have the potential to supplement our understanding of the early settlement of the site by providing a sense of the spatial organization of the farm complex as well as the other types of features that may have existed.

Bridges Creek road [Inv. #7], which was realigned in the 1930s, may date from the midseventeenth century, or earlier as an American Indian trail. While not currently located within park boundaries, the trace of its earlier alignment, parts of which are still in use on adjacent farm

property to the west, may yield significant information regarding various aspects of the landscape through the centuries. The agricultural drainage **ditches** that parallel the park road are another important feature whose date of origin, as yet undiscovered, may be gleaned from archeological investigation [Inv. #28]. This information may shed some light on the agricultural use of the site during Washington family ownership. **Bridges Creek landing** appears to have been utilized since the mid-seventeenth century as an access point to the Potomac River. Investigation of this area may yield additional information about the seventeenth and eighteenth century use of the river, as well as the **wharf** and structure that were constructed there in the 1890s.

Other areas of the park that contain potential archeological resources include parcels previously owned by the Muse family, Duck Hall (the picnic area and Log House), the Ice Pond, and the former site of the Raymond Washington farmstead. Known and potential resources associated with former Muse family tracts include the **Jane Brooks Higdon Brown house site** (location unknown), the **George Muse house site and orchard, later dwelling sites** [Inv. #s 66, 70, 71], a **spring site**, **spring house**, the **Muse family burial ground** [Inv. #22], and the original **road to Popes Creek landing**. While not originally included in the Washington family holdings, these sites are currently included within park boundaries. Many of the parcels were settled concurrently with and in a similar manner to the adjacent Washington family parcels. These sites may yield additional information about the landscape known to the Washington family during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries.

Although it was not historically owned by the Washington family, the picnic area, sited above the remains of Duck Hall, may yield information related to early occupation and settlement of the area. It is possible that much of the archeological record in this area may have been disturbed during 1930s excavation and construction activities. Aside from the **two foundations thought to have been lost in the 1930s**, an interview with Goodwin Muse in 1996, for example, suggested the presence of a depression at the site that may have been associated with an **ice house** [Inv. #32]. Two **graves**, one of which may have been that of an African-American slave, were identified near the Log House in the 1930s. Additional burial sites may also exist within this area. Agricultural **drainage ditches** located in the successional woodland near the picnic area may also yield archeological evidence to help understand the past history of this site.

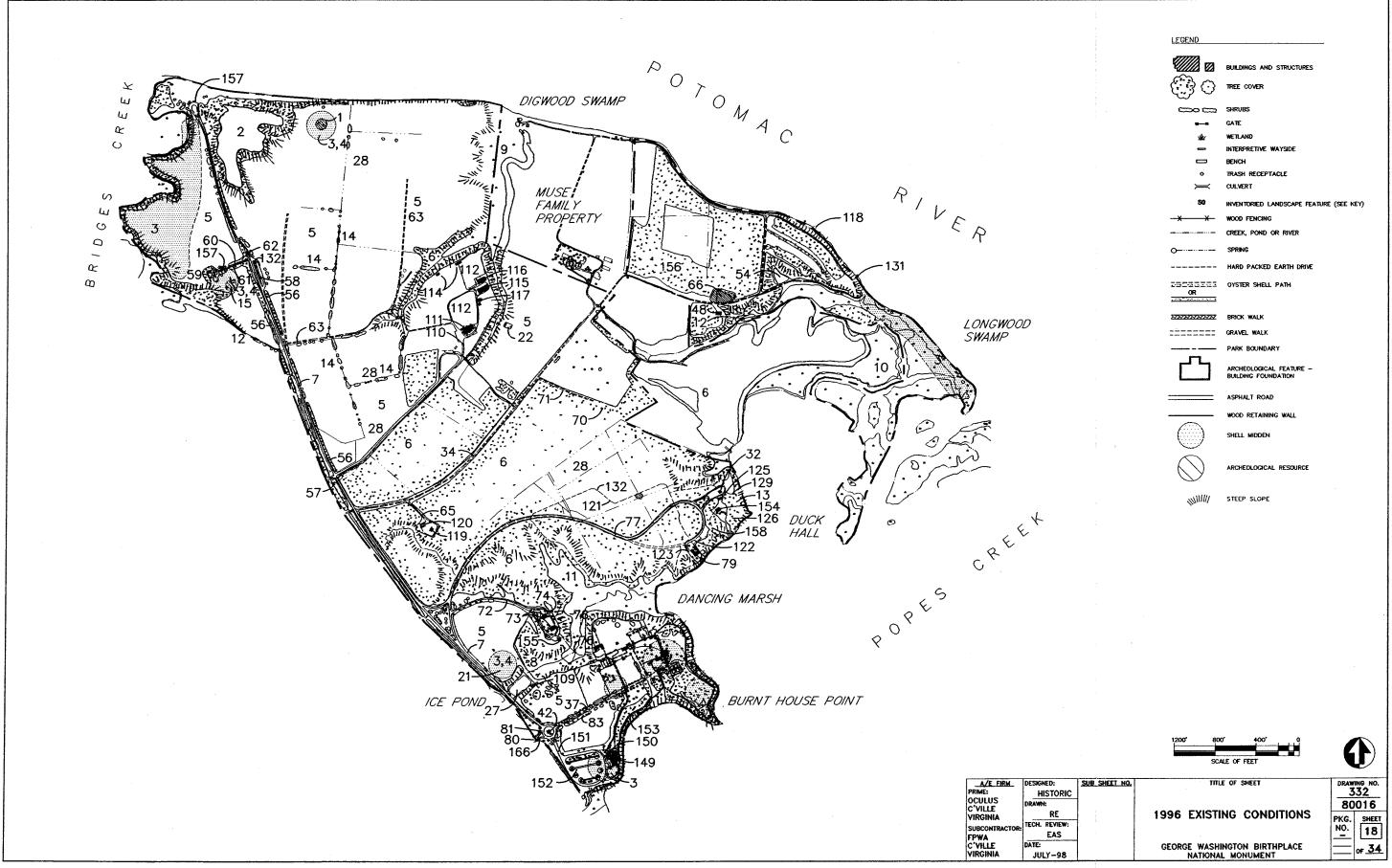
Near the Ice Pond, archeological investigations have been undertaken that have revealed evidence of a **outbuilding or tobacco shed** [Inv. #21]. It is thought that this structure may have been associated with tobacco culture. There are currently preserved beneath the parking area American Indian **shell middens** and other resources.

Finally, the Raymond Washington site, known to have existed in the 1930s, was located just east and south of the utility area that includes the water tower and water purification/pump house structure. This farm complex is thought to have included a **residence**, three or four outbuildings such as a **barn** and **sheds**, and an **orchard**. Little else is known about this property. Additional investigation may yield important information regarding the role of this site in the landscape.

Inventory of Landscape Features

- 1. Henry Brooks house site (known archeological feature)
- 2. Pond
- 3. Shell middens (known archeological feature)
- 4. Agricultural artifacts (known archeological feature)
- 5. Agricultural fields and pastures
- 6. Woodlands
- 7. Bridges Creek road and circular turn-around
- 8. Creek/drainageway
- 9. Digwood Swamp
- 10. Longwood Swamp
- 11. Dancing Marsh
- 12. Springs
- 13. Groves of Eastern red cedar trees
- 14. Hedgerows
- 15. John Washington house site (known archeological feature)
- 21. Outbuilding, possible tobacco shed (known archeological feature)
- 22. Muse family burial ground
- 27. Ice Pond and earthen dam
- 28. Agricultural drainage ditches
- 32. Icehouse (known archeological feature)
- 34. Road to Muse property
- 37. Crushed stone road to the birthplace
- 42. Granite monument
- 48. Spring house
- 54. Pond
- 56. Cedar allée/hedgerow
- 57. Wood fencing along Bridges Creek road
- 58. Parking area at burial ground
- 59. Brick wall and wrought iron gate enclosing burial ground
- 60. Oyster-shell walk leading to burial ground
- 61. Ornamental plantings
- 62. Maintenance access road to burial ground
- 63. Farm roads
- 66. R.J. Muse house site (known archeological feature)
- 70. Well site (known archeological feature)
- 71. Road trace leading to well
- 72. Road to employee residence area
- 73. Employee residences
- 74. Garage at residence area
- 76. Trail between residence and historic core areas
- 77. Road to Log House and picnic area
- 79. Log House
- 80. Approach road to the site (S.R. 204)
- 81. Traffic circle around the monument
- 83. Cedar allée along crushed stone road to the birthplace
- 109. Ice Pond pump house
- 110. Access road and parking for maintenance area
- 111. Maintenance building
- 112. Paddocks
- 114. Pasture sheds

- 115. Equipment storage structure
- 116. Hay storage structure
- 117. Gasoline house
- 118. Breakwater northwest of Longwood Swamp
- 119. Water purification/pump station structure
- 120. Water tower
- 121. Nature Trail
- 122. Service road, walks, and parking area at Log House
- 123. Log House storage shed
- 125. Comfort station
- 126. Picnic area
- 129. Stone drinking fountain
- 131. Stone pier and timber bulkheads near Longwood Swamp
- 132. Interpretive waysides
- 149. Visitor Center
- 150. Gift shop/post office
- 151. Access road to the Visitor Center
- 152. Parking area with ornamental plantings, concrete walks, trash receptacles
- 153. Trail to historic core
- 154. Picnic shelter
- 155. Garage/storage shed in residence area
- 156. Loblolly pine plantation
- 157. Interpretive waysides
- 158. Trail between Log House and picnic area
- 166. Park entrance sign





25. View southwest along State Route 204, the approach road to the park, which is edged by fenced agricultural fields and an allée of red maples.

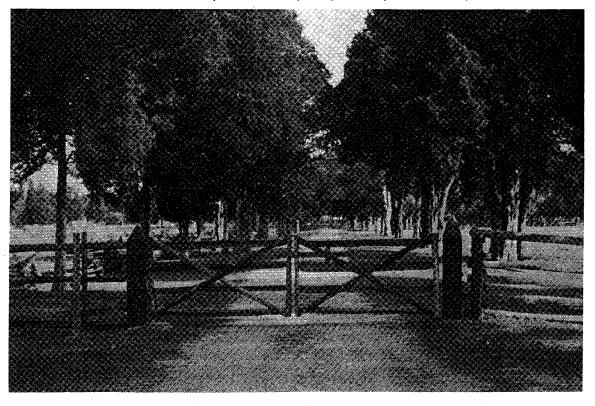
(See photo 1 in chapter 2 for a comparative view of historic conditions)



26. View northeast toward the park entrance sign and the granite Memorial Shaft. This obelisk, a one-tenth replica of the Washington Monument, was constructed in 1896 to commemorate the site of George Washington's birth.

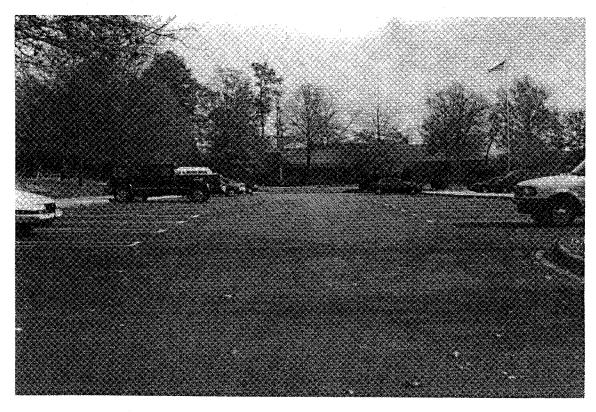


27. The traffic circle east of the monument. (See photo 11 in chapter 2 for a comparative view of historic conditions)



28. View northeast to the gated gravel road leading from the traffic circle toward the historic core. This was once the main entrance into the park. An allée of Eastern red cedar trees lines the road.

(See photo 24 in chapter 2 for a comparative view of historic conditions)



29. View northeast of the main parking area and the Visitor Center beyond.



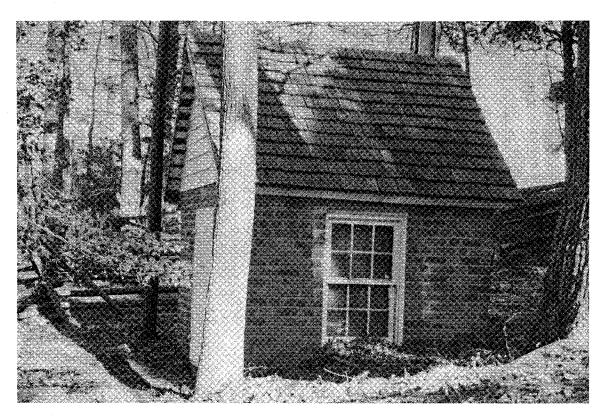
30. View north along the crushed oyster shell pedestrian walk located west of Popes Creek that leads from the Visitor Center toward the park's historic core. Interpretive waysides are located along the path.



31. View southeast of the ditch system which lines the main park road to the west. These ditches appear throughout the park and are associated with agricultural fields, including those currently in use and those that have been abandoned and have reverted to woodland.



32. View northeast across the Ice Pond located east of the main park road near the traffic circle. It is one of two man-made ponds identified within the park boundaries.



33. A brick pump house is located east of the Ice Pond and provides water to the historic core area.



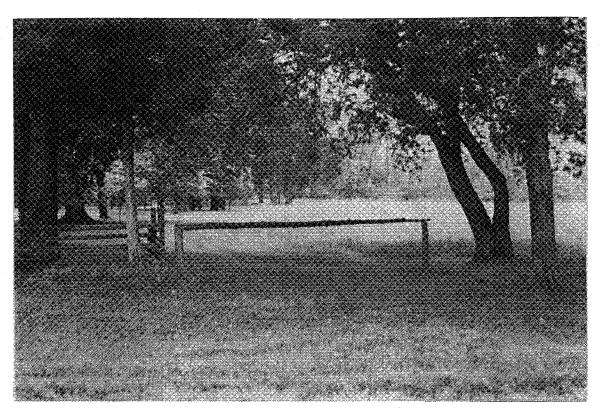
34. View northeast to an interpretive wayside identifying the location of "Henry Brooks Patent." This wayside, which includes an illustrative locator map of the land patent, is sited adjacent to the Burial Ground parking area.



35. Walk leading to the Washington family Burial Ground. (See photos 13 and 14 in chapter 2 for comparative views of historic conditions)



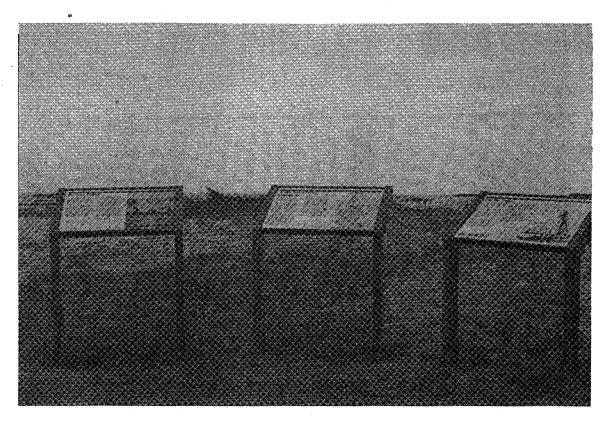
36. View southwest of the Burial Ground. John Washington, George's great-grandfather, first established a family burial ground here near his home in the late seventeenth century. Replica gravestones and commemorative tablets are interpreted on the site today.



37. A gate leading to the burial ground maintenance access route.



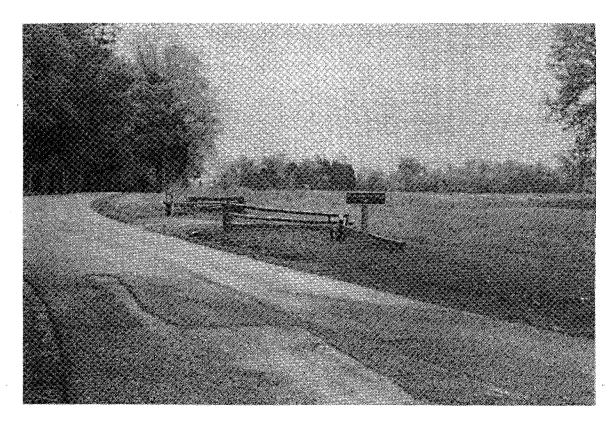
38. The turn-around and parking area at Bridges Creek Landing.



39. View northwest of an interpretive wayside located at the terminus of the main park road. The Potomac River is visible in the background.



40. The beach, looking downstream along the Potomac, at Bridges Creek Landing.



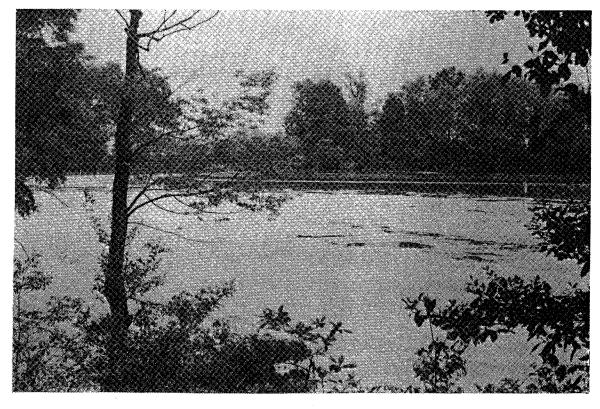
41. Overflow parking facilities at Bridges Creek Landing.



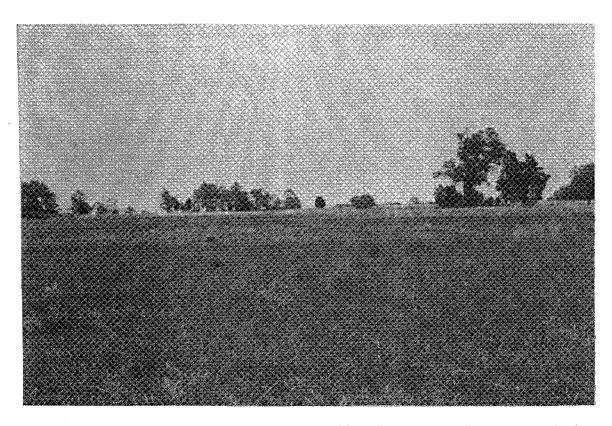
42. Bridges Creek marsh.



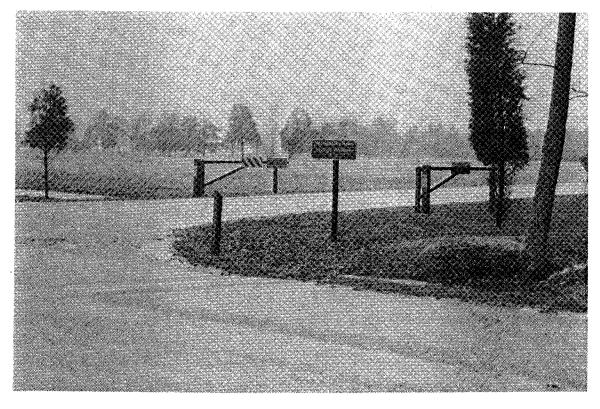
43. Mown grass along Bridges Creek Road, with the burial ground in background.



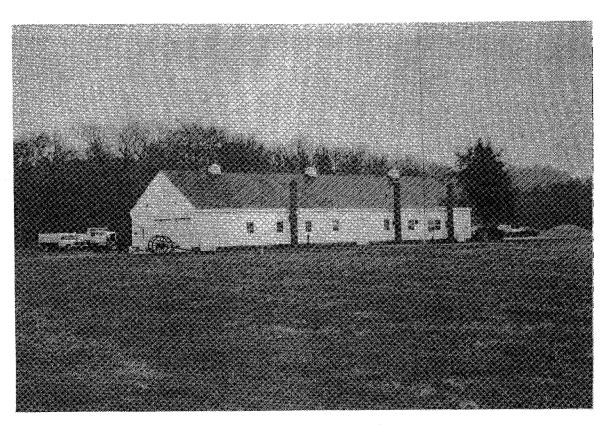
44. The pond near the Henry Brooks site.



45. Agricultural fields in the vicinity of the Henry Brooks site.



46. The access road to the maintenance area.



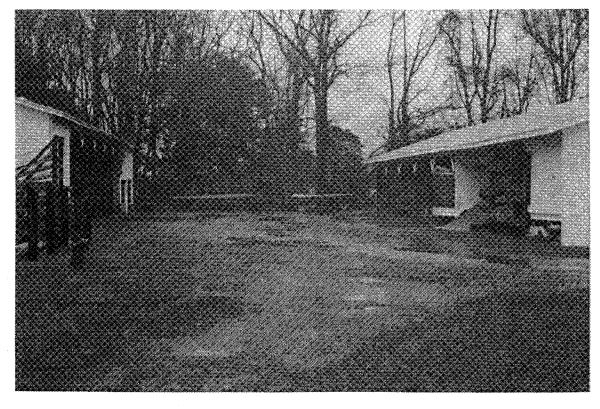
47. The maintenance building, which was adapted from a horse barn in 1976, has exterior chimneys.



48. A boxwood nursery was observed in the maintenance area.



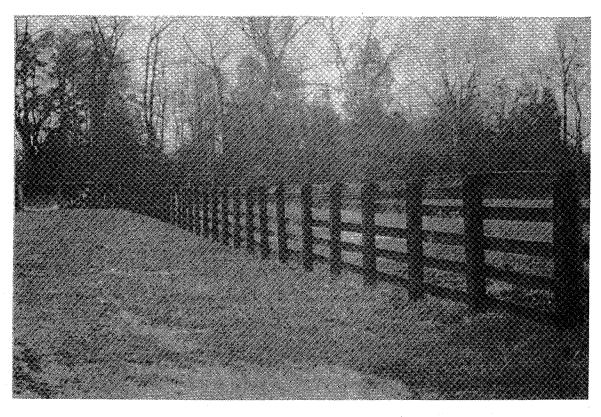
49. A cluster of utility structures are located in the maintenance area. The gas house provides fuel for maintenance vehicles.



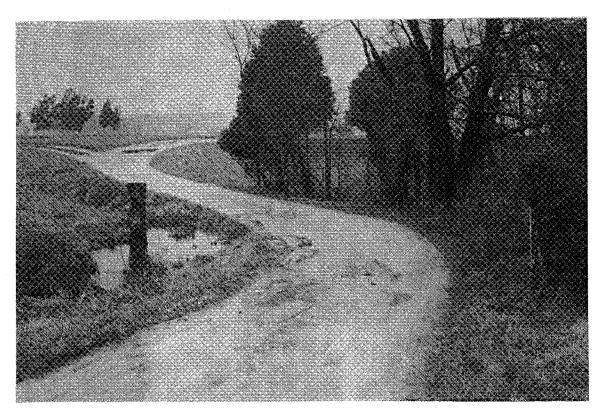
50. There are two large storage sheds in the maintenance area.



51. Digwood Swamp.



52. Fencing and two small pasture sheds located in the maintenance area remain from the area's use as a horse farm operation.



53. An access road to the adjacent agricultural fields from the maintenance area.



54. An access road to the adjacent agricultural fields; a debris pile is located on the right in the photograph.



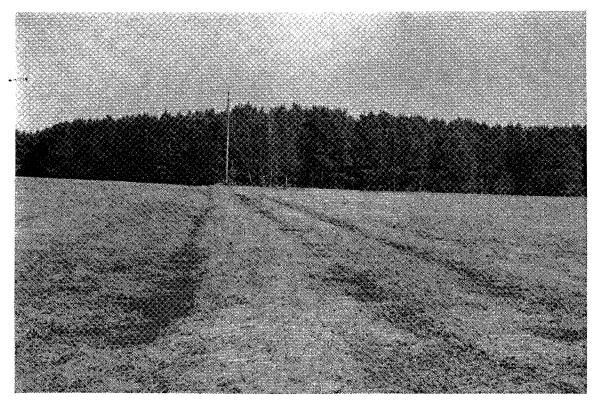
55. A hedgerow and parallel drainage ditch edging the agricultural fields southwest of maintenance area.



56. View west of an agricultural field located east of the main park road and adjacent to property owned by the Muse family. The park maintenance complex is located in the background of the photo behind the tree line.



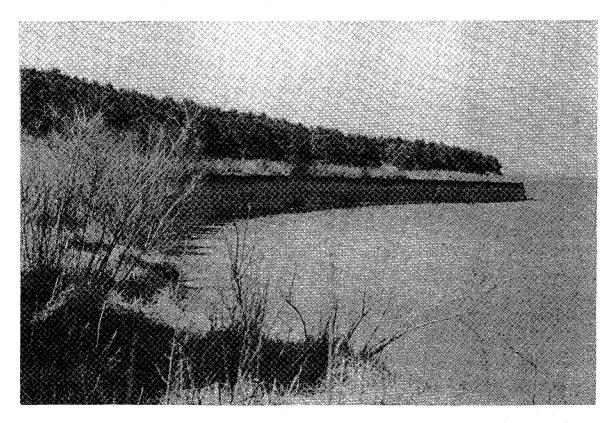
57. View west of the Muse family cemetery located along the edge of the agricultural field pictured above. Six gravestones and a black walnut tree mark the burial ground.



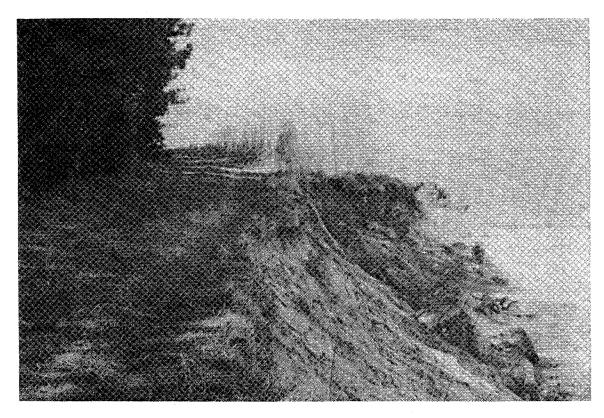
58. View north to the parcel acquired by the park from the Horner family in 1978. This parcel abuts Muse family property (including the agricultural fields shown) and is noncontiguous with the remainder of the park. The pine plantation was established by the National Park Service in the early 1980s.



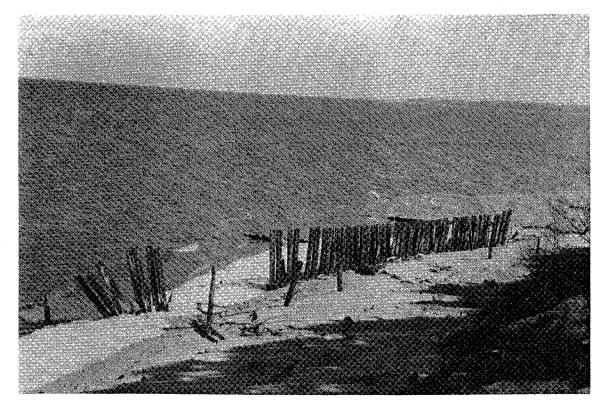
59. The interior of the pine plantation has been planted with autumn olive to provide food for wildlife.



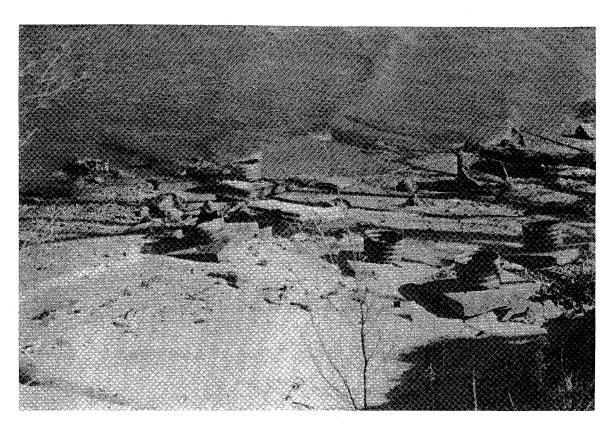
60. View west of the northern park boundary and the Potomac River. Much of the Potomac River boundary is composed of cliffs. A grass road edges the river in this area.



61. Some portions of the grass road along the Potomac are currently threatened by erosion from wave action.



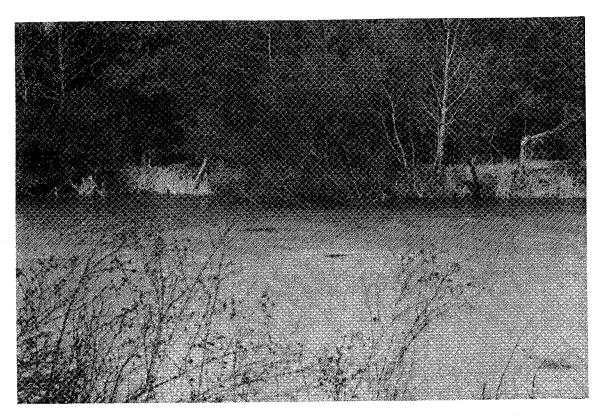
62. View east of a remnant pier system located along the Potomac within the parcel acquired by the park in 1978.



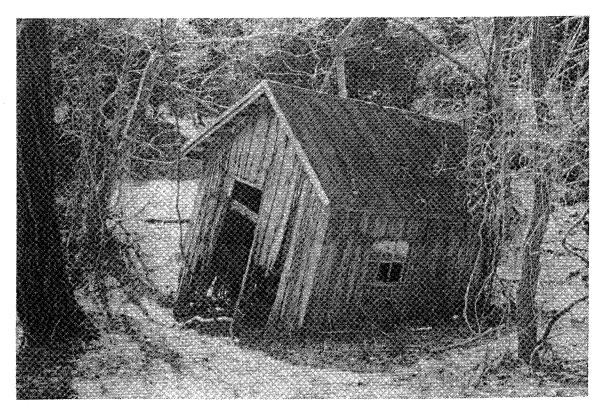
63. View north of remnant structures observed along the Potomac north of Longwood Swamp. These structures and a remnant road leading to the beach seen in this photograph suggest that a boat landing once occupied this site.



64. Longwood Swamp is comprised of various open water and marshland wetland types, with shrubs and trees dominating the higher ground. Phragmites, an invasive alien species, was observed.



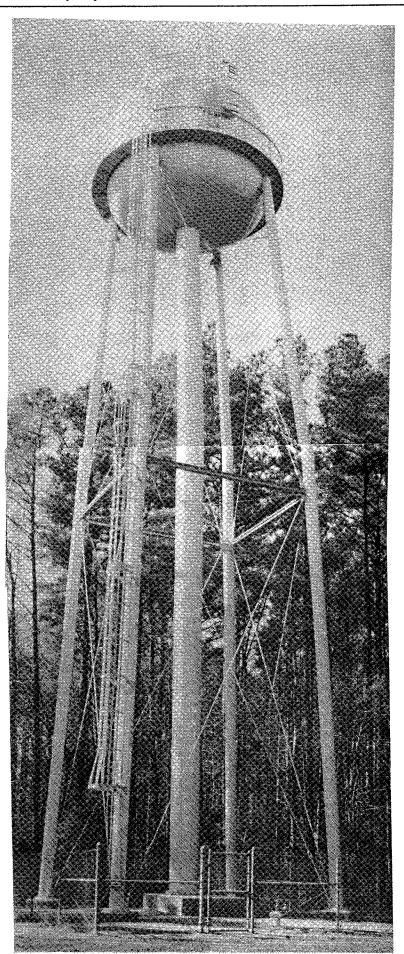
65. View west of the other man-made pond identified at the park and located northwest of Longwood Swamp. The pond's earthen dam is used as part of the road in this area.



66. A remnant spring house, in severely deteriorated condition, was observed west of the pond illustrated above and southeast of the remnant house site shown below.



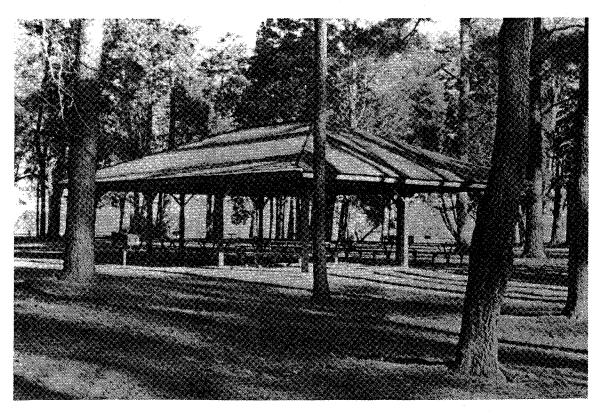
67. View north of an area thought to represent an abandoned house site. Features observed in this area include yucca plantings, a possible road trace, building footprint, and construction debris such as bricks and concrete.



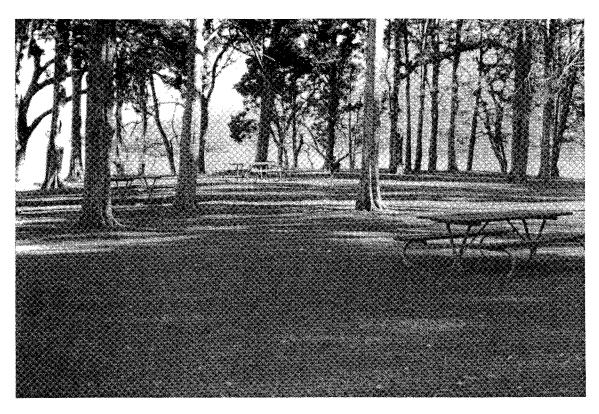
68. A 50,000 gallon elevated water tank and associated water treatment structure are located south of the access road to the Muse family farm. The water tower is generally screened from view by a successional woodland.



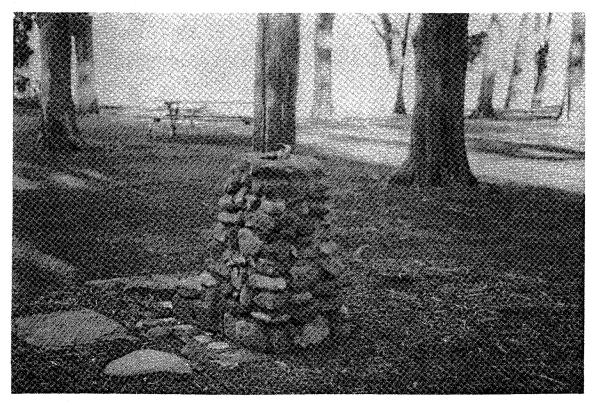
69. A Nature Trail, located in the successional woodland east of the main park road, crosses a series of remnant drainage ditches that most likely edged agricultural fields long since abandoned.



70. The Nature Trail is linked to a picnic area sited along Popes Creek north of the historic core. A picnic shelter is located here within a grove of Eastern red cedars.



71. View southeast of the picnic area, including the numerous picnic tables located under the canopy of cedar trees.



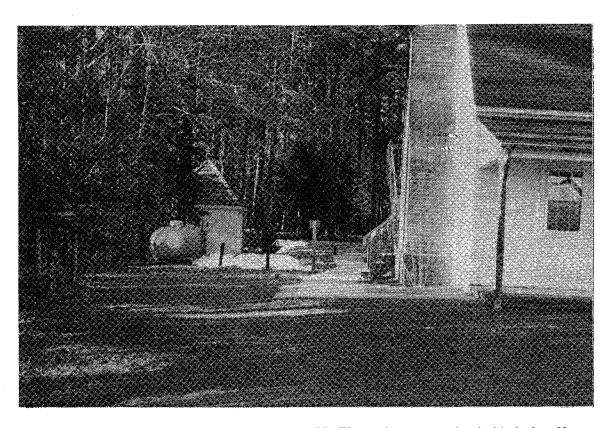
72. A stone drinking fountain is located near the picnic shelter at the picnic area.



73. The Nature Trail continues south of the picnic area and runs along Dancing Marsh. During late winter and early spring, however, visitors are requested not to access this part of the trail during nesting season.



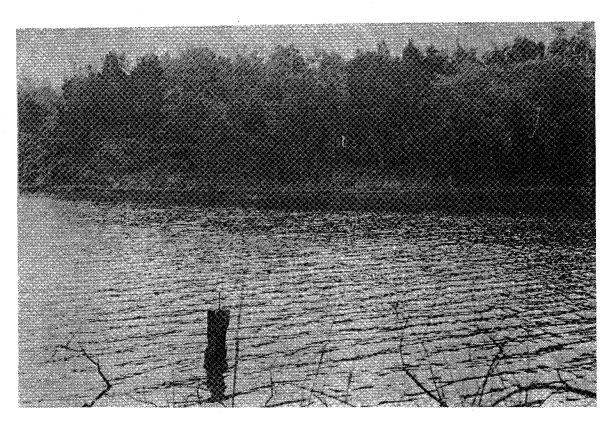
74. View south of the Log House located across Dancing Marsh from the historic core. This building is used by overnight guests and for park meetings.



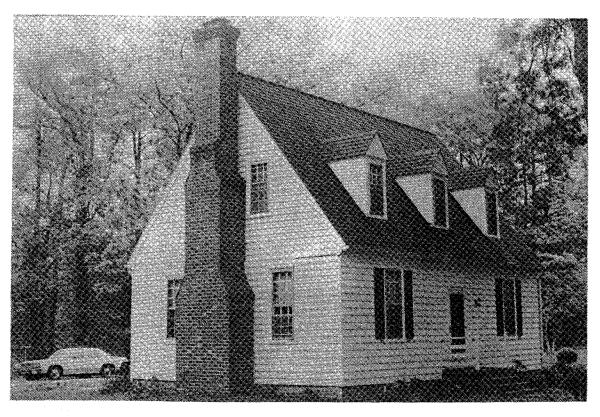
75. The service area associated with the Log House. (See photo 22 in chapter 2 for a comparative view of historic conditions)



76. View south across Dancing Marsh toward the historic core from the Log House. Historically, a bridge connected the Log House area with the historic core. Plans are currently underway to restore this connection.



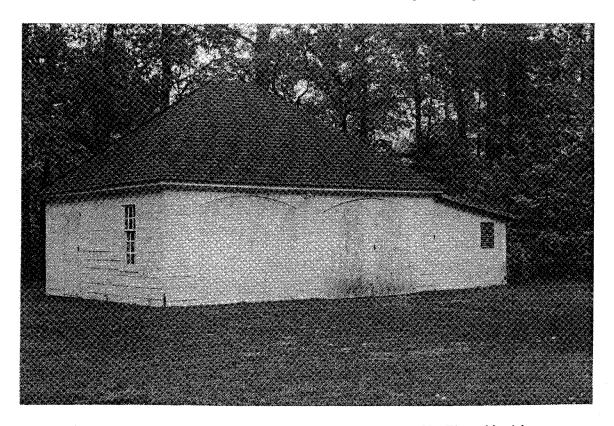
77. Location of bridge, now missing, that once connected the Log House and the historic core area.



78. The smaller dwelling in the residential area.



79. The larger dwelling in the residence area.



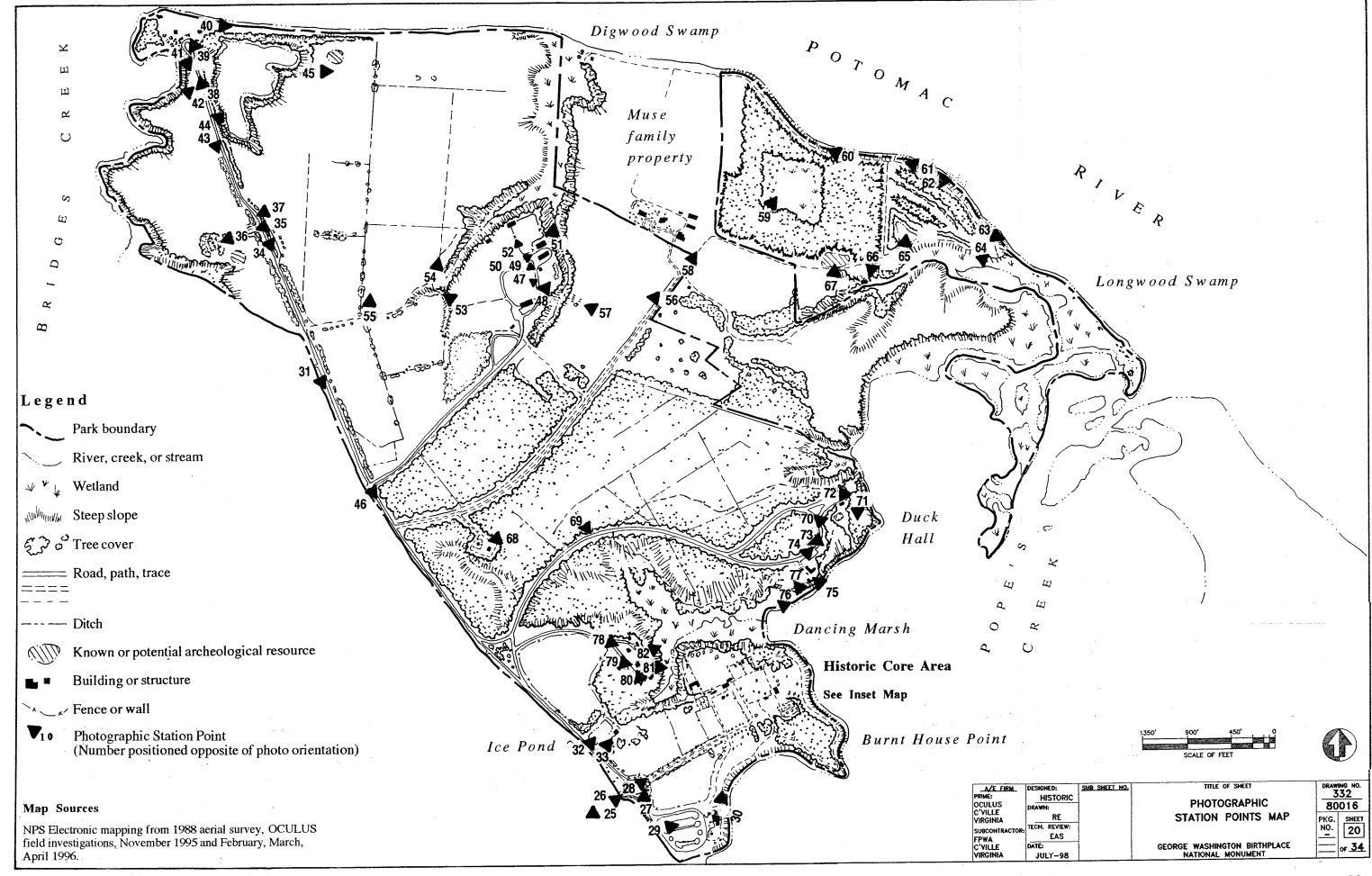
80. The residential area garage.



81. The footbridge leading towards the historic core from the residential area.



82. Dancing Marsh.



Condition Assessment of Landscape Features

This section includes condition assessments of the primary landscape features identified earlier in this chapter. Each feature is listed inventory number and name, and is given a condition rating of either "good," "fair," "poor," or "unknown" based on the National Park Service's "Cultural Landscape Inventory, Draft User's Manual." The definitions of these condition rating are as follows:

<u>Good</u> - indicates the cultural landscape shows no clear evidence of major negative disturbance and deterioration by natural and/or human forces. The cultural landscape's cultural and natural values are as well preserved as can be expected under the given environmental conditions. No immediate corrective action is required to maintain its current condition.

<u>Fair</u> - indicates the cultural landscape shows clear evidence of minor disturbances and deterioration by natural and/or human forces, and some degree of corrective action is needed within 3-5 years to prevent further harm to its cultural and/or natural values. The cumulative effect of the deterioration of many of the character-defining elements of the cultural landscape, if left to continue without the appropriate corrective action, will cause the cultural landscape to degrade to a poor condition.

<u>Poor</u> - indicates the cultural landscape shows clear evidence of major disturbance and rapid deterioration by natural and/or human forces. Immediate corrective action is required to protect and preserve the remaining historical and natural values.

<u>Unknown</u> - not enough information available to make an evaluation.⁶

Each inventory entry is annotated to include specific condition-related observations made in the field that help to justify and explain the rating. Archeological sites and resources have not been assessed for their condition.

Inventory # Feature/Comments

Condition Assessment

#2 Pond

Good

Some algal growth was apparent in the pond.

#5 Agricultural fields and pasture

Good

Fields appear to be in production and are well maintained. Invasive alien plant species were observed on the perimeters of some fields.

#6 Woodlands

Good

Woodland vegetation is composed of a healthy, layered, successional community. In the older portions of the woodland, pines are being replaced by hardwoods.

⁶ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Cultural Landscape Inventory, Draft User's Manual," February 1995.

#7 Bridges Creek road and circular turn-around

Fair/Good

The pavement appears worn in places, with some grooves. Some ponding of stormwater was observed. Associated trash receptacles need repainting. Bridges Creek landing parking seems shallow, but adequate. No designated handicap space was observed. Most culverts are functioning properly. Culvert materials appear relatively free from damage. Some cracking of concrete and rusting of metal were observed on other culverts that would be consistent with normal wear. Some recently replaced or repaired culverts were also observed. Brick culvert at Ice Pond appears to be in good condition with some moss growth and cracking of mortar.

#8 Creek/drainageway

Good

The banks are vegetated and the stream is flowing well. The wire fencing that spans the stream is sagging.

#9 Digwood Swamp

Fair/Good

The swamp banks adjacent to the maintenance area appear to have been used to dump refuse. Scrap metal, wire, concrete, and miscellaneous materials are in evidence. Field observations suggest that the swamp is undergoing successional change. The southern extent of the swamp appears to be filling in and woodland species encroaching. This is especially evident near the Muse family burial ground.

#10 Longwood Swamp

Fair/Good

Except for the presence of common reed, a potentially invasive alien species, Longwood Swamp appears fairly healthy.

#11 Dancing Marsh

Good

The marsh is comprised of typical salt and fresh water plant communities that appear to be vigorous and healthy.

#12 Springs

Unknown

The spring near the John Washington site was not observed. The spring near abandoned house site, west of Longwood Swamp, was not observed.

#13 Groves of Eastern red cedar trees

Fair/Good

Many of the cedars appear to have recently been damaged, possibly due to hurricane Fran in September 1996. Some specimens at the traffic circle have lost a significant percentage of their crowns. Others, such as those along the crushed stone road to the historic core, have broken limbs that will require removal. There are numerous individual trees that are missing from systems such as allées, hedgerows, or cluster plantings.

#14 Hedgerows

Fair/Good

Some dead and damaged trees were observed within the hedgerows. Some of the hedgerows are not continuous and may have lost sections that have not regenerated or been replaced.

#16 Washington family burial ground

Fair/Good

Some moss growth was observed on each of the gravestones and crypts, but otherwise they are clean. Tablestone plinths show signs of wear, probably from visitors stepping up to read inscriptions.

#22 Muse family burial ground

Fair/Good

A few of the stones are leaning. There are gopher holes in the vicinity of a few of the grave sites.

#27 Ice Pond and earthen dam

Good

Wildlife was observed in the pond. Vegetation is growing in and around the pond, but the water appears to be flowing well.

#28 Agricultural drainage ditches

Fair

Trees were observed growing in many of the ditches. Accumulations of debris and siltation are causing portions of some ditches to pond.

#34 Road to Muse property

Fair/Good

There are some uneven spots in the road, and ponding of stormwater was observed in places. Organic matter appears to be mixed in with the crushed stone base.

Overhead electric lines and wood poles (fair/good): some of the poles are leaning slightly. Otherwise, poles appear free of damage and deterioration. Electric lines appear well-maintained.

Metal chain barrier/wood posts at entrance to NPS property (fair): the bases of the posts are rotting and the chain is rusting and needs repainting.

#37 Crushed stone road to the birthplace

Good

Where the oyster-shell walks cross the crushed stone road, the oyster-shell is spreading into the crushed stone, and some of the crushed stone is traveling into adjacent grass areas. There are some low points where water appears to pond, and some vegetation has invaded the road prism.

#42 Granite monument

Good

The base is chipped and has been repaired with asphalt in some areas. The caulk is deteriorating. Vegetation is growing through the seams of the granite blocks. No flaws were observed on the surface of the shaft.

#48 Spring house

Poor

The spring house is in severely deteriorated condition.

#54 Pond

Fair/Good

The pond and dam appear stable. Culverts draining the pond to Longwood Swamp show some signs of weathering and deterioration. The culverts also appear clogged with soil and leaf matter.

#56 Cedar allée/hedgerow

Fair/Good

Some trees are in need of pruning. The allée is not continuous. Many trees are missing along both sides of the roadway.

#57 Wood fencing

Fair

The fencing is slightly weathered but shows only minimal signs of damage and deterioration.

Barrier fencing at the circular turn-around (good): bolts appear rust free. The wood members show signs of surface depth cracking. The paint on the wood appears to be fresh and free from flaking.

Barrier fencing at the picnic area (good): bolts appear rust free. The wood members show signs of surface depth cracking.

Post-and-wire fencing (poor): generally, this fencing is dilapidated. Many of the posts are broken, lying on the ground, or twisted. Much of the wire is broken or loose.

Metal cattle gate (poor): the hinges and railing are rusting. The gate posts are rotting, and the gate is not level. Generally this gate is dilapidated.

#58 Parking area at burial ground

Fair/Good

The wheelstops need repainting. There are cracks in the pavement containing vegetative growth. The pavement appears worn, and some ponding was observed.

#59 Brick wall and wrought-iron gate

Fair/Good

The gate appears solidly mounted on the brick wall. The gate hinges are rusting and some rusting and flaking of the gate was observed. The brick wall appears free from damage or deterioration. Normal weathering of brick and mortar are evident.

#60 Oyster-shell walk leading to burial ground

Good

The grade is accessible, consistent, and even, and the oyster-shell surface is solid. The wood edging shows some signs of normal wear and deterioration. Some organic matter has become mixed in with the oyster-shell and has caused slight deterioration from the contact.

#61 Ornamental plantings

Good

The trees appear to be well maintained, limbed up, and generally healthy.

#62 Maintenance road to burial ground

Fair/Good

This mown access route is gated at Bridges Creek road. The gate is a rustic wood structure. The left post has undergone some decay.

#63 Farm roads

Fair

Rutting and ponding was observed within the road prism. Some culverts are in need of repair. The wooden access gate and lock are in good condition.

Culverts (good): appear to be functioning properly. Metal and concrete structural materials appear relatively free from damage. Some cracking and rusting was observed, but this is consistent with normal wear. Recently replaced or repaired culverts were observed.

#72 Road to residence area

Good

Some wear in the pavement is causing slight ponding near the residences.

#73 Employee residences

Good

The foundations are in good condition. The siding paint appears to be in good condition. The chimneys appear sound, and the roofing stable.

#74 Garage at residence area

Fair/Good

The garage needs repainting. Debris was observed around the foundation/wall boards. The roofing appears stable.

#76 Trail between residence and historic core area

Fair/Poor

Portions of the trail between the residences and the historic core are difficult to navigate due to steep changes in grade, uneven surface materials, and vegetative growth. There is no direct connection between the trail and a gate in the fence at the Farm Workshop. The footbridge is in good condition. The pier-pad foundation has some vegetative growth on the creek side. Crushed stone and earthen approaches to the bridge are stable and well drained. Marsh plants are encroaching on the trail surface, and the adjacent vegetation is overgrown. The earthen causeway associated with a trail between the residence and picnic areas is no longer extant, and the trail is no longer passable.

#77 Road to Log House and picnic area

Good

Limited cracking of the asphalt has occurred in some areas. A few of the wooden bollards at the picnic area parking lot have been damaged slightly, most likely by car bumpers.

#79 Log House

Fair/Good

The building needs repainting. The siding has weathered. The roofing and chimney appear stable.

#80 Approach road to the site (S.R. 204)

Good

Limited cracking of the asphalt has occurred in some areas. The allée of maples is in good condition.

#81 Traffic circle around the monument

Fair/Good

The granite curbing appears free of problems. The asphalt of the road surface is cracked in numerous places, and slightly covers the stone cobbles at the base of the central island. Vegetation is growing up through the cobbles in places. The striping of the pavement is faded.

#83 Cedar allée along the road to the birthplace

Fair

Many of the trees that form the allée appear to have been recently damaged. There are broken limbs and uneven crowns on many trees, and some appear to be in decline.

#109 Ice Pond pump house

Good

Only minor pitting of a limited number of bricks was observed at the pump house.

#110 Access road and parking for maintenance area

Fair/Good

The pavement appears worn with some grooves and cracking. There is a rough spot over a new culvert.

#111 Maintenance building

Good

The foundation appears to be in good condition and there are no signs of cracking. The roofing appears stable with normal weathering. The siding is free from damage and the paint free from cracking or flaking. The cupolas need repainting.

Maintenance yard (good): the stored materials piles are orderly. Some miscellaneous materials were observed lying between and behind sheds such as rusted wire and wire mesh, scrap lumber, and refuse.

#112 Paddocks (split-rail fencing)

Good

No flaws were observed.

#114 Pasture sheds

Fair

The roofs appears to be damaged, and the siding is badly weathered. The posts and beams appear stable. One shed is currently used to stockpile used tires.

#115 Equipment storage structure (hay-shed building no. 44)

Good

The posts and beams are in good condition. The roof appears free from leaks, and the shingles appear stable.

#116 Hay storage structure (hay-shed building no. 57)

Good

The posts and beams appear to be in good condition. The roof appears free from leaks, and the shingles stable.

#117 Gasoline house

Fair/Good

The foundation, siding, and roof are in good condition. The newer tanks are well maintained. Two older tanks show signs of rust and flaking metal.

#118 Breakwater

Poor/Fair

The remnant breakwater works are deteriorated and broken.

#119 Water purification/pump station structure

Good

The concrete-block bearing walls are clean, with recent paint. The roofing appears sound.

#120 Water tower

Good

The foundation is in good condition. The tower shows no signs of rusting and appears to have been recently painted. The chain-link fence posts are solidly placed, and the fence shows only normal weathering.

Storage boxes (fair) need repainting. Storage boxes appear to have been set on grass rather than crushed stone or on a concrete pad.

#121 Nature Trail

Fair/Poor

This trail was originally linked to the trail system at the historic core via a wooden footbridge. This bridge is no longer extant. Without it, visitors must drive to the Log House area from the Visitor Center and Historic Core. The loss of this bridge lowers the condition assessment of the trail system. Otherwise, some sections of the trail do not drain and remain wet or soggy for long periods after a rain. Wood chips were recently added to the trail surface.

#122 Service road, walks, parking area at Log House

Fair/Good

Road (good): earth and plant growth were observed between some expansion joints, although the concrete was free of cracks. Wheelstops are in good condition.

Concrete walks (fair/good): some cracking of the concrete was observed on the northeast side. Vegetative growth was observed in the expansion joints on the northeast side.

Crushed stone service road (fair/good): The road has an uneven surface and organic matter appears to be mixed in with the crushed stone.

#123 Log House storage shed

Fair

There is moss growth on the roofing. The siding has mold growing along its base. Some of the wood is deteriorating and the paint chipping. Debris was observed around the foundation.

Propane gas tank (good): no visible rust on the tank. The tank surface is painted and free from cracking. The tank is placed on a concrete pad that appears to be in good condition.

#125 Comfort station

Good

Some of the wood shingles are curling or askew. Mold was observed growing along the base of some of the exterior woodwork.

#126 Picnic area

Good

Few flaws were observed associated with the picnic tables, grills, and other features located in the picnic area.

#129 Stone drinking fountain

Good

No evidence of deterioration was observed.

#131 Stone pier and timber bulkheads near Longwood Swamp

Fair/Good

The pier structures are broken. Bulkheads appear partially intact in some places. Weathering and deterioration were observed.

#132 Interpretive waysides

Fair/Good

(Including Henry Brooks patent, Nature Trail, historic core interpretive trail)

No signs of rust were observed. The paint on the posts is free from flaking. Weep holes appear to be functioning properly. All signs appear free from damage although they could use some cleaning. The metal posts for the signs appear to be solidly set in place.

#149 Visitor Center

Good

Vegetative growth was observed between cobbles. The brick facing on the north side of the building and planters is cracking and breaking off and needs repair. Some flashing and gutters need repair and cleaning.

Brick terrace (good): Bricks in good condition. Some vegetative growth was observed in the jointing.

Sewage lift station (good): Needs spot repainting in the near future.

Bicycle rack (good): No signs of rust or damage.

Flagpole (good): Vegetative growth was observed between the granite cobbles at the base. No signs of rust were observed on the pole.

Picnic tables (good): May need repainting in the near future. Minimal surface wear is apparent.

#150 Gift Shop/post office

Good

Some flashing and gutters need repair and cleaning.

#151 Access road to the Visitor Center

Good

Some of the asphalt appears to have been patched. The asphalt is cracked in other areas, with vegetation growing through some cracks and in the seams between the asphalt and the concrete gutters. The concrete curbing is chipped in a few places, apparently due to impacts from car bumpers.

#152 Parking area with ornamental plantings

Fair/Good

Cracking of the concrete sidewalk and asphalt pavement was observed. The expansion joints are deteriorating and vegetation is growing within the pavement and joints of the concrete. The striping is faded.

Ornamental trees, shrubs, ground covers (good): all appear healthy and well maintained.

Drainage system (fair): The drains appear to clog often with crushed stone, sandy soil and organic debris. Japanese honeysuckle is growing across the mouth of the outlet and may become problematic. The outlet channels parking lot runoff directly into Popes Creek.

Trash receptacles (fair/good): The paint is chipping.

#153 Trail to the historic core

Good

The trail appears to drain well and has an even surface.

#154 Picnic shelter

Good

Some of the wood shingles on the roof are loose, cracked, or curled. Mold was observed growing on the base of some of the wood posts.

#155 Garage/storage shed in residence area

Fair/Good

The wood members appear worn. The shed needs repainting. The roofing appears stable.

#156 Loblolly pine plantation

Fair/Good

Along the plantation's exterior edges, other plant species are beginning to encroach. The interior of the pine plantation has been planted with autumn olive, an invasive alien plant species.

#157 Interpretive waysides

Good

(Including John Washington site, burial ground, Bridges Creek landing)

The signs did not exhibit rust. The paint on the posts is free from flaking. The weep holes appear to be functioning properly. All signs appear free from damage although they could use some cleaning. The metal posts for the signs appear to be solidly set in place.

#158 Trail between Log House and picnic area

Fair

This trail is difficult to use due to its siting along steep slopes.

#166 Park entrance sign

Good

Some of the paint and wood is chipping, and there is some mold growing on the posts, but the sign seems to be structurally sound and in relatively good condition.

Historic Core Landscape

The historic core area is bounded to the north by Dancing Marsh, to the east and south by Popes Creek at Burnt House Point, and to the west by Dancing Marsh and wooden worm fencing associated with the Rockefeller Barn. The area is characterized by a colonial-style plantation constructed during the twentieth century to commemorate the birthplace of George Washington.

Patterns of Spatial Organization

Within the historic core area, landscape features and elements have been sited to take advantage of the level plateau that occupies the area between Dancing Marsh and Popes Creek. The majority of the buildings and structures, as well as the circulation systems and fence lines, are consistently oriented to a grid that runs northwest/southeast and southwest/northeast. This grid is consistent with the orientation of the original birthplace house foundation. The front facade of the Memorial House faces northeast toward Popes Creek and the river, however, while the birthplace house faces northwest towards Dancing Marsh.

The primary landscape features of the area—buildings, structures, fencing, the Colonial Garden, and other ornamental plantings—form a developed precinct in the center of the plateau composed of a series of rectangular open spaces. Dense groves of trees frame the developed center of the historic core to the south, southeast, north and northwest. A network of straight pedestrian paths connect the various buildings and structures featured within the historic core. In contrast with the rectilinear forms of the majority of the core's features and systems is the interpretive trail that follows the curvilinear and crenate banks of Popes Creek. The trail allows visitors to view the core area from the outside and gain a overview of its spatial configuration, and also provides continuous views of the water.

Land Uses and Activities

Existing land uses within the historic core of George Washington Birthplace National Monument include agriculture, such as crop land and pasture; visitor services; museum/interpretive; open space/recreational; utility; and service/support/storage.⁷

⁷ The land use designations used in this section are defined as follows:

agriculture (crop land): planted or cultivated areas in which stands of vegetation are managed to yield products for consumption by humans or domestic animals and/or livestock.

agriculture (pasture): planted or cultivated areas kept open for or through grazing by livestock.

visitor services: buildings, structures, or other locations where visitor amenities and facilities, including rest rooms, drinking fountains and information, are available.

museum/interpretive: buildings, structures, interpretive waysides, and other locations where visitors are provided with interpretive programs, such as guided and self-guided tours, materials, displays, and/or literature.

open space/recreational: areas of designated passive recreational activities such as hiking or picnicking.

utility: buildings, structures, or other locations where park services, such as water, electricity, or propane gas, are stored, purified, or distributed.

service/supply/storage: buildings, structures, or other locations where maintenance and security equipment and operations are housed, and park storage occurs.

Examples of the various land uses that occur within the historic core of George Washington Birthplace National Monument include:

Agriculture (crop land): demonstration plots of crops such as tobacco and vegetables are grown in the historic core area.

Agriculture (pasture): fenced fields west of the historic area and east of the granite monument are used to graze cattle [Inv. #5].

Visitor services: a drinking fountain is located on western facade of the storage structure adjacent to the Spinning and Weaving Room.

Museum/interpretive: interpretive waysides are located throughout the historic core. Demonstrations of period cooking, farming practices, and crafts by costumed interpreters are an integral part of the visitor experience in this part of the park.

Open space/recreational: the trail system in the historic core area allows for limited passive recreation. This opportunity will be enhanced once the bridge connection across Dancing Marsh to the Nature Trail is re-established.

Utility: two fenced utilities, one a sewage pump station, are located near the hog pens [Inv. #'s 163, 164].

Service/support/storage: park storage and use of maintenance equipment occurs within some of the outbuildings located in the historic core.

Natural Features and Systems

Within the historic core area, the natural features and systems include Popes Creek, **Dancing Marsh** [Inv. #11], drainage swales associated with the two wetlands, a **spring** adjacent to Dancing Marsh [Inv. #12], and the naturally occurring vegetation associated with these water resources.

Evidence of cultural responses to the site's natural features and systems include the siting of all developments on the upland portion of the peninsula; the siting of the interpretive trails above the steep slopes of the Popes Creek embankment to prevent soil erosion and steeply-sloped trail sections; the construction of retaining walls along portions of the interpretive trail to accommodate gentle grades; the construction of culverts to carry stormwater beneath the interpretive trail; and the establishment of a footbridge across Dancing Marsh to provide a trail connection between the historic core and residence areas.

Vegetation

The vegetation within the historic core is diverse and composed of both native and exotic species of trees, shrubs, ground covers, and herbaceous plants. One of the most prevalent trees of the historic core is Eastern red cedar. A large **grove of cedars** occupies Burnt House Point to the southeast of the Colonial Garden [Inv. #13, Photo 84]. Cedars also form an **allée along the crushed stone road** leading into the historic core from the traffic circle [Inv. #83], and are also found scattered around the site as ornamentals.

Other **native trees**, some of which have been planted and others which have arisen naturally, occupy the banks of Dancing Marsh [Inv. #6] and Popes Creek, and are scattered around the site as ornamentals. One of the area's oldest trees is a very large **hackberry tree** located west of the

Memorial House [Inv. #40]. Local legend suggests that this tree was present during Washington family ownership of the property. Many of its branches are currently supported with wires. Beneath the hackberry, there are two large clusters of **fig shrubs** [Inv. #41]. These are similarly thought to have been present on the site during Washington family ownership. During the winter months, the park wraps the shrubs in burlap to protect them from being killed by severe cold. Nearby, **fruit trees** such as apples have been planted in an orchard between the Kitchen House and the Spinning and Weaving Room, and in the agricultural display plots south of the Farm Workshop [Inv. #s 144, 147].

Tall **boxwoods** line the brick walk leading from the Memorial House to the Colonial Garden [Inv. #96]. The **Colonial Garden** [Photo 85] includes trees such as redbud, dogwood, and mulberry; shrubs such as boxwood, flowering quince, privet, roses, oakleaf hydrangea, witchhazel, and fragrant wintersweet; vines such as grape; and herbaceous plants such as liriope [Inv. #'s 95, 104]. During the spring and summer, perennials, bulbs, and herbs reappear within the boxwood-lined beds of the garden. A colony of large periwinkle was observed during field investigations along banks of Popes Creek east of the Colonial Garden. It is not known whether this plant escaped from the garden or was planted in this location. The majority of the remainder of the site is maintained as grass lawn.

At the edge of the historic core, NPS cultivates **plots of tobacco and other crops** during the growing season as part of the core's Colonial Farm interpretive program [Inv. #144, Photo 92]. Most of these plots are located in a large fenced area southeast of the Rockefeller barn.

Views and Viewsheds

The Memorial House commands long views across Popes Creek [Inv. #46]. Between the Memorial House and the creek, much of the area is maintained in lawn to allow for these views. Other primary viewing opportunities within the historic core occur along the pedestrian trail that follows Popes Creek, which allows for a continuous series of views across the water towards the Potomac and the opposite shoreline. These views are currently an integral part of the site's character, as they most likely were to the previous occupants of this landscape. Specifically, along the trail just beyond the Visitor Center two long views are available from the first bend of the shoreline. Later, others occur at the "Spring-house" and "River Traffic" wayside. It appears that vegetation is maintained at these waysides to allow for views to the opposite shoreline. Burnt House Point offers views to Longwood Swamp and the confluence of Popes Creek and the Potomac River. Two waysides north of the Memorial House, "Fish of the Potomac" and "The Natural World," direct views to the distant Potomac River and the Dancing Marsh estuary.

Circulation Systems

A variety of pedestrian paths occur within the historic core, ranging from crushed oyster-shell trails, to brick walks, and crushed stone and hard-packed earth roads. Vehicular access to the historic core is not permitted for visitors, but the roads are utilized by park maintenance personnel as necessary. Crushed oyster-shell paths and trails are the most prevalent circulation type within the core [Photo 83]. They range from approximately three to six feet in width and are sometimes edged with wood strips or timbers. **Crushed shell walks** follow the shoreline of Popes Creek [Inv. #97], lead to the Visitor Center [Inv. #153], and connect various features, such as the Spinning and Weaving Room to the Farm Workshop.

Brick walks include the mansion and garden brick walk [LCS #12C] that connects the Memorial House, Colonial Kitchen House, Colonial Garden, Spinning and Weaving Room, and the birthplace house foundation site. The walks are approximately four feet wide and set in either

sand or concrete. Portions of this walk were constructed in the 1930s. A bordered herringbone pattern is used on the path around the Memorial House and within the Colonial Garden [Inv. #98]. Elsewhere, a basket-weave brick pattern dominates the walks.

Other circulation systems within the core area include the **crushed stone road** which leads east from the traffic circle and provides access to the Farm Workshop from the south [Inv. #'s 37, 94], a U-shaped hard-packed earth road trace, the "Old Wagon Road," that leads north toward the Memorial House from this crushed stone road and back again [Inv. #99], and an **earth-tread pedestrian trail** leads to the residence area from the historic core via a **footbridge** across Dancing Marsh [Inv. #76].

A bridge once connected the interpretive trail system at the historic core with the Log House and picnic area [Photos 77, 88]. This bridge was lost during a hurricane. It is the intention of the park to replace the bridge in the near future, allowing visitors to access the features of the landscape across Dancing Marsh, which include a Nature Trail. Currently, visitors must return to the Visitor Center parking lot and drive to the Log House area in order to enjoy the Nature Trail. This feature was originally intended to support the cultural resource interpretation of the historic core with information about the natural resources of the area thought to have been known by George Washington. This interpretive link will be enhanced by the re-establishment of the bridge.

Buildings and Structures

There are fourteen buildings and structures located in the historic core area. Each of these buildings is oriented along a grid that runs northwest/southeast and southwest/northeast, and appears to be consistent with the orientation of the crushed oyster-shell outline of the birthplace foundation. Most of the buildings and structures included in the historic core area were constructed in the 1930s but are intended to be representative of an eighteenth-century plantation typical of the region during George Washington's boyhood. The buildings and structures located in the historic core include the Memorial House, Colonial Kitchen House, Spinning and Weaving Room, Farm Workshop, Rockefeller Barn, and various storage sheds, hog pens, and fowl houses. The outbuildings, in general, include stylistic elements representative of colonial framed houses, such as weatherboards, found on seventeenth-century Virginia plantations. Many of the outbuildings have been painted white; in eighteenth-century Virginia weatherboards typically were painted with white lead and oil. In some cases, aspects of the architectural styles represented in the core have been modified, for example some buildings include pyramidal roofs which are not representative of colonial, seventeenth-century framed structures in Virginia. Elsewhere, twentieth century materials have been used in place of typical eighteenth century materials. For example, the roofs of many of the buildings constructed in the 1930s are clad with asbestos-slate shingles that are composed of a mixture of concrete and asbestos fashioned to resemble wood. The historic core's buildings and structures are described in more detail below.

The Memorial House (also Memorial Mansion) [LCS #12], constructed in 1931, is a one-and-one-half story rectangular brick building. It has a gable roof with dormers, a brick foundation, and two pairs of brick chimneys on either end [Inv. #87, Photo 86]. The paired main doors, located on the eastern and western facades of the building, open into a central hall. Aspects of the seventeenth-century Colonial Virginia style used in the design of this building include a double-height, two-room plan that has been modified to four. The detailing is typical of the eighteenth-century Georgian style. While Colonial Virginia style architecture typically locates the chimneys on the interior ends of the house, the Memorial House contains paired double-end chimneys which are typical of Georgian High-style detailing.

The raised brick foundation of the house was constructed using an English bond pattern, with a molded brick water table. The brick bearing walls of the Memorial House are laid in a Flemish

bond. Alternative shades of brick are used between headers and stretchers, a practice common to eighteenth-century Georgian houses. The gabled roof includes pediment dormers, also a trait of the Georgian style, and asphalt-slate shingles. The dormers include simple surround moldings on the casing. Paneled front and back doors are accentuated through a change in the surrounding brick pattern, a detail also part of the heritage of the Southern Georgian style. Simple wood molding is used in the door frame. The nine-over-nine, double-hung, lower-story windows further make reference to Georgian-style architecture, as do the wide, shallow muntins, simple surround moldings on the casing, decorative crown, six-paneled shutter, and emphasis of the cornice line with tooth-like dentils.

The Colonial Kitchen House [LCS #14] is a one-and-one-half-story, rectangular, wood-frame building, with a gable roof, dormers, and brick chimneys, one of which is functional and one of which is a "dummy" [Inv. #88, Photo 87]. The lower floor of the building is used to demonstrate eighteenth-century cooking practices; the second floor houses NPS offices and an employee rest room. The building's location, 80 feet from the main house, is based on a 1930 archeological excavation. Aspects of the Colonial Kitchen House appear to be based on the colonial style of seventeenth-century framed, two-chimney houses in Virginia, although is contains aspects of modern construction such as a concrete foundation and floor. The asphalt-slate shingle roof is gable without pediment dormers. Windows are double-hung in the same manner as the Memorial House. They are nine-over-nine on the lower floor and four-over-four in the dormers, but do not include decorative crowns. The doors are not paneled.

The **shed** (also Colonial Kitchen Gazebo, spring-house, well house) [LCS #14A] is a one-story, wood-frame structure located between the Memorial House and the Colonial Kitchen House [Inv. #89] that was constructed in 1930-1931. It has wood posts with two open and two diagonally-trellised sides, and a concrete finial. The pyramidal roof is clad with wood shingles.

The **Spinning and Weaving Room** [LCS #18] building is a one-story, rectangular, wood-frame structure with an asphalt-slate shingle gable roof [Inv. #92, Photo 89] that was constructed in 1932. It is sided with weatherboards and contains four, four-paned windows in the same style as the Colonial Kitchen and Memorial House dormers and three, six-paneled doors with simple molding on the frame. It was converted from rest rooms to its current use in 1976-1977 to demonstrate eighteenth-century fabric crafts.

The **storage structure** (also pump house) [LCS #17] building is a one-story square structure of wood-frame construction with concrete-block walls, and an asphalt-slate shingled pyramidal roof [Inv. #91]. It has a concrete foundation and is clad with weatherboards. There are no windows, and the door is not paneled. The storage structure was originally built in 1931 to provide water to the rest rooms (now the Spinning and Weaving Room). In 1975, this use was discontinued.

The Farm Workshop (also Memorial Farm Workshop) [LCS #19], constructed in 1932, is a one-and-one-half story structure with wood-frame construction, rectangular in plan, with a concrete foundation and floor, and a wood-shingle gable roof [Inv. # 93, Photo 90]. The building has two doors for public use, and five doors in total. It also has exterior loft access. Decorative wood cut-outs over the fascia corners simulate molding sections. The frame is covered with weatherboards. The workshop contains one chimney.

Located near the northeast corner of the workshop is a wood-frame, three-wall, gable-roof **exhibit shed** (Tobacco Shed) with wood shingles [Inv. #143]. The shelter appears to be constructed from rough-cut boards. It was constructed ca. 1968.

The Rockefeller Barn [LCS #21], constructed 1938-1939, is a one-story building with a U-shaped plan and open passage between the wings [Inv. #135, Photo 91]. The building was

constructed first as a rectangle. The east and west wings were added later. The original section was built with lath siding for hay and grain storage. Aspects of its construction include a concrete-strip footing, wood framing, and a wood-shingle gable roof. The structure is covered with weatherboards and includes end vents and small, multi-paned windows in each of the twelve stables. A sheep pen, made of worm fencing, is attached to the southwest side of the barn.

The **oxen shed**, located southwest of the Farm Workshop and in front of the sheep pen, is a notched-log structure elevated on log rounds [Inv. #141]. The shed has a gable roof covered with rough-cut planks. It was constructed ca. 1968.

The **log corn house** is located southeast of the Rockefeller Barn [Inv. #162]. It is a wood-frame structure, unpainted, with wood shingles, constructed ca. 1970.

There is a small, wood-framed storage structure, painted white, located northwest of the Farm Workshop [Inv. #165]. This structure is used to store maintenance equipment.

The **hog pens** have been constructed using a combination of stockade and worm fencing. These three pens are small, shed-roof shelters made of rough-cut planks [Inv. #'s 142, 145, 146].

The four **fowl houses** are framed structures, three of which are set on concrete pads, that are clad with weatherboards and have wood-shingle gable roofs [Inv. #s 136, 139, 140, 159]. Three were constructed ca. 1968. The fourth was constructed in 1939 as a gate house, but was moved to the historic core and converted to a fowl house after the construction of the Visitor Center. The eastern structure is low and constructed of unpainted wood with a shed roof. The two middle structures are small, wood-frame structures with wooden siding painted white. The roofs have vented cupolas, and there are large latticed end-vents above the doors with decorative wood cut-outs over the fascia corners to simulate molding sections. One of the middle structures contains a small, multi-paned window.

Cluster Arrangements

There are four primary clusters located within the historic core:

- the Memorial House, Colonial Kitchen House, Gazebo, Colonial Garden, and associated fencing and ornamental plantings;
- the Spinning and Weaving Room, storage shed, fowl houses and associated fencing;
- the Farm Workshop, exhibit shed, livestock pens, and associated fencing; and
- the Rockefeller Barn, livestock pens, and associated fencing.

Generally, these clusters include groupings of buildings, plantings, fencing, and walkways that form rectilinear spaces.

Sited to form an "el," the Memorial House, Colonial Kitchen House, and gazebo buildings, in conjunction with the fenced Colonial Garden, boxwood hedges, and other ornamental plantings, constitute the primary cluster of the interpreted plantation landscape. These buildings and associated features form spaces of an intimate scale to the northwest and southeast that are connected by a brick walkway.

The second cluster, composed of small buildings associated with interpretation, storage, and livestock, and fencing, edged by groves of trees, is located in the northern section of the historic core. The size and scale of the features and their associated spaces is generally small.

Further southwest is a third cluster of buildings, connected by fencing, that is associated with farm operations. These buildings—the Farm Workshop and exhibit shed—and their associated fenced areas create a series of small spaces with views to adjacent open areas.

The fourth cluster, associated with the Rockefeller Barn, includes the U-shaped structure, the fencing that extends from its wings, as well as hog pens, fowl houses, and associated fencing. This cluster is edged by a grove of trees to the west.

Small-scale Features

Small scale features located within the historic core are associated with site furnishings, site utilities, infrastructure, interpretation, and circulation. These are described below.

Three types of **interpretive waysides** are sited along the trail between the Visitor Center and the historic core [Inv. #'s 132, 157]. The first type is constructed of metal posts and frames, with fiberglass-encased displays. The displays use a loose/italic serif type, illustrative vignettes of Popes Creek plantation life, and location maps. The second type is constructed of a small rectangular piece of metal mounted on a wood post. The background of the sign is painted dark brown and the lettering is off-white in color. Sans-serif type is used on these signs. The third sign type is constructed of square, metal frames set on wood posts that are painted black. The signs incorporate gold serif type with a banner or display followed by a description of the landscape element. All interpretative signs stand approximately three feet in height.

Directional signs are small rectangular metal signs mounted on wood posts. The background of the sign is painted dark brown and the lettering is off-white. Most directional signs stand approximately three feet in height.

A wood tie **retaining wall** parallels the pedestrian walk along Popes Creek. This retaining wall is constructed from stacked heavy timbers. Metal rods reinforce the retaining wall. During the construction of the wall, existing trees were accommodated within its form through the establishment of tree wells and a varied profile.

An **area drain and two culverts** have been incorporated into the trail system between the Visitor Center and the historic core to drain lawn areas between the upper and lower walks. The headwalls of the culverts are constructed of stacked heavy timbers, with a concrete check-dam. Metal rods reinforce the check-dam. Riprap lines the swale associated with one culvert. The culverts empty into Popes Creek.

Four types of wooden benches were observed in the historic core:

- Sawn wood, mounted and pieced to a heavy-timber cross-member, painted brown;
- Sawn wood, painted brown and mounted on a brick base;
- Rustic-style benches constructed from medium-sized, notched-and-bolted logs and finished with halved, small logs. The finishing material that forms the seat and back are nailed to the medium-sized members; and
- Hewn half-logs with fitted leg supports made from large tree branches.

Trash receptacles are of two types: brown-painted metal with animal-proof extension lids chained to wood posts set in concrete pads; and whiskey barrels constructed of wood and metal straps, with worked-metal hinges. This type is placed freely.

Three types of **worm fencing** were observed in the historic core:

- Simple, stacked fencing made up of quartered logs;
- Simple, stacked, quartered logs placed between posts at the stacking corners; and
- Simple, stacked, quartered logs with lean-up, quartered logs at the stacking corners.

Picket and rail fencing [LCS #12A] is also used in the historic core to enclose the Colonial Garden and some of the livestock corrals [Inv. #'s 57, 108]. The picket fence used to enclose the Colonial Garden is four feet in height, unpainted, with notched posts, fitted rails, and nailed, sawn-cut pickets [Inv. #105]. It has four gates. Rail fencing, made of notched posts with fitted rails, is used around some of the livestock corrals. Chicken wire has been stapled to the rail fencing associated with the fowl houses to prevent the birds from escaping between the rails [Inv. #160].

The gates observed in the core area are of two characteristic types:

- Small built-up panels constructed from quartered logs, hinged and mounted on log posts. The panels are filled with sawn pickets.
- Built-up panels constructed from quartered logs, hinged and mounted on log posts.

Wood stake and burlap **protective frames** are placed around the fig shrubs on the western side of the Memorial House during the winter months to protect them from being killed by severe cold.

An antiqued, cast-stone urn with a bronze **sundial** [LCS #12B] set in its top is located in the Colonial Garden [Inv. #106]. The urn is four feet in height and is composed of a base and pedestal.

A small **pond** constructed of concrete edged by river stones is located near the fowl houses and is utilized by the birds [Inv. #161].

Potential Archeological Resources

Known and potential archeological resources identified in this section include sites mentioned in archeological reports provided to OCULUS by NPS, sites of missing features identified in the physical history chapter, as well as surficial anomalies identified during field investigations. Chapter Two contains more information regarding the role of these known and potential resources in the historic landscape. In some cases, little is known about a resource other than its general location. Even vague references to potential archeological resources have been included here in the hope that the information may prove useful to future research efforts.

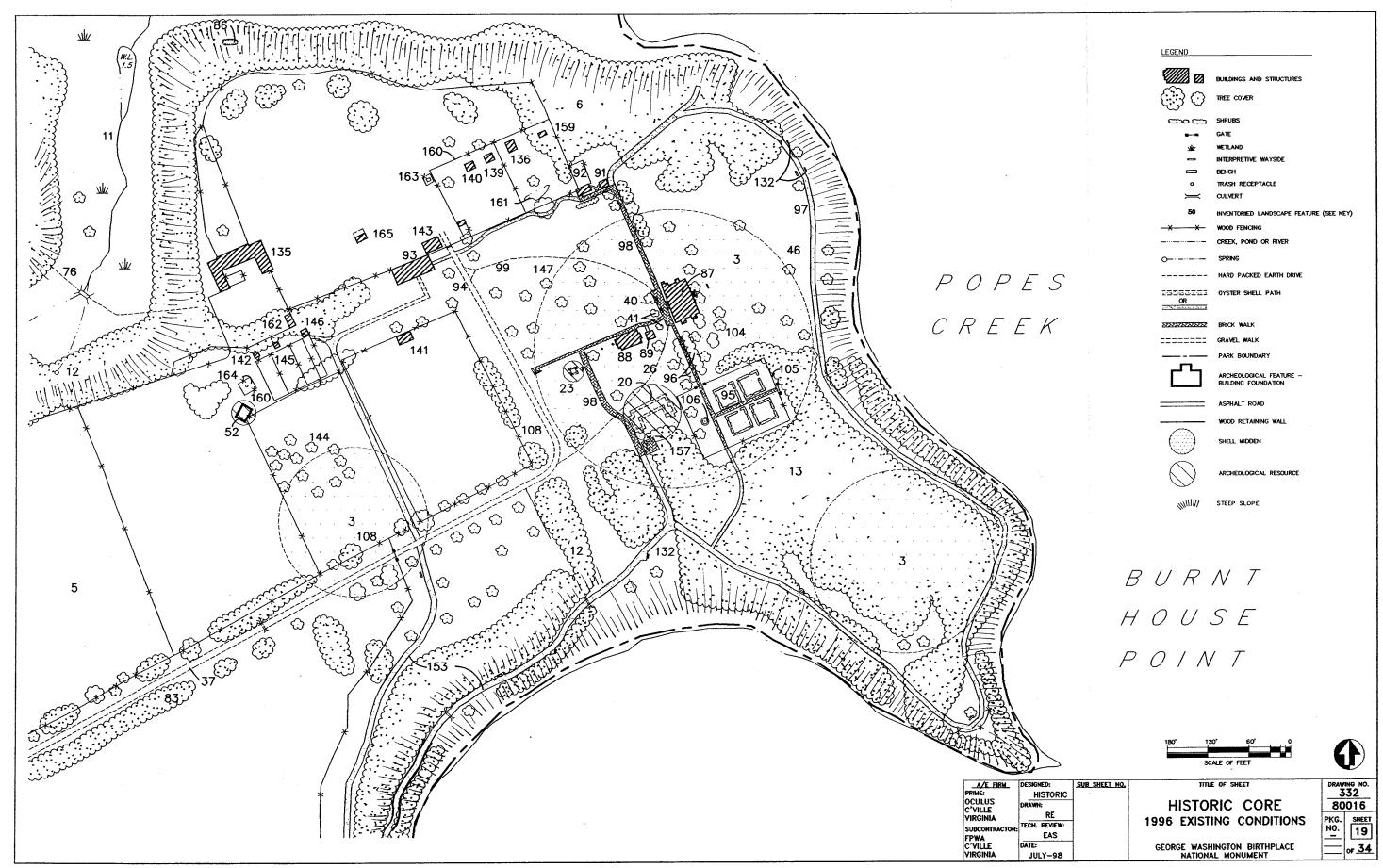
Within the historic core, there is a strong likelihood that much of the area has the potential to yield information about the early-eighteenth-century plantation ensemble that occupied Burnt House Point. Features of the plantation landscape identified to date include various foundations of buildings and structures thought to represent a **dwelling** [Inv. #20, Photo 93], a **dairy** [Inv. #23], **slave quarters**, and an additional **unidentified structure** [Inv. #52], as well as possible **path or road traces**, **fence lines**, and a **trash pit** [Inv. #26]. Some of these resources also

appear to overlay earlier **shell midden** deposits associated with American Indian seasonal occupation and oyster harvesting. Additional resources that may exist include a **spring** site above the lower walk running between the Visitor Center and the historic core, a road leading towards the Ice Pond, and additional outbuildings, fence lines, **shell middens** [Inv. #3], **gardens**, **slave quarters**, **orchards**, etc. A **clay pit** used for material to form the bricks for many of the 1930s-era projects such as the Memorial House is located along the steep slope above Dancing Marsh [Inv. #86].

Inventory of Historic Core Landscape Features

- 3. Shell middens (known archeological feature)
- 5. Agricultural fields and pastures
- 6. Woodlands
- 11. Dancing Marsh
- 12. Spring
- 13. Groves of Eastern red cedar trees
- 20. George Washington birthplace (known archeological feature)
- 23. Outbuilding, possible dairy (known archeological feature)
- 26. Plantation ensemble (known archeological feature)
- 37. Crushed stone road to the birthplace
- 40. Hackberry tree
- 41. Fig shrubs
- 46. Views established to Popes Creek and the Potomac River
- 52. Outbuilding (known archeological feature)
- 76. Trail between residence and historic core areas
- 83. Cedar allée along crushed stone road to the birthplace
- 86. Clay pit
- 87. Memorial House
- 88. Colonial Kitchen House
- 89. Gazebo
- 91. Storage structure
- 92. Spinning and Weaving Room
- 93. Farm Workshop
- 94. Road to Farm Workshop
- 95. Colonial Garden
- 96. Boxwood hedges
- 97. Trail around Burnt House Point
- 98. Brick walks
- 99. "Old Wagon Road"
- 104. Ornamental plantings
- 105. Colonial Garden picket fence
- 106. Colonial Garden sundial
- 108. Wood fencing
- 132. Interpretive waysides
- 135. Rockefeller Barn
- 136. Eastern fowl house, large
- 139. Central fowl house
- 140. Western fowl house
- 141. Oxen shed
- 142. Western hog pen
- 143. Exhibit shed
- 144. Demonstration plots of crops
- 145. Central hog pen
- 146. Eastern hog pen
- 147. Orchard
- 153. Trail to historic core from Visitor Center
- 157. Interpretive waysides
- 159. Eastern fowl house, small
- 160. Fencing around hog pens and fowl areas
- 161. Fowl pond

- 162. 163. 164. 165. Log Corn house Fenced utility
- Sewage pump station Storage structure





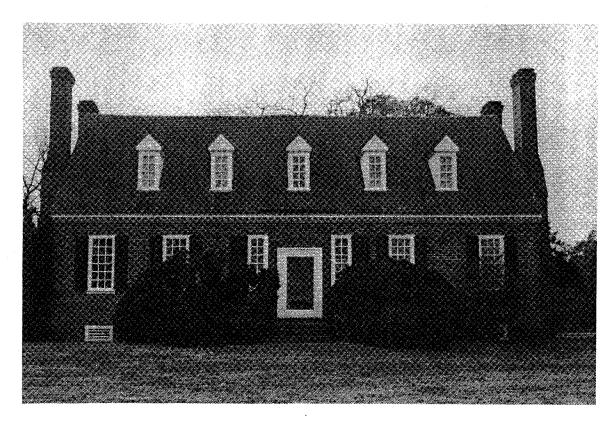
83. View north of the crushed oyster shell path located along Popes Creek south of the historic core. A grove of cedar trees edges the path to one side and Popes Creek the other.



84. View west of the grove of Eastern red cedar trees located near the Memorial House and Colonial Garden.



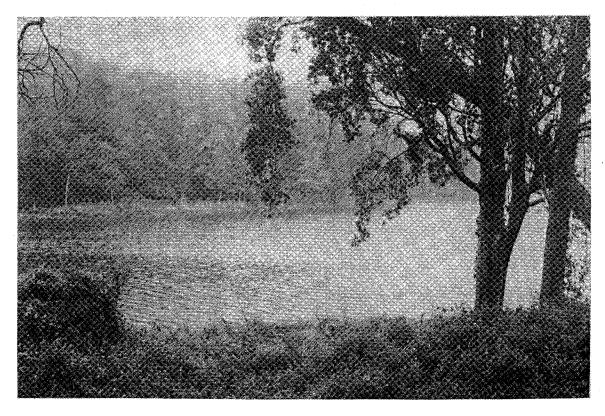
85. View southwest of the Colonial Herb and Flower Garden, constructed in the 1930s. The garden displays plants commonly found on eighteenth century plantations. A brick pedestrian walk leads through the garden which is edged by a wooded picket fence.



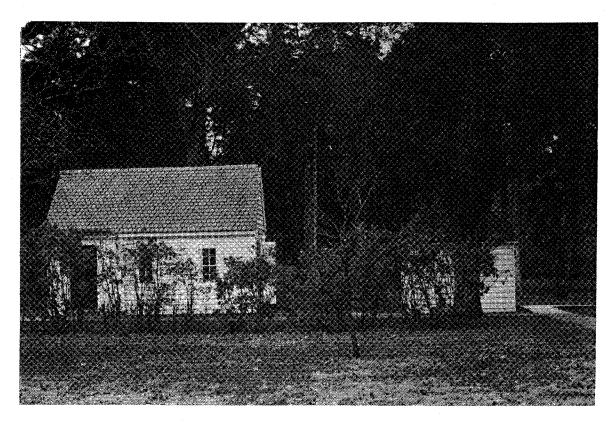
86. View southwest of the Memorial House, constructed in the 1930s. This facade faces Popes Creek.



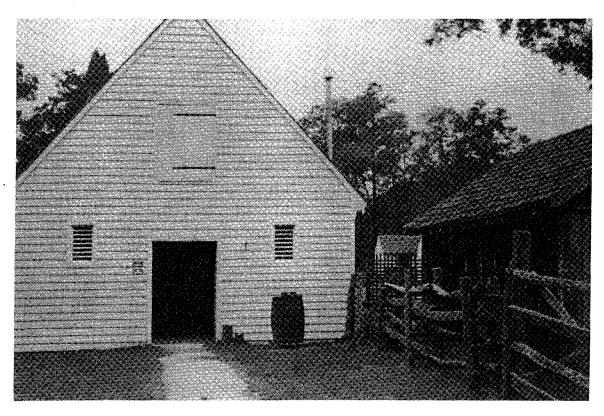
87. View northwest of the Kitchen House, also constructed in the 1930s. It is located 80 feet from the Memorial House. Costumed interpreters stationed here and elsewhere around the historic core provide visitors with information about eighteenth century life on the property.



88. Site of bridge that once connected the historic core area and trails near the Log House. (See photo 16 in chapter 2 for a comparative view of historic conditions)



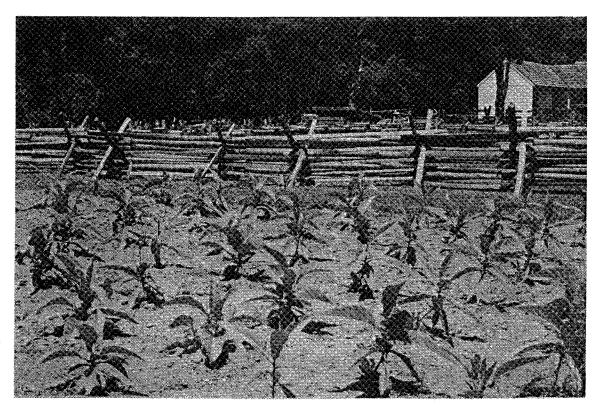
89. View northwest of two outbuildings located in the historic core. The Weaving Room, interpreting eighteenth century craft techniques is located on the left, and a shed to the right.



90. View southwest to the Farm Workshop and a storage structure to its right. These structures are part of the Living Farm interpreted at the park.



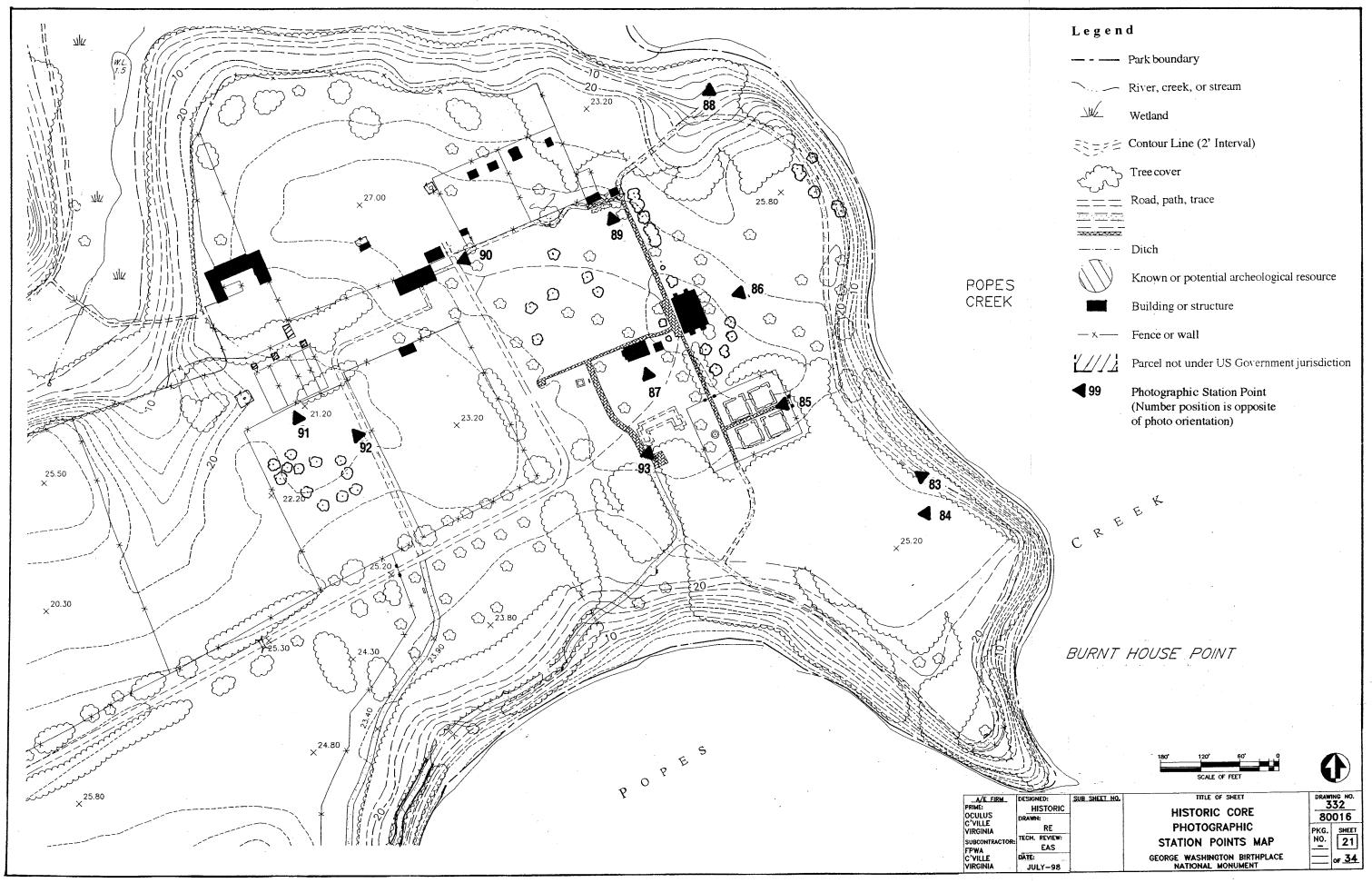
91. View northwest to the U-shaped barn located at the western edge of the historic core complex. The barn contains 12 stables. Worm fencing forms pen and corral areas associated with the barn for farm animals.



92. A demonstration plot of tobacco.



93. Oyster shells outline the archeological remains of the Washington birthplace foundation.



L1. Inset: Photographic Station Points, Historic Core

Condition Assessment of Landscape Features

Inventory #	Feature/Comments C	ondition Assessment
# 5	Agricultural fields and pastures	Good
	The pasture land north and west of the Memorial House appears not to have been overgrazed.	
#6	Woodlands	Good
	The successional woodlands that edge the historic core include a mixture of old field pioneer species and older specimens. The woodlands appear to be healthy.	
#11	Dancing Marsh	Good
	The marsh is comprised of typical salt and fresh water plant communities that appear to be vigorous and healthy.	
#12	Spring	Unknown
	The spring was not observed.	
#13	Groves of Eastern red cedar trees	Fair
	Some of the trees in the grove on Burnt House Point have recently been removed, and others are in decline or have lost limbs.	
#37	Crushed stone road to the birthplace	Good
w	Where the oyster-shell walks cross the crushed stone road, the oyster-shell is spreading into the crushed stone, and some of the crushed stone is traveling into adjacent grass areas. There are some low points where water appears to pond, and some vegetation has invaded the road prism.	
#40	Hackberry tree	Fair
	Many of the branches of this tree are cabled.	
#41	Fig shrubs	Good
	The shrubs bear fruit. Weeds were observed growing in the planting beds.	
#46	Views established to Popes Creek and the Potomac River	Fair
	Portions of the view to Popes Creek from the Memorial House area are obscured by large trees.	
#76	Trail between the residence and historic core areas	Fair/Good
	Marsh plants are encroaching on the trail prism, and the adjacent vegetation is overgrown.	

Footbridge (good): bridge members and hardware appear sound. The pier-pad foundation has some growth on the creek sides. The crushed stone and earthen approaches are stable and well drained. There is vegetative growth on the approaches.

#83 Cedar allée along the crushed stone road to the birthplace

Fair

Many of the trees that form the allée appear to have been recently damaged. There are broken limbs and uneven crowns on many trees, and some appear to be in decline.

#86 Clay pit

Fair

This borrow pit is wooded and there is refuse on the lower slopes of the excavated area.

#87 Memorial House

Good

There has been some minor loss of mortar in the lower areas behind the foundation plantings on the eastern facade. The stone steps at the eastern entrance are chipped.

#88 Colonial Kitchen House

Good

The paint is chipping over some areas of the building exterior, and some of the brick work is cracked. One of the metal gutters is rusted.

#89 Gazebo

Good

The paint is chipping over some areas of the exterior, mold was observed on the lower portions of some posts, and the top finial needs paint and possibly repair. Otherwise the structure and roofing appear to be sturdy and in good repair.

#91 Storage structure

Good

Some of the paint on this structure is peeling and bubbling, especially on the eastern facade.

#92 Spinning and Weaving Room

Good

The extent of chipping paint on this building is greater than on any other building in the core area. The gutters need cleaning.

#93 Farm Workshop

Good

Some of the wood appears damaged from lack of paint. Some of the shingles are cracked, loose, or curled.

#94 Road to the Farm Workshop

Fair/Good

There are a few low spots along this road that do not drain well and need regrading and additional crushed stone.

#95 Colonial Garden

Good

Some of the boxwoods are yellow, some plantings are over-scaled, and others have been over-pruned.

#96 Boxwood hedges

Fair/Good

There is some dieback in the centers of some of the boxwood plants; others have branches that have fallen on the ground. and some of the branches that edge the brick walk have been pruned or sheared like a hedge, while other branches have been hand pruned or plucked.

#97 Trail around Burnt House Point

Fair/Good

This trail originally led to the Nature Trail at the Log House via a wooden footbridge. This bridge is no longer extant. Without it, visitors must drive to the Log House area from the Visitor Center and Historic Core. The loss of this bridge lowers the condition assessment of the trail system. Otherwise, the trail tread is not level over its length but undulates a bit. Vegetation is growing in the trail prism in some areas.

#98 Brick walks

Fair/Good

The section of brick walk between the Colonial Garden and the Memorial House which is set on sand is uneven, with bricks heaved in many directions, most likely due to weather and tree roots. The sections that are set in concrete have few apparent flaws.

#99 "Old Wagon Road"

Good

This road is intentionally of a rustic character.

#104 Ornamental plantings

Unknown

No information is available to determine which existing plantings were transplanted to the core area during the 1930s.

#105 Colonial Garden picket fence

Good

The fencing has been designed to look rustic and slightly irregular, but is very sturdy.

#106 Colonial garden sundial

Fair

The caulking around the base is cracking. There has been some cracking and chipping of the cast stone.

#108 Wood fencing

Good

The majority of the fencing appears to be in good repair.

#132 Interpretive waysides

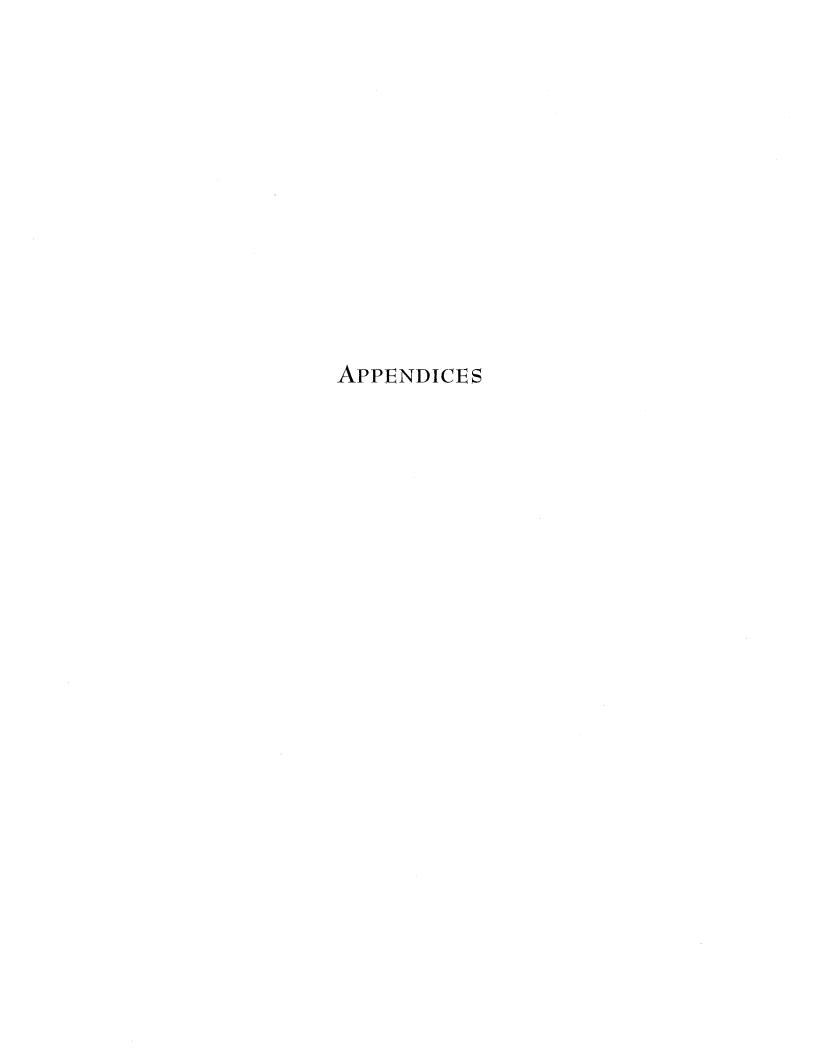
Fair/Good

(Including interpretive trail)

No evidence of rust was observed. The paint on the posts is free from flaking. The weep holes appear to be functioning properly. All signs appear free from damage, although they could use some cleaning. The metal posts for signs appear to be solidly set in place.

#135	Rockefeller barn	Good
	Paint on the exterior is chipping, cracking, and peeling. Some of the roof shingles are loose, curled, cracked, or missing.	
#136	Eastern fowl house, large	Fair/Good
	The paint is peeling, cracking, and chipping, and the cupola roof needs repair, as does some of the shingle roofing.	
#139	Central fowl house	Fair/Good
	The paint is peeling, cracking, and chipping. Some of the roof shingles are loose, cracked, or curling.	
#140	Western fowl house	Good
	The paint on the exterior of this building is peeling. The wall surface is dirty.	
#141	Oxen shed	Good
	This rustic structure exhibited no major flaws.	
#142	Western hog pen	Good
	This small, rustic structure exhibited no major flaws.	
#143	Exhibit shed	Good
	Some of the roof shingles are cracked, curled, or loose.	
#144	Demonstration plots of crops	Good
	Includes beds for cultivation and small fruit trees. No major flaws were observed.	
#145	Central hog pen	Good
	This small, rustic structure exhibited no major flaws.	
#146	Eastern hog pen	Good
	This small, rustic structure exhibited no major flaws.	
#147	Orchard	Fair/Poor
	This feature appears to have lost many of its individual specimens. The remaining trees do not exhibit a vigorous growth habit.	
#153	Trail to the historic core from the Visitor Center	Good
	The walk is level and clean. The retaining wall exhibits no major flaws. There is a limited amount of vegetation growing in the trail prism, and the shell layer is thin in some areas.	

#157	Interpretive waysides	Good
	(Including Birthplace site, dairy) No evidence of rust was observed. The paint on the posts is free from flaking. The weep holes appear to be functioning properly. All signs appear free from damage, although they could use some cleaning. The metal posts for the signs appear to be solidly set in place.	
#159	Eastern fowl house, small	Good
	This small, rustic structure exhibited no major flaws.	
#160	Fencing around hog pens and fowl areas	Good
	The fencing has been designed to look rustic and slightly irregular, but is very sturdy. A few of the pickets are loose in the fencing enclosing the fowl houses, and some of the chicken wire is loose and bent.	
#161	Fowl pond	Good
	Some sections of the concrete are cracked, and some of the stones around the outer edge are loose.	
#162	Log Corn house	Good
	This rustic structure exhibited no major flaws.	
#163	Fenced utility	Good
	No flaws were observed.	
#164	Sewage pump station (fenced)	Good
	No flaws were observed.	
#165	Storage structure	Good
	This small storage structure exhibited no major flaws.	

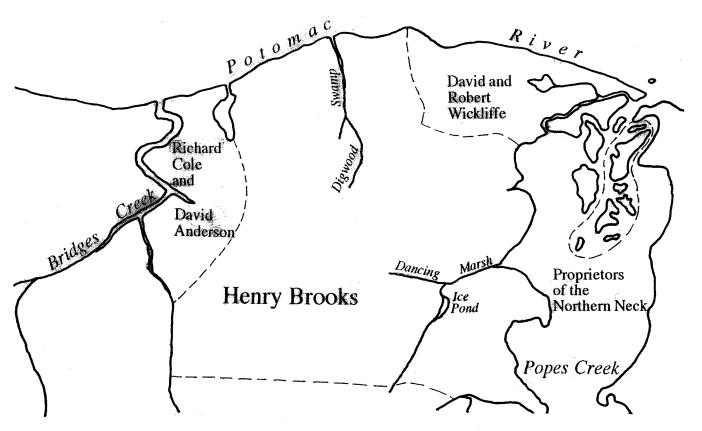


APPENDIX A

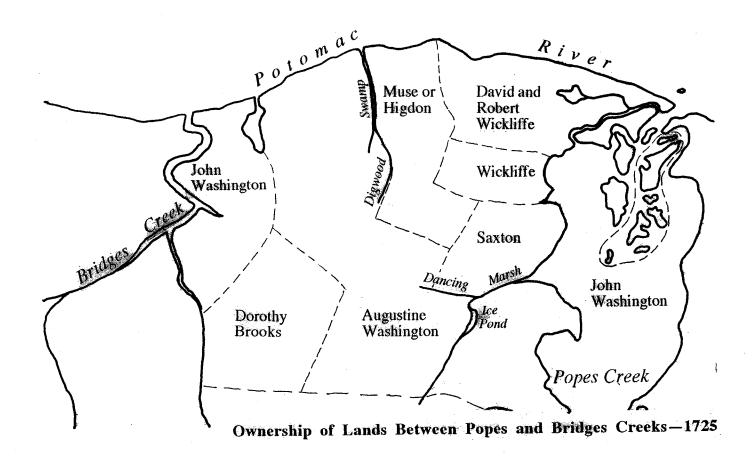
Ownership Diagrams by Historic Chronology Period

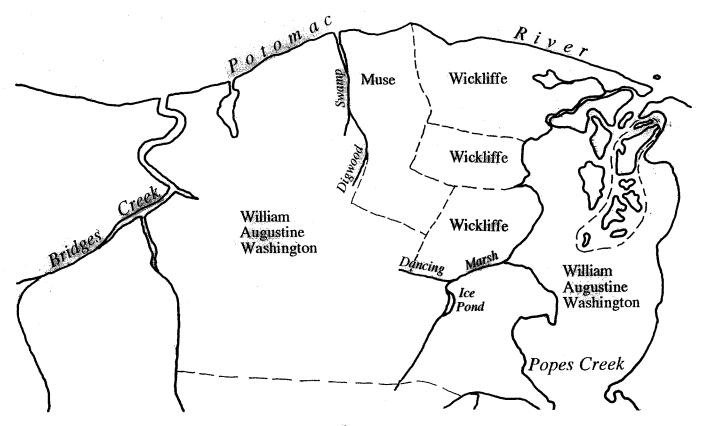
The following four pages include diagrammatic representations of ownership patterns over time for the landscape along the Potomac River between Popes and Bridges Creeks in Westmoreland County, Virginia. The diagrams indicate ownership at the end of each historic chronology period identified for this Cultural Landscape Report. When ownership information was not available or clear within the historic documentation available at the time this study was prepared, conjectural information was included and identified as such.

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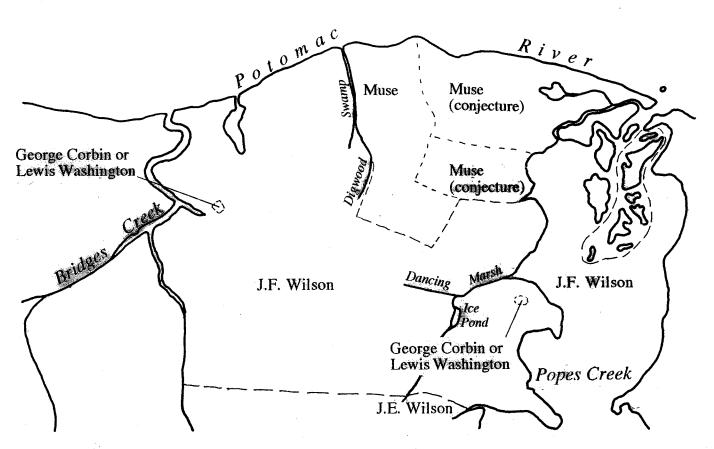


Ownership of Lands Between Popes and Bridges Creeks-1656

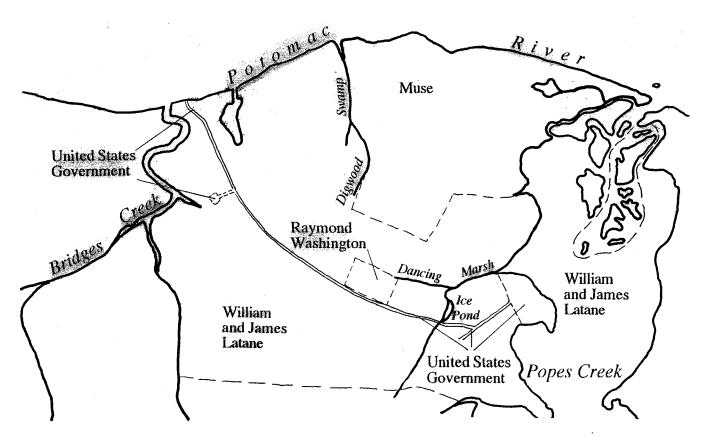




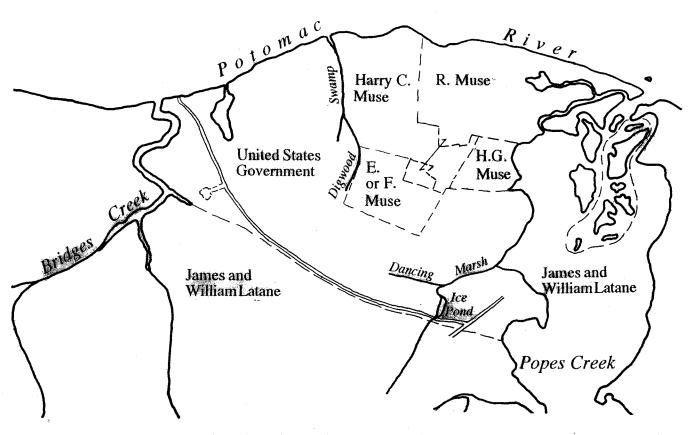
Ownership of Lands Between Popes and Bridges Creeks-1779



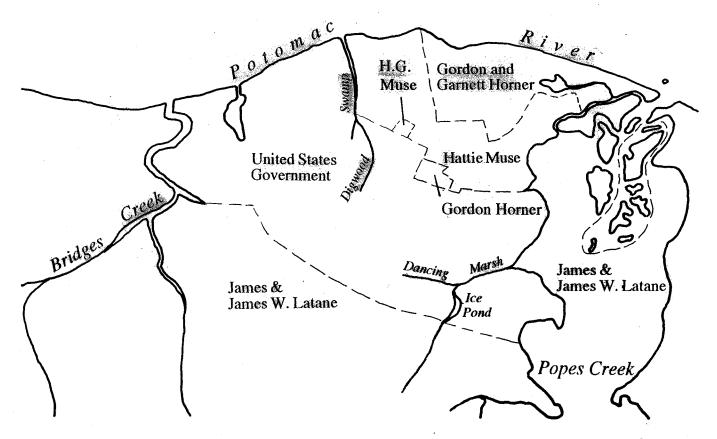
Ownership of Lands Between Popes and Bridges Creeks-1846



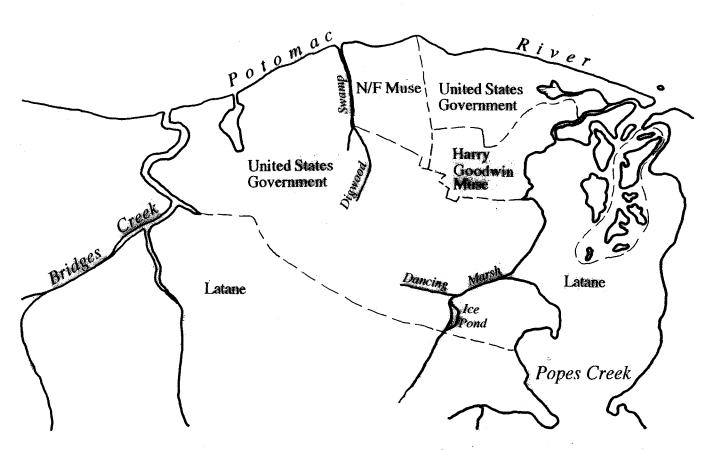
Ownership of Lands Between Popes and Bridges Creeks-1923



Ownership of Lands Between Popes and Bridges Creeks-1932



Ownership of Lands Between Popes and Bridges Creeks-1976



Ownership of Lands Between Popes and Bridges Creeks-1996

APPENDIX B

Comprehensive Inventory of George Washington Birthplace National Monument Landscape Features Prehistory—1996

#	Feature	Date of Origin	#	Feature	Date of Origin
1.	Henry Brooks house site	ca. 1651-57	26.	Plantation ensemble	ca. 1718-79
2.	Stream or pond	prehistory	27.	Ice Pond(s) and earthen dam	ca. 1725-79,
3.	Shell middens	prehistory	28.	Agricultural drainage ditches	1933 ca. 1700-50
4.	Agricultural artifacts	prehistory	29.	Custis stone	1815
5.	Agricultural fields, pastures	prehistory	30.	Duck Hall house site	ca. 1779-1818
6.	Woodlands	prehistory	31.	Outbuilding	ca. 1779-1818
7.	Road/trail to Bridges Creek landing	ca. 1651-57	32.	Ice house	ca. 1779-1818
8.	Creek/drainageway	prehistory	33.	Road to Duck Hall	by 1813
9.	Digwood Swamp	prehistory	34.	Road to Muse property	by 1813
10.	Longwood Swamp	prehistory	35.	George Muse house site	by 1879
11.	Dancing Marsh	prehistory	36.	Orchard	ca. 1846-1923
12.	Springs, 4	prehistory	37.	Crushed stone road to birthplace	by 1897, 1931
13.	Eastern red cedar groves	prehistory	38.	Wharf at Bridges Creek landing	1893-94
14.	Hedgerows (conjecture)	ca. 1657	39.	Building associated with wharf	ca. 1893-97
15.	John Washington house site	ca. 1657-64	40.	Hackberry tree	by 1880s
16.	Washington family	1665	41.	Fig shrubs	by 1880s
	burial ground		42.	Granite monument	1896, relocated 1930
17.	Muse family house site (conj.)	by 1667	12	Tron for sing	
18.	Road to Muse family property	ca. 1667	43.	Iron fencing	1896
19.	Plantation complex fencing	by 1722	44.	Crushed stone walk	1896
20.	Abbington/Washington house	by 1722, 1725	45.	Road around Burnt House Point	
21.	Possible tobacco shed	by 1722	46.	Views established to river	1896
22.	Muse family burial ground	(conj.) ca. 1700	47.	Renovation of burial ground	1906
23.	Possible dairy	ca. 1725-79	48.	Spring house	(conj.) by 1892
24.	Unidentified outbuilding	ca. 1725-79	49.	Muse family house site	by 1879
25.	Kitchen building	ca. 1725-79	50.	Muse family house site	by 1879

#	Feature	Date of Origin	#	Feature	Date of Origin
51.	Dance pavilion	by 1923	85.	Brick kiln	1930-32
52.	Unidentified outbuilding	unknown	86.	Clay pit	1930
53.	Flagpole	by 1923	87.	Memorial House	1931
54.	Pond	(conj.)	88.	Colonial Kitchen House	1931
	T 10 11 T T	ca. 1923-32	89.	Spring House/Gazebo	1930-31
55.	Road/bridge across Bridges Cr.	by 1931	90.	Picket fencing	1931
56.	Cedar allée/hedgerow	1931	91.	Pump house/storage structure	1931 .
57.	Wood fencing	1930-32	92.	Rest rooms/	1932
58.	Parking area	1931-32		Spinning and Weaving Room	
59.	Renovation of burial ground	1930-31	93.	Utility building/ Farm Workshop	1932
60.	Oyster shell walk	1931	94.	Road to utility building	1932
61.	Ornamental plantings	1931	95.	Colonial Garden	1930-31
62.	Maintenance access road	by 1932	96.	Boxwood hedges	1931
63.	Farm roads	by 1932	97.	Trail around Burnt House Point	
64.	Raymond Washington house site, incl. barn, sheds, orchard	by 1932	98.	Brick walks	ca. 1932-35,
65.	Road to Raymond Washington site, utility area	by 1932, ca. 1976	99.	"Old Wagon Road"	1980s 1931
66.	R.J. Muse house site	by 1932	100.	Flagpole	1932
67.	Harry Muse house site	by 1932	101.	Tool house	by 1928
68.	Fred Muse house site, driveway	by 1932	102.	Captains Cove wharf	by 1932
69.	Muse family house site	by 1932 .	103.	Footbridge acr. Dancing Marsh	1932
70.	Well site	by 1932	104.	Ornamental plantings	1930-31
71.	Road trace	by 1932	105.	Picket fencing	1931
72.	Road to employee residence area	1932	106.	Sundial	ca. 1931-32
73.	Employee residences, 2	1932-34	107.	Storage structure	1932
74.	Garage(s) at residence area	1932	108.	Fencing	1931-32
75.	Tennis courts	1932-34	109.	Ice Pond pump house	1933
76.	Trails between residences,	1932	110.	Access road and parking	1968
77.	historic core, and Log House Road to Log House, picnic area	1932	111.	Morgan horse barn/ maintenance building	1968
78.	Rest room buildings, 2	1932	112.	Paddocks (split rail fencing)	1968
79.	Log House	1932	113.	Clay-surfaced training ring	1968
80.	Approach road to site	1923	114.	Pasture sheds, 6	1968
81.	Traffic circle around monument	1931		Equipment storage structure	1968
82.	Road to borrow pit	by 1932	116.	Hay storage structure	1968
83.	Cedar allée	1931	117.	Gasoline house	unknown
84.	Parking area	1932	118.	Breakwater	unknown

Appendix B. Comprehensive Inventory of Landscape Features

#	Feature	Date of Origin	#	Feature	Date of Origin
119.	Water purification/pump station	1975	143.	Exhibit shed (tobacco shed)	1968
120.	Water tower	ca. 1975	144.	Demonstration plots of crops	ca. 1968
121.	Nature Trail	1934	145.	Central hog pen	1970
122.	Service road, walks, parking	1933-35	146.	Eastern hog pen	ca. 1968
123.	Log House storage shed/	ca. 1935-37	147.	Orchard	ca. 1970
124	chemical cart house	1020	148.	Naval Range Station	1954
	Picnic shelter	1939	149.	Visitor Center	1976
	Comfort station Picnic area	1975	150.	Gift shop/post office	1976
		1933	151.	Access road	1976
	Vista cuttings	1932-34	152.	Parking area	1976
	"Ancient" pear tree	unknown	153.	Trail to historic core	1976
	Stone drinking fountain	unknown	154.	Picnic shelter	ca. 1980s
	Wharf and boat house	1935	155.	Garage/storage shed	unknown
	Stone pier, timber bulkheads	1935	156.	Loblolly pine plantation	ca. 1983
	Interpretive waysides	1972	157.	Interpretive waysides	unknown
133.	Shed	1936	158.	Trail between Log House,	1993
134.	Post office	1937		picnic area	
135.	Rockefeller Barn	1938-39	159.	Eastern fowl house, small	unknown
136.	Contact station/	1939	160.	Fencing	ca. 1968
107	eastern fowl house, large	10.10	161.	Fowl pond	ca. 1968
	Administration building	1940	162.	Log Corn house	ca. 1970
	Gasoline house	1940	163.	Fenced utility	unknown
	Central fowl house	1968	164.	Sewage pump station	unknown
	Western fowl house	1968	165.	Storage structure	unknown
	Oxen shed	1968	166.	Park entrance sign	unknown
142.	Western hog pen	1968		-	