Report on the Excavation of the Washington Farm:

The 2002 and 2003 Field Seasons

by

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The George Washington Foundation

State Site No: 44ST174

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Chapter 1. Introduction.

In 1990, Sam and Irma Warren deeded a 35-acre tract of land to Stafford County in exchange for rezoning the rest of their farm. The tract contained, among other things, the archaeological remains of the Washington Farm, the childhood home of George Washington and his family. Stafford County quickly established a historical attraction on the site aptly named "George Washington's Boyhood Home" and began what was to become a series of preliminary investigations in an attempt to unearth Washington-related archaeological remains. In the early 1990s, Wal-Mart began preparations for the construction of a store on the remaining portion of the Warren farm adjacent to the historic site. This controversial plan caused both local and national preservation communities to mobilize in an effort to stop the planned store. In 1996, the preservationists prevailed with Kenmore Association's purchase of the "Boyhood Home" and the tract slated for a Wal-Mart. It was this purchase that prompted the association to eventually change its name to The George Washington Foundation.

The foundation's original goals for archaeology at Ferry Farm were very similar to those of Stafford County – to find Washington-related remains. Archaeologists continued to collect preliminary data. In 2002, the large-scale excavation of the Washington homelot began in earnest, using the data generated from several years of preliminary investigations. Analysis of the artifacts unearthed by these excavations suggested three prime spots to look for the Washington farmhouse. This document reports on the results generated by the excavation of the first of these spots.

The excavation was directed by David Muraca. Phil Levy of the University of South Florida joined the team as a research fellow and field school director. Paul Nasca

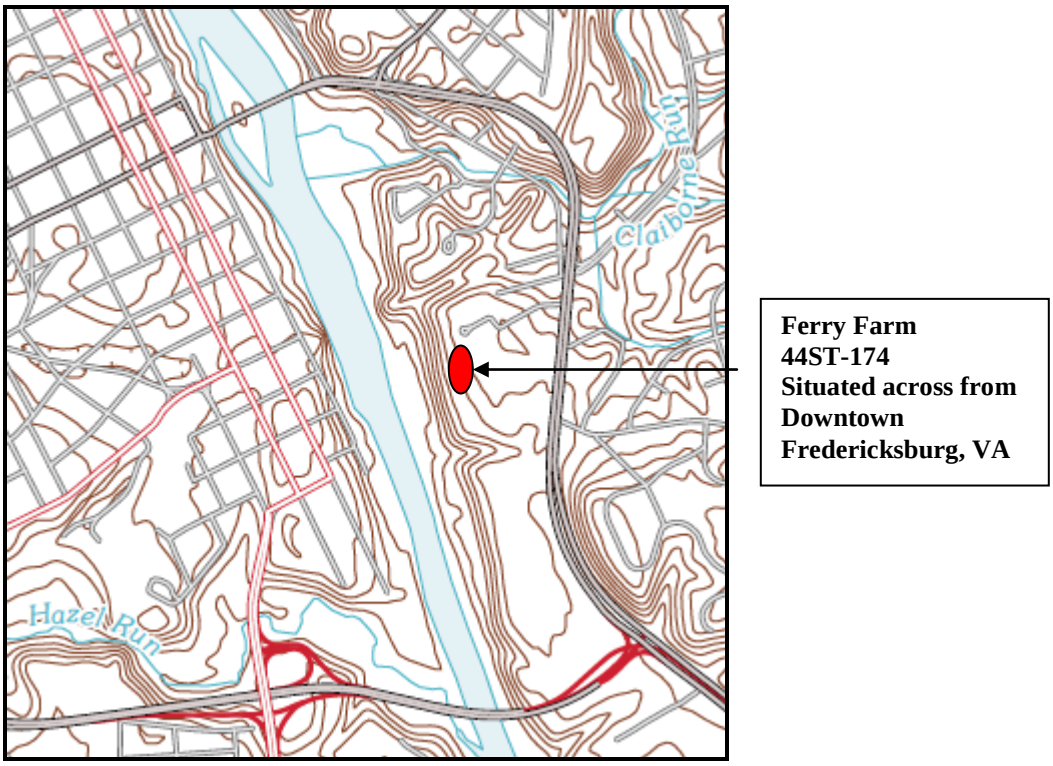


Figure 1. Ferry Farm's Location (USGS Quad Map of Fredericksburg, VA).

oversaw the field work with help from Kate Ruedrich. Anita Dodd and Melanie Marquis oversaw the lab work. Laura Galke analyzed the small finds.

Physical Description

Ferry Farm is located in Stafford County, Virginia which lies geographically in the Atlantic Coastal Plain. The archaeological site is situated on a broad terrace that overlooks the Rappahannock River and its floodplain. The Rappahannock is a tidal river, which is still navigable at Ferry Farm. The terrace experienced some erosion over the years, depositing soil and artifacts at its base.

Figure 2. Infra-red Aerial Photo of Ferry Farm.

Fresh water is found in a spring located in a ravine just north of the site. By the time the spring water reaches the flood plain, bacteria associated with iron deposits give the water a strong odor and taste.

The site has been the home to several generations of farmers, with five boasting new dwellings. Three of the most important farmsteads were established in the eighteenth

century, two in the nineteenth century, and one in the early twentieth century. The site was plowed for a short period during the nineteenth century. The owner of the last farmhouse, J.B. Colbert, constructed an alarmingly large number of outbuildings, many situated on and adjacent to the archaeological site. Featuring foundations made of concrete or stone, these modern remains have had an adverse impact on the some of the archaeology remains.

Today the site is a covered with grass and weeds. The area sports a few trees including Magnolia, Pine, White Mulberry, Crape Myrtle, Hackberry, and Box Elder. The only surviving historic structure is a late nineteenth-century agricultural building. Situated just north of this building are the ruins of an early twentieth-century ice house also built by Colbert.

Chapter Summaries.

The structure of this report is as follows:

- Chapter 2 provides a detailed discussion of the previous archaeology.
- Chapter 3 recounts the history of the property including prehistory, colonial, Antebellum, and Civil War.
- Chapter 4 describes the research design, excavation strategy, summarizes the results of the recent excavation, and offers some interpretations. These interpretations are preliminary in nature; future excavations will not only add to, but will certainly alter, the current understanding of this oft-used parcel.
- Chater 5 contains the conclusions.

Chapter 2. Previous Archaeology.

Starting in 1989, professional archaeologists have conducted a number of exploratory excavations in hopes of uncovering evidence of the Washington Farm. Other excavations at Ferry Farm were aimed at determining the archaeological sensitivity of small areas being considered for construction projects. These projects will not be summarized in this report.

The archaeological site is over 5 acres in size and highly complex. It features several components of occupation, with later ones disturbing earlier ones. In order to sort these occupations out, archaeologists initially used remote sensing and later employed shovel testing. The remote sensors examined 1.6 acres in the core of the archaeology site in search of anomalies indicative of ground disturbance. The results of this survey were ground-truthed between 1990 and 1992 using a combination of shovel tests and test units. When these results proved disappointing, the George Washington Foundation's Department of Archaeology expanded its shovel testing program to include areas outside the original remote sensing survey. This eventually covered most of the site with shovel test holes spaced at 10 ft intervals. In areas where the shovel tests indicated some archaeological promise, larger test units were excavated.

Archaeology Sponsored by Stafford County

Stafford County initiated the first archaeological examination of Ferry Farm. This was done prior to their 1989 acquisition of the 34-acre tract containing the historic Washington plantation seat. This marked the beginning of a commitment to insure that all

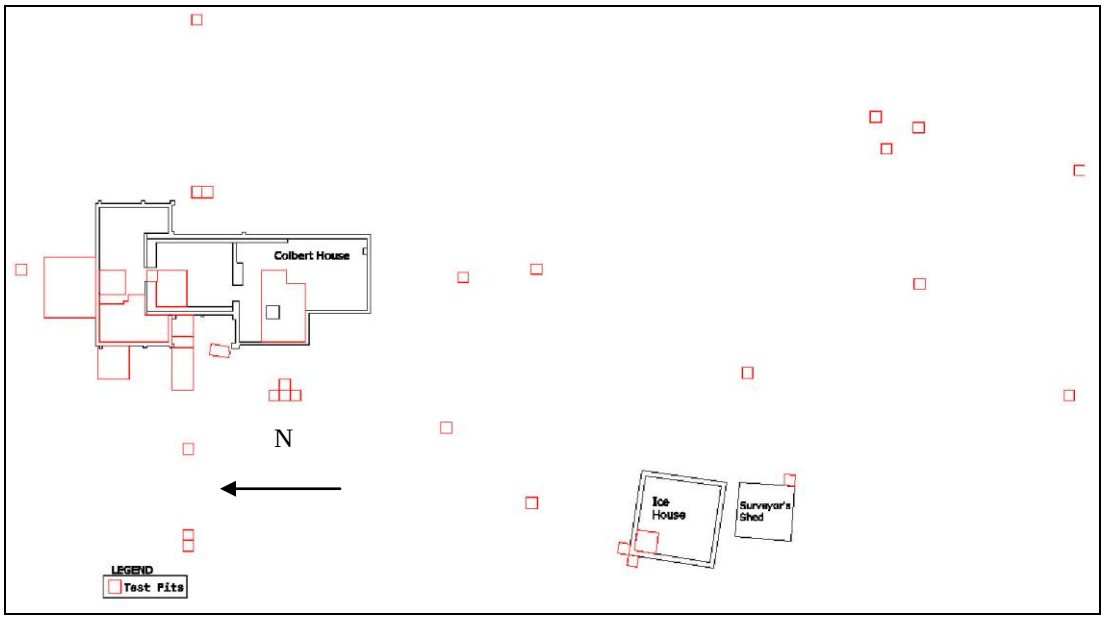


Figure 3. Location of 2.5 ft Test Units Excavated Across the Site.

significant cultural resources would be protected during the future development of Ferry Farm.

As part of this effort, geophysicist Bruce Bevan conducted a remote sensing survey of a 1.6-acre rectangular area centered near the then extant farmhouse located in the area of the Washington plantation seat. The objective of the survey was to identify buried features associated with the Washington occupation of the site, including the house cellar, wells, privies, slave quarters and graves including that of George's infant sister, Mildred. Civil War related features were also sought. Ground-penetrating radar employed a 10-ft wide interval between passes over the project area. Locations of anomalies were further investigated with a soil conductivity meter and a magnetometer. The large number of underground concrete outbuilding foundations distorted the results of the survey, rendering it inconclusive (Bevan 1990:1-9).

Beginning in the winter of 1990-1991, and again in early 1992, Espey, Huston & Associates, Inc., conducted an architectural and archaeological assessment of the area

thought to contain the site of George Washington's boyhood home. This project was initiated as part of Stafford County's broader plan to interpret Ferry Farm to the general public.

The team from Espey, Huston & Associates, Inc., conducted a detailed architectural examination of the standing structures at Ferry Farm in hopes of determining their construction dates and architectural significance. Included in this survey were the extant farmhouse, the late nineteenth-century agricultural building now known as "the surveyor's shed," and the remnants of an icehouse. The farmhouse was conclusively dated to the second decade of the twentieth century (Outlaw et al 1993:8). The surveyor's shed, notes Outlaw (1993:8) contains re-used structural timbers from the nineteenth century. Outlaw observed that the icehouse lacked any defining attributes, making a construction date difficult to establish (1993:8). Current research places the construction of the surveyor's shed and icehouse as 1870s and early twentieth century, respectively (Dodd personal communication). Espey, Huston & Associates, Inc. concluded that "the value of Ferry Farm is in its rich archaeological potential, not it's standing structures" (Outlaw et al 1993:8).

The objective of Espey, Huston's archaeological assessment was to "explore the potential for archaeology to add to our understanding of the Washington Family occupation" at Ferry Farm (Outlaw et al 1993:69). To achieve this goal, the field crew excavated a total of 40 test units of varying size throughout the project area. Specific targets included the surveyor's shed, the ice house, and a large anomalous area identified by the 1990 geophysical survey. A pedestrian survey and limited shovel testing were employed to investigate peripheral areas. Testing in the northwest, exterior corner of the

icehouse revealed the remains of another stone-lined cellar (later identified as the Bray house). Excavation only exposed a small portion of the feature and did not penetrate it. A date of post-1790 was assigned to the feature based on the presence of cut nails and a pearlware fragment that was visible *in situ* at the surface of the feature (Outlaw et al 1993:71). The team also uncovered a colonial period stone-lined cellar situated underneath the twentieth-century farmhouse. This cellar was filled with burned material suggesting a fire had destroyed the building associated with the cellar.

In July 1993, forensic anthropologists from the Smithsonian Institution initiated the excavation of a small, human burial, which had been located by Espey, Huston and Associates, Inc. Ferry Farm's administrator speculated that the burial might be the remains of Mildred Washington, the youngest of the six children of Augustine and Mary Ball Washington, who died at Ferry Farm in October of 1740 at the age of 18 months. Excavators exposed a shallow grave 1.5 feet below the surface of the ground. Oriented on an east/west axis, the skeletal remains exhibited an advanced state of decomposition with many of the small bones completely dissolved. Excavators recovered ten small, iron coffin nails surrounding the burial, and five fragments of shroud pins. Osteological analysis determined the remains were too young to be those of Mildred Washington. Instead, the examination concluded the skeleton was probably that of a stillborn infant. The sex and ethnicity of the neonate could not be determined (Owsley et. al. 1993:1-6).

Archaeology 1996 – 2001: The Schuster years.

In 1996, the George Washington Foundation acquired the Stafford County portion of Ferry Farm along with 44 acres to the south. The Foundation quickly initiated

Figure 4. Shovel Testing during Preliminary Excavations.

seasonal excavations as part of their commitment to research and public education. Investigations during 1997 and 1998 further explored areas around the surveyor's shed, icehouse, and the Washington home lot. Led by Paul Schuster, archaeological volunteers excavated shovel tests at 10 ft intervals. In areas of high artifact concentrations or where features were detected in the shovel tests, larger test units of various sizes were excavated. The excavation uncovered two important features.

North and west of the icehouse lay the remains of a large structure that had originally been identified by Espey, Huston & Associates, Inc. Archaeological volunteers led by Schuster excavated several contiguous test units, fully exposing a 10 x 25 foot stone foundation containing a dark, interior fill of rubble and artifacts. Schuster stopped excavation at the bottom of the plowzone, with the exception of one unit which penetrated the cellar fill. Preliminary interpretation identified the cellar to be the remains of one of the storehouses referred to in Augustine Washington's probate inventory (Schuster 1998:12). Later archaeology would prove this cellar to be part of the Washington house.

Schuster's shovel testing located another deep, well-stratified feature north and west of the burned cellar that had been identified in 1991 by Espey, Huston & Associates. Excavators placed a single test unit in the area of the feature and excavated to a depth of 4.5 feet below ground surface. The excavation partially exposed a deep deposit of fill contained within a depression having nearly vertical sides. Based on the recovery of only a small amount of domestic debris and the presence of sandstone, mortar and handmade brick, the feature was tentatively interpreted as a natural ravine filled with construction debris dating to the mid-eighteenth century (Schuster 1998:9-10). This structure also underwent large-scale excavation in 2002 and 2003 resulting in this report.

Archaeology 2001 – 2011: The Muraca years

In 2001, a change in leadership occurred in the Archaeology Department at Ferry Farm as David Muraca was hired as the Director of Archaeology. Using data from the testing projects conducted by Schuster and the earlier work by Espey, Huston & Associates, Inc., the new team examined the evidence spatially, enabling them to predict the locations of various activity areas, and to classify them by time period. Artifact catalogs from both projects provided the raw data for Surfer and ArcView 3.1 programs that display complex data using easy-to-understand graphic depictions. The resulting plots identified concentrations of date-sensitive artifacts in association with artifacts that are generally considered to be domestic in nature.

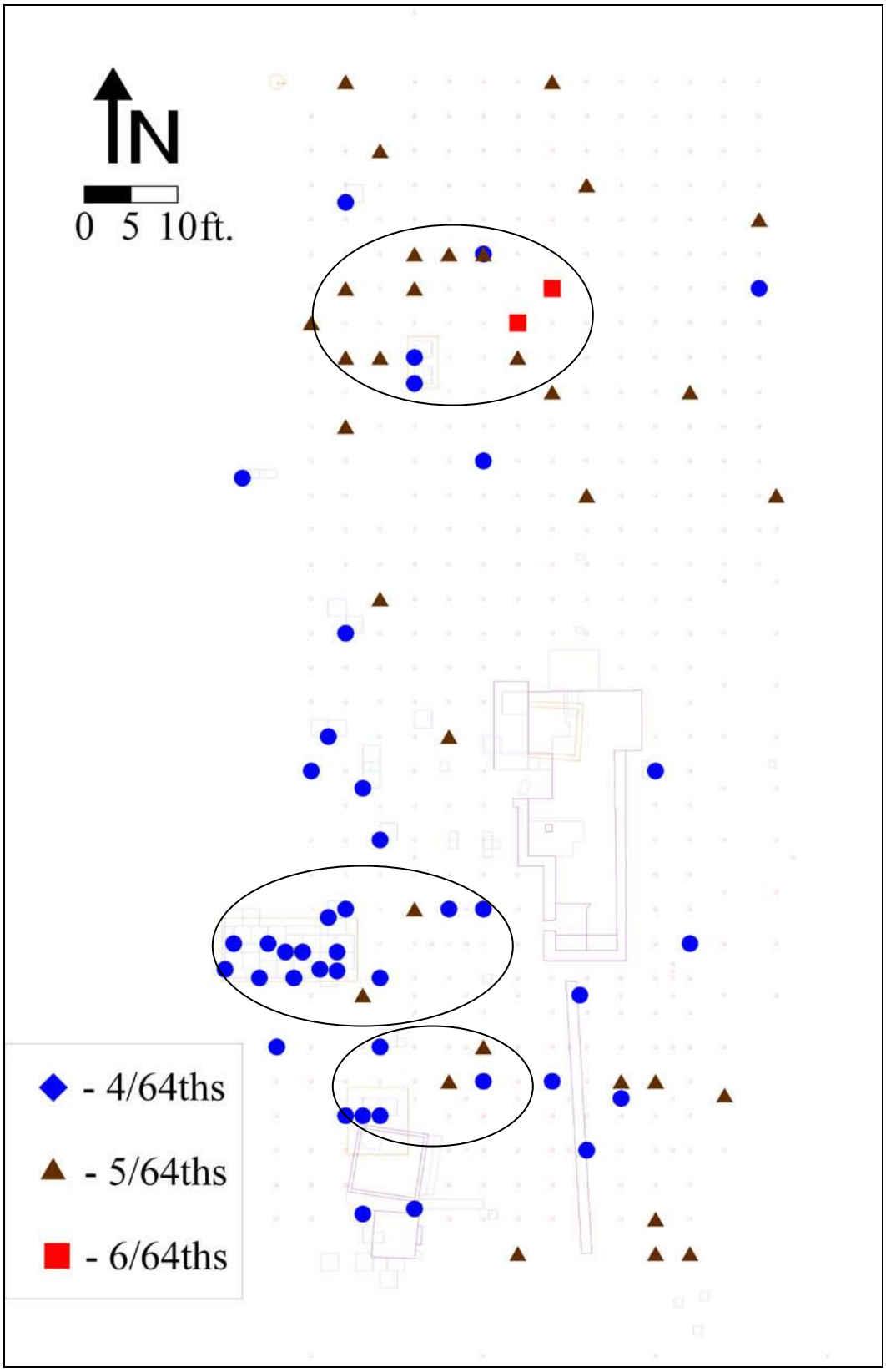


Figure 5. Using Preliminary Data to Locate Activity Areas (marked as circles on this map) Using Pipestem Data. The Clark house is Located in the Uppermost Circle.

The two red squares (Figure 5) show the early pipe stems clustered around the feature originally identified by Shuster as a filled-in ravine. The concentration of early colonial domestic artifacts led to the selection of this area for the first large-scale excavation.

Using large block excavations, a team of volunteers, field school students, interns, and staff uncovered and excavated the remnants of a 300-year-old tobacco plantation owned by a succession of small planters. The remains of a slave quarter dating to the Washington period and a Civil War-defensive ditch were also exposed and excavated (Muraca, Nasca, and Levy 2006). This report describes these features in detail.

In 2004 and 2005, Ferry Farm archaeologists turned their attention to a cellar discovered during earlier archaeology (Outlaw et al 1993). This large block excavation uncovered the archaeological footprint of a nineteenth-century farmhouse and its free standing kitchen. The farmhouse featured a stone-lined cellar accessed by a bulkhead entranceway.

In 2006, Ferry Farm archaeologists began excavating the third area suspected of containing a dwelling, eventually exposing the remains of the Washington House, a support structure, and a large midden of domestic refuse.

Chapter 3. Prehistoric and Historic Overviews.

Prehistory

Native American culture, prior to European contact, can be divided into three main periods: the Paleo-Indian, the Archaic, and the Woodland. The Paleo-Indian stage of cultural development lasted from 10,000-8,000 BC. The Archaic stage is defined as 8,000-1,200 BC, and is divided into three separate stages of cultural development; Early Archaic (8,000-6,000 BC), Middle Archaic (6,000-2,500 BC), and Late Archaic (2,500-1,200 BC). The Woodland period (1,200 BC-1521 AD) is also divided into three cultural stages; Early Woodland (1,200-500 BC), Middle Woodland (500 BC-900 AD), and Late Woodland (900-1521 AD). Each stage of Native American prehistory is marked by notable socio-cultural and material changes.

The Paleo-Indian Period (10,000-8,000 BC)

Debate has long raged within the academic community over the initial colonization and method of human settlement of North America. Current research places the earliest definitive habitation of the United States at around 10,000- 8,000 BC. The most likely point of entry for these first inhabitants of the North American continent is from Asia via the Bering Land Bridge (Turner 1989; Brown et al. 1986).

Paleo-Indians arrived in Virginia around 10,000 BC. During this time, the Pleistocene era, the last of the ice ages, was coming to an end. The climate shifted dramatically, with warmer temperatures and decreased precipitation. These

environmental shifts exposed large sections of the continental shelf upon which the Tidewater region of Virginia is situated. Vast portions of the Tidewater were previously, and are once again, submerged. The forest environment adjusted to the changing climate, becoming dominated by oak and pine. Smaller game animals, including deer, turkey, and turtle, replaced larger game animals, such as mammoth and mastodon (Metz et al. 1998). This climate change greatly influenced the lifeways of the Paleo-Indian people, turning them away from big game hunting toward gathering plant food and hunting of small game (Blanton and Kandle 1997).

Paleo-Indians manipulated their settlement patterns and tool kits to fit their changing environment. They lived in band-level societies operating across a large, relatively fixed area (Blanton et al. 2000). They used small base camps and outlying hunting camps, both on a temporary basis. These sites were generally chosen based on the availability of both stone for tool making (essentially jasper and chert) and animals for hunting. Few Paleo-Indian sites have been discovered in Virginia, the notable exceptions being the Brook Run Quarry Site in Orange County, the Thunderbird and Flint Run Paleo-Indian Complex sites in northwestern Virginia, the Williamson site in Dinwiddie County and Cactus Hill in Sussex County (Turner 1992).

The most common artifacts of the Paleo-Indian tool kit uncovered by archaeologists are projectile points and the discarded flakes resulting from their manufacture. The earliest and most common Paleo-Indian projectile point type recovered in Virginia is the Clovis point. The point is characterized by a relatively thin lancet shape, a diagnostic fluted center, and a concave base that occasionally exhibits evidence of basal thinning. A distal fragment of a Clovis point has been recovered at Ferry Farm.

The Archaic Period (8,000-1,200 BC)

The Archaic period is marked by a slow shift from the late ice age environment of the Pleistocene to the more modern environment of the Holocene. Native American populations increased during this period, leaving behind a richer and more complex archaeological record than their forebears.

Early Archaic (8,000-6,000 BC)

As with the Paleo-Indian period, there is academic debate surrounding the Early Archaic period. Many scholars argue that because it has much in common with the Paleo-Indian period, the Early Archaic should be subsumed into the Paleo-Indian era (Blanton and Kandle 1997; Brown et al. 1986). Indeed, the climate and environment remained much the same as the Paleo-Indian period, with similar boreal forests populated with the same game animals and food resources with the exception of megafauna which was extinct by this time (Custer 1990).

The Early Archaic period also had much in common culturally with the Paleo-Indian period. Inhabitants of Virginia continued to organize in band-level societies. Settlement patterns remained much the same, with base and hunting camps extending over a large, but well-defined area. For the purpose of this report, however, a more traditional approach will be taken in which the years from 8,000-6,000 BC are included in the Archaic period.

Middle Archaic (6,000-2,500 BC)

The Middle Archaic period was characterized by changing environmental conditions. Warmer, moister temperatures and greater seasonal variation led to changes

in Native American settlement patterns. Native Americans continued to live in band-level societies, occupying temporary camps, to search for food. However, the habitats in which they settled became more varied (Blanton and Kandle 1997; Custer 1990). For the first time, Native Americans began moving into the upland interiors of Virginia. There are two possible explanations for this move. The first is related to shrinking group territories due to increased population (Blanton and Kandle 1997). The second is related to the spread of deciduous trees into new areas due to climatic changes. This increase in deciduous trees led to an increase in the number of productive environmental habitats that could be utilized by the Native peoples. It is quite likely that these two causes worked in tandem to attract Native peoples into the upland areas (Custer 1990).

Tool kits also changed during the Middle Archaic period. During this period there was a move away from the use of hard to find quality jasper and chert toward the use of local stone for tool making. Stanley, Morrow Mountain, Guilford, and Halifax points are representative of this time period, as are bifurcate tools. The manufacture of these stone points was of much lower quality than the tools which characterize the Paleo-Indian and Early Archaic periods (Custer 1990). The Middle Archaic period also saw an increase in the use of more informal tools geared toward the high mobility of a band-level society (Blanton and Kandle 1997).

Like the Early Archaic period, the Middle Archaic period left little evidence to guide us toward an understanding of its culture. Enough is known, however, to classify this period as the "beginning of a continuum of cultural adaptation which concludes with the establishment of a network of highly adapted, localized hunter-gatherer communities during the Late Archaic" (Geier 1990:84).

Late Archaic (2,500-1,200 BC)

As previously mentioned, hunter-gatherer communities characterized the Native Americans of the Late Archaic period (Geier 1990:84). Unlike their predecessors, they had the advantage of living in a fully developed Holocene environment with stabilized estuaries and sea levels. This led to a scheduled, seasonal procurement of food, or what is known as a "collector's strategy" (Blanton and Kandle 1997).

Inhabitants of the Late Archaic period established semi-permanent base camps at stream heads on upper terraces, and on the gently sloping south sides of lower terraces (Blanton and Kandle 1997; Mouer 1991). These camps were not permanent settlements, though some were used repeatedly during many seasons. Inhabitants also continued to frequent outlying camps to hunt animals and gather plant foods. During this time, Native Americans became highly adapted to the deciduous forest environment of the Holocene, settling in areas where the soils were best-suited to the growth of large stands of nut-bearing hardwoods. Nuts were a key element of the Late Archaic diet, along with turkey and deer. For this reason, most recorded sites in Virginia are clustered around the base of the Blue Ridge Mountains (Mouer 1991).

The archetypal site from the period is the Halifax Complex located in the Virginia/North Carolina Piedmont, named for the diagnostic Halifax points found there. The Halifax point, along with the Lamoka, Lackawaxen, Brewerton, and others, is highly representative of the period (Mouer 1991). Other tools characteristic of the Late Archaic tool kit included ground stone axes, carved stone bowls, and stone drills.

Mouer (1991) argued that a large part of the Late Archaic period should actually be classified as the Transitional period (roughly 2,500-1,200 BC), a term first coined by

Witthoft in 1953. The argument for this classification is that during the Transitional period, inhabitants of the Late Archaic period settled along, and relied heavily upon, rivers. The Transitional period is also marked by the appearance of soapstone bowls, and "broad spear" points (Mouer 1991). Although the transitional period is classified within the Late Archaic, it is important to note that this riverine adaptation and change in tool technology occurred around 2,500 BC. Large shell middens appeared during this time, supporting the evidence that Native Americans relied on riverine resources.

The Woodland Period (1,200 BC-AD 1521)

The Woodland Period is the best understood of the three major periods of Virginia prehistory. Significant technological and cultural advances occurred at this time. During the Woodland period, population greatly increased, ceramic vessels were first produced, certain plants were domesticated, and inhabitants moved from band to tribal, and some to chiefdom levels of social organization. Like the Archaic period, the Woodland is divided into three sub-periods.

Early Woodland (1,200-500 BC)

The Early Woodland saw the expansion and intensification of the Native American's subsistence base (Hodges 1991). Several significant changes occurred during the Early Woodland period. In some ways, however, this period continued to share subsistence patterns characteristic of the Late Archaic, especially with the reliance on riverine resources, particularly fish and oysters.

In this period, Native Americans moved toward more sedentary living, although they continued to use temporary hunting camps in outlying areas (Blanton and Kandle

1997; Hodges 1991; Mouer 1991). Some groups began to use more circumscribed territories. Mouer (1991) argued that some social communities had buffer zones, not settled by any particular population, but used by a variety of groups, separating one "territory" from another. It is also likely that during this time more extensive trade networks were developed over larger areas, with active exchange occurring between communities within these newly developed buffer zones (Blanton and Kandle 1997; Mouer 1991).

Essential to the characterization of the Early Woodland was the introduction of ceramic bowls. This technology provided a solid material departure from the Late Archaic period. The nomenclature and technical distinctions between different ware types is quite complex and beyond the scope of this summary, but coil-built, cord-marked, sand- and/or soapstone-tempered ceramics are common finds on Early Woodland archaeological sites (Mouer 1991).

The predominant local ceramic for this period is known as Accokeek Ware. It is sand tempered and sometimes quartz tempered with cord-marked surfaces. This ceramic was produced between c.1,100 and 500 BC.

Middle Woodland (500 BC- AD 900)

During the Middle Woodland period, the Native American populations of Virginia began organizing into tribal-level rather than band-level societies. This was by far the most significant transition that occurred during this period. Many of the cultural traits we recognize as "Native American" came into existence during this middle phase of the Woodland period.

During this time, relatively extensive trade networks in ceramics and stone (for tool production) developed across Virginia. The Piedmont region of Virginia is part of a pan-Mid-Atlantic culture, characterized by similar ceramic patterns commonly found on sites from Maryland to the James River. This continuity argues for a degree of cultural homogeneity, perhaps caused by the use of ceramic distribution to foster inter-group cooperation (Blanton and Kandle 1997; McLearen 1992; Stewart 1992). This indicates a much more highly developed trade and communication network than was seen in the Archaic or Early Woodland periods.

Subsistence patterns remained much the same as in the Early Woodland with continued heavy reliance on local plants, small game, fish, and oysters from local rivers. For the first time, inhabitants of the Middle Woodland began to selectively nurture, or possibly even domesticate, local plants (Blanton and Kandle 1997; Stewart 1992). The domestication of plants, although rudimentary, was essential to development of the more intensive agriculture in the Late Woodland period.

Settlement patterns varied only slightly from those of the Early Woodland. People continued to live in semi-sedentary base camps with satellite collector sites (Blanton and Kandle 1997). The larger base camps were located in settings where a variety of plant and animal resources were readily available, often near a salt/fresh water interface. The smaller satellite camps were then placed along streams and used for collecting during various times of the year. Populations of each group, or "tribe," were supervised by an achieved-status "Big Man" who managed their communal subsistence projects (Stewart 1992).

Late Woodland (AD 900-1521)

The Late Woodland is the best understood of all Virginia's pre-contact periods. During this time Native Americans moved toward sedentary village life, and established first, a tribal level of social organization, then later in the period, a chiefdom.

According to Turner (1992), the Late Woodland is best characterized as a period of rapid change. The period saw "an increase in the importance of agriculture and local lifeways accompanied by increased population, larger sedentary villages, and increasingly complex means of social integration" (Turner 1992). Throughout much of the period, native populations lived in tribal organizations, with groups of 1,000 or fewer, residing most of the year in sedentary villages. It was not until near the end of the period that chiefdom-level societies began to emerge (Blanton and Kandle 1997).

Economically, the inhabitants of the Late Woodland established a sophisticated collector system based on hunter-gatherer technology, augmented by agriculture, and a highly-refined understanding of local resources and their availability. Native Americans planted beans, pumpkins, squash, and maize, using a form of agriculture known as "swidden," in which fields were cleared from the forest and used on a rotating basis (Blanton and Kandle 1997; Turner 1992). With the rise of chiefdoms came a more complex society and increased population. Cultivated plants and animal resources were not only important for their nutritional value, but items such as deerskins and mussel shells became important as statements of wealth. By the end of the Woodland period, smoked oysters were being used as trade and tribute (Barfield and Barber 1992).

Quartz-tempered wares dominated the Late Woodland period. There was greater ceramic variability throughout Virginia's Coastal Plain, although quartz-tempered Potomac Creek ware was common throughout the region.

Historical Overview

Documents reveal a number of landowners for the land that now makes up Ferry Farm. The 120 acres that now are part of the museum's holdings are just a tiny part of a 2000-acre land patent claimed in 1666 by land speculator Colonel John Catlett. This acreage was just one of several large parcels he acquired in frontier Virginia before his death in 1670 at the hands of Indians (Nugent 1992). On September 6, 1668, Catlett sold his holdings to fellow land speculators, William and Leonard Claiborne. Later that year, the Rev. John Waugh, Clerk of Stafford, bought the entire tract. By 1688, Waugh had a tenant situated somewhere on the parcel, but not on the Ferry Farm acreage (Jones 1999). In 1692, Waugh divided the 2000-acre tract into five, distinct parcels, with Dr. Edward Maddox purchasing 550-acres that make up Ferry Farm's acreage. Maddox's last will and testament indicates he did not live on this tract, but was instead situated on a 400-to-500-acre tract on Passapantanzy Creek (G.H.S. King 1961:180). The absence of diagnostic, seventeenth-century artifacts (including locally-manufactured tobacco pipes, and the turned lead used to hold glass casement windows in place) at Ferry Farm supports the interpretation that no tenants were living here during this early period. In 1694, Dr. Maddox died and his Rappahannock holdings were subdivided into three parcels. John Hamilton inherited the 150 acres that contains today's Ferry Farm acreage (G.H.S. King 1961:179).

Records show that in 1681, an indentured servant named John Hamilton arrived in Virginia (Nugent 1977). It is possible that this indentured servant is the same individual who inherited the Ferry Farm tract in 1694. It is also possible that John Hamilton built the dwelling excavated in 2002/3. Hamilton did not make much of an impact on the historical

record. With no titles, offices, or land grants, and possessing less than 400 acres, Hamilton was a small planter. It is unclear when Hamilton died, but he left no heirs and the property reverted to the proprietor (various members of the Culpeper and Fairfax families) who had controlled this region before Catlett received the original land patent (Nugent 1977, Jones 1999).

By 1710, Maurice (alternative spelling Morris) Clark had purchased the Ferry Farm land from the proprietor, only to die six months later. Clark made little impact on the historical record, but his impact on the archaeological record is pronounced. At the time of his death, Clark owned two tracts of land (150 and 75 acres) and was living at Ferry Farm (Richmond County Will Book 5:40). Clark's will, which survives today, provides the first details about the earliest years of the plantation at Ferry Farm. The document contains the first reference to a house on the property. There are no wives, children, or slaves listed, but an indentured servant is said to be living on the property with Clark. In addition to land, Clark owned livestock and at least two horses. Clark claimed no title or office, and he too was a small planter (Richmond County Will Book 5:40).

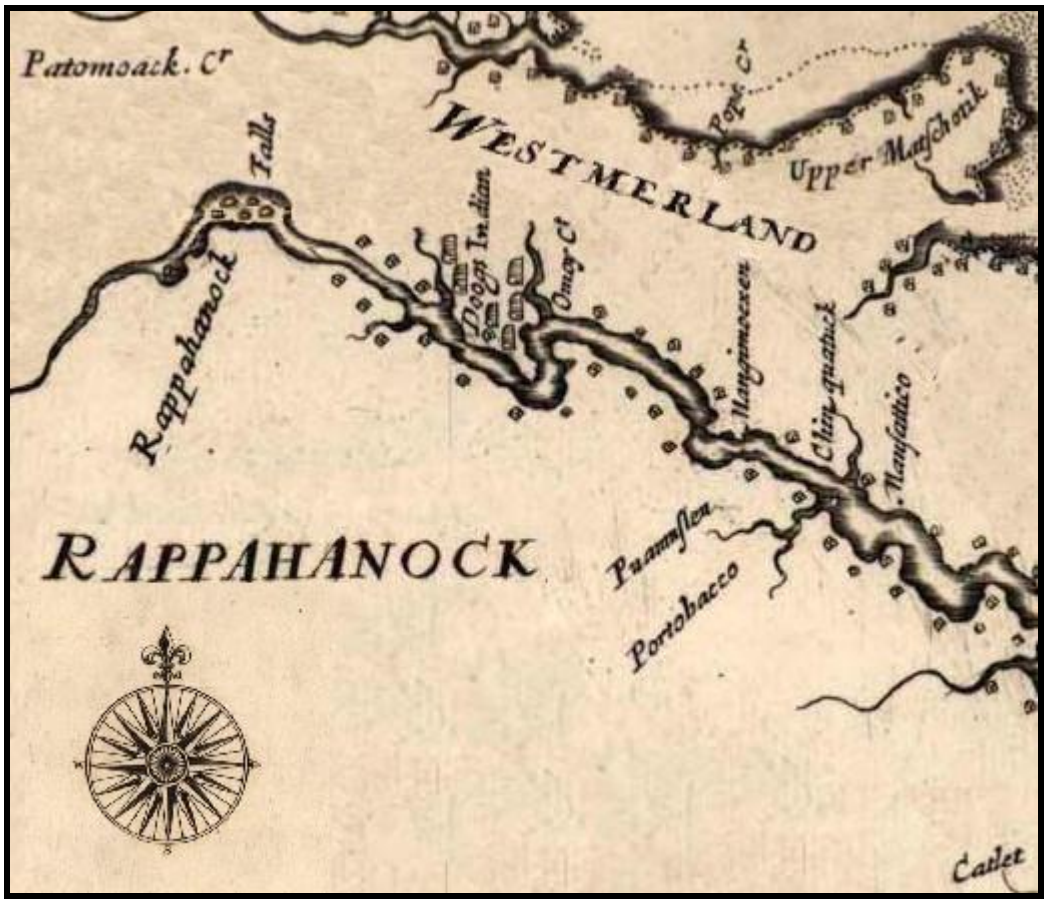
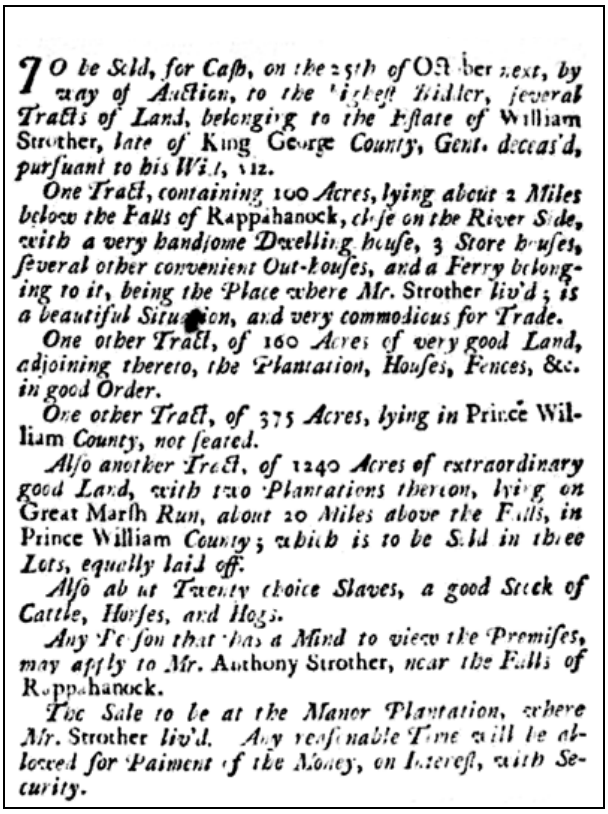


Figure 6. Detail of 1673 Hermann Map Detailing Settlements Near What Would Become Fredericksburg.

Clark's will split his Rappahannock holdings in two, with the Ferry Farm acreage going to Peter Waterson. Two Peter Watersons were claimed as headrights in colonial Virginia. The first Peter Waterson arrived around 1668 in the eastern portion of the colony. The second and more likely candidate for owner of Ferry Farm is the Peter Waterson who landed in the nearby Northern Neck in 1703 (Nugent 1977). He was most likely indentured upon his arrival, but his contract would have been completed by 1710, as most indenture contracts were for 4 or 5 years. Once again, with no references to titles,



TO be Sold, for Cash, on the 25th of October next, by way of Auction, to the highest Bidder, several Tracts of Land, belonging to the Estate of William Strother, late of King George County, Gent. deceas'd, pursuant to his Will, viz.

One Tract, containing 100 Acres, lying about 2 Miles below the Falls of Rappahanock, close on the River Side, with a very handsome Dwelling house, 3 Store houses, several other convenient Out-houses, and a Ferry belonging to it, being the Place where Mr. Strother liv'd; is a beautiful Situation, and very commodious for Trade.

One other Tract, of 160 Acres of very good Land, adjoining thereto, the Plantation, Houses, Fences, &c. in good Order.

One other Tract, of 375 Acres, lying in Prince William County, not seated.

Also another Tract, of 1240 Acres of extraordinary good Land, with two Plantations thereon, lying on Great Marsh Run, about 20 Miles above the Falls, in Prince William County; which is to be Sold in three Lots, equally laid off.

Also about Twenty choice Slaves, a good Stock of Cattle, Horses, and Hogs.

Any Person that has a Mind to view the Premises, may apply to Mr. Anthony Strother, near the Falls of Rappahanock.

The Sale to be at the Manor Plantation, where Mr. Strother liv'd. Any reasonable Time will be allowed for Paiment of the Money, on Interest, with Security.

Figure 7. Ad Offering the Strother Farm for Sale.

offices, or land grants, Waterson was a small planter (Jones 1999). There is little known about this man.

From this point, the chain of title is broken until William Strother purchased the property from Thomas Harwood and John Hartshorn in 1727 and 1732 respectively. Only two documents survive that mention Harwood and Hartshorn, and these are the deeds that transfer this land to William Strother. Neither man was an officeholder nor did they hold title, but both were married. It is hard to classify these planters given the lack of information about them, but they were most likely small or middling planters (Jones 1999).

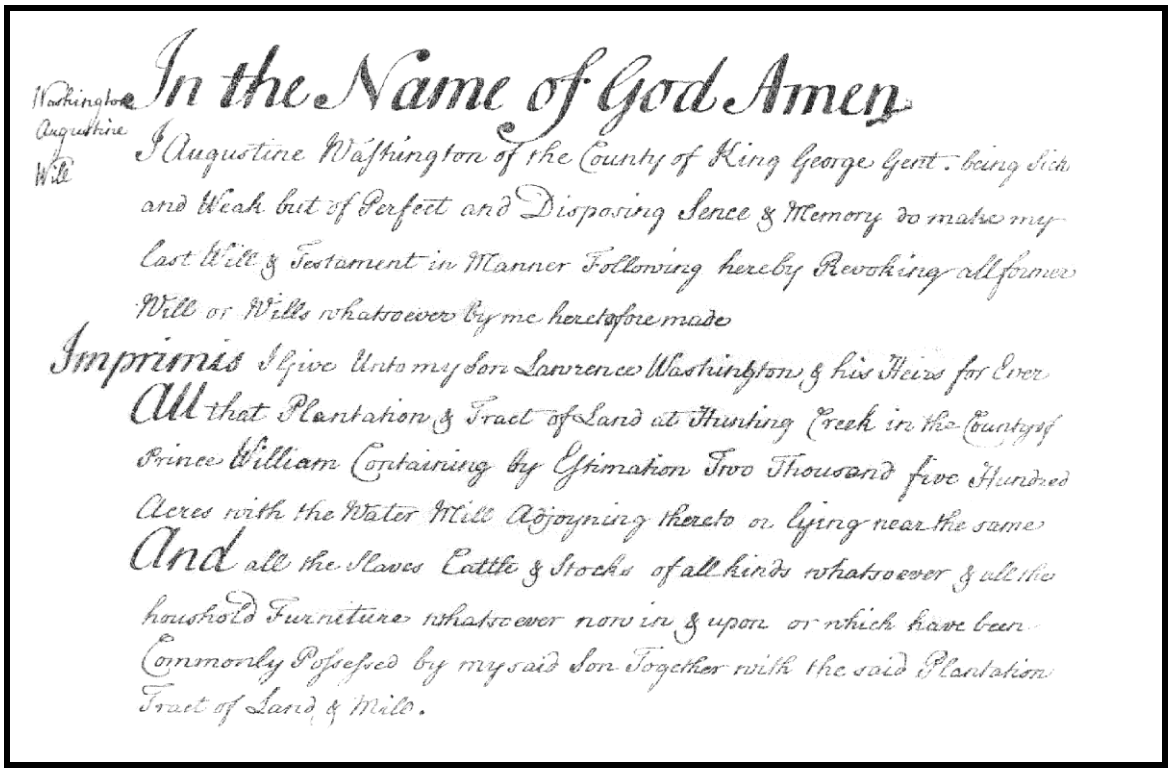
William Strother recombined most of the 550-acre tract when he purchased 165 acres from Alice Cale in 1729 and 150 acres from Harwood and Hartshorn. Strother was

a lawyer and a Burgess for the newly-formed King George County. He soon built a house and several outbuildings on the property, only to die in 1733 (Felder 1998). Strother's widow and six daughters were forced to auction the property. The advertisement placed by the Strother estate described the plantation as "a very handsome dwelling house, 3 Store houses, several other convenient Outhouses and a ferry belonging to it," (Virginia Gazette 1738). Strother's probate inventory details the interior divisions of the house as a hall, parlor, passage, and hall back room (King George County Order Book (2)).

The Washington Occupancy

Details about the Washington's years at Ferry Farm originate from personal letters, newspaper ads, and interactions with the legal system. Additional information comes from David Humphreys' "*Life of General Washington*" with George Washington's "Remarks" (Zagarri 1991). Mason Weems (Cunliffe eds. 1962) also commented about George's early life, but his anecdotes are not used in this summary. George's father, Augustine Washington, was living at his Pope's Creek plantation when his first wife Jane Butler died in 1729. Their marriage produced two sons who survived childhood – Lawrence and Austin. In 1731, Augustine married Mary Ball and would eventually have six children with her. He moved to Ferry Farm in the fall of 1738 with Mary, and their four young children. George Washington was just six years old (King George County Deed Book 2:220-224; King George County Deed Book 2:272).

Augustine Washington held local office, owned several plantations, and was the managing partner of the Accokeek Creek Iron Furnace located about six miles from Ferry


Washington Augustine Will

In the Name of God Amen

I Augustine Washington of the County of King George Gent. being Sick and Weak but of Perfect and Disposing Sence & Memory do make my Last Will & Testament in Manner Following hereby Revoking all former Will or Wills whatsoever by me heretofore made

Imprimis I Give Unto my Son Lawrence Washington & his Heirs for Ever All that Plantation & Tract of Land at Hunting Creek in the County of Prince William Containing by Estimation Two Thousand five Hundred Acres with the Water Mill Adjoyning thereto or lying near the same And all the Slaves Cattle & Stocks of all kinds whatsoever & all the household Furniture whatsoever now in & upon or which have been Commonly Possessed by my said Son Together with the said Plantation Tract of Land & Mill.

Figure 8. A Portion of Augustine Washington's Will.

Farm. While prominent on the county level, Augustine never reached the highest level of distinction in Virginia society.

Once established at Ferry Farm, the Washingtons experienced a series of setbacks. In 1740, 18-month old daughter Mildred died. Around the same time, the Washington dwelling caught fire. The family was forced to move into the plantation's kitchen for a period until the house could be repaired (Douglass Letter to George Washington 1795; R.I.Yates letter to Augustine Washington in Conway 1892:68; Zagarri 1991:59). Augustine's family's life was beginning to return to normal by early in 1742 when he was named a trustee of the town of Fredericksburg (Warren 1999). Then Augustine Washington died in 1743 and through his will distributed his lands to his sons. George became the owner of Ferry Farm and a master of slaves at age 11. While

George's half brothers took their inheritance, his mother managed the minor children's inheritances until they came of age. At the time of Augustine's death there were 20 slaves living and working at Ferry Farm (King George County Order Book (2)).

The Washington Slaves:

Jack	£30
Bob	£35
Ned	£22
Dick	£30
Ned	£30
Toney	£30
Steven	£2.10
Jo	£0.0.1
London	£20
George	£20
Jcumy	£5
Jack	£5
Lucy	£20
Sue	£35
Judy	£20
Nan	£32
Betty	£15
Jenny	£12.10
Phillis	£12.10
Hannah	£8

The Ramifications of Mary Ball's Decision Not to Remarry

Mary Ball Washington was 34 when she was widowed, and eighteenth-century protocol would have expected her to quickly remarry, making the best possible match. Eighteenth-century widows were encouraged to marry someone at or above their own social station. As a woman in control of substantial lands, she would have been considered a good prospect for marriage. Mary's decision not to remarry, carried risks, as well as rewards. The dispersal of land to Augustine's grown sons Lawrence and John Augustine degraded the family's income dramatically. While Augustine was alive his sons were educated at the prestigious Appleby School in England, the same school he had

attended. George's schooling was limited to an itinerant tutor and possibly a school run by the Rev. James Marye (Warren 1999). As an adult, George Washington frequently lamented his lack of a formal education.

A letter in 1749, six years after his father's death, hints at the extent of the economic hardship the family faced. In it, George complains to his brother Lawrence "…my horse is in very poor order to undertake such a journey [to Williamsburg], and is in no likelihood of mending for want of Corn sufficient to support him…" (Washington letter to his brother Lawrence 1749).

In addition to the economic burden caused by Mary's decision to remain unmarried George now lacked a patron to guide him in the intricacies of eighteenth-century gentry life. Eventually George's half-brother Lawrence assumed at least some of this role and introduced young George to the Fairfax family, one of Virginia's most elite families.

One benefit of remaining a widow was that Mary retained more influence in the outcome of her children. Virginia law provided that if remarried she lost much of her legal standing with regard to decisions about the farm, rearing her children, and even her own conduct. This is not to say that Virginia custom did not allow for negotiations between husbands and wives, but legally her new husband would wield virtually unmitigated power over every aspect of his spouse's life. An example of the widowed Mary's retained influence comes in the form of an attempt by George's half-brother Lawrence and two family friends to have him go to sea. In 1740, Lawrence had served as a Captain in the militia under the command of General Wentworth in an expedition against the Spanish in the West Indies. Using his connections, he proposed to secure a

berth for the then 14-year-old George. Mary initially deflected this proposal. When pressed to make a decision, she said no. If Mary had remarried, her new husband would have had the final say in this matter. Staying close to home allowed George to pursue surveying as an alternative career.

George Washington Grows Up

Augustine Washington's probate inventory included a set of surveyor's instruments. George Washington began surveying at about age 15. In 1748, at age 16, he accompanied Lord Fairfax's surveying party on his first expedition into the wilds of western Virginia. The connection to the powerful Fairfax family came though his half-brother, Lawrence, who married Anne Fairfax and would eventually provide George with the patron necessary to make his way in gentile society.

At age 17, George Washington was appointed to his first public office as surveyor of nearby Culpeper County. Surveying, like his skills in mathematics and keeping accounts, helped him manage his properties profitably throughout his life.

As Washington grew older he divided his time between Fredericksburg and surveying trips. He was in town in May, 1750, when, while bathing in the river, his clothes were stolen by two indentured servants – Ann Carrol and Mary McDaniel. Both were convicted with one receiving 15 lashes at the whipping post (Spotsylvania Order Book 1749-1775).

George Washington was not the only Ferry Farm occupant to interact with the legal system. In 1750, one of Mary Washington's slaves was accused of murdering another. At the trial, the defendant pleaded not guilty, but after testimony by witnesses

the court pronounced him guilty and he was hanged. The court assessed the convicted slave at a value of 35 pounds and petitioned the General Assembly to make restitution (King George County Order Book, Book 2:670).

On November 4, 1752, George Washington was initiated into Fredericksburg's Lodge of Freemasons. He appeared at meetings between 1752 and 1755. On March 2, 1753, he passed Fellow Craft and at the August 1753 meeting, it is noted that "George Washington raisd [sic] Master Mason." He was also present at the next meeting of the Lodge on September 1, 1753. On January 4, 1755 George Washington attended his last recorded meeting at this Lodge (Fredericksburg Masonic Lodge Recordbook, 1752-1771).

One of Washington's last acts at Ferry Farm was to request from Lt. Governor Dinwiddie an appointment to his first military post, the new post of Adjutant of the Northern Neck. Dinwiddie awarded George a military command shortly after Lawrence Washington died (Washington letter to Dinwiddie 1752).

In July of 1752, George inherited the rights to Mount Vernon, subject to the occupancy rights of his sister-in-law. Two years later, his brother's widow remarried, left Mount Vernon, and leased the property to George Washington. In 1761, he inherited Mount Vernon at the death of his brother's widow.

After the Washingtons

Throughout this time, Mary Washington successfully managed the property. In 1772, following Mary Washington's move into Fredericksburg, Ferry Farm was leased to James Hunter and William Fitzhugh. In 1776, the property was sold to Hugh Mercer for 2000 pounds Virginia currency. War interrupted Mercer's plans for the

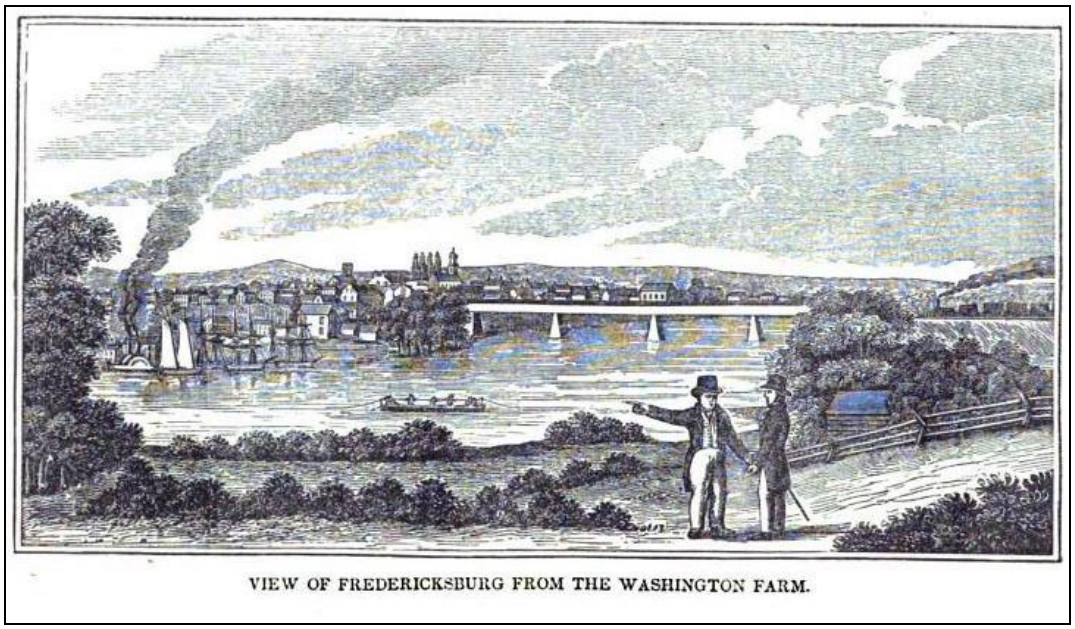
Figure 9. Chapman's 1832 Painting of the Ruins of the Washington House.

Washington farm. Appointed as a Brigadier General, Mercer died from wounds received at the Battle of Princeton in 1777. Mercer's estate tried to establish a new town on the plantation acreage, but failed. Instead they eventually rented out the plantation to Chatham, a large neighboring plantation. In 1826, Mercer's heirs tried to sell the property describing it as the former home of George Washington. They offered the tract at a low price due to the deteriorated state of the property (Jones 2001).

In 1829, the property was sold to Chatham owner and resident, the Honorable John Coalter, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia, and one of the area's most prominent men of his day. Coalter never lived at Ferry Farm but entertained a number of dignitaries at Chatham including Washington Irving, an early biographer of Washington. Irving may have been working on his biography of Washington during this stay. Judge Coalter died in 1837 and his sons-in-law St. George Tucker Coalter and John Randolph Bryan of Gloucester County, Virginia inherited Chatham and Ferry Farm.

Business partners Joseph Mann and John Teasdale purchased Ferry Farm in 1838 from Bryan. John Teasdale was a prominent Baptist minister in Fredericksburg. Mann, a grocer, was in charge of the day operation of the partnership. He and John Teasdale began land speculating and used Ferry Farm to produce brooms and broom corn seed (*Political Arena of Fredericksburg* 1839, *Fredericksburg Political Arena* 1840). By 1840, the Mann/Teasdale partnership had dissolved and they offered Ferry Farm for sale with no takers, and the property reverted to Chatham. In 1843, John R. Bryan sold the property to Lewis G. Sutton, but by 1847, the farm had reverted back to Bryan, the sole survivor and beneficiary of the Coalter estate. Ferry Farm was once again part of the greater Chatham Plantation (Jones 1999).

The Washington house appears to have remained standing until the early 1830s. There are reports that the artist John Gadsby Chapman visited the property in 1830 and sketched a standing structure "described as a plain wooden structure of moderate size, and painted a dark red color" (Chatelain 1935). This sketch has since been lost. By 1833, the house was a ruin as depicted in the Chapman painting *"Fredericksburg from the Old Mansion of the Washington Family."* Washington Irving's 1855 biography of Washington laments that there was nothing visible to indicate where the Washington house once stood except fragments of brick and pottery. Stafford County Personal Property records suggest that the Washington dwelling had been razed by 1833, probably in 1830 when Judge John Coalter purchased the property.



VIEW OF FREDERICKSBURG FROM THE WASHINGTON FARM.

Figure 10. Image of Washington Farm around 1845.

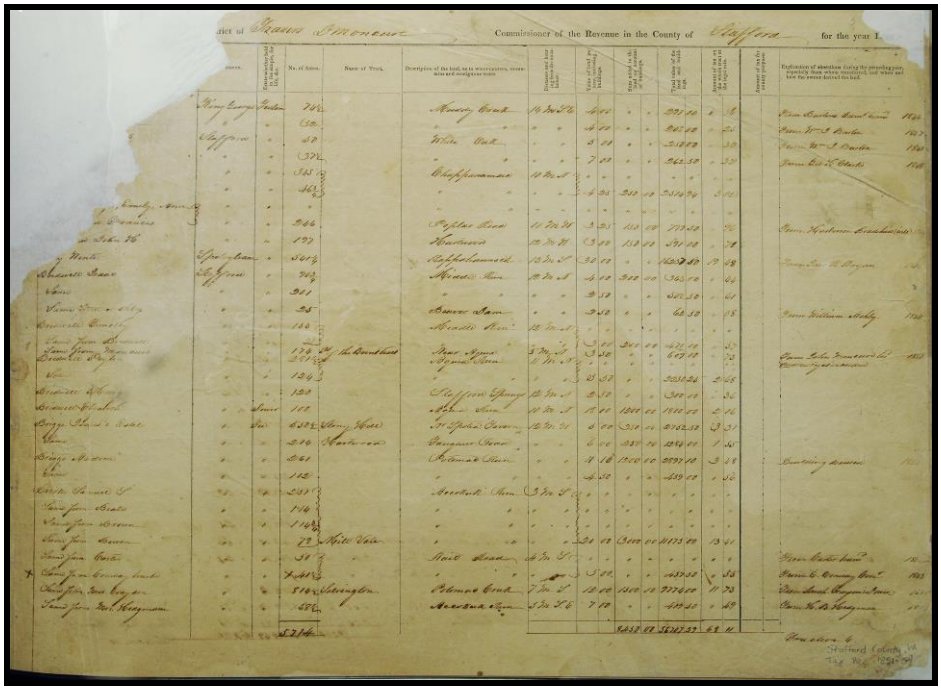


Figure 11. Winter Bray's Stafford County Tax Assessment for Ferry Farm.

In December of 1846, Winter Bray paid $4000 to John R. Bryan for the 542 ¼ acre property called the Washington Farm or Ferry Farm. It is currently unclear what structures, if any, were situated on the property. Bray purchased the farm to be operated as an absentee owned enterprise using an overseer and enslaved labor.

Winter Bray was born on October 19, 1788 in Essex, Virginia. After the death of his first wife and at the advanced age of 55 he married the sixteen year old Mary Frances Dickey of Fredericksburg in 1843. In 1844, Winter Bray Sr. purchased the Hazel Hill estate in Spotsylvania County, just outside the town of Fredericksburg. Hazel Hill was situated directly across the Rappahannock River from the Washington Farm. This plantation would serve as his plantation seat for the next eight years as he was frequently identified as Winter Bray of Hazel Hill (Copley nd). The couple produced two children Winter Jr. (b. 1846) and Charles Robert (b. 1848).

In 1844, county records show there were no buildings on the property. By 1850, Winter Bray had built a dwelling for his overseer and taxes were assessed for this building valued at $150. By 1861, the taxable value of buildings on the property had risen to $400. (Copley nd).

Personal property taxes for the farm steadily increased during the period.

- 1847 – 3 slaves, 0 horses
- 1848 – 8 slaves, 4 horses
- 1849 – 8 slaves, 6 horses
- 1850 – 9 slaves, 6 horses
- 1851 – 10 slaves, 3 horses
- 1852 (the year Winter Bray died) – 15 slaves, 5 horses, 24 cattle, sheep or hogs

Winter Bray, Sr. died on January 15, 1852, leaving his widow Mary Francis Bray with two sons under the age of 21. Upon Bray's death, the Fredericksburg Corporation

Court appointed John L. Chinn, William Pollock, James Thompson and James Seddon to appraise Bray's Stafford County holdings (Bray v. Trible, et al 1882). All of these individuals owned large estates surrounding Ferry Farm. Bray's Last Will and Testament named his widow, Mary Francis Bray, as executor. She subsequently declined this role, which prompted the Fredericksburg Corporation Court to appoint her father, Robert Dickey, as administrator. Robert Dickey died in December of 1853 having failed to perform his duties as administrator of the Winter Bray estate (Bray v. Trible et al 1882).

At an undetermined date in 1852/3, Mary Francis Bray married Dr. John S. Trible, a recent widower from Essex County, Va. Court records indicate that Trible became the court-appointed guardian of the two small sons of the late Winter Bray. In 1854, Dr. John S. and Mary F. Trible filed a Bill of Complaint with the Fredericksburg Corporation Court to hasten settlement of the languishing Winter Bray Estate. The court responded by appointing Dr. John S. Trible as special commissioner charged to sell Hazel Hill and on June 26, 1854, that property was sold to Charles Herndon and J. Warren Slaughter. Hereafter, Trible appears to have made himself the administrator of the entire Bray estate. Later incomes from the various properties were invariably divided in thirds – Dr. John S. Trible, Winter Bray, Jr. and Charles Robert Bray with the guardian calling the shots for his wards.

In 1859, Mary Francis Bray Trible died, and the 1860 U. S. Census for Essex County, Va. shows Dr. John S. Trible living in Essex with his children and a housekeeper. With both parents now dead, the Bray boys, ages 14 and 12 respectively, were sent to boarding school.

Trible continued to be the administrator for the estate until the boys came of age. As soon as they were old enough, Winter Jr. and Charles sued Trible for the way he managed their inheritance (Bray v. Trible et al 1882).

By 1850, William S. Bullock appears in the federal census as the overseer of the Washington Farm (1850 U. S. Census). By 1852, Wyatt B. Webb was installed as overseer at the Washington farm and probably lived in the farmhouse situated at Ferry Farm. Bray's estate next turned to Charles Brewer as an overseer, who with his wife, appears to have lived at the farm. In 1860, Trible hired John W. Smither as overseer who held the position until the summer of 1862. Smither was a widower and appears to have broken Fredericksburg social mores by living with a slave woman who acted as his wife (see below for Union soldiers' reactions to this arrangement).

The Civil War comes to Ferry Farm

On two separate campaigns in 1862, Union forces occupied the north bank of the Rappahannock River, including Ferry Farm, in an attempt to take control of the Confederate city of Fredericksburg. The military objective of each campaign was the same; however, the circumstances under which each was executed differed greatly. The first occupation employed the Union Army's military strategy of a 'peaceful' occupation while the second was one of 'hard war,' resulting in a major impact on the social and physical landscape of the area (Nasca 2008).

In late April 1862, the Union Army of the Rappahannock, under the command of Major General Irvin McDowell, advanced south from Warrenton, Virginia. His military

Figure 12. Map of Bray Farm before Battle of Fredericksburg –April 1862.

objective was to take control of Fredericksburg. This offensive move was intended to help protect Washington, DC, located 50 miles to the north, while the main body of the Union Army was engaged in a push toward Richmond, on the James and York River peninsula. McDowell's forward cavalry advanced virtually unimpeded, as most Confederate forces had been withdrawn to counter Union General George McClellan's advance up the Virginia Peninsula. The Confederates, in their retreat south across the river, burned the two foot-traffic bridges spanning the Rappahannock, as well as the vital railroad bridge. Soon after the Confederate withdrawal, the Mayor of Fredericksburg surrendered the city to the Union Army.

The occupying Union troops quickly established their encampments on the north side of the Rappahannock, including the land at Ferry Farm, and set about the task of erecting two floating bridges across the river and constructing a new railroad bridge.

The Union soldiers encamped at Ferry Farm enforced the Federal occupation of Fredericksburg. Their officers ordered them to respect people and property, and the men, for the most part, followed their command. Local residents, like the overseer living at the Bray Farm, still found cause to complain bitterly to Federal authorities about barnyards raided for livestock, hay stolen for bedding, and fences dismantled for firewood (Nasca 2008).

Federal regiments hailing from New York, Wisconsin, and Indiana passed the spring and summer at Ferry Farm performing drills, pulling guard duty, and rebuilding the structures their fellow troops sometimes damaged. When off duty, the men had time to improve their camp, wash their clothes, write letters home, play games, and even go into town to shop and see the sights. On May 15 of that year, Issac Cooper, a soldier in the 7th Wisconsin, described Ferry Farm's occupants as an old secessionist, his black "wife," and their children. A second account of the overseer and his slave family comes from another soldier of the 7th Wisconsin Infantry (Anonymous 1862). The overseer, John W. Smither, and his family appears to have occupied the house at Ferry Farm.

One of those encamped soldiers was Horace Currier, of Company I, 7th Wisconsin Infantry. In a letter to home, dated May 18th, 1862 he writes:

> *"We encampt [sic] here on the banks of the Rappahannock. Oh it is beautiful country…I think the Rebels will retreat as soon as Richmond is taken by McClellan. We are merely keeping the Rebels from advancing on to Washington. I think we shall be home by the 4th of July…"* (Horace Currier Papers: 1861-1863)

Currier notes the beauty of the landscape, which to this point, had probably changed little since the construction of the Bray house and its associated dependencies. Spring is beautiful in Eastern Virginia, with a variety of flowers in bloom before the summer heat arrives. Optimism clearly rings throughout Horace's writing, alluding that he was still naïve of the ways of war and that he had yet to become a battle-hardened soldier, something McClellan's failure to take Richmond and the subsequent Battle of Fredericksburg were about to change.

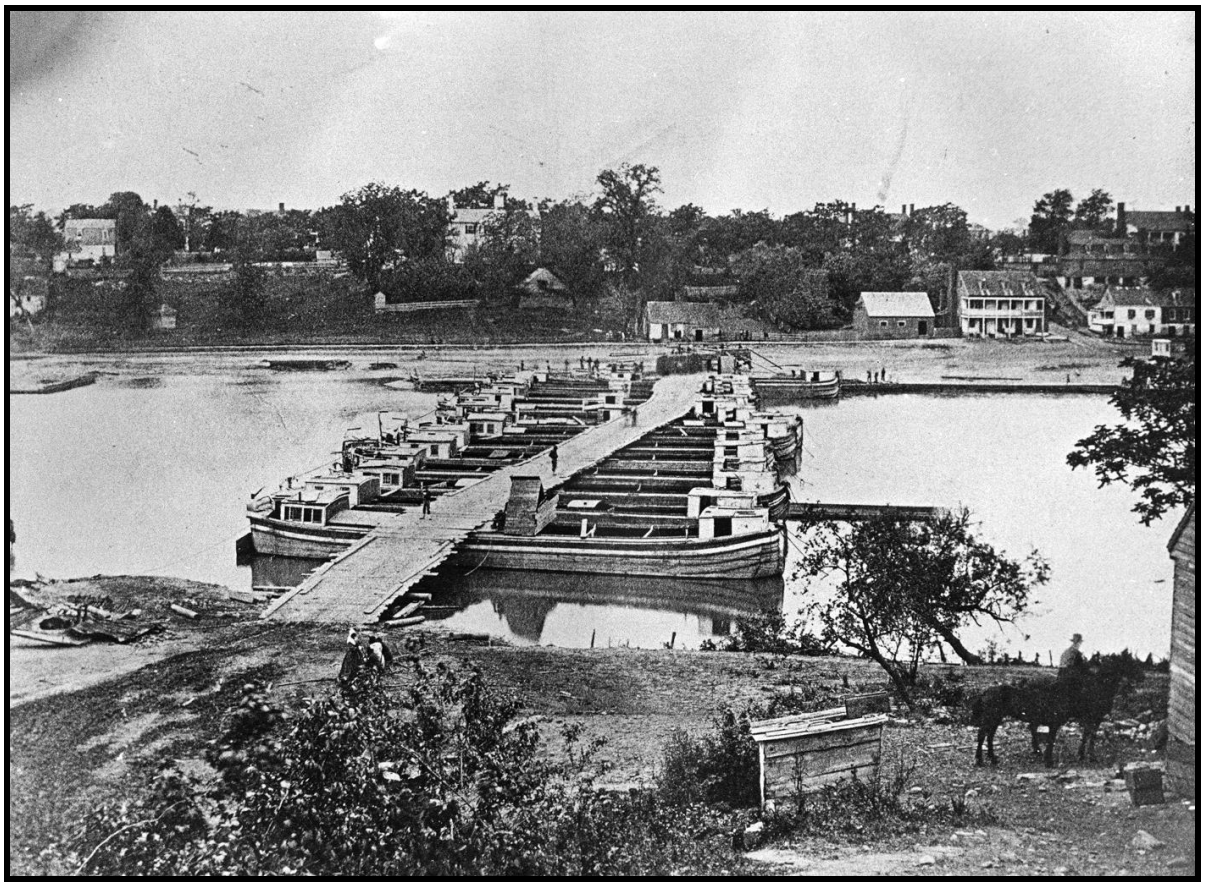


Figure 13. One of the Canal Boat Bridges that Connected Stafford to Fredericksburg in the Spring of 1862, Allowing Enslaved Workers to Cross Over to Union Lines (Courtesy of the Marc and Beth Storch Collection).

Another Wisconsin Infantryman, known today only by his initials D.W., voiced his impression of the local white inhabitants encounter in the area of Ferry Farm in 1862, writing

> "*This country is full of guerillas. Every man is one of them and the women are she devils."*

More importantly, he continues on to speak of the other segment of the surrounding population - the enslaved.

> *"The contrabands are the only people we have to depend upon. They tell us where the Secesh are – never lie to us – wish us God speed – and are of great use to us. They leave here by the car loads every day and go to Washington."* (D.W 1862)

On August 31, 1862, Trible filed a claim with the Confederate government for the loss of the Washington farm slaves. Starting in May, 1862 the slaves working the plantation went into the Federal army lines seeking freedom in the north. In all Trible lists 26 slaves that he claims were lost (Confederate Papers 1874-1899).

Bill	age 65
Ginnie	age 65
Tom	age 27
William	age 18
Susan	age 35
Emanuel	age 16
Ispic	age 12
Jim	age 7
Mary	age 13
Muscoe	age 8
Otway	age 6
Elizabeth	age 7
Emma	age 4
Laura	age 11
Mary	age 50
Sam	age 25
John Henry	age 20
Charles	age 16

William Richards	age 30
Lucy	age 28
Henry	age 16
Thornton	age 2
Ethel	age 25
Braxton	age 25
Sally	age unknown
Nancy	age unknown

Twelve of these slaves were children, with the youngest being age 2. Fourteen adults are listed with the oldest being age 65. Eleven names are female, and 12 are male, with 3 names having indeterminate gender distinction.

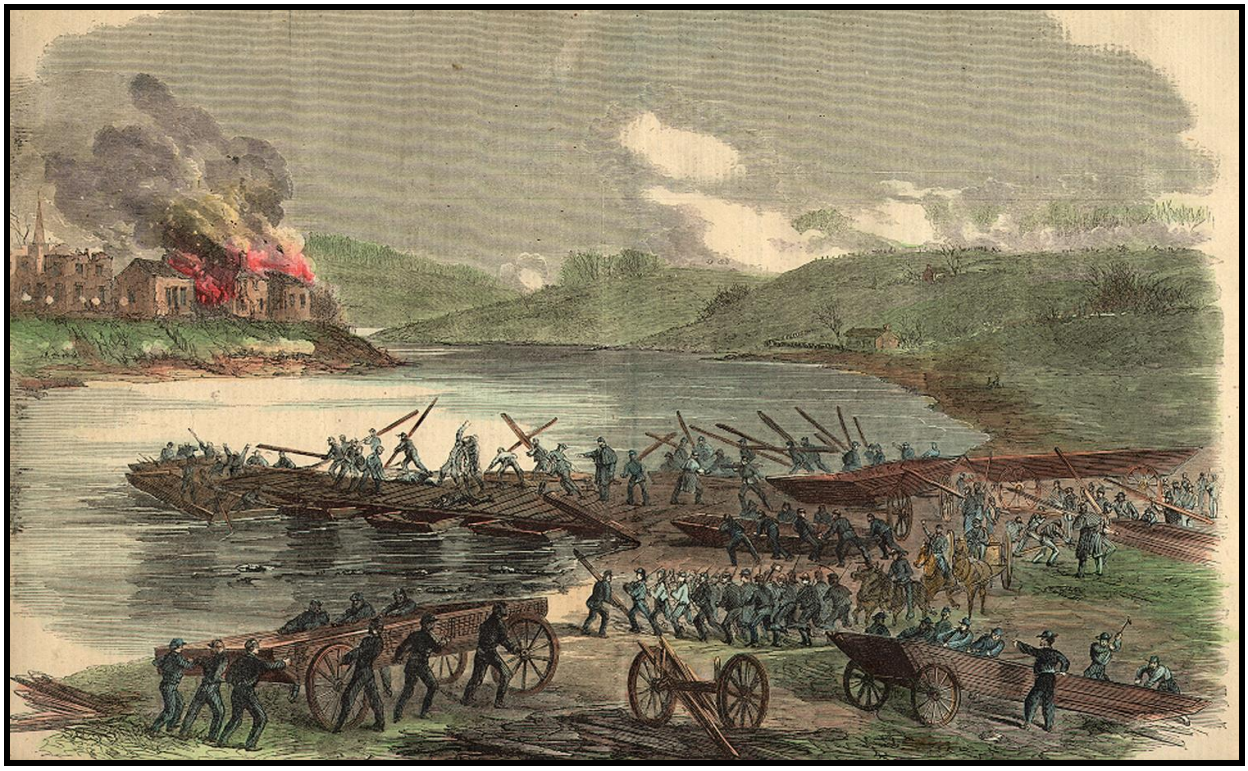


Figure 14. The First Day of the Battle of Fredericksburg (Harper's Weekly).

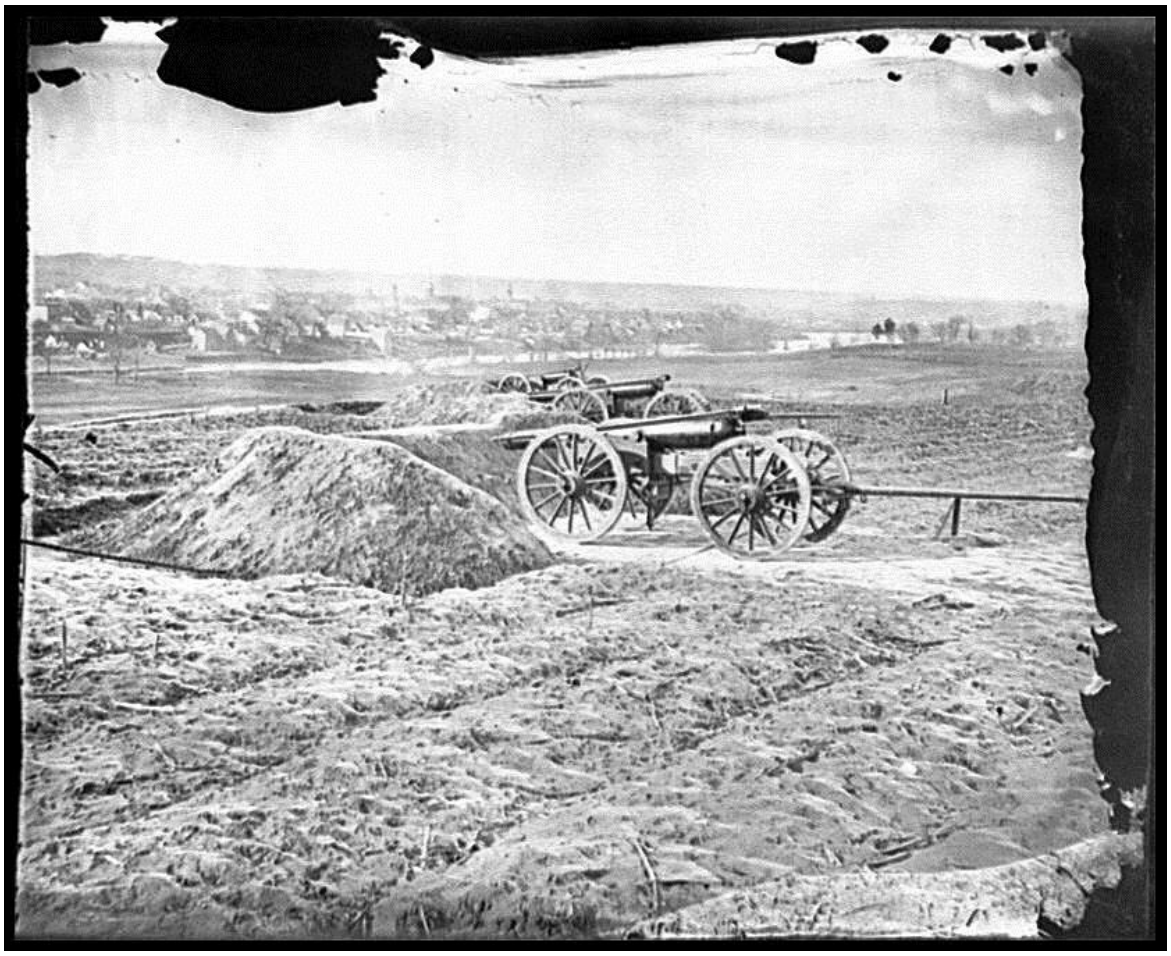


Figure 15. Cannons Situated at Ferry Farm Trained on Fredericksburg (*Courtesy of Library of Congress.)*

The Federals Return – The Battle of Fredericksburg

In August, newly-appointed Union General John Pope recalled the Fredericksburg occupiers to defend Washington. The departing Union soldiers destroyed their pontoon bridges, the railroad bridge they had just finished rebuilding, and other new structures they feared would benefit the Confederates. Apart from the superficial harm caused by their three-month encampment, they left behind a landscape largely intact with the Bray Farmstead still standing.

In November, Union General Ambrose Burnside brought the largest number of Federal troops ever amassed to the north bank of the Rappahannock. His plan was to cross the river and march victoriously on to Richmond. But he delayed his army's crossing waiting for pontoon boats to bridge the river. This pause gave General Robert E. Lee time to fully entrench his Army of Northern Virginia on the opposite side of the river. Burnside's delay set the stage for a fierce battle, which ravaged Fredericksburg and ended in a staggering Union defeat. Badly mauled, the Federals withdrew, pulled up their pontoon bridges, and established winter camp, using Ferry Farm as part of their defensive front line.

The massive Union Army that arrived for battle in November was far different from the modest occupying force that had spent the summer here. Battle-hardened and ill-tempered by a string of defeats, these soldiers cared little for the local's concerns about property. Burnside's men did not hesitate to take whatever they wanted, including trees, fences, livestock, and houses. Anything useful was commandeered, stripped clean, or torn down over the ensuing months to sustain the winter camp - including the Bray farm buildings.

William F. Draper, of the 36th Massachusetts Infantry, recalls his experience at Ferry Farm in 1862.

> *"Our picket duty here was especially interesting from the associations connected with the spot where that duty was performed. The part of the line that it usually fell to my lot to hold was on the old Washington Farm, where General Washington passed most of his earlier years, and where he cut the cherry tree with his little hatchet but could not tell a lie. The old homestead served as my headquarters several times, but it finally was entirely torn down for fuel and to assist in making comfortable the headquarters of the nearest regiments.*" (Draper 1908)

Second Battle of Fredericksburg

Military action was renewed in the spring of 1863, culminating at the battle of Chancellorsville. During this engagement, Ferry Farm was again the location of a pontoon bridge, and the Federal guns overlooking it roared back to life. During this battle the Union Army would sustain yet another crippling defeat; however, Fredericksburg would ultimately come under Federal control. After Chancellorsville, the Second Corp was handed over to General Winfield Scott Hancock who established his headquarters at Ferry Farm before heading out to Gettysburg. In May 1864, the last of the military pontoon bridges to span the Rappahannock at Ferry Farm was in place, and would remain until the end of the war.

After the War

Shortly after the war, the Federals located and exhumed the remains of northern soldiers buried in the Fredericksburg area for re-interment at the Union Cemetery at Mary's Heights. Records indicate that the remains of six soldiers were removed from graves at Ferry Farm. Private Martin Fray, from the 18th New York, age 42, died on December 10, 1862 at a hospital near White Oak Church. Peter Growall, a Private from Pennsylvania 142nd died in 1863. George Kain, a Private from the Connecticut 1st drowned in the Rappahannock River in January of 1863. Frederick Kern, a Corporal in the 98th Pennsylvania, killed in action in May of 1863 at Salem Heights. William McKenzie, a Private in the 121st Pennsylvania, killed December 13, 1862 at Fredericksburg. William White of the 18th Pennsylvania died on Jan 14, 1863.

In 1870, Winter Bray's estate sold 18 acres to Joseph Sanford. Two years later the rest of the farm was sold to St. George R. Fitzhugh. In 1872, Jane Corson purchased the property and deeded it to her husband John. John Corson was from Pennsylvania and may have visited Stafford County as a Union soldier.

Attempts to restore peace and prosperity started with Ferry Farm's first post-war occupants, the Corson family. They filled in army trenches, cleaned up debris, and built a new farmstead that stood into the 20th century.

By 1900, James B. Colbert owned the property. He moved the Carson house and built a new farmhouse on a portion of the cellar of the old Carson house. In 1928, the newly formed George Washington Foundation purchased 160 acres of the land from Colbert. It was the intention of the Foundation to turn the farm into an historic shrine. Unfortunately, the owners were unable to maintain their mortgage, and the heirs of James B. Colbert bought out the Foundation's equity. In 1946, the George Washington Boyhood Home Restoration Organization purchased 50 acres of the original Washington home lot, but this attempt to preserve the property failed due to lack of financial support. Eventually, Samuel and Irma Warren purchased 101 acres, including the acreage of the Washington homelot. The Warrens maintained ownership until they deeded over the 34 acres that contained the archaeological remains of the Washington plantation to Stafford County in 1990 in exchange for a zoning change.

Figure 16. Ferry Farm as a Barren Wasteland. (*Courtesy of Library of Congress)*

In 1990, the farm was partitioned and the southern acreage was rezoned commercial threatening the integrity of the Washington site. In 1993, the George Washington Boyhood Home Foundation was formed in order to turn Ferry Farm into an historical attraction. In 1996, the Kenmore Association stepped in to preserve the property by purchasing approximately 50 acres from the Warrens, in addition to acquiring the tract maintained by Stafford County.

Chapter 4. Research Objectives, Excavation Strategies, and Results.

Research Objectives

The overall goal of this archaeological project is to uncover and document evidence of the various occupations of Ferry Farm, with particular focus upon the Washington period. The long range plan calls for the museum to reinterpret the Washington landscape including structures, fences, plantings, and work areas. None of the Washington-related structures survive on today's landscape. In order to accurately understand and interpret the vanished Washington landscape, a very large area in and around the plantation seat will be excavated.

Because the site is multi-component, remains from other periods will be encountered, recovered, and recorded the prehistoric archaic and woodland periods, as well as historic early colonial, antebellum, and Civil War periods. The Archaeology Department will analyze and report on these occupations as well.

Most of the artifacts recovered at Ferry Farm are situated in the plowzone. By understanding the horizontal distribution of these finds in association with the physical remnants of structures, fences, and work areas, in relationship to major landscape features such as the river, its flood plain, drinkable water, historic roads, the ferry, and in conjunction with the local context provided mostly by the historical record, we will document how the use of this landscape changed over time.

Specific research goals for the excavations in 2002 and 2003 include:

1. ***Develop a better understanding of the social organization of colonial plantations, particularly those of small planters.*** Ferry Farm contains two

distinct farmsteads that date to the colonial period. The first is the Maurice Clark farm which was followed by the Strother/Washington plantation. The Clark farmstead was home to a series of small planters, some with families, and some accompanied only by indentured servants. Generally, the spatial organization of plantations from the colonial period is poorly understood in part because few of these types of sites have undergone large-scale excavation. While the number of projects about slavery has exploded, the other labor group in Virginia has received little archaeological attention, and remains poorly understood. Noel Hume's (1971) exploration of Martin's Hundred paid some attention to these laborers, as did subsequent Colonial Williamsburg archaeologists (A. Edwards 1994; Muraca 1993; Moodey 1989). The 2003 Comparative Chesapeake project (King et al 2006) also spurred interest in the life of indentures, in particular contrasting the lives of indentures in Virginia and Maryland and analyzing notions of comfort. The Clark farmstead will provide a unique opportunity to look at the relationships between indentured servants and their small planter masters and to contribute to a growing scholarly interest in this labor group.

2. ***Understand the Landscape of Small Planters***. A corollary aspect of spatial analysis is landscape study. The scale of this excavation will result in the recovery of the main living area of this plantation including its house and support structures, and will also allow for the identification of activity areas outside the main dwelling to be analyzed. This type of data is rarely available because of the limited nature of most archaeological excavations, which typically expose only the area immediately surrounding structural foundations.

3. ***Analyze the Material Culture of Small Planters on the Edge of the English Empire.*** The farm's position on the tidal Rappahannock River is another attribute ripe for study. This advantageous location on the only major transportation link between Virginia and European trading powers such as England, France, Netherlands, and Spain, meant goods from these manufacturing centers could travel directly to Ferry Farm without any middlemen. At the same time the farm is on the edge of the English empire adjacent to the "wild" world of Native Americans. This tension creates an excellent opportunity to explore the how colonists used material culture to reduce the stress of living on the Frontier.
4. ***Investigate the consumption of luxury commodities in the eighteenth century.*** Luxury goods circulated throughout colonial society beginning in the seventeenth century. Demand for luxuries from Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas expanded in the eighteenth century. However, the use and distribution of these items amongst the various social and ethnic groups that made up colonial society was uneven. The English Empire expanded spatially, economically, and politically, driven in part by the rapacious desire of its subjects to consume an ever-expanding corpus of goods associated with comfort, luxury, and self expression. Contrasting the degree to which people participated in this global market, along dimensions of age, gender, status, and class, and the nature of the products they consumed provides an important avenue for research. This project will contribute to a growing corpus of scholarship dedicated to understanding the nature of this profound, global transformation, which continues to influence world economics and politics to this day.

5. ***Contribute to the understanding of the social relationships between Planters and their Enslaved Workforce***. The past 40 years has witnessed an explosion of interest in using archaeology to explore the daily lives of enslaved Africans. This topic has attracted some of the best minds in archaeology and the scholarship in this area has made significant progress. Current research focuses on architecture (Neiman 2008), material culture studies (Heath 1999), identity (Galke 2009), and folk medicine (Edwards 1990). The excavation of a Washington-period root cellar associated with the living quarter of the enslaved domestic workforce allows for comparative examination with a variety of other eighteenth-century slave quarters excavated and analyzed in the past 40 years.
6. ***Develop a better understanding of the impact of the Civil War on Ferry Farm.*** Ferry Farm was on the dividing line between land controlled by the Union and Confederate forces for a large part of 1862. It also served as a staging ground for Union troops during the Battle of Fredericksburg, and then as an outpost for the camp established by Union troops for the rest of the war. The existence of a defensive ditch its associated berm allows for the study of the landscape impacts of the Civil War on this proto-typical antebellum farm. These remains will also be incorporated into a large-scale analysis of the Civil War at Ferry Farm
7. ***Create a better understanding of the spatial use of the landscape over the thousands of years of occupation at the Ferry Farm.*** The site was used for thousands of years before the arrival of the English. Groups of Native Americans used this area repeatedly as a temporary campsite in order to exploit the resources associated with the Rappahannock River and the surrounding woodlands, as well

as to harvest domesticated crops. Excavations have unearthed numerous projectile points, stone tools, flakes, shatter, and pottery. The continued use of this space over such a vast amount of time provides an opportunity to analyze change in American Indian settlement patterns, climate change, social complexity, increasing sedentism, and resource extraction.

Excavation Strategy

The ’02 (labeled FF02) and ’03 excavations (FF04) employed a grid oriented 10 degrees west of north. All locations in this text are in reference to grid north. With the help of the National Park Service, Ferry Farm staff established two permanent datum points south and west of the site that were tied into the USGS coordinate system using GPS. Using temporary grid coordinates at first, staff archaeologists later convert the temporary grid coordinates into USGS coordinates.

Using 5 ft square excavation units, the research design calls for the use of the open-area excavation technique. This technique requires archaeologists to uncover a site layer by layer resulting in a detailed "snapshot" of a particular point in time. The ’02 season witnessed the excavation of a 1275 square ft block, with an additional 2000 square ft block being opened in ’03. Because the site was machine plowed, only one layer of stratigraphy has survived above subsoil. Using shovels, excavators removed this layer in standard excavation units.

All soils were screened. Plowzone and features containing light concentrations of artifacts were passed through a ¼ inch mesh. Artifact rich-features were water-screened using window mesh.

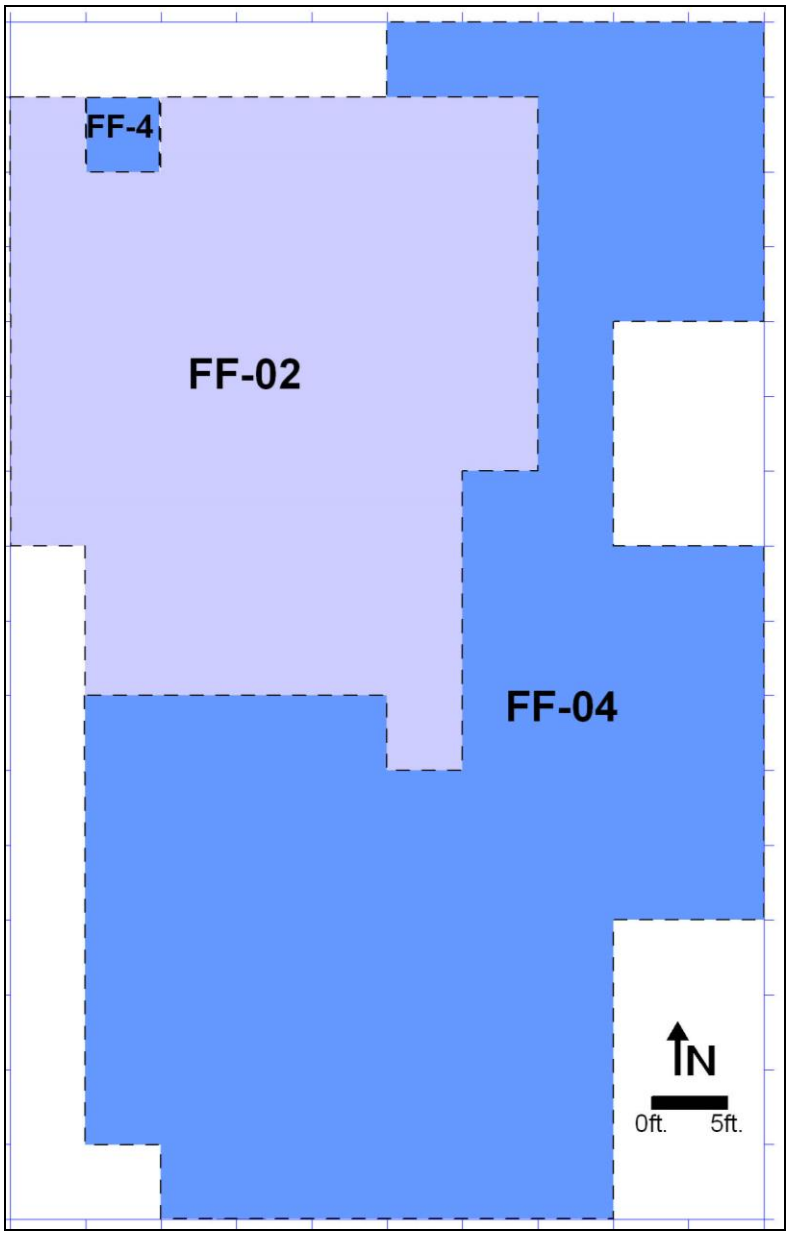


Figure 17. Excavation Blocks FF02 and FF04.

Soil chemistry, phytolith, and floatation samples were collected from both plowed soils and feature fills. Virginia Tech analyzed the soil chemistry, and Dr. Steven Archer of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation undertook the phytolith study. Brad Hatch analyzed the faunal remains.

Layers and features were assigned unique numbers for identification purposes. Information about the physical attributes of these layers and features was recorded using

the standard context form developed by the Archaeology Department. Items recorded include Munsell color, soil texture, samples taken, documentation, and a general description. Features were further recorded using plan and profile drawings, photographs, and elevations. All measurements were taken in feet and tenths of feet.

Once inside the laboratory, artifacts were washed, sorted, identified, labeled, and cataloged. They are permanently stored in the Ferry Farm archaeology lab. Small finds in need of stabilization were conserved by Paul Nasca. Additional information about small finds was recorded in the department's object catalog database.

Results

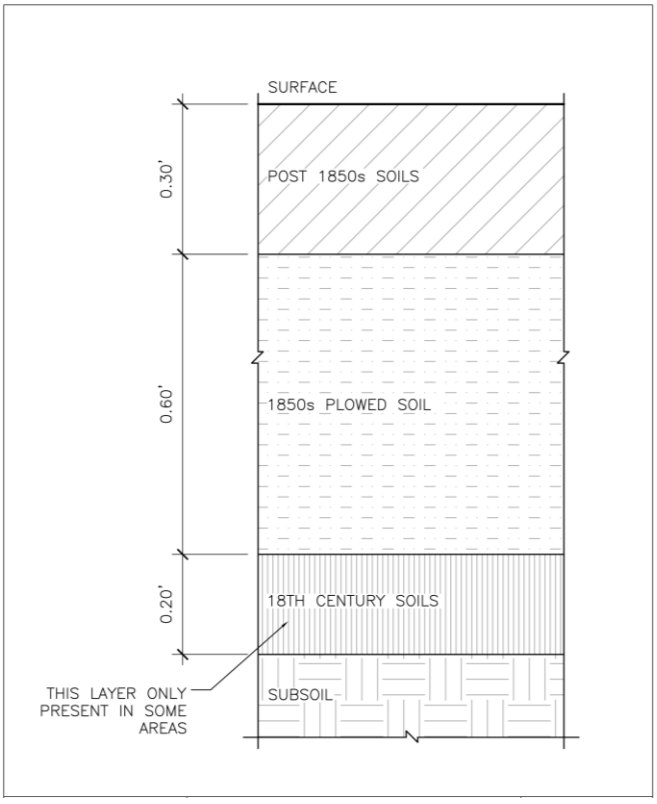


Figure 18. Typical Stratigraphy. Eighteenth-Century Sheet Refuse Layer not found in FF-02/FF04 Area.

Topsoil and Plowzone

In all, 131 excavation units, 5 ft by 5 ft, in the topsoil/plowzone were excavated using flat shovels. This layer's thickness ranged from 0.8 ft to 1.4 ft. The soil was a uniform dark yellowish brown (10 YR 4/4) sandy silt. Small pieces of sandstone were found throughout the plowzone as was coal, oyster shell, and small cobbles. The plowzone contained a large number of historic and prehistoric artifacts. The plowed layer sealed subsoil.

Because over 130 years have passed since this area was plowed, the interface between the plowzone and subsoil is indistinct making identification of features difficult. In order to remedy this, excavators removed the uppermost portion of the subsoil layer with shovels. This material was screened and the artifacts were assigned the appropriate plowzone context.

Prehistoric Findings

Approximately 12,000 of the artifacts recovered from this area date to prehistoric times. Included in this count are 82 projectile points, 18 assorted tools, two grooved axes, one discoidal, and one sandstone bead. All were found in the plowzone or in historic period features. Based on the lithic material collected during the excavation, the site was used during several different temporal/cultural periods. The most intense use is during the Middle Archaic period followed by the Late Archaic period. Based on the small number of projectile points recovered, it appears that hunting was not the only focus of the activities conducted at Ferry Farm. Additional activities probably included exploiting resources from the Rappahannock River and the processing of raw materials. Projectile point types dating to the Early Archaic period include Angelico, Big Sandy,

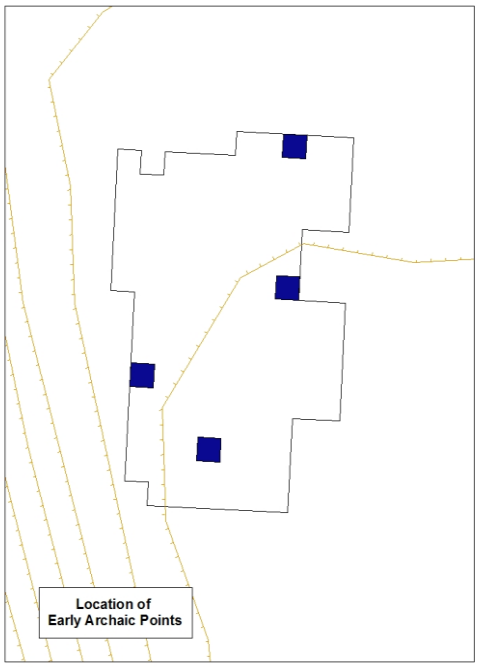


Figure 19. Spatial Distribution of Early Archaic Points.

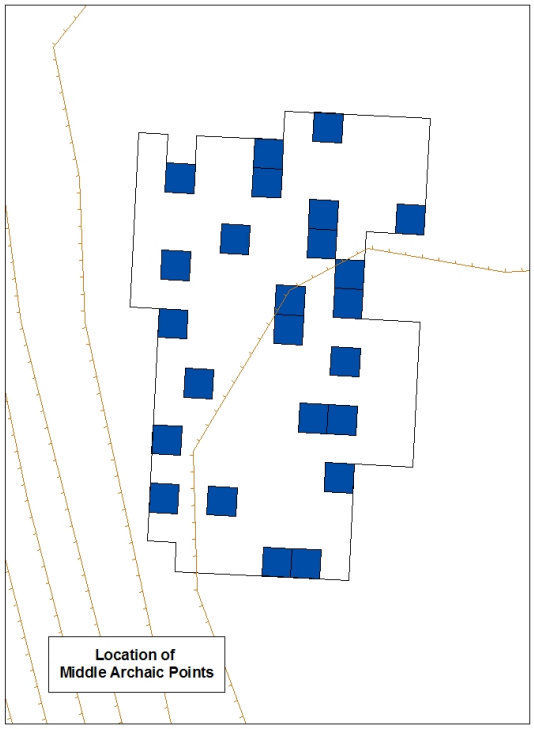


Figure 20. Spatial Distribution of Middle Archaic Points.

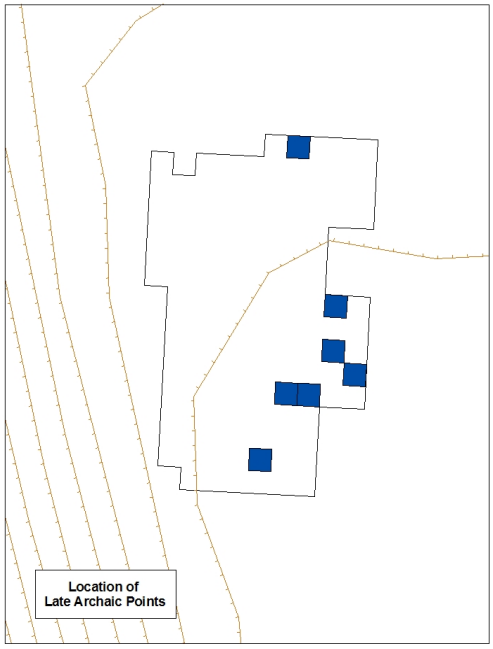


Figure 21. Spatial Distribution of Late Archaic Points.

Kirk Corner-Notched, Palmer Corner-Notched, LeCroy, St. Albans and Rowan Side-Notched. Middle Archaic points found were Brewerton Corner-Notched, Lamoke, Morrow Mountain II, Guilford and Halifax. Late Archaic projectile points include Bare Island, Orient Fishtail, Savannah River, Steubenville Stemmed, and Motley types.

The Woodland projectile points occur less frequently with only a handful of points found within the excavation. Early Woodland point types include only Rossvilles. Middle Woodland points include Copena Lanceolate, and Chestnut/ Elk Garden Triangle. The Late Woodland was represented by Meadowood, Goose Creek Spike, and Madison Triangle types.

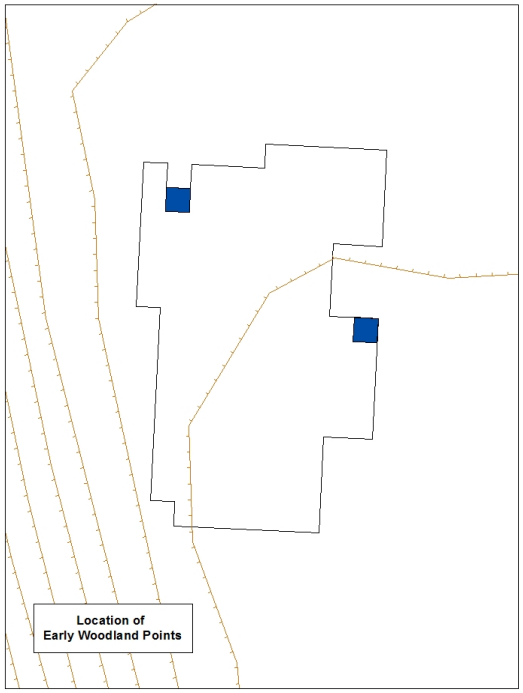


Figure 22. Spatial Distribution of Early Woodland Points.

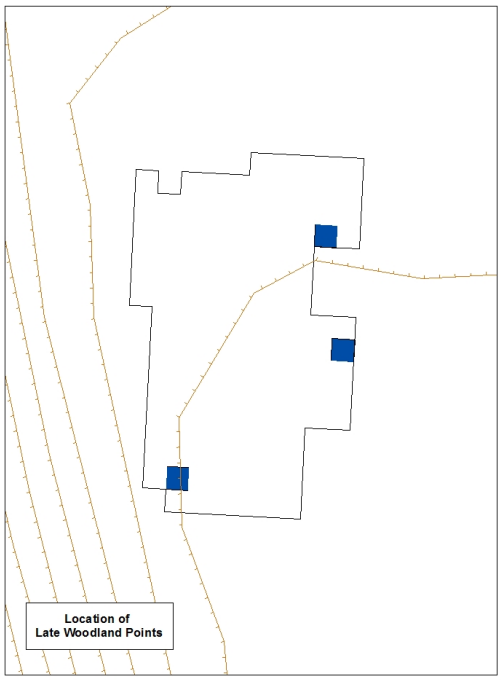


Figure 23. Spatial Distribution of Late Woodland Points.

Historic Period Findings

This component of the site is defined by three structures and their associated features. All are colonial with two belonging to the earliest colonial occupation and one belonging to the Washington period. A major landscape feature that dates to the Civil War was also uncovered during the excavation.

Structure A- Maurice Clark's house

This Spartan structure overlooked the Rappahannock River on a terrace situated above the river's floodplain. Measuring 20 ft by 30 ft the house was originally constructed entirely of wood. The post-in-ground structure featured two rooms downstairs and probably a loft upstairs. Nearby clay quarry pits, the recovery of several large chunks of daub (burned clay), and the contents and location of a root cellar suggest a wattle and daub (stick and mud) fireplace and chimney were situated on the southern gable end of the structure. The fireplace and hearth probably featured a broken brick floor. This configuration would have left the smaller north room unheated. The south room measured 20 ft by 20 ft and contained a relatively shallow 4.5 ft by 6.5 ft root cellar located about 10 ft north of the chimney. This room featured a packed dirt floor, indicating an interrupted sill construction technique. This was the main living space for the farm's residents. The smaller north room measured 20 ft by 10 ft and featured a 5 ft deep, 13 ft by 10 ft rectangular cellar. The presence of this cellar indicates a wooden floor was in place in this room. A single structural post was discovered at the bottom of the north side of the cellar. The posthole was small measuring only 1.3 by 1.0 ft. The

Figure 24. Aerial View of FF02 and FF04.

postmold was relatively large and oval shaped. It measured slightly 1.0 by 0.9 ft and cut subsoil to a depth of 1.0 ft. This post probably provided support for a structural sill or part of the floor. The mold's fill was a dark brown sandy silt, and the hole's fill was a yellow brown silty loam. Artifacts recovered from the post hole fill were mostly un-diagnostic and included tobacco pipestems, bottle glass, nails, animal bones, plaster, and mortar. The post mold included bottle glass, white salt glazed stoneware (TPQ 1720), and mortar. The removal of this post dates to post 1720, the same time as the destruction of the structure.

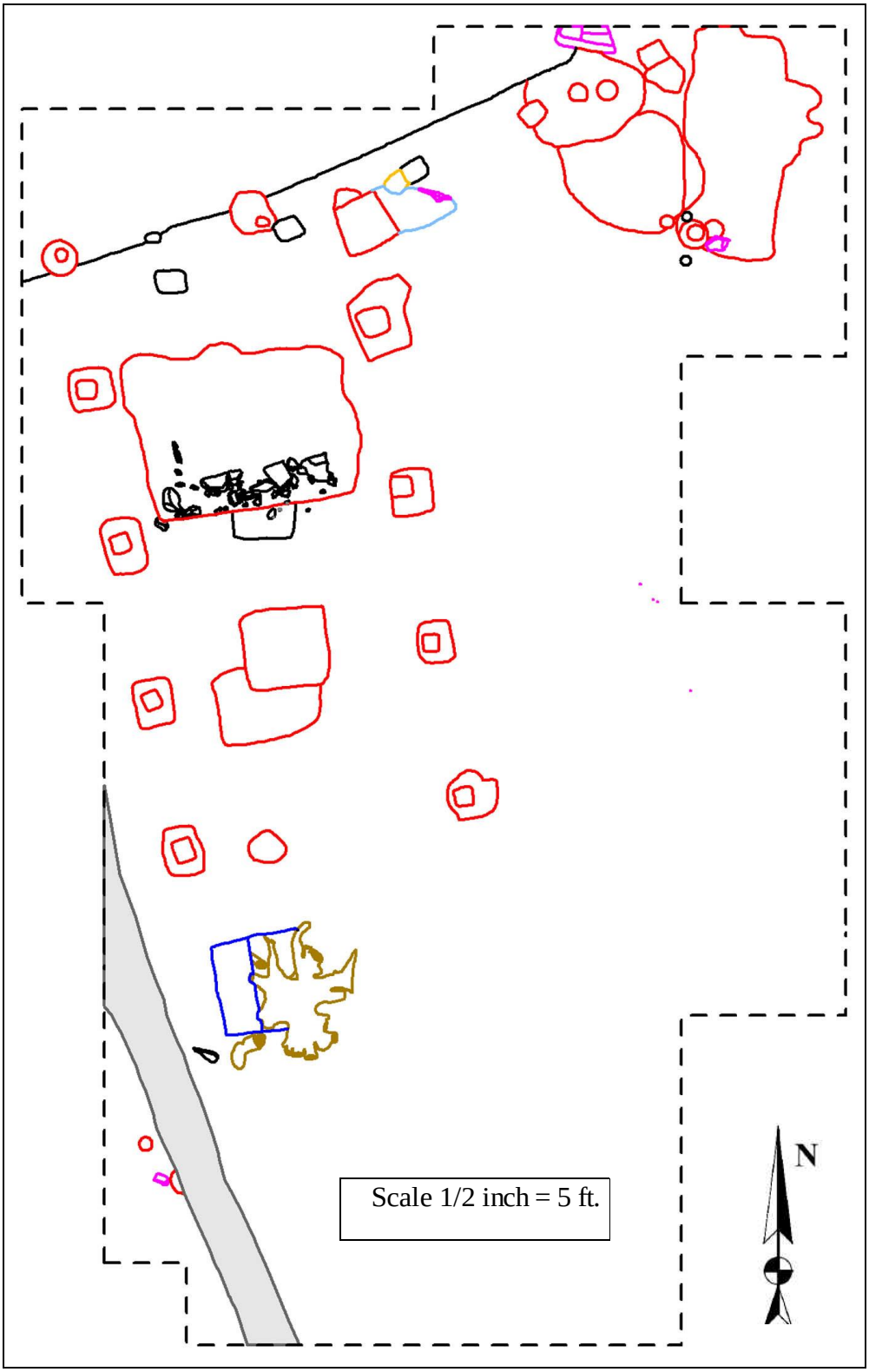


Figure 25. Plan View of Major Features.

Figure 26. Aerial View of Cellar after Partial Excavation.

This cellar was probably used as storage and as a workspace. A loft for sleeping extended over both ground level rooms. Erosion of the north wall of the northern room's cellar suggests it failed quickly during the early occupation of the house. Artifacts found

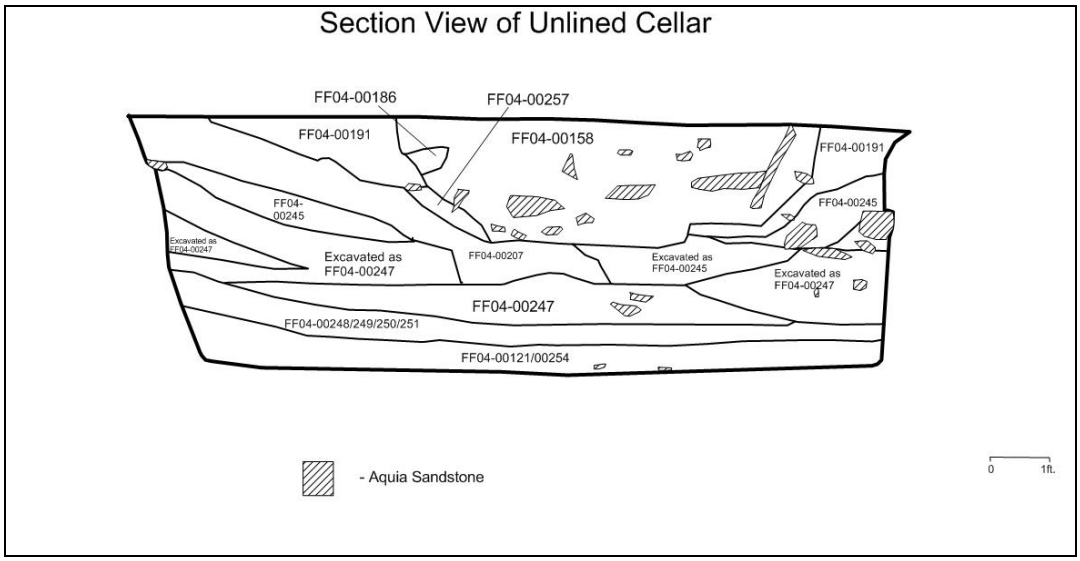


Figure 27. Section View of Cellar Fills.

in the postholes suggest the building was erected after 1670, most likely around the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Structural Postholes

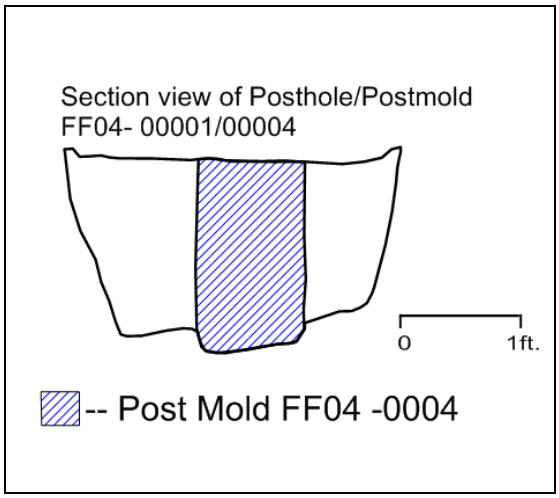
Eight postholes were employed in the construction of this house. Situated four on a side, these holes were rectangular in shape and featured flat sides and flat bottoms. They showed no signs of repair indicating the building did not stand very long. The TPQ for the destruction of the structure is 1720. The buried portion of the post was squared off and measured a little over 1 ft across. Seven of the posts were not removed during demolition, instead were left to rot in place. The eighth was removed and filled with an artifact laden soil.

Table 1. Postholes and Postmolds

Context #s	Type	Description	Measurement	Contained By	Artifacts of note
FF04-00001	NW corner posthole	Brown silty sand with clay with mottling	2.3' x 2.4' / 1.4' deep	FF04-00002	Westerwald stoneware
FF04-00093	Postmold for FF04-00001	Dark brown silty clay fill – squarish in plan	1.3' x 1.2' / 1.5' deep	FF04-00001	White Salt-glazed stoneware
FF04-00003	NE corner posthole	Dark yellow brown clay silt with mottling	3.6'x 2.0 / 1.5' deep	FF04-00004	Leaded table glass, Fulham, and Westerwald
FF04-00098	Postmold for FF04-00003	Dark yellow brown silty clay- squarish in plan	1.1' x 1.2 / 1.5' deep	FF04-00003	Shot
FF04-00005	Posthole west wall	Dark yellow brown sandy silt with mottling	2.4' x 3.4' / 1.5' deep	FF04-00006	Shoe buckle
FF04-00007	Postmold for FF04-00005	Dark brown sandy clay – square in plan	1.1 x 1.1 / 1.5' deep	FF04-00008	Window glass
FF04-00009	Posthole east wall	Dark yellow brown sandy silt – rectangular	2.5' x 2.7' / 1.5' deep	FF04-00010	Tobacco pipebowl fragments
FF04-00011	Postmold for FF04-00009	Dark brown clayey silt - square	1.2' x 1.0' / 1.5 deep	FF04-00012	White Salt-glazed stoneware (TPQ-1720)
FF04-00013	Posthole west wall	Dark brown sand silt with mottling - rectangular	2.5' x 2.8' / 2.0' deep	FF04-00014	
FF04-00015	Postmold for FF04-00013	Dark yellowish brown loamy clay	1.1' x 1.1' / 1.8' deep	FF04-00016	White Salt-glazed stoneware, hundreds of bones and scales, leaded table glass, bead, straight

					pins, and shot
FF04-00017	Posthole east wall	Dark yellow brown sandy clay with mottling-rectangular	2.2’ x 2.9’ / 2.0’ deep	FF04-00018	Window glass
FF04-00089	Postmold for FF04-00017	Dark yellowish brown silty clay	1.1’ x 1.1’ / 1.8’ deep	FF04-00090	Window glass, cutlery, shot
FF04-00139	Posthole SW corner	Dark yellowish brown silty clay with mottling – rectangular	3.0’ x 2.4’ / 2.0’ deep	FF04-00140	
FF04-00141	Postmold for FF04-00139	Dark yellow brown clayey silt	1.4’ x 1.3’ / 1.8’ deep	FF04-000142	Eggshell and fish scales
FF04-00019	Posthole SE corner	Dark yellow brown silty clay - rectangular	3.0’ x 2.0’ / 1.7’ deep	FF04-00020	Window glass, table glass
FF04-00088	Postmold for FF04-00019	Dark yellowish brown silty clay-square	1.1’ x 1.2’ / 1.7’ deep	FF04-00087	Brick

The postholes on each side were spaced roughly 9.5 feet apart. The spacing of the holes, their mostly rectangular plan shape, and their similar depths suggest the builders used the preassembled sidewall construction technique.



Figures 28 and 29. Section View and Aerial View of Structural Posthole and Postmold.

Original Root Cellar

The structure's original root cellar was situated in front of the southern gable end fireplace. This rectangular feature sported vertical walls and a bottom that sloped in a slightly irregular manner. The cellar measured 6.4 feet by 4.6 feet. The cellar cut into subsoil to a dept of 2.0 feet at its deepest. The walls showed no signs of erosion or breakdown. It appears the pit was purposely filled during the house's tenure, most likely during renovation.

The cellar was filled using two different soils. Small lenses of clay (FF04-00224) heavily flecked with charcoal appeared on the cellar floor. This thin (less than 0.2 feet) layer contained small flecks of brick and daub, fish bones and scales, pipestems, eggshell, pewter, and burnt oyster shell. On the opposite side of the cellar a second lens of clay (FF04-00226) was identified just above subsoil. This clay lens also contained large flecks of charcoal and brick and the same types of artifacts found in FF04-00224.

Sealing both of these layers was a yellow brown sandy loam (FF04-00194, FF04-00230, and FF04-00244). This layer ranged from one to two feet in thickness

Figure 30. Original Root Cellar (Dark Stain) before Excavation.

Figure 31. Root Cellars after Excavation – Original Cellar on Left.

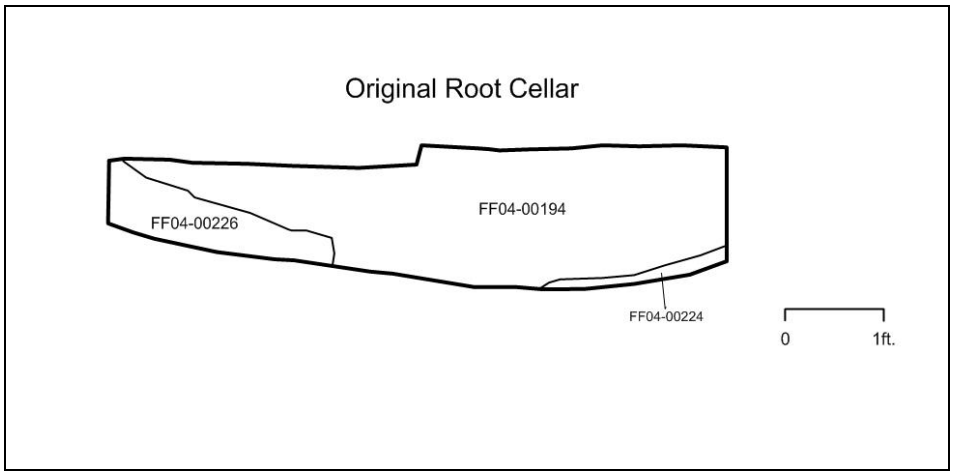


Figure 32. Section View of Original Root Cellar.

suggesting that the cellar was filled and abandoned. Excavators uncovered charcoal and brick flecks throughout this layer. At the very top of the fill were several golf ball sized chunks of daub. Finds included fish scales and bones, eggshell, burnt oyster shell, pipestems, pipe bowl fragments, straight pins, lead casting waste, lead shot, and ceramics. Most of these finds are typically associated with ash from a hearth and fireplace used for cooking.

This cellar appears to have been abandoned during the only major renovation of the house. Material from the destruction of the wattle and daub chimney was used to help fill in the cellar. The cellar shows no sign of failure and it appears that the cellar was abandoned because the chimney that it was associated with was also abandoned at this time. A new cellar was installed just to the north of the original cellar and actually intruded the filled in original cellar. The original cellar was abandoned and filled sometime around 1720.

Table 2. Original Root Cellar

Context #s	Soil description	Seals/cuts	Sealed/Cut by	Artifacts of note
FF04-00194	Dark yellow brown silty clay fill with heavy charcoal flecking. Contained dark red burned clay inclusions.	Seals 224, 226	Plowzone	eggshell, fish scales, animal bones, burnt shell, tobacco pipes, straight pins
FF04-00230	Same as 194 with a little more clay	Same as 194	Plowzone	Same as 194
FF04-00240	Same as 194 with a little more clay	Same as 194	Plowzone	Same as 194
FF04-00195	Cut for original root cellar	Cuts subsoil	194,226,224	None
FF04-00224	Clay lens on floor of cellar		Sealed by 194	Very few artifacts
FF04-00226	Clay lens on floor of cellar		Sealed by 194	Very few artifacts

Renovation

One of the plantation's masters undertook a major renovation of the house midway through its short life. Records about ownership of the property are missing for this period, but artifacts recovered suggest a family lived in the house after its renovation. Evidence indicates the unlined large cellar in the north room began to fail almost immediately. Erosion of the sandy clay subsoil that made up the walls of this feature began slumping into the cellar causing the cellar hole to grow larger. Eventually the cellar hole grew outside of the structure, meaning that edges of the cellar hole were unprotected from the weather. The failure of the north-room cellar and the impracticality of a mud and stick chimney encouraged its owner to remodel. The owner began

alterations by filling the north room cellar and removing the wattle and daub chimney. The north room cellar was backfilled with several fill layers, most containing only a light scatter of artifacts. Three distinct events resulted in the deposition of soils. While the cellar was in use, dirt built up on the earthen floor. On top of this living surface were several silt layers formed when the sandy subsoil walls of the cellar collapsed inward. Eventually cellar erosion caused the northern wall to extend outside the structure. This event was directly responsible for the abandonment of the cellar. Once the decision was made to abandon the cellar it was rapidly filled with a number of different soils.

Sometime after the cellar was filled, it was disturbed by the excavation of a large bowl-shaped hole that was then refilled with charred wood, some brick, and lots of small and medium sized fragments of sandstone. One fragment of sandstone featured burning on one side and then a subsequent layer of mortar residue, suggesting it was once part of the hearth or fireplace and then it was reused in some manner. The hole measured 5 by 7 ft and 2 ft deep. It is unclear what the function of this intrusion was, although it may be some sort of repair to the back of the chimney. Artifacts recovered include white salt glaze and Buckley ware (TPQ 1720), nails, mortar, a sleeve link, and window glass.

Table 3. North Room Cellar Fill Sequence

Context #s	Soil description	Seals/cuts	Sealed/Cut by	Artifacts of note
Cellar constructed (Cut) Context: FF04-255	None	None	Occupation layer	None
Occupation layer Context: FF04-254	Yellow brown silty sand with charred wood	Cellar cut	Wall collapse	Fish scales, eggshell, straight pins, table glass

Wall collapse Contexts: FF02-90 FF02-91 FF02-94 FF02-95 FF04-248 FF04-249 FF04-250 FF04-251	Redeposited sandy subsoil	Occupation layer	Cellar filled	Eggshell, table glass, colonoware
Cellar purposely filled Contexts: FF02-38, FF02-50 FF02-56, FF02-79 FF02-82,FF04-247 FF04-245 FF04-207	Mixed yellow browns sandy silt	Wall collapse	Cut by large hole	Shell mortar, lead shot, sleeve link, straight pin, button
Large hole dug in cellar fill Context: FF04-200	None	Cuts purposely filled cellar	Filled by Chimney destruction	None
Chimney destruction dump Contexts: FF02-26, FF02-31 FF04-158 FF04-186	Olive yellow silty clay fill	Large hole	Plowzone	Window glass, Westerwald, wine bottle glass, sleeve link, daub, and silver coin
Stone foundation for replacement fireplace Context: FF04-256	None	Purposely filled cellar	Plowzone	

Stone chimney

The wattle and daub chimney was replaced by the construction of a substantial stone fireplace. The new fireplace was located between the two rooms, with its stone base firmly established on top of the recently filled cellar. The fireplace, made up of locally available stones, directly heated the south room and indirectly heated the north room. Burning is evident on numerous rocks that once made up this fireplace, and two different types of mortar have been found on the stones. The soil just south of the

Figure 33. Close-up of Chimney Remains and Burned area where the Hearth Once Stood.

chimney base is scorched red, indicating where the hearth and fireplace were situated. A small amount of brick was found near this fireplace indicating the chimney was made of both stone and brick.

Replacement root cellar

A new root cellar was installed just north of the original root cellar. This square pit measured 5.1 feet across and featured vertical sides and a flat bottom that pitched slightly to the south. The cellar intruded subsoil just over 1.0 foot at its deepest.

The cellar was filled with two layers. The top layer (FF04-00134) extended throughout the feature. This yellowish brown silt measured 0.7 foot thick and was

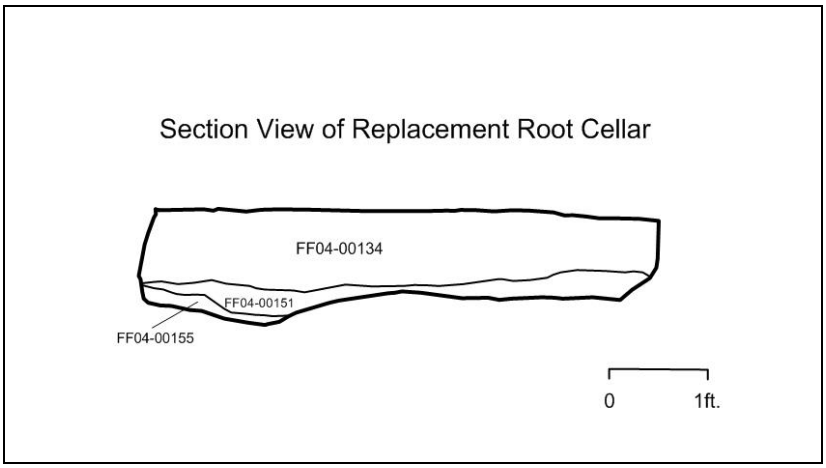


Figure 34. Profile of Replacement Root Cellar.

purposely placed. Excavators found early ceramics, window glass, wine bottle glass, nails, and lithics. The TPQ for this fill is 1720. The layer was probably deposited during the destruction of the structure.

Under FF04-00134 was a dark brown silty loam (FF04-00151 that ranged in thickness from 0.1 to 0.3 ft). This fill contained large amounts of charcoal and burned bones and may have originated as fireplace ash. This layer contained over 600 animal bones, 800 fish scales, and over 100 fragments of egg shell. Small finds included a copper alloy thimble, lead shot, a button, straight pins, and table glass. The TPQ is 1720.

The House is torn down

The house did not stand long after its renovation. No repairs or replacements are evident for any of the posts, suggesting a short life for the structure. Virginia's soils, insects, and climate made short work of the wooden posts that supported this type of structure.

The Ferry Farm property changed hands at least three times during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. It seems likely that the house was in disrepair at the time of one of these land transfers. Instead of refurbishing the home, the new owner (William Strother) simply demolished this out-of-style shelter in favor of a new and more sophisticated dwelling. Some of the molds contained artifacts that were first manufactured around 1720 suggesting the building was probably demolished when the Strother family took control of the property.

Quite a few of the fireplace stones ended up in the fill of the north room cellar. Either just before or during the fireplace's demolition someone dug a large hole in the filled cellar (see discussion from above). When the chimney and fireplace were torn down or repaired, this hole served as a convenient collecting spot for stones not worthy of recycling.

Architectural Details

Although crude and small, the house did feature some architectural niceties and comforts. A large and sturdy lock graced at least one of its doors. Hardware including hinges, pintles, and clenched nails (nails bent back on themselves) testify to the presence of formal doors and shutters. But these meager embellishments did little to elevate this dreary house. No evidence of the roof has survived, which suggests that the roof was made of wooden shingles. A small amount of window glass was recovered from two of the postholes and from the plowed soils above the structure, indicating at least one glass window. Plaster was recovered from the cellar, suggesting the central fireplace's flue or firebox was lined with plaster. Very few landscape features associated with this structure

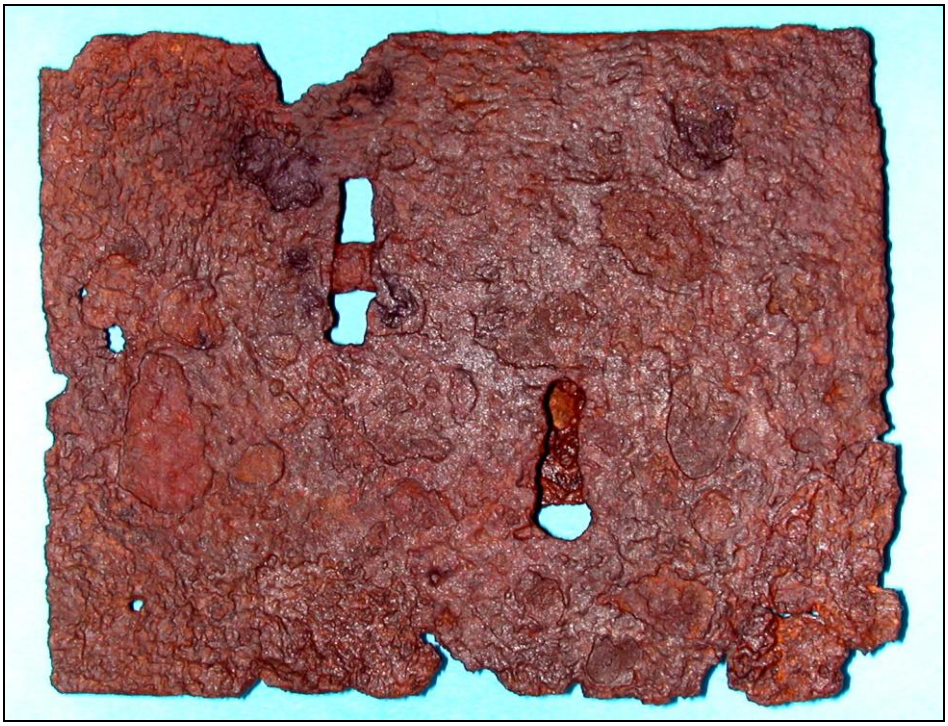


Figure 35. Door Lock Plate.

Figure 36. Door Key.

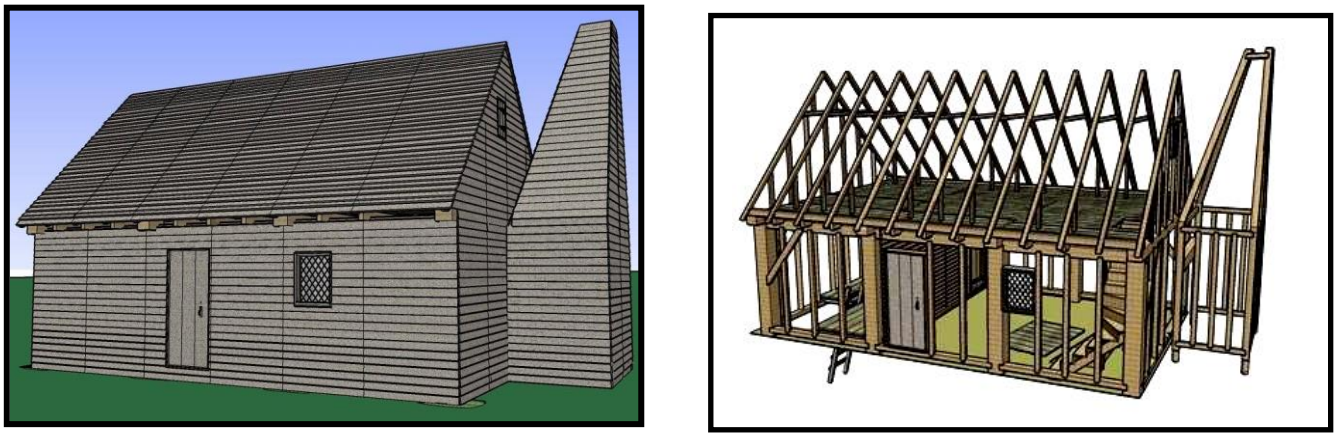


Figure 37. Artist's Concept of House – Finished and without Clapboards.

were found. The lack of evidence for fencing implies that "Virginia style" fencing was employed.

Who Built this House?

The house was built by a small planter, some time around the beginning of the eighteenth century. Its renovator also appears to be a small planter. Because the tract changed hands so many times during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, it is difficult to determine who originally built this house. But it is clear that, by the time Maurice Clark died in 1710, a working plantation existed on the property that now makes up Ferry Farm. The structure excavated during the past two summers is almost certainly the house that Maurice Clark identified in his will. The renovation appears to have taken place during the Harwood/Hartshorn occupation. A child's thimble found in the fill of the replacement root cellar suggests the presence of at least one daughter and indirectly a mother. Only Harwood, Hartshorn, and Strother are documented as having wives. By the time William Strother purchased the property, the structure was either in dire need of repair or already gone. Artifacts indicate that demolition took place sometime after 1720.

The dwelling would have probably housed all of the site's inhabitants, including servants. Chances are no slaves were present on the property during this time.

If still standing when the Strother family arrived, it did not meet the domestic needs of this large and affluent gentry family. William Strother's 1732 inventory identified a six room structure as his dwelling; clearly not the three-room house excavated in 2002 and 2003.

Structure B- Support building

Situated some eight feet north of Structure A were the remains of a second post-in-ground structure. Only partially uncovered, this structure employed postholes and posts that were smaller than Structure A. The two postholes that were uncovered were spaced 15 feet apart. The rest of the structure was located outside the excavation block to the north.

These holes were roughly circular in plan shape and featured flat sides and slightly rounded bottoms. They showed no signs of repair suggesting the building did not stand very long, but at least one of the postmolds showed signs of burning. The TPQ for the structure's construction is 1720, but the TPQ for the end of the structure is indeterminate. The buried portion of the post was circular and measured 0.7 foot across. Because only part of this building has been uncovered, it is impossible to assign a function to the structure. Determining the time period of construction and use is somewhat easier. A TPQ of 1720 suggests it is associated with the pre-Washington

Figure 38. Structure B Postholes – Top Arrow Excavated, Bottom Arrow Unexcavated at the time of this Photograph.

period. The architectural construction technique known as post in ground has only been found on Maurice Clark era structures. Its location and the absence of later, second-half-century, artifacts confirm its pre-Washington nature. Current plans call for the eventual return to this area to uncover the rest of this building.

Table 4. Postholes Structure B

Context #s	Type	Description	Contains/ Contained by	Artifacts of interest
FF04-00135	Postmold fill	Circular with vertical sides	FF04-00137	5 fragments of bone
FF04-00137	Posthole fill	Square with vertical sides lots of large rocks in fill	FF04-00138	Lithics and tobacco pipestems
FF04-00258	Postmold fill	Circular sloping sides burnt	FF04-00259	Mortar and plaster
FF04-00259	Posthole fill	Roughly circular in plan lots of rocks to support post	FF04-00260	White salt glaze stoneware, plaster, lithics

Clay Borrow Pits

To the north and east of the house were three overlapping pits used to extract clay needed to make daub for the chimney and/or bricks for the hearth. These large, shallow pits were located in the part of the site that contained the best subsoil for brick and daub making. The pits measured 7.5 feet by 3.5 feet, 6.0 feet by 6.0 feet and 6.0 feet by 4.0 feet. The western pit was probably originally two separate overlapping pits, but the fills were so similar that the excavation team treated them as a single feature.

The western pit's fill was a brown sandy silt (FF04-00182) that contained a dark ashy soil that eventually gave way to yellowish brown sandy silt (FF04-00185). The bottom of the pit was uneven with the southern half being deeper than the northern half. Excavators unearthed heavy concentrations of animal bones and tobacco pipe parts. Horse furniture, a key, table glass, and a buckle make up the small finds from this pit. The TPQ for this feature is 1720.

Figure 39. Aerial View of Barrow Pits.

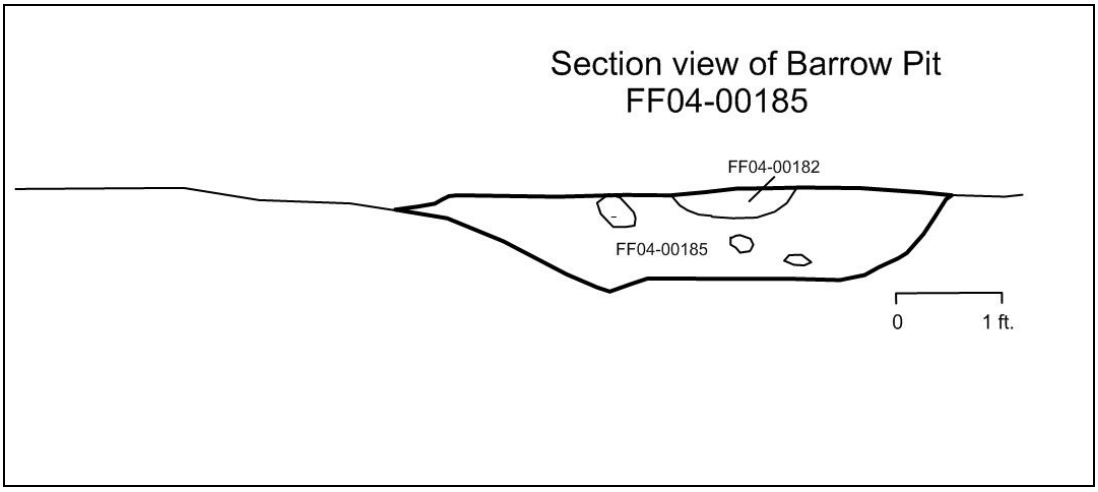


Figure 40. Section View of Barrow Pit.

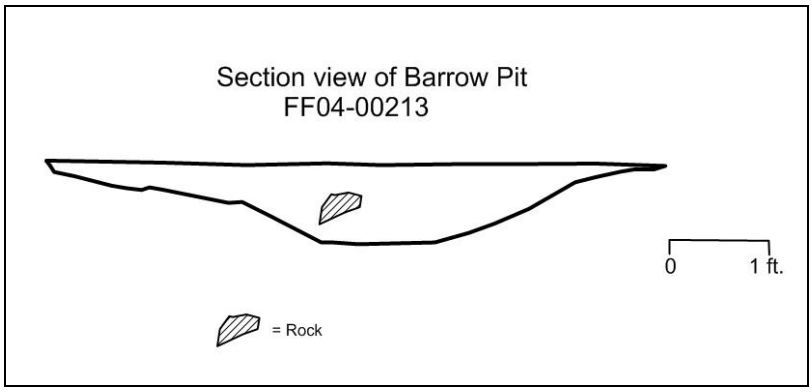


Figure 41. Section View of Second Barrow Pit.

The eastern pit featured sloping sides and a bowl shaped profile. Filled with dark brown sandy silt (assigned two context numbers FF04-00213 and -00231) this feature intruded into subsoil to a depth of 0.8 feet. Excavators uncovered large quantities of animal bone, tobacco pipe parts, and lithics. Small finds included a hinge, table glass, and a lock part. The TPQ for this feature is 1720.

Structure C – Washington Era Slave Quarter

The only surviving architectural element of this structure is a medium sized root cellar, also called a subfloor pit (5.5 by 5.5 ft). Located just a few feet south of Structure A, this feature contained the remains of a large tree stump that allowed for only a little more than half of the feature to be excavated. The tree covered most of the eastern half of the cellar making excavation of this portion impossible. The cellar is square in shape, and was filled in a single event. The cellar had slightly sloping walls and a flat bottom. The fill layer (1.7 feet deep) suggests this cellar was abandoned and filled prior to the destruction of the building.

The fill layer was a dark, ashy, silty loam with large chunks of charred wood. This layer was subdivided into two context numbers – FF04-145 and FF04-190. Both

Figure 42. Aerial View of Root Cellar intruded by Remains of a Tree.

Figure 43. Artist Concept of Slave Quarter.

contexts contained a large number of artifacts that ranged in date from the early eighteenth century to 1770. Ten liters of soil from FF04-145 and all of the soil from FF04-190 underwent waterscreening. No evidence of wood lining or wall supports was visible.

Artifacts from this cellar suggest it was abandoned and filled during the early 1770s. The site underwent three major changes in the 1770s – Mary Washington moved to Fredericksburg, George Washington leased the property, and finally Washington sold the property to Hugh Mercer. General Mercer died in the Revolutionary War, before carrying out his plans for Ferry Farm.

It is not unusual for root cellars to be the only surviving portion of a structure. Neither log cabins nor ground-laid sill structures leave evidence below plowzones. Examples of root-cellar-only structures include the Carter's Grove slave quarters (Kelso 1980), an eighteenth-century slave quarter at Rich Neck (Franklin 2004a), a nineteenth-century slave quarter at Rich Neck (Samford 1991), and the Palace Lands quarter (Franklin 2004b).

The tables below compare the materials found in Structure C with two known slave quarters that date to the about the same time period and use a similar construction technique.

The excavation of Poplar Forest's North Hill site uncovered a single cabin that stood from c. 1770 to 1785. The case for such a building is based primarily on the presence of a subfloor pit containing large numbers domestic artifacts. Daub and thousands of hand-wrought nails, suggests that the cabin that contained the pit was made of logs with clapboard siding and/or a wood shingle roof. The structure's size and

absence of additional subfloor pits indicates that the dwelling was home to a single individual or a family (Heath 2004).

The excavation of the Palace Lands site in Williamsburg also uncovered a single subfloor pit in association with a brick fireplace that appears to be the remains of a slave quarter. Based on the ceramic evidence, this site was occupied during the third quarter of the 18th-century. Since no other architectural features were found, the size of the structure could only be estimated as about 10 ft wide by 20 ft. The presence of a variety of artifacts, the majority of which were architectural or everyday-use items emphasizes the domestic nature of the structure.

While these two sites are architecturally similar to Structure C, a comparison of the ceramics and small finds cements the argument that this structure was once a slave quarter. Structure C and Palace Lands quarter contain an almost identical inventory of ceramics. Palace Lands quarter has a slightly larger number of ceramics and ceramics make up a much larger percentage of the total artifacts when compared with Structure C. Poplar Forest's North Hill quarter lacks the diversity of ceramics, but still has a higher percentage of ceramics in relationship to the total assemblage than Structure C has.

The small finds from all three structures support the contention that the buildings served as homes to slaves. Each contained a variety of artifacts associated with domestic occupations. Several different types of artifacts were present at all three including clothing items (shoe buckles and buttons), coins, ammunition, table accoutrements (table glass and knives) and sewing items (straight pins and scissors). Thimbles were recovered from both Palace Lands and Structure C. Of particular note were the coins

Figure 44. Quartered and Drilled Spanish Coin.

found at Structure C and North Hill quarter. They were quartered and featured a drilled hole, attributes that are frequently ascribed to coins owned by slaves.

Table 5. Ceramics

	Types of Ceramics found	
Palace Lands–Williamsburg 1750-1775	Ferry Farm – Structure C 1760-1775	Poplar Forest- North Hill 1770-1785
Buckley coarseware	Locally made coarseware	Creamware Refined earth
Colonoware coarseware	Colonoware coarseware	Pearlware Refined earth
Creamware Refined earth	Creamware Refined e.	Redware coarseware
Delftware earthenware	Delftware earthenware	
Fulham stoneware	Fulham stoneware	
Jackfield Refined earth	Jackfield Refined e	
Porcelain serving	North Devon coarseware	
Redware coarseware	Slipware coarseware	
Slipware coarseware	Staffordshire Iron glazed coarseware	
Renish stoneware	Renish stoneware	
Whieldon refined earth	Nottingham stoneware	
White Salt Glaze stoneware	White Salt glaze stoneware	
	Staffordshire Brown Stoneware	
	Local redware coarseware	

Table 6. Small Finds

	Small finds	
Palace Lands–Williamsburg 1750-1775	Ferry Farm – Structure C 1760-1775	Poplar Forest- North Hill 1770-1785
Barrel Hoop	Barrel Hoop	
Bead	Bead	
Harness Bit		
Shoe buckle	Shoe Buckle	Shoe Buckle
		Clothing Buckle
Shot	Shot	Shot
Button	Button	Button
Coin	Coin	Coin
	Cutlery	
		Crystal
Doll part		
	Deadeye	
		Daub
	Drawer pull	
Fan blade		
Gunflint		
	Hinge	
	Book/box hinge	
	Horseshoe	
Knife	Knife	Knife
Jewelry		
Lockplate	Lockplate	
Marble		
Medical instrument		
Needle		
Straight pin	Straight pin	Straight pin
Scissors	Scissors	Scissors
Table Glass	Table Glass	Table Glass
Tack	Tack	
Thimble	Thimble	
Window glass	Window glass	
Window lead		

Civil War

Before the archaeology project started at Ferry Farm, there is some confusion about Ferry Farm's role in the Civil War. While some events are well documented, others, particularly before and after the four days that make up the Battle of Fredericksburg, are less clear. The results of the ongoing archaeological investigations, analysis of the photographic archives, and a detailed search of all pertinent historical records has clarified things. While most of the results are in the report on the 2004 and 2005 field seasons, the results of the 2002/2003 excavations can serve as a jumping off spot.

The Documents

Documents show that Ferry Farm's first participation in the war was during the Union occupation of Fredericksburg in the spring of 1862. Union engineers built a bridge using canal boats across the river at the ferry landing that had existed for over 130 years. Down the Ferry Road and across this bridge passed not only thousands of Union troops heading into town, but also President Abraham Lincoln, who visited Fredericksburg on May 23, 1862. In late May of that year, the Federal troops abandoned Fredericksburg taking the bridge with them.

In November, 1862, the Union army returned, this time to fight. Northern troops tore down all of the structures as Ferry Farm became a major federal infantry staging ground and artillery base. On December 11, Union engineers began constructing a pontoon bridge to carry the Army into Fredericksburg. Confederates fired on the engineers from Fredericksburg's houses and gardens. The Union army countered by

moving artillery to Ferry Farm's northern boundary and other positions on the river and bombarded the town. By day's end, Fredericksburg was wrecked and the bridge was in place. The Union army crossed, suffered crushing defeat at the hands of the confederates and returned across the bridge. For the next six months Stafford served as the military home for the 100,000 man strong Union Army.

The Archaeology

The most important Civil War related feature uncovered to date is a fortification trench located on the crest of the terrace that overlooks the river and its flood plain. The 2002/2003 excavation team uncovered a total of 25 ft of this linear feature. It ran out of the excavation block to both the north and south. The trench measured a little over three feet wide at subsoil level, suggesting it may have originally measured around 3.5 ft.

Table 7. Civil War Trench Contexts

		The Civil War trench		
Context Number	Fill	Thickness	Seals	Major artifacts
FF04-00147	Top fill- dark yellow brown sandy clay	1.5 ft	FF04-00159	Nails, minie balls, ceramics, bone
FF04-00159	Bottom fill- dark reddish brown sandy clay	0.3 ft	Subsoil	Nails, table glass
FF04-00211	Top fill- Dark yellow brown sandy silt		FF04-00225	Minie ball, nails, ceramics, glass flask
FF04- 00219	Lens at top of trench- brown gravel and sand		FF04-00211	Ceramics, nails, bone
FF04-00225	Bottom fill- brown silty		Subsoil	Ceramic, nails, buttons,

	sand			upholstery tack
FF04-00179	Top fill-	1.6 ft	FF04-00189	Ceramics, nails, bone, glass flask
FF04-00189	Bottom fill	.5 ft	Subsoil	Ceramics, nails, bone, glass flask
FF04-00208	Top fill	1 ft	FF04-00218	Ceramics, nails, bone, upholstery tacks, fork
FF04-00218	Bottom fill	1 ft	Subsoil	Ceramics, nails, bone
FF04-00232	Top fill	1.2 ft	FF04-00205	Ceramics, nails, fish hook, barrel hoop
FF04-00205	Bottom layer	1 ft	Subsoil	Ceramics, tobacco pipes, glass, nails, bones

The trench featured sloping sides and a flat bottom that measured approximately 1 ft in width. The trench penetrated subsoil to a depth of 1.5 ft and was filled in two episodes. The primary/ top fill was yellow brown sandy silt containing a heavy concentration of artifacts and stones. This layer sealed dark yellow brown silty clay featuring fewer artifacts and more gravel.

Situated on the river side of the trench were two small, shallow holes (FF04-198, FF04-201) that were slightly irregular in plan. These holes may be the remnants of defensive log cribbing situated on the river side of the trench.

The trench is thought to extend along the ridge from the Medicine Springs ravine to an unknown point to the south. Schuster uncovered an additional 50 feet length of this

Figure 45. Aerial View of Civil War Trench.

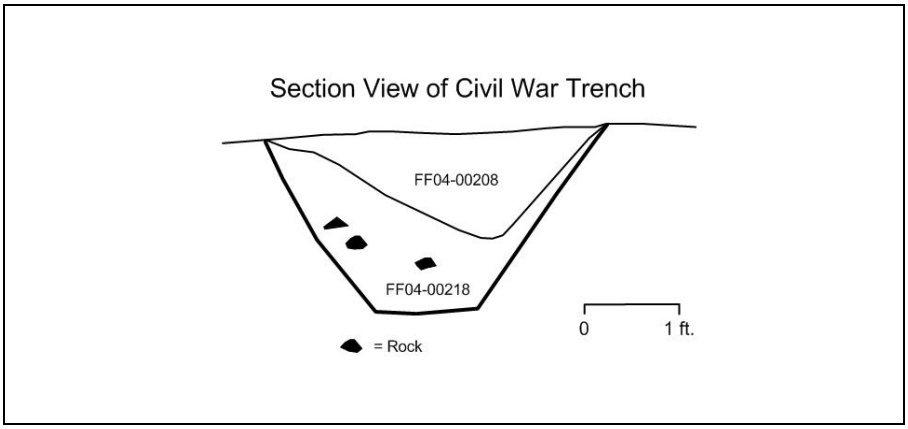


Figure 46. Section View of Trench.

trench during the preliminary archaeological assessment (Schuster 1998). Located on the brow of the ridge that overlooks the Rappahannock's flood plain, this earthwork was probably dug in 1862 and was part of the defensive fortifications established by Federal troops. The dirt from the ditch was most likely piled up on the river side.

Once the war was over, there was little need for this type of fortification. Farmers returning to Ferry Farm would have filled the ditch, most likely with soil piled up on the river side of the earthwork. While some war-related materials were recovered in the trench's fill, most artifacts were domestic in nature.

Material Culture

Artifacts associated with the Civil War at Ferry Farm include bottle glass fragments, buttons, knapsack hooks, minie balls, and exploded artillery shells, and cutlery. All of these items, with the exception of exploded cannonballs, are frequently found at Federal camp sites. The density of recovered items suggests that while a very large number of troops passed thru Ferry Farm, the number of soldiers that camped here is relatively small.

Interpretation

The Federals appear to have built no large encampments at Ferry Farm. No evidence of winter huts, latrine trenches, or clay borrow pits have been unearthed to date. That is not to say that soldiers were not stationed at Ferry Farm both before, during, and after December 1862. North of the ravine, the remains of artillery positions wait to be identified. It is possible more substantial remains will be uncovered around these gun emplacements.

The terrace containing the excavation may have served as a bivouac for soldiers guarding or maintaining the canal boat or pontoon bridge and for occasional pickets, resulting in a small, but relatively constant, military presence. Pickets are advanced outpost for a larger force. Ordered to form a line far in advance of the army's encampment, a picket guard was usually made up of one lieutenant, two sergeants, four corporals, and 40 privates. Archaeological evidence for pickets or other small groups of solders comes in the form of buttons, bullets, and other metal artifacts. The defensive fortification at Ferry Farm suggests that troops in need of protection were situated on the terrace that overlooks the Rappahannock River.

Chapter 5. Conclusions.

The 2002/2003 excavation unearthed finds from all periods of occupation at Ferry Farm. Native American, early colonial, Washington era, antebellum, Civil War and modern artifacts were all found in the plowed soils and features that made up this area. Excavators also uncovered the remains of three structures, three construction-related pits that date to the construction of Structure A, and a landscape feature that is the remains of a Civil War era trench.

Structure A is the earliest and served as the house for Maurice Clark and the small planters who followed him (c.1710-1725). This structure stood long enough for renovation, but not long enough for the postholes to require repair. Depending on conditions, post structures usually require some repair after roughly 15 to 20 years of use.

Structure B is probably a support building for Structure A. Its early TPQ (1720) and its post in ground construction method support this interpretation. The portion of this structure that has been uncovered also show no repair to the posts that anchored the structure to the ground suggesting it did not stand for an extended period of time.

Structure C dates to the Washington occupation and the artifacts recovered from this single feature suggest a slave presence. No other surviving architectural elements indicate that this structure was either a log cabin or employed ground laid sills. Architectural studies suggest the log cabin as the preferred construction technique for this timeperiod.

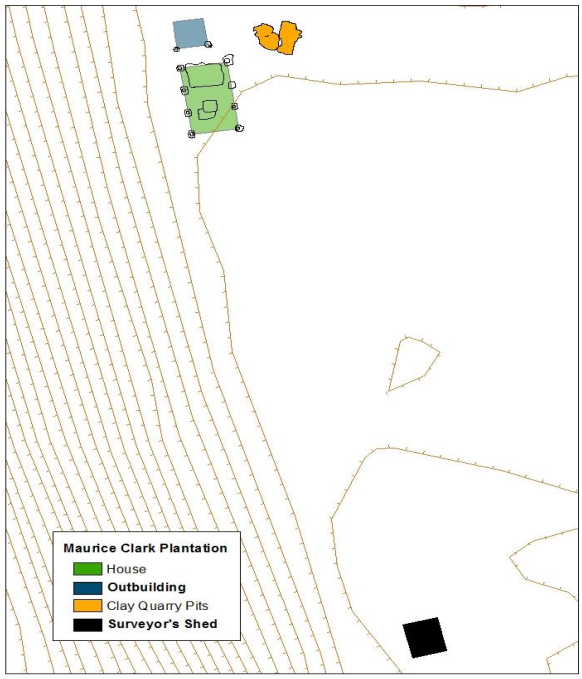


Figure 7. Schematic Plan of Maurice Clark Plantation.

Other important finds include a Civil War era defensive fortification and clay barrow pits for constructing daub chimneys.

Using an approach that focuses on the distribution of small finds recovered from within and around a structure, and analysis of the architectural niceties employed in their dwellings researchers are able to examine the initial stirrings of a quest for comfort on the part of ordinary planters. One step above tenants, indentured servants, and slaves were ordinary planters. This group greatly outnumbered its more genteel counterparts in seventeenth-century Chesapeake. Typically they worked their fields with their families or a small bound labor force growing tobacco and corn, raising livestock, and establishing orchards and kitchen gardens. The Maurice Clark house when compared to the lowest castes of 18th century Virginia finds many similarities. Larger in size that servant or slave

dwellings, these post in ground structures employ wooden roofs, and exterior wattle and daub chimneys on the gable end. The houses of both groups allowed visitors to enter directly into living space from outside (Levy, Coombs, and Muraca 2005).

Differences between indentured servant/slave housing and ordinary planters include the development of specialized space and flooring materials. Planters were more likely to employ two main ground rooms with one a small closet or large unlined cellar. Ordinary planter homes often employed wooden floors on the ground floor. They were also more likely to feature glazed windows allowing light in without the weather.

Ordinary planters were not likely to employ very many architectural niceties in the houses. There is little evidence that this group used mirrors or candles were used to create artificial lighting. When darkness arrived these planters either used the fireplaces for light or went to sleep. Their houses were generally roofed with wooden shingles and little evidence of plastering exists. Decorative items such as delft tiles were usually missing. Door locks and keys and guns were used to increase security at these plantations.

Increased size and number of rooms, wooden floors, specialized spaces, glazed windows, and security efforts often separate the quarters of ordinary planters from servants. These attributes reflect the initial stirrings of a quest for comfort on part of the men. None of these features would have appeared in probate inventories and thus are lost to historians searching for distinctions between the Chesapeake's two lower castes.

The excavation of the Maurice Clark plantation seat helps us understand what material choices were available to freemen who chose to settle on the frontier. Of particular interest are the relationships between Clark and his indentured servant.

Analysis of the small finds reveals several systems in place designed to smooth the sometime conflicting goals of master and servant. This analysis also reveals Clark's priorities with regard to station, comfort, security, and personal well being.

With the excavation of the possible slave quarter, the total number of found Washington-era structures now stands at three. The TPQ of Structure C indicates its occupants worked for Mary Washington. The large number of fish and bird bones, and eggshell found in the cellar testify to living conditions under the Washingtons. While a detailed report of the faunal material has yet to be written at the time of this report, preliminary impressions suggest the occupants of this structure acquired much of their own food.

The exploration of the Washington farm is off to a good start. The coming years will witness an almost constant stream of new data, all of which will contribute to the understanding of the history of Ferry Farm and George Washington's early years.

Appendix One – Maurice Clark Deed Transcription.

Transcript of Maurice Clark Marguritte Lady Culpeper and Catherine Lady Fairfax Proprietors of the Northern Neck of Virginia to all to ---
Whom this Present Writing shall come send greeting in our Lord God Everlasting-
Whereas Maurice Clark of the County of Richmond hath set forth to our Office __ John Hamilton ___ of One Hundred & Fifty acres of Land in the county part of five hundred & Fifty acres of Land purchased by Edward Maddock of John Waugh Clerk of the County of Stafford the Five hundred and fifty acres is part of two thousand acres of land first granted to Col John Catlett A Patent dated the 2nd day of June 1666 __ by sundry means conveyances listed in the Edward Maddock __ __ records of this county will more fully appear who by his last will in writing dated the 13th day of June 1694 gave the one hundred fifty acres of land being the remaining part of the five hundred fifty acres not disposed of by his will _ Clark where upon the same escheats to us ye Proprietors and thereupon a certificate according to the rules of the office to make the same publick this being returned to the Endorsm __ hand of Marmaduke Beckwith Clerk of this County Certifying _ the same was duly published __ no person appearing to dispute this Title to the Escheat Know Ye therefore __ we for & in consideration of the composition to us paid in Annual Rent hereafter reserved have granted more over __ and by these presents do grant make and confirm unto the P Maurice Clark all the right __ interest claim __ __ __of in __ to the P. One Hundred and fifty acres of land belonging or in anyway appertaining by virtue of the escheat the one hundred & fifty acres of Land situate lying and being on the head of Rappahannock River below the falls thereof and between the lands of Mr. Brent and John Robins the County of Richmond aforesaid together with all Rights members and Appurtenances thereunto belonging Royal Mines Excepted and the full third part of all Lead Copper __ Coal & Iron mines the shall be found thereon To Have and to hold the said One Hundred and fifty acres of Land together with all Rights Profitts and Benefitts to the same belonging or in ____ appertaining Except before excepted to him the said Maurice Clark his heirs and assigns for Ever __ the sd. Maurice Clark his heirs & assigns therefore Yielding and Paying to us our heirs & assigns Or to the certain attorney or attorneys of us the Proprietor to the certain attorney or attorneys of our heirs & assigns Propriet of the sd Northern Neck Yearly and every year on the feast of St Michael the Arch Angel the fee rent of one shilling sterling money for every fifty acres of Land hereby Granted Provided that if the sd. Maurice Clark his heirs and assigns shall not pay The before Reserved Annual Rent so the same or any part thereof shall be behind or unpaid By the space of two whole years after the same shall become due if lawfully demanded __ then it shall & May be __ For us our heirs and assigns certain attorneys or agents into the above. Granted __ ___ __ the same. To us if this grant had never passed Given at our Offices in Lancaster County – within our sd Proprietory under our seale witness our agent & attorney fully authorized thereto dated the fourteenth day of September in the ninth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Queen Anne by the Grace of God of Great Brittian France and Ireland Queen Defender of the faith __ Anno Domini 1710.

Maurice Clark his Deed for
150 acres of Escheat Land in
Richmond County

Appendix 2. Maurice Clark's Will

In the name of God Amen. I Maurice Clarke do make
and ordain this my last will and testament revoking and disowning
all or any former will or wills whatsoever first of all I hope and
pray that the Lord will have mercy on my soul and after my de-
cease I bequeath my estate in manner and form following

I give and bequeath unto Peter Waterson and his heirs forever ?
This my plantation whereon I live with one hundred acres of land
Next the River.

I give and bequeath unto my servant man Dennis Linsy fifty acres
of land being the remainder part of the tract on s\which I live being
the back part to him and his heirs forever

I give and bequeath unto John Hoagin seventy five acres of land in
Stafford county joining to the lands of Captain Anderson William Heabord and
Benjamin Webb which I bought of Carvar to him and his heirs forever

I give unto Mister Thomas Conaway my sorrill horse that useth Thomas
James horse pen

I give unto Thomas Walter one of my steers

I give unto my servant Dennis at the day of his freedom a mare and
a cow.

I give unto Peter Waterson and his heirs all the remainder ____ of
my estate whatsoever which I am now possessed of or have right
unto Also I do make and ordain Peter Wateson my whole and ____
exec of this my last will and testament ____ testimony whereof
I have here unto set my hand and seal this 20th day of February
Anno Dom 1710/11 ___ Morris Clarke (seal)

Signed sealed and delivered in the
Presence of
Thomas Conaway
____
John_ O Smyth
Edward Langsdell

This will was proved in Richmond County Court
the seventh day of March one thousand seven hun-
dred and ten by ye oaths of Thomas Conaway, John
Smyth and Edward Langsdell and admitted to Record
Test _Beckwith CC Cor

Ex __ _ Beckwith CC Car

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