STAGE 1 ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION
AT
FORT WARD HISTORICAL PARK,
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

RESULTS OF IDENTIFICATION SURVEY AT THE
OLD GRAVEYARD, JACKSON CEMETERY,
SHORTS HOMESTEAD, AND MAINTENANCE YARD

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The City of Alexandria began Stage 1 archaeological investigation of Fort Ward Historical Park in 2010 through the consulting firm The Ottery Group. The Stage 1 investigation focused on four parcels within the park. The fieldwork was completed in early 2011. The 36.5-acre park is operated by the Department of Recreation, Parks, and Cultural Activities. The City launched the Stage 1 archaeological investigation so as to provide information for park planners by identifying cultural resources, finding unmarked graves, and telling the story of “The Fort,” the post-Civil War African-American neighborhood that once occupied the park property from the 1870s until the 1960s when the City acquired the land in order to create the park.

The archaeological findings reported herein are one part of the first stage of work (formally known as Task 1-3) which also includes intensive historical research for the entire park (Task 1-1), and the completion of a detailed inventory of the historical resources on the park property (Task 1-2). The archaeological testing for this Stage 1 of fieldwork took place on four small tracts of land inside the park. The four parcels include: a 1.5 acre area used until recently as a maintenance yard that contained a church/school and several human graves within its bounds; a 0.90 acre lot once occupied by the Burr and Harriet Shorts family and their descendants; a 0.10 acre burial plot known as the “Old Graveyard” located adjacent to the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery; and a 0.25 acre area situated on the western glacis of Fort Ward and referred to as the “Jackson Cemetery.”

The archaeological investigation was guided by four primary goals: 1) field-check the veracity of a ground penetrating radar survey that identified the possible locations of unmarked graves; 2) delineate the boundaries of the Old Graveyard, Jackson Cemetery, and the graves in the maintenance yard; 3) map and record all graves into the City GIS system; 4) evaluate sites of an African American schoolhouse, church, and other structures that were present in the maintenance yard, evaluate the archaeological remains in the Shorts Home Lot, and test for other cultural resources (such as Civil War and American Indian site areas) through standard shovel testing, metal detection, and mechanical trenching.

A summary of the findings for each of the four goals and a review of the recommendations for future stages of archaeological investigation are provided below.

**Goal 1: Field check ground penetrating radar findings.**

Fourteen of the 36 GPR anomalies (n=39 percent) positively identified graves. Among the 22 false positive GPR anomalies, 12 of them were triggered by subsurface irregularities such as tree roots or dislodged soil. Ten of the investigated GPR anomalies signaled intact sterile soil (i.e. a location with no visible soil intrusion). The fact that the GPR did not “find” the marked grave of W.E. Javins is especially troubling.

Soil type and soil conditions, as well as vegetation have a significant impact on the accuracy of the GPR findings. For example, the success rate of the GPR in the Jackson Cemetery—an area with few trees and a relatively thin layer of sandy soil overlying subsoil—produced markedly better results (4 out of 7 accurate anomalies) than
in the maintenance yard (2 out of 10 accurate anomalies) where a multitude of tree roots are present.

The outcome of the use of GPR for this project demonstrates that this type of testing as conducted by a trained professional is a valuable tool for detecting human graves, but it must be used in conjunction with intensive archaeological testing and other field methods. GPR testing alone is not enough. The only way to positively identify an unmarked human grave is to remove the upper layers of soil down to the level of subsoil so as to reveal the soil discolorations of grave shafts. By focusing the GPR testing in specific locations where graves are predicted by documentary or oral history data, this limits the extent of the field investigations to areas that are feasible for follow-up archaeological testing. In these cases, it is important to recognize that graves may be present anywhere that has not been verified by archaeological investigation, unless the area has been previously disturbed to such an extent that no graves could be extant.

**Recommendations:**

Full examination of the maintenance yard, the Old Graveyard, and the Jackson Cemetery—either by systematically stripping off the topsoil or comprehensive hand testing—will need to be accomplished in future stages of archaeological study at Fort Ward Park. The locations of graves are suspected to exist in several additional places on park property. GPR testing could be employed usefully in these locations where background research and/or oral testimony indicate a high possibility for graves.

**Goal 2: Delineate the boundaries of cemeteries.**

The full boundaries of the Old Graveyard and Jackson Cemetery remain unknown, although the western extent of the Old Graveyard appears to be established as indicated by the absence of graves within a 30 ft. wide expanse to the west of Burial 11. Additional graves may be present to the east and south in the Old Graveyard, and perhaps even to the north near the boundary with the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery. More graves also may be located in the Jackson Cemetery, particularly between the three clustered graves and the outlying one 50 ft. to the north. Furthermore, graves could be present in all the areas in the maintenance yard that were not archaeological examined during this project, especially in the northern half of the maintenance yard.

**Recommendations:**

Further archaeological testing is needed for the entire Jackson Cemetery so as to ensure that all graves are identified within its bounds. Further archaeological testing also will be necessary in the Old Graveyard, in particular to the north, south, and east from the existing 16 burials in order to confirm the full boundaries of this cemetery. As addressed under Goal 1, more graves are likely to be present in the northern half of the maintenance yard, and archaeological testing will be needed in order to identify them.

**Goal 3: Map all identified graves into City GIS.**

All identified graves and archaeological have been integrated into the City GIS system as a layer. Based on the dates on the surviving grave markers, both adults and children were interred in the Old Graveyard over the course of several decades from the late nineteenth century into the early twentieth century. All 16 of the graves identified in the Old Graveyard are oriented on the same axis, approximately 45 to 55 degrees west of
north, a strong clue that this distinctive grave placement practice was considered the norm at this particular location. The grave orientation plainly differs from the east-to-west orientation of graves in the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery located immediately to the north. Not only are the grave orientations different between the two cemeteries, but the dateable stones in each cemetery do not overlap in time. Virginia Fitzhugh was the last known internment in the Old Graveyard in 1918 and the first dated headstone in the Oakland Cemetery dates to the mid-1920s, a gap of at least five years. These two factors alone strongly suggest that the cemeteries were not in operation at the same time, nor were they interrelated in any way.

In the Jackson Cemetery all four identified graves probably were adults. The graves here are oriented on an east-to-west axis, as was common in a Western burial tradition. The question to resolve is why there is a 50 ft. separation between Burial 15 and the others. Is Burial 15 just an outlier, or are there more graves in the gap between? Perhaps the outlying burial is that of William Carpenter, a man who purchased a burial plot in the Jackson Cemetery in the mid-1920s.

A question remains regarding graves in the maintenance yard on Amanda Clark’s land. The graves of Clara and Robert Adams are confirmed, but former resident Lee Thomas Young recalls the presence of perhaps a dozen headstones to the north of the Adams’ graves, headstones not part of the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery. GPR and subsequent testing failed to identify any graves in the north maintenance yard, which leaves the question of their whereabouts an open issue.

Recommendations:

As additional graves are identified at the Fort Ward Park, they must be added into the City GIS system.

Goal 4: Investigate the African American schoolhouse, church, and other structures that were present in the maintenance yard and test for other cultural resources through standard shovel testing, metal detection, and mechanical trenching.

In addition to the graves, archaeologists identified other potentially significant cultural resources during the course of the archaeological investigation. The most noteworthy findings are the 22 ft. by 22 ft. foundations for the main dwelling on the Shorts House Lot, as well as evidence of additions to the main structure. A portion of the School/Chapel/Young residence was uncovered in the maintenance yard area, probably an addition built prior to Lee Thomas Young’s acquisition of the property in the late 1940s. A privy pit likely associated with the Casey family and located near the south boundary of the maintenance yard was partially excavated. A small, widely scattered assemblage of artifacts dating to the Civil War was found while metal detecting the Old Graveyard and to the south of the Shorts House Lot, but no concentrations were found to indicate long-term or intensive activity. No American Indian archaeological resources were identified during this investigation.

Recommendations:

The western half of the Shorts House Lot has high archaeological potential, as well as the lot containing the School/Chapel/Young residence. Further archaeological testing is warranted in both locations, guided by specific research questions. The lot once
owned and occupied by the Casey family in the southwest corner of the maintenance yard (including the partially excavated privy) retains moderate archaeological potential. Additional archaeological investigation in this area should focus on research questions pertaining to the Casey family and later occupants the Belk family.

Management Recommendations

As a management tool, six levels of archaeological potential have been created and specific areas within each parcel:

1. Sacred Areas: those areas that contain human graves. Three Sacred Areas have been identified: the entire Old Graveyard, the Jackson Cemetery, and the graves of Clara and Robert Adams located on a lot once owned by Amanda Clark in what later became a City maintenance yard. These areas must receive the highest level of preservation. Further investigation is needed in the Old Graveyard and the Jackson Cemetery to pinpoint the boundaries.

2. Unconfirmed Grave Areas: The north half of the maintenance yard is deemed as such. This area must remain preserved until further archaeological investigation can be employed to confirm the presence of graves, which would then elevate it to a Sacred Area.

3. High Archaeological Potential: The western two-thirds of the Shorts House Lot as well as the immediate area around the School/Chapel/Young residence have elevated archaeological potential. These areas should be preserved and further investigated in the future.

4. Moderate Archaeological Potential: A small area in the southwest corner of the maintenance yard is demarcated as having due to the presence of archaeological remains related to the use of the lot by the Casey family, and later the Belk family. Archaeologically controlled mechanical stripping is necessary in this area if ground disturbance is planned for this area.

5. Low Archaeological Potential: The eastern one-third of the Shorts House Lot and the southeast quadrant of the maintenance yard have low archaeological potential and any ground disturbance must be archaeologically monitored.

6. Cleared: Small zones within each parcel have been cleared, and therefore nothing of archaeological significant is present in these particular locations.
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I. INTRODUCTION

The City of Alexandria began Stage 1 archaeological investigation of Fort Ward Historical Park in 2010 through the consulting firm The Ottery Group (Figures 1 and 2). The Stage 1 investigation focused on four parcels within the park. The fieldwork was completed in early 2011, and The Ottery Group also conducted Stage 2A work associated with a drainage project in 2010. This report details the findings of the Stage 1 project, and includes references to the Stage 2A findings since they relate to Stage 1 goals and results. Another report more fully describes the results of Stage 2A.

The 36.5-acre park is operated by the Department of Recreation, Parks, and Cultural Activities (Figure 3). The historic Fort Ward—one of a network of 164 earthen fortifications built during the Civil War by the Union Army to encircle and protect Washington, D.C.—and the museum on the property are managed by the Office of Historic Alexandria for the City of Alexandria. The City launched the Stage 1 archaeological investigation so as to provide information for park planners by identifying cultural resources, finding unmarked graves, and telling the story of “The Fort,” the post-Civil War African-American neighborhood that once occupied the park property from the 1870s until the 1960s when the City acquired the land in order to create the park.

The broader historical and archaeological study at Fort Ward Park is divided into three stages of research that will occur over the course of several years. The archaeological findings reported herein are one part of the first stage of work (formally known as Task 1-3) which also includes intensive historical research for the entire park (Task 1-1), and the completion of a detailed inventory of the historical resources on the park property (Task 1-2) (Alexandria Archaeology 2010). The archaeological testing for this Stage 1 of fieldwork took place on four small tracts of land inside the park. The four parcels total 2.75 acres and include: a 1.5 acre area used until recently as a maintenance yard that contained a church/school and several human graves within its bounds; a 0.90 acre lot once occupied by the Burr and Harriet Shorts family and their descendants, the founding residents of The Fort; a 0.10 acre burial plot known as the “Old Graveyard” located adjacent to the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery; and a 0.25 acre area situated on the western glacis of Fort Ward and referred to as the “Jackson Cemetery” (Figure 4).

1 A 1.25 acre parcel at the northeastern corner of the park and a 5.0 acre tract on the west are not part of the current project area. The entire park is 42.75 acres in size.
2 This neighborhood was also known as “The Hill,” as well as “Seminary Hill,” and combinations of these such as “Fort Hill.” In this document we will call the community “The Fort” throughout.
3 The establishment of Fort Ward Historical Park in the early 1960s was part of the City’s efforts at that time to commemorate the Centennial of the Civil War.
4 The City of Alexandria established this portion of the park as a maintenance yard in the 1960s, and the use of this term is not intended as a historical reference to the area. Prior to its use as a maintenance yard portions of it were owned by various people and used for private purposes.
Figure 1. Location of Fort Ward Historical Park on a USGS 1:100,000 quadrangle map (Washington West 1986).
Figure 2. Location of the project area at Camp Peary on the USGS 7.5’ quadrangle map (Alexandria 1983).

The archaeological investigation of these four parcels was undertaken to provide information for making recommendations for future archaeological work and for planning purposes. The mid-eastern section of the park and one western park area were selected as survey areas due to the likelihood of unmarked graves and/or cultural resources associated with early settlement and community history of The Fort (see Figure 4). For the purposes of future park planning the identification of graves is critical in order to properly protect these sensitive and sacred resources, and to honor the memory of those who are buried here. As a first step toward meeting that goal, in 2009 a ground
penetrating radar (GPR) study was conducted in the Old Graveyard, the Jackson Cemetery, and the maintenance yard, all places that were known to contain or thought to contain graves (Lowry 2009). Guided by the GPR findings as well as oral history accounts and historical documents, archaeologists tested these three parcels. Only the Shorts House Lot lacked evidence of graves, but was chosen for testing because of the importance of the Shorts family in establishing The Fort and the probable longevity of their home site.
The formal goals for the archaeological investigations at the four parcels, as outlined by Alexandria Archaeology in the formal scope of work for the project, include:

1) Locate and confirm the presence of human graves in the maintenance yard, the Old Graveyard, and the Jackson Cemetery. All possible grave locations identified during the 2009 ground penetrating radar survey (GPR) will be explored as will areas where graves were not identified. The use of GPR as a method to identify grave locations will be assessed. No excavation of, or disturbance to, human remains will occur.

2) Delineate the boundaries of clusters of graves or individual graves in same areas.
3) Map all identified graves utilizing City surveyors who can place precise locational information on city base maps of the property.

4) Locate, record, and evaluate sites of the African American schoolhouse, church, and other structures that were present in the survey areas into the middle twentieth century and test for other cultural resources (such as Civil War and American Indian site areas) through standard shovel testing, metal detection, and mechanical trenching.

A. BACKGROUND

The City of Alexandria, Virginia, is 15 square miles in size with a population just short of 140,000 people, making it the most densely populated city in the state. Located a mere 6 miles south from Washington, D.C., Alexandria serves as a bedroom community of sorts for the nation’s capital with a large percentage of its citizens working for the federal government or in support of federal projects. Since the town’s founding in 1749, the City of Alexandria has geographically expanded outward from the original Old Town section along the Potomac River (see Figure 1). Distinctive wards and neighborhoods have developed over the years. For planning purposes, Alexandria is divided into 15 historic preservation districts, each with its own Small Area Plan (SAP) which outlines specific historic needs and objectives. Fort Ward Historical Park is located in SAP 4, the Seminary Hill (Strawberry) district bound between King Street on the northeast, North Quaker Lane on the east, the 495 Beltway on the south, Holmes Run on the southwest, and the Henry Shirley Memorial Highway (395) on the northwest (Figure 5).

Figure 5. The City of Alexandria as divided into 15 Small Area Plans (City of Alexandria 2011).
In 1952 the City of Alexandria doubled its size when it annexed 7.65 square miles (4,896 acres) of property from Fairfax County to form the City’s West End, much of the area that today is located to the west of Quaker Lane (Fairfax County v. City of Alexandria 1951). Included in this tract of land was the 42.75 acres that would eventually become the Fort Ward Historical Park ten years later (see Figure 3).

Two years after the formal annexation of land from Fairfax County, for the purposes of creating a city park, the City of Alexandria moved to acquire the acreage in and around historic Fort Ward, considered by many to be the best preserved of the 164 forts and batteries that had ringed Washington, D.C. during the Civil War. In the 1930s the western and northern portions of the fort proper had been consolidated into one property platted as “Eagle Crest” subdivision (Figure 6). The acreage lay dormant for two decades until the mid-1950s when the City purchased the Eagle Crest holdings of approximately 21 acres (see Figure 6). The southeastern quadrant of the fort remained in private hands (including a sizeable portion of the fort itself—2.96 acres—belonging to Shirley Bizel), as well as a 9 acre swath immediately to the east behind the battlement lines presumably where Union soldiers would have lived while manning the fortification.

In order the make the fort “whole” the City made an effort to acquire parcels to the east and south of the fortification, all of which were owned by residents of The Fort, the deeply rooted community of African Americans who had been living on the property since the end of the Civil War. In 1961 archaeologists conducted an excavation primarily focused on the northwest bastion of the fort, which allowed for its reconstruction, and the preservation of more than 90 percent of the original earthen ramparts (Larrabee 1961) (Plate 1). Fort Ward Historical Park opened to the public in May, 1964. In 1982 the park was listed on the National Register of Historic Places. In addition to the fortification, the park also includes a small museum that tells the story of Fort Ward and local Civil War history, as well as outdoor facilities for picnicking, walking paths, and annual living history events.

Plate 1. Overview of the reconstructed northwest bastion of Fort Ward (Swain 2008).
Figure 6. Eagle Crest lots and privately owned parcels in 1962 overlain on Environs of Washington Prepared from Original Surveys in the Engineer Department (Anonymous ca. 1864-66).
II. ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

Because human societies are closely linked to their natural environments, many cultural changes can be best understood in the context of the varying constraints and opportunities presented by dynamic environmental conditions. A brief review of the environmental setting of the Fort Ward project area and the general area can thus provide insight into the changing lifeways of its inhabitants.

An environmental frame of reference is particularly important when considering changing American Indian settlement patterns over the course of many millennia. Archaeologists largely agree that the environmental factors that had the most significant influence on where American Indians chose to live were topography, access to water, and the availability of natural resources, particularly sources of cryptocrystalline mineral deposits. Throughout most of American Indian history people were hunters and gatherers that changed location frequently, camping for short periods of time in one location and then moving on to the next. When choosing a place to set up camp, most American Indians sought out flat, well drained landforms overlooking streams or rivers, the same types of settings that modern-day backpackers favor. The choice of campsite also depended on the types of plants and animals living at the location, as well as the kinds of natural rock present that could be knapped into stone tools.

For the historic era over the past 400 years of time, the environmental conditions have remained relatively stable and a close environmental analysis is usually not necessary. However, American Indians and historic peoples, although potentially separated by thousands of years would have shared some of the same basic needs when finding a place to camp or live: a well-drained landform with access to fresh water and other natural resources. Therefore, we must consider the environmental factors at the Fort Ward property that potentially influenced how it was used over the years, all of which were interconnected. For instance, the character of the topography, the proximity of water resources, and the type of soil all had a direct effect on the variety of flora attracted to the setting, and in turn the fauna that relied on that ecological setting for sustenance. The quantity and variety of both plants and animals in an area had a direct influence on human habitation. New settlers relied on available timber to build shelter, and in part on procurable plants and animals to augment the diet. It would have been difficult for a Woodland Indian in A.D. 300, a colonial tobacco planter in 1750, or a wheat farmer in 1870 to have prospered without certain key natural resources. Let us consider the types of resources and the setting that the Fort Ward Historical Park offered potential inhabitants.

A. Geology and Topography

The project area is situated in southeastern Virginia on the Atlantic Coastal Plain physiographic province, an area of low topographic relief extending from the Atlantic Ocean west to the Fall Line. The City of Alexandria sits atop the Potomac Formation, a

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5 The term cryptocrystalline refers to rock made up of microscopic crystals, essentially the type of geologic material that has smooth edges when broken and can therefore be made into projectile points and other stone cutting tools.
result of ancient fluvial sediments formed millions of years ago during the Cretaceous age (Fleming 2008). Fort Ward Historical Park is located on the Seminary Terrace near its interface with the Fort Ward Escarpment, one of the four major upland landforms in the City. The Seminary Terrace consists of medium-coarse gravel in strong orange-brown heavy loam (ibid).

In topographic terms, the park is situated on an upland terrace. Elevations on Fort Ward property range from approximately 230 ft. to 280 ft. above mean sea level (AMSL) (Figure 7). The highest elevations, as one would expect, are in the fortification itself in the center of the park at 280 ft. The land on the south side of the park along Braddock Road drops off slightly to 270 ft. AMSL. From the south side of the park and the fort the elevations fan out to the west, north and east. The topography slopes to approximately 250 ft. AMSL on the west and north edges of the property; to 230 ft. AMSL in the northeast corner of the park; and to roughly 235 ft. AMSL into a ravine on the east (see Figure 7). The landscape around the fort area is generally flat to gently rolling. The property is dissected by several minor tributaries that have carved out ravines along the edges of the landform. The side slopes of the ravines are steep, but not excessively so, and make for a varied landscape setting.

B. Hydrology

Two unnamed tributaries have the greatest hydrologic effect on the project area. To the west from Fort Ward is an unnamed tributary that feeds into Lucky Run to the north, which in turn drains into Four Mile Run some to the north (see Figure 1). A second tributary was once an offshoot directly from Four Mile Run that was coopted by the construction of Highway 395. Essentially, the northeast face of the Seminary Terrace overlooks a stream valley formed by Four Mile Run. The most prominent possible source of water on the property—perhaps forming a springhead in the distant past—is a ravine along the east boundary of the park. Otherwise, the property is a distinctly upland setting with no obvious water resources in the close vicinity.

C. Soil Morphology

Surface soils are formed by several factors including the weathering of parent material and the subsequent processes of plants and animals, and topographic relief over time. Prior to modern disturbances, the character and type of soil would have had a direct effect on the kind of vegetation and hydrology of an area, and on the potential for human habitation and usage. For instance, there is a strong correlation between settlement density and soil fertility. A study of regional settlement patterns in relation to soil types indicates that historic settlement is closely correlated with the location of prime farmland (Lukezic 1990).

Kingstowne-Sassafras-Neabsco complex on 2 to 7 percent slopes is the primary soil type found at the FWHP, and within the four survey parcels (Figure 8). This soil type is well drained, comprised of sandy loam and sandy clay loams, and is not considered prime farmland. In the sloping northwest corner of the property a small area of Sassafras-Marumsco complex on 7 to 15 percent slopes is present with similar characteristics with Kingstowne-Sassafras-Neabsco complex, but rated as farmland of statewide importance. A small bulbous area of Sassafras-Neabsco complex on 2 to 7
percent slopes is on the west side of the property, and considered to be prime farmland (Soil Survey Staff 2011). Overall, the soils on the Fort Ward property are quite average in terms of agricultural productivity.
D. Natural Resources

Prior to European contact, the local environment consisted of a mixed climax forest of oak, hickory, and pine (primary species: hickory, longleaf pine, shortleaf pine, loblolly pine, white oak and post oak). This forest provided a variety of resources for American Indians. In addition to burning wood for warmth and cooking, nut-bearing trees such as hickory, chestnut, black walnut, and oak were an important source of food. Fibrous elm and poplar tree bark was used for clothing and as a building material (mostly as a covering for longhouses). Another important American Indian use of trees was hollowing out trunks from pine, chestnut, and polar trees for canoes.

At the time of initial European contact the native climax hardwood forest of oak, hickory, and pine continued to prevail and had remained relatively stable for several thousand years. American Indians in Virginia used fire to “manage” the forest environment. Periodic burnings restored nutrients to the soil, helped to maintain a dynamic ecological environment of woods interspersed with meadows which promoted biodiversity, and cleared out undergrowth so that forests were open and easily traversed (Williams 1992:43-44). As John Smith famously observed of early Virginia, “a man may gallop a horse amongst these woods any waie, but where the creekes and Rivers shall hinder” (Smith 1907:64). Indeed, these old growth forests were unlike most forest settings we see today.

Throughout the eighteenth century as European colonists began to populate the area, a slow process of deforestation took place. Swathes of forest were cleared primarily for farming, but also for use as building materials (housing and for boats\textsuperscript{6}), for firewood, and

\textsuperscript{6} Tall, straight loblolly pine was favored for ship’s masts for instance (Mohr 1923:120).
and for export. Pine pitch (resin) also was a commodity that contributed to the decline of forests as it was collected and used for sealing boats and for other waterproofing. Even the harvesting of sassafras for its medicinal qualities caused localized forest depletion, at least for a short time in the seventeenth century when its exportation was second only to tobacco.

Episodes of clearing and cultivation continued to take place on the Fort Ward property until 1861 when Union forces built the fort in the center of the project area. Most Virginia farmers adopted a field rotation farming system where forests were cleared, planted for several years, and then allowed to revert back to forest to regenerate soil fertility, albeit as second-growth forests with different characteristics compared to the original old growth timber stands that John Smith described. The wooded tracts that overtook abandoned agricultural fields were much denser, often with thick undergrowth. Pine species came to dominate in these second generation forests with deciduous hardwoods becoming subordinate to the conifers (Kirby 1991:481; Silver 1990:171).

With these significant ecological changes to the landscape, the vegetative and animal habitats were altered, sometimes dramatically. Migratory patterns changed for many species. Deer and other large mammals adapted to new environments, which in turn changed the methods that settlers used to hunt them. Wolves, bear, and other predators once roamed the area, but were systematically eliminated (localities often placed bounties on them) and those that remained migrated to less populated areas. Moreover, as the numbers of game animals steadily dwindled, this necessitated a gradual dietary change for settlers who came to rely more on domesticated animals and less on wild sources of meat.

Four years of civil war had a significant impact on Virginia forests. Large areas were cleared to provide fields of fire, particularly around fortifications. A case in point is at Fort Ward where the general vicinity around the fort was virtually denuded during the Union occupation (Plate 2). After the war came to a close the Fort Ward property eventually became home to several African American families who continued to occupy the area until the mid-twentieth century when the City of Alexandria bought up the land to create Fort Ward Historical Park. Portions of the property reverted back to forest after the war, but for the most part much of the 36.5 acre project area remained open, intermittently populated with trees as it is today. A 1927 aerial map of the area shows most of the park as open land with plots here and there under cultivation (Figure 9).

Throughout the course of time the landscape at Fort Ward Historical Park has changed many times over. Some of the changes occurred naturally, whereas other changes were brought on by human activity. The evolving environment helped to determine how different cultural groups used the acreage at Fort Ward. While the ecology of the land transformed significantly from the American Indian era to modern times, some aspects of the property remained constant, offering both opportunities and limitations. For instance, the property occupies one of the highest elevations in the City

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7 The bulk of pine tar harvesting occurred in southern Virginia and North Carolina and probably had a lesser impact on Alexandria.

8 Also note on a Civil War period map that all the timber is depicted as cut surrounding Fort Ward (see Figure 6).
of Alexandria, and thus was chosen for the location of an important fortification. Nearby tributaries provide access to water, although it is unlikely that these water courses would have been navigable in the past. The soils on the property are fertile enough to generate tree growth and support a rich biotic community of plants and animals that both American Indians and historic peoples exploited for their benefit. Thus, depending upon a particular need, the Fort Ward property was a good place to defend oneself from attack, provided a variety of natural resources, was used for agricultural purposes, and was a place that at least by the late nineteenth century people called home.
Figure 9. Fort Ward Historical Park as shown on a 1927 aerial map.
III. AMERICAN INDIAN AND HISTORIC CONTEXT AND POTENTIAL

The history of American Indians in Virginia is divided into three major time periods—Paleo-Indian, Archaic, and Woodland—with the differences defined largely by changes in subsistence, settlement patterns and the types of materials people used in their daily lives. The three main periods reflect major changes, while Early, Middle, and Late sub-periods reflect less dramatic, yet significant progressions.

For thousands of years before the arrival of Europeans, American Indians roamed the hills and valleys of what eventually became the City of Alexandria. Despite the past 250 years of construction and development, remnants of the American Indian past still remain buried within the City. To date, archaeologists have identified more than 30 sites containing American Indian materials in the City of Alexandria, including one site on the Fort Ward property. The types of artifacts discovered indicate that American Indians visited the area beginning about 13,000 years ago, and historical documents suggest that some tribal groups continued to reside in the area until about 1675 (Adams et al. 1993:57-59). Our interest herein is to consider the types of American Indian sites and resources that might be present on the 36.5 acre Fort Ward property, and more directly, within the four small survey parcels.

Approximately 15,000 years ago the global environment began to change dramatically, and in turn American Indian peoples adapted to these changes. As the first human beings settled into the Chesapeake region around 11,000 B.C., a major glacial epoch (an Ice Age) was coming to a close at that time. As global temperatures rose, glaciers melted causing sea level to rise significantly. Before the rise, sea level was several hundred feet lower than today, meaning the shoreline of the Potomac River in the Alexandria area was considerably east of its present location. A warmer climate and sea level rise changed the lifecycle and growth patterns of flora and fauna. Coastal zones were inundated: grasslands turned into forest. As a result plant and animal habitats shifted to new settings and the environmental landscape was remade. As the environment changed, American Indians modified their settlement systems in order to continue to exploit available natural resources.

Traditionally, regional archaeologists have divided American Indians history into three major periods of occupation: Paleo-Indian (ca. 11,000 B.C. - 7,500 B.C.), Archaic (ca. 7,500 B.C. - 1,000 B.C.) and Woodland (ca. 1,000 B.C. - 1600 A.D.). The arrival of Europeans in large numbers during the seventeenth century marks the beginning of what is called the Contact Period. Recent discoveries (including at the Cactus Hill site near Petersburg, Virginia) may help to establish that people spread into North America by 12,000 B.C. or even earlier. The earliest evidence of human occupation in Alexandria found to date is a broken spear point recovered on a bluff overlooking Hunting Creek at the southern edge of the City. The characteristic shape of this find, with a flute (i.e. groove) removed from each of its faces, identifies it as a Clovis point—the earliest Paleo-Indian type, named after a site in New Mexico where these types of spear points were first discovered.
In the Paleo-Indian period, small bands of American Indians moved frequently within territories throughout the area, hunting game and collecting plant resources in the spruce/pine forests and grassland environments which predominated as the Ice Age ended. Large fluted spear points known by archaeologists as Clovis points served as the primary hunting tool. The hunting and foraging lifestyle of the Paleo-Indians persisted into the Early Archaic period, as the climate warmed and oaks and other deciduous trees began to invade the evergreen forests. By the Middle Archaic, sea level rise caused by the melting of the glaciers created ponds and inland marshes which became focal points for settlement. Archaic peoples developed new types of tools for exploiting the changing environments, such as ground stone axes for chopping wood, mortars and pestles for grinding nuts, and weighted spear throwers called atlatls, which increased the velocity of the spear. A more sedentary lifestyle emerged in the Late Archaic, as American Indians began to settle in seasonal camps to exploit the shellfish and spawning fish resources. The first manufacture and use of pottery ushered in the Early Woodland period, and by the Middle Woodland, American Indians began to gather in more permanent settlements on the shores of the larger rivers. The beginnings of agriculture brought maize, squash and beans into the Late Woodland diet and resulted in permanent year-round settlements near the fertile soils of these riverine floodplains. When Captain John Smith sailed up the Chesapeake Bay and into the Potomac River from Jamestown in 1608, he visited the villages and hamlets along the shoreline, including Tauxenent on Mason Neck and Namoraughquend on the grounds of what is now Reagan National Airport.

A. Comparative American Indian Sites in Alexandria

Archaeological work at two properties on the eastern and western edges of Alexandria has yielded the bulk of archaeological information about American Indian history in the city. One of the areas is located at Jones Point at the confluence of Great Hunting Creek as it empties into the Potomac River. This setting is on a floodplain, a dynamic environment that has changed frequently over the years as the river has risen and fallen during episodes of flooding. The other area is at the Stonegate property, located not more than one-third of a mile to the northwest of Fort Ward. The setting at Stonegate is similar to Fort Ward; both are dissected by branches of Lucky Run which feeds into Four Mile Run to the north. For comparative purposes, the American Indian findings at the nearby Stonegate are expected to be more closely allied to Fort Ward as compared to the Jones Point setting along the Potomac River.

Jones Point

Recent excavations at Jones Point have provided a snapshot of American Indian occupation over the course of the Archaic and Woodland eras of American Indian history in a floodplain setting (Boyd and Randolph 2010). Located at the meeting point of Great Hunting Creek and the Potomac River, the site was covered by about 4.0 feet of fill during the early twentieth century. The underlying soil levels yielded an Early Archaic spear point with serrated edges made and used approximately 9000 years ago for hunting large game. At this time the size of the creek and river were much smaller than today. As sea level rose, waterways carved out an expanded footprint. By about 4000 years ago, American Indians began to visit Jones Point on a regular basis. They collected cobbles from the nearby river and stream beds and created stone tools, leaving behind thousands of quartz and quartzite flakes, the byproducts of tool-manufacturing. They also used the
stones to form hearths for fires, as evidenced by the many fragments of fire-cracked rock found at Jones Point. Artifacts recovered include spear points, stone knives and fragments of stone bowls made of steatite (soapstone) left by the site's inhabitants during the Late Archaic period from about 4,000 to 3,000 years ago as well as pottery sherds and other diagnostic stone projectile points from subsequent Woodland occupations. Several small triangular arrow points provide evidence that Indians were still visiting the site just prior to European settlement of the area.

While archaeologists recovered most of the artifacts at Jones Point from a layer of soil that had been plowed during historic times, a number of deeply buried American Indian storage pits were encountered in the underlying natural soil layers. In conjunction with the storage pits, archaeologists also identified evidence of several small, temporary structures. The structures appeared as a series of small circular postholes that formed oval patterns. Each structure measured about 9 by 12 feet in size and dated to the Late Woodland period. These structures— the physical remains of Alexandria's first houses— were constructed by sinking sharpened saplings into the ground, bending them to form arches, and covering the superstructure with bark, mats, or woven materials. Most of the pit features— holes used to store food and other goods— were located near the house patterns (Boyd and Randolph 2010).

The structures at Jones Point probably represent the remnants of a small, seasonally occupied village or campsite. Geomorphological studies indicate that by this time, the erosional processes had formed Jones Point into a long, narrow peninsula extending out into the Potomac River. The peninsula was separated from the mainland by an extensive swamp or pocosin, which was drained by a small creek. The cluster of structures with the associated storage pits was situated on a small rise or terrace on the south side of the peninsula overlooking the Hunting Creek marsh. Given this environment, archaeologists have speculated that American Indians visited the site to exploit the marsh resources, perhaps in the early spring to harvest tuberous plants at a time when other food resources were scarce. In the spring and early summer months, they may have also settled on the site to take advantage of the seasonal fish runs, as the shad and other species headed into the small streams to spawn (Boyd and Randolph 2010).

Stonegate Property

One additional group of American Indian sites was intensively studied in Alexandria prior to construction associated with a townhouse development project known as Stonegate. Three of the Stonegate sites were located on bluffs overlooking a small stream near the intersection of Braddock Road and I-395 (Adams et al. 1993). Projectile points found at the sites provide evidence that American Indian hunters passed through the area as early as 8,500 years ago and during the Late Woodland period which began about 1,100 years ago. The main occupations, however, occurred between about 3600 and 2500 B.C. and between 1800 and 1200 B.C. During these periods, American Indians camped on the tops of well drained, elevated terraces and left behind evidence of tool making. In the earlier period, they transported quartz cobbles to the bluff top, undoubtedly collected from nearby streambeds, to use as the raw material for tool manufacture, while in the latter period the archaeological evidence suggests that they carried partially made quartzite tools to the bluff, where they finished the process of
manufacturing. While encamped on the terrace, they built fires, possibly for warmth or for cooking their meals. They left behind the remnants of their hearths as concentrations of fire-cracked rock, thousands of flakes as byproducts from this tool-making activity, and numerous tool forms that were broken or discarded during the manufacturing process. Test excavations also discovered a fourth Stonegate site situated below the bluff on a lower terrace overlooking the creek. This site contained projectile points and Accokeek pottery and may have been a temporary or seasonal campsite dating to the Late Archaic and Early Woodland periods (ibid.). Since the owners of the Stonegate property pledged not to disturb this site, it was not intensively investigated. Instead, it became a part of Alexandria’s first legally designated Archaeological Preserve, and it remains preserved in place on the Stonegate property.

B. American Indian Potential at Fort Ward Historical Park

Fort Ward Park is located in northwest Alexandria in what would be considered an upland setting. At an approximate elevation of 250 ft. A.M.S.L., environmental changes would have been less pronounced than on the floodplain. Nevertheless, elevations span from 230 ft. A.M.S.L. along the north edge of the property to 280 ft. A.M.S.L. on the ramparts of Fort Ward itself. The center of the property where the earthen fort sits is pinched on the east and west by small tributaries. Overall, the property presents a variety of potential settlement zones including those adjacent to water courses, a broad upland terrace, and contexts of varying degrees of slope in between.

One archaeological site dating to the American Indian period has been previously identified on the Fort Ward property. In 1980 while conducting an archaeological survey, City archaeologists observed approximately a dozen pieces of chipped quartz on the glacis of the fort. Assigned site number 44A X 0036, the quartz flakes evidently had been displaced from their original location nearby during construction of the fort in the 1860s and exposed by more recent erosion. Thus, site 44A X 0036 has poor contextual integrity and no viable research potential. However, the presence of this small, disturbed grouping of lithic flakes does confirm that American Indian activity of some sort did take place on the property in the distant past. More recently, a spear point dating to the Archaic period was found on the surface of the ground some 25 ft. to the west of the restrooms near the museum. Based on the findings at the nearby Stonegate property, and on American Indian settlement patterning studies in Northern Virginia area, a closer examination of the American Indian archaeological potential at the Fort Ward property is warranted.

Paleo-Indian (Prior to 8000 B.C.)

Most current views now hold that eastern Paleo-Indians were generalized foragers with an emphasis on hunting. Social organization consisted of relatively small bands that exploited a wide, but defined territory (Gardner 1989: 5-52; Turner 1989: 71-94). The majority of Paleo-Indian remains in Virginia are represented by isolated projectile point finds and what appear to be small, temporary camps. Although some larger and very notable base camps are present in the region, they are rare and directly associated with sources of preferred high quality lithic materials. Predictions call for any Paleo-Indian remains in this region to be found in very low densities, with the most likely locations being situated along game-attracting marshes (Barber et al. 1992: 42-43). Given the
relative rarity of these resources within the Alexandria area, the probability of identifying significant Paleo-Indian sites at the Fort Ward property is low, although an isolated find or two is not out of the question.

Archaic (8000-1200 B.C.)

Archaic populations likely were characterized by a band-level social organization involving periodic movements corresponding to the seasonal availability of resources and, in some instances, shorter-interval movements. Settlement during this era probably involved the occupation of relatively large regions by single band-sized groups living in base camps during part of the year, and dispersing as necessary on a seasonal basis, creating smaller microband camps that may have consisted of groups as small as single families (Custer 1990: 35-40; Geier 1990: 84-86, 93-94).

Based on the numbers of identified sites, a gradual population increase took place throughout the Archaic period, meaning the chances of finding Late Archaic sites is markedly better than finding Early Archaic sites, with Middle Archaic sites somewhere in between. By the Late Archaic as more people populated the landscape, researchers believe that mobility began to decline, a sign of the early stages of a movement toward more sedentary behavior (Bromberg 1987:167-175). Regional settlement patterning studies suggest that both Early and Middle Archaic sites tended to be established on major inland streams and on small headwater tributaries (Barber et al. 1992: 46-48). By the end of the Archaic groups tended to congregate seasonally near larger rivers to take advantage of fish runs.

The heads of two small tributaries are present on the Fort Ward property. The potential for finding Archaic campsites in proximity to these two watercourses is good, particularly in those upland areas that had relatively easy access (i.e. gradual slopes or pathways) to the streams. Depending upon the amount of erosion and the condition of the stream valleys, any benches (small flat areas adjacent to the streams) would have a high potential to yield Archaic artifacts as well. Any sites of this era would likely consist of small, temporary resource procurement campsites.

Woodland (1200 B.C. - ca. A.D. 1600)

The Woodland period was characterized by the introduction of ceramic technology, a gradually developing dependence on horticulture, and increased sedentism. Early Woodland sites in this region typically consist of small camps in both riverine and lesser-order stream locations, particularly at those places also occupied slightly later in the first part of the Middle Woodland period (Barber et al. 1992). Previous archaeological studies in the region have demonstrated intensive use of small tributary streams as well as major river floodplains throughout the Middle Woodland period (ca. 500 B.C. and A.D. 900). Archaeologists have suggested that the Middle Woodland was characterized by “restricted wandering,” in which groups used various campsites for several weeks at a time, obtaining needed materials in the vicinity of a camp and then moving on (Stewart 1992: 12-16). Most Early and Middle Woodland sites located on interior drainages functioned as temporary camps, while base camps (concentrations of several small groups of people) were almost exclusively located in close proximity to rivers or estuaries with a greater range of natural resources.
By the Late Woodland period (A.D. 900-1600), agriculture had assumed a role of major importance in the American Indian subsistence system throughout eastern Virginia. The adoption of agriculture represented a major change in the subsistence economy and patterns of settlement. The availability of large areas of arable land became a dominant factor in settlement location, and sites increasingly were positioned on fertile floodplain soils or on elevated terraces or ridges adjacent to them. With the development of a more sedentary settlement-subsistence system culminating in the Late Woodland period, permanent habitation sites (i.e. villages) gradually replaced base camp habitation sites previously established by more nomadic foragers and hunter-gatherers. Some of these village sites were highly nucleated while others were dispersed over a wide area. Some villages were protected by circular or oval palisades, indicating a rise in intergroup conflict, while others contained both a fortified core area and outlying houses. The more dispersed settlements were scattered over a wide area and characterized by comings and goings within large, sprawling, and loosely defined town or village territories (Turner 1992: 108-114). Various supporting camps and activity areas were established in the day-to-day procurement of food and other resources (i.e., short-term hunting and foraging camps, quarries, butchering locations, and re-tooling locations).

Late Woodland hamlets and villages typically are found on bluffs, terraces, or floodplains adjacent to rivers or major tributaries, places that had enough natural resources at hand to support a large group of people, or provided agricultural opportunities. Small seasonal camps and non-seasonally based satellite camps supporting nearby sedentary villages and hamlets are located along smaller streams in the interior. These campsites typically are characterized by limited concentrations and sparse scatters of lithics and ceramics, reinforcing the sense that they were occupied for a short period of time by a small group of people (Turner 1992: 108-114).

The interior setting of Fort Ward Park near minor stream branches would not produce enough resources to support a large Late Woodland population. The closest known Late Woodland village was at Namoraughquend on the Potomac River (the location of Reagan National Airport) some 3.5 miles from the Fort Ward property. How far afield the inhabitants of Namoraughquend might have strayed in search of resources (deer and other game, nuts, plants, etc.) is open to question and probably depended on the specific resources that might have been present on the property at various times throughout the centuries. Like the earlier American Indian eras, the possibility of finding archaeological evidence of temporary camps established at Fort Ward during the Woodland period is good, but perhaps slightly less than the Late Archaic. Whatever Woodland resources might be present would likely be found in close proximity to the two small stream branches on the property, particularly on well drained terraces with access to the stream bottoms.

While there is the greatest likelihood for the American Indian use of the Fort Ward area to have occurred in the Archaic and Woodland periods along the stream benches, there has been a great deal of nineteenth- and twentieth-century movement of soil. Such activities may have compromised the integrity of the American Indian sites, although some of these types of sites may still survive on the property. An enormous amount of excavation occurred to build the fort itself, and this process effectively destroyed all American Indian sites that might have been located within its 7-acre
footprint. Indeed, the one identified American Indian site consists of a small concentration of displaced artifacts in the glacis of the fort. Outside the fort, much of the property to the north is sloped and therefore did not offer ideal campsite locations. However, the terraces overlooking two small tributaries, one to the west of the fort and the other to the east, hold some amount of promise for American Indian materials, although more modern activity in the twentieth century probably has complicated archaeological visibility and integrity.

Based on topography alone, the three survey parcels to the east of the fort area have the best American Indian potential (Figure 10). However, subsequent use in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries has reduced the potential for intact American Indian sites considerably, meaning any American Indian artifacts recovered in the maintenance yard, the Shorts parcel, or the Old Graveyard will probably be from displaced contexts. Therefore, while the possibility for finding American Indian materials in all four survey areas is relatively good, the integrity of those findings is expected to be very low.

**C. Historic Potential at Fort Ward Historical Park**

As opposed to a more generalized approach to the American Indian potential for each of the four survey parcels, the historic information known for each parcel is much more detailed. We know the sequence of ownership for the lots at Fort Ward from 1884 to the present. Prior to the Civil War, it would appear that the entire Fort Ward Park was contiguous and part of various plantation parcels beginning in the latter seventeenth century when John Carr and John Simpson received the property in a land grant in 1678. Later the Fort Ward Park property was conveyed within a 1,261 acre land grant to Francis Awbrey in 1729. Over the course of the eighteenth century the land changed hands several times, including being owned by William Ramsay a notable Scottish merchant who served as mayor of Alexandria, and later Robert Allison who divided the large tract into smaller parcels for sale. By 1843 Phillip Hooff acquired the acreage that comprised what would eventually become Fort Ward Park. Hooff owned it until the Civil War (Bromberg 1991).

In the years following the Civil War, a legal dispute ensued between the Hooff family and other parties concerning the Fort Ward property. As a result, portions of the property were divided and sold off, and several African American families purchased parcels, prominent among them the Jackson family and the Shorts family. By 1884 Burr and Harriett Shorts owned the land that encompassed the Old Graveyard, maintenance yard, and their home lot, while Phillip Hooff continued to own the parcel containing what would become the Jackson Cemetery (Figure 11).

In 1894 John Jackson acquired the land that eventually encircled his family graveyard (Figure 12). A few years later in 1898 the Shorts sold the south half of their parcel to Clara Adams, which meant that the south half of the maintenance yard now came under the ownership of A dams.

By 1919 the division of the lots at The Fort was becoming quite intricate, a sign that a second generation of community members was coming of age (Figure 13). Kate Stewart acquired the lot occupied by Burr and Harriett Shorts in 1919. That same year ownership of the north half of the maintenance yard and the Old Graveyard was transferred to Amanda Clark. Clara Adams continued to own the south half of the...
Figure 10. Areas at Fort Ward Park with the best potential for American Indian sites.
Figure 11. Land ownership within the survey parcels in 1884.
Figure 12. Land ownership within the survey parcels in 1898.
Figure 13. Land ownership within the survey parcels in 1919.
maintenance yard, but had sold off a small portion of it to the School Board of Falls Church in 1899. John Jackson continued to own the property that encompassed the Jackson Cemetery.

By the 1920s ownership of properties in The Fort continued to change hands at a brisk pace (Figure 14). Clara Adams continued to own the south half of the maintenance yard, and the Falls Church School Board property had been sold to the Diocesan Mission Society of Virginia in 1926, which also acquired the north half of the maintenance yard and the Old Graveyard in 1927. The Jackson holdings, including the Jackson Cemetery, was transferred to Garnett Ashby in 1926. Kate Stewart continued to own the Shorts lot.

By 1938 the properties continued to be increasingly divided (Figure 15). The Diocesan Mission Society of Virginia still held its property in the maintenance yard, but Alfred Collins had acquired a portion of the Old Graveyard in 1937. Casey Belk owned the southwest corner of the maintenance yard, while Clara Adams continued to own the east half of the south maintenance yard. Eagle Crest Development Company now owned the Jackson Cemetery, and Kate Stewart continued to reside on the former Shorts homestead lot.

It is important to note that 1945 and 1956 US Geological Survey (USGS) maps depict a cemetery in the north half of the maintenance yard area (Figure 15a). Although both maps are emblematic rather than detailed, they portray the bounds of a cemetery approximately 200 ft. square and located immediately to the north of the School/Chapel/Young residence (see Figure 15a). What this means is that the mapmakers considered the entire area between the School/Chapel/Young house and the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery to have served as a burial ground.

The cemetery as shown on the USGS maps could be an inexact rendering of the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery (yellow polygon on Figure 15a). Oakland Baptist acquired their parcel in 1939 (see Figure 15), but church members had been informally using the property as a cemetery prior to that time. However, when Lee Thomas Young purchased the church building in 1947 he recalled grave markers located to the north of it, between his house and the Oakland Baptist Cemetery. In a 1996 interview conducted on site, Mr. Young described the surroundings: “There was some graves through the woods [north of the house]. All this was woods right back of my house... Oh, there was five or six graves between that and the other cemetery [Oakland Baptist]” (Alexandria Legacies 1996:13). In a more recent interview in 2009 Mr. Young pointed to the north half of the maintenance yard, saying, “There’s plenty of graves here, 18 and 17... Little short graves... All over the yard... It was all woods then, you know, but you could stumble all over the graves” (Alexandria Legacies 2009:9-11). In all likelihood some of the headstones Mr. Young remembered were part of the Old Graveyard (i.e. Virginia Fitzhugh and W.B. Javins), but we cannot discount the possibility that other grave markers were located south of the formal boundaries of the Oakland Baptist Cemetery.

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9 A few of the headstones in the Oakland Baptist Cemetery predate 1939.
Figure 14. Land ownership within the survey parcels in 1925.
Figure 15. Land ownership within the survey parcels in 1938.
By 1962 the only major changes of ownership in the four survey parcels since the late 1930s was in the maintenance yard (Figure 16). Davis Ruffner now owned the former Clara Adams parcel and the northernmost parcel previously owned by the Diocesan Mission Society of Virginia. Since 1947 the aforementioned Lee Thomas Young had owned the lot in the maintenance yard that once had functioned as a school and then later as St. Cyprian’s Church.
Figure 16. Land ownership within the survey parcels in 1962.