

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: **MAKING SENSE OF THE FORT;
CIVICALLY-ENGAGED SENSORY
ARCHAEOLOGY AT FORT WARD AND
DEFENSES OF WASHINGTON**

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In this dissertation, I ask the question, what is the best way to understand the history and archaeology of The Fort and other African American communities associated with the Defenses of Washington? The Fort is an African American community that settled on the grounds of Fort Ward in Alexandria, Virginia from the 1860s through the early 1960s. To answer this question, I adopted a civically-engaged, sensory approach to archaeology and established three project goals. First, I use sensory archaeology, historical research, and community memories to explore the origins of The Fort community, its relationship to Fort Ward, and the land surrounding it. Second, I incorporate the archaeology, memory, and history of The Fort community into a broader narrative of the local and national past through shared sensory experiences. Third, I conclude by describing how a sensory approach could be used to understand the experiences of African Americans at other Civil War

Defenses of Washington sites. These goals have been developed with the consideration and input from The Fort Ward/Seminary African American Descendant Society (Descendant Society) and the National Park Service (NPS).

MAKING SENSE OF THE FORT: CIVICALLY-ENGAGED SENSORY
ARCHAEOLOGY AT FORT WARD AND THE DEFENSES OF WASHINGTON

By

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
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Dedication

This is dedicated to all of the members of The Fort and Seminary communities. I hope they hear their voices in these pages.

Acknowledgements

Conceptualizing, researching, and writing this dissertation would have been impossible without the memories, conversations, editing eye, and cooperation of The Fort Ward/Seminary African American Descendant Society. Thank you for trusting me to write a version of your story. In particular I would like to thank Adrienne T. Washington, Francis and Calvin Terrell, Gerald Wanzer, and Laurence Bradby for welcoming into their home and sharing their memories with me. Thank you also to Glenn Euguster for his dedication to reporting on The Fort and Fort Ward. Without the Descendant Society this work would have been impossible.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Theoretical Framework

We “know what treasures rest here, the blood, sweat and tears of our departed loved ones who called this place home” (Washington and Furlong 2012). These words, written by Adrienne Terrell Washington, President of the Fort Ward/Seminary African American Descendant Society, encapsulates the knowledge, memory, connection to the landscape, and communal feeling that members of the Descendant Society have for the land and people who once composed The Fort community. This is exactly what archaeologists and historians studying this site have missed in their previous work. It is my goal to bring the knowledge that comes from memory, connection to place, and community together with the archaeological record to create a layered understanding of The Fort community. To meet this goal I asked, what is the best way to utilize the sources of information in order to create the richest understanding of the past? In order to answer this question, I adopted the ideas and methods of interpretation of sensory archaeology, which I used to explore the past and present experiences of living in and interpreting The Fort community.

The Fort community was an African American community that settled on the grounds of Fort Ward in Alexandria, Virginia, from the 1860s through the early 1960s. The land that comprises Fort Ward Park has a unique history. It is best known for being the site of Fort Ward, one of 68 earthen forts built during the American Civil War to form a protective perimeter around Washington, DC (Cooling and Owen 2010). Following the Civil War, the area encompassing Fort Ward was purchased by several African American families. These families developed a thriving community

known as The Fort that occupied the land surrounding Fort Ward, including what is now Fort Ward Park property. In 1961, the properties of The Fort community began to be acquired by the City of Alexandria in order to create Fort Ward Park as part of the Civil War centennial celebration in the process, dismantling The Fort community. This acquisition resulted in the nearly complete physical destruction of The Fort community. Today, Fort Ward Park is a historical and recreational park that serves residents and visitors to Alexandria through its museum, historical features, playgrounds, picnic areas, amphitheater, and walking paths.

Fort Ward Park is located approximately three miles from the heart of Alexandria's historic downtown known as Old Town. The park is bounded by the Marlboro Estates neighborhood, St. Stephen and St. Agnes Middle School, Van Dorn Street, and Braddock Road. Across Braddock Road from the park is Episcopal High School (EHS), whose property also contains earthworks associated with Fort Ward (Figure 1).

To address my research question, what is the best way to interpret The Fort community and similar African American communities related to the Defenses of Washington?, I have established three project goals. First, I use sensory archaeology, historical research, and community memories to explore the origins of The Fort community, its relationship to Fort Ward, and the land surrounding it. Second, I incorporate the archaeology, memory, and history of The Fort community into a broader narrative of the local and national past through shared sensory experiences. Third, I conclude by describing how a sensory approach could be used to understand the experiences of African Americans at other Civil War Defenses of Washington

sites. These goals have been developed with the consideration and input from The Fort Ward/Seminary African American Descendant Society (Descendant Society) and the National Park Service (NPS). Investigations of archaeological materials, historical documents, oral histories, and community memories were conducted in order to achieve these goals. In addition, this work draws on the previous research on African American communities, particularly in the Chesapeake, along with explorations of memory, place, and concepts of community established by archaeologists, historians, and other social theorists.

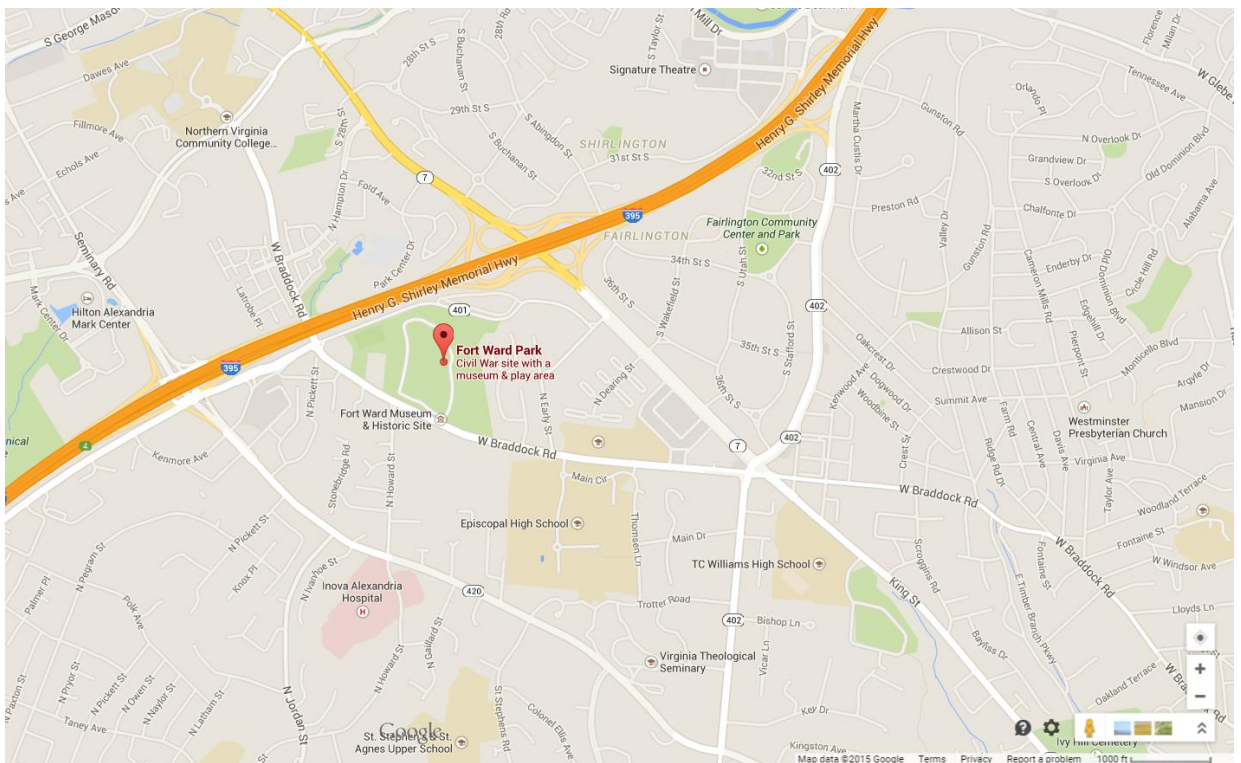


Figure 1. Map Showing Location of Fort Ward Park

Sensory Archaeology

Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962/1945 quoted in Hamilakis 2014: 65) declares, that “The world is not what I think, but what I live through.” As a historical archaeologist, I have borrowed and modified this idea to help me understand the sites,

peoples, communities, and periods of the past that I study. As such, Merleau-Ponty's concept can be restricted as *The past is not what was thought, but what was lived through*. This way of understanding the past builds on the work of Yannis Hamilakis (2014) and other sensory archaeologists who call for a consideration of the sights, smells, sounds, flavors, feelings, memories, and other sensory experiences when studying, interpreting, and presenting the past.

The sensory approach to archaeology and understanding the past provides ample opportunities to explore the experience of living in The Fort community utilizing both the five senses recognized by Western society (sight, sound, smell, taste, and touch) and other senses such as memory, speech, balance, gravitation, and spatial orientation identified by other cultures but experienced by all (Hamilakis 2014 and Warneir 2006).

Sensory archaeology encourages archaeologists to consider sensory interactions with objects, structures, and landscapes as a way of developing a layered understanding of the past. The adoption of a sensory perspective follows an intellectual trend occurring throughout anthropology, primarily in the form of sensory ethnography (Nakamura 2013, Pink 2009) and multi-sensory museum exhibits (Hamilakis 2014).

Sensory archaeology builds on the idea of phenomenology, defined by Julian Thomas (2006: 43) as “concerned with the human encounter, experience and understanding of worldly things, and with how these happenings come to be possible.” This definition builds on the work of phenomenologists like Merleau-Ponty (1945/1962), Edmund Husserl (1931), and Martin Heidegger (1971) who argue for

the importance of understanding the experiential aspects of interacting with places, objects, and the world. These interactions are experienced by people through their physical senses, cultural traditions, and social relationships (Thomas 2006).

The dominance of material items in archaeological interpretation, makes archaeology ideally situated for a sensory approach. Doing archaeology engages all the senses. Archaeologists walk the landscape of their sites to get a sense of place, they rub their artifacts clean of dirt to identify them by both their look and feel, they smell the strong odor of wild plants as they unearth the topsoil in their excavation units, and listen for the distinctive clang of the shovel hitting a buried object buried beneath the soil. Unfortunately, archaeologists often leave these sensory experiences in the field or lab and out of their interpretations. Sensory archaeology encourages archaeologists to rethink the objects, sites, and people they study by considering the sensory interactions of people in the past that would have affected how they experience the world.

David Howes (2006) argues for the application of a sensory approach to understanding material culture that can be applied to archaeological artifacts. For Howes (2006: 166) “Every artefact embodies a particular sensory mix. It does so in terms of its production, in the sensory qualities it presents, and in its consumption.” This sensory mix is rooted not only in a visual or textual description of the object, but also “the feel, the weight, the smell, the sound” of it (Howes 2006: 169). For archaeologists, like Gavin MacGregor (1999), utilizing a sensory approach that favors the nonvisual senses allows them to create new classification schemes and interpretations of thoroughly studied artifacts.

Sensory archaeology recognizes the existence of senses beyond the five identified in the Western world (Hamilakis 2014 and MacGregor 1999). Jean-Pierre Warnier (2006) uses the work of neuroscientists to argue for utilizing seven senses, adding gravitation and spatial orientation to sight, sound, smell, taste, and touch, to create the combined sense of movement. Archaeologists have modified these senses to better understand the places, people, and things they study. For example, Jade W. Luiz (2014) uses the sense of wearing a corset, represented by the fasteners recovered archaeologically, to understand the sense of movement and space women working in 19th century Boston brothel would have experienced.

Focusing entirely on only one sense for interpretation of an archaeological site, creates a misunderstanding of the past. Therefore it is essential to consider the senses in relationship to each other as well as in relation to the object. This notion comes from Lawrence Sullivan's idea of "cultural synesthesia," which describes the process of bringing all the senses together simultaneously (Howes 2006). By applying a multisensory approach, archaeologists are able to combine physical and cultural senses in their interpretations of the past (Howes and Classen 2014).

In this study, I utilize a multisensory approach to understanding and interpreting The Fort, an approach rooted in the recognition of the senses of memory, place, and community. Although memory, place, and community are not generally considered senses in the traditional Western way of understanding the sensory experience, each is recognized by scholars as a sense (Feld and Basso 1996, Hamilakis 2014, Glynn 1986, and McMillan and Chavis 1986). In addition, the

experiences of sight, sound, smell, taste, touch, and other senses discussed below affect senses of memory, place, and community.

Likewise, sensory experiences and interactions with material items are affected by the gender, race, age, and identity of the historical subject and the archaeologist interpreting the past (Hamilakis 2014 and Hurcombe 2007). This is anchored in the differences in the human body associated with gender, ability, age, and other differentiating factors (Spyer 2006). Likewise, social and cultural expectations associated with these identities impact how individuals experience the world. Utilizing a sensory interpretation anchored in a recognition of the effects of identity on both people in the past and the archaeologists interpreting the past builds on the work of archaeologists, such as feminist and queer archaeologists, who have been exploring the importance of identity in archaeology for decades (Battle-Baptiste 2011, Dowson 2000, Spector 1993, and Voss 2000).

Sense of Memory.

Hamilakis (2014: 6) suggests that memory be treated as a sense, because the act of remembering “relies on the senses.” Using the concept of memory as a sense is particularly useful for archaeologists, who combine community memories obtained through oral history and archaeological artifacts to create their understanding of the past. Although memory is often discussed and utilized by historical archaeologists, rarely is it utilized as a sense. However, memory, materiality, and the senses are deeply intertwined. The senses are how people understand, remember, and forget the material world, while material items themselves contain and preserve memories that are deciphered by our senses (Hamilakis 2014 and Tilley 2006).

Like any other sense, memory is affected by individual identity. This makes incorporating the memories of the Descendant Society into the story of The Fort a complicated and incredibly imperfect process. The Descendant Society is composed of former members of The Fort community and their relatives. However, not all former residents and their descendants belong. Some have chosen to become more actively involved in other community groups, such as the Fort Ward History Group, while others live far away, are too unwell to attend meetings, or have little time to dedicate to or interest in the Descendant Society's efforts. Therefore, the memories most celebrated by the Descendant Society are those proposed by its most active members. Even within this somewhat narrowed group, a diversity of memory and perspective exists. This reflects Hamilakis and Labanyi's (2008: 14) idea that "memory is always a site of struggle, not only between official and personal memories, but between competing official memories and competing personal memories as well." Variation in personal experiences and identities affect how memories of group members can often veer away from or influence the communal memory of the group.

The shared memories of the Descendant Society take the form of civic memory. Civic memory, as defined by Casey Nelson Blake (1999: 434) is a "critical, connected, and collective" memory that "stands in judgment of official nationalist narratives and on a complacent vision of history." Blake (1999) argues that in the United States, African Americans are keepers of civic memory. African American civic memory is essential for our understanding of the past when we are forced to call on our collective memory to make important civic decisions. This has been displayed

through the efforts of the Descendant Society in the utilization of their memories to recognize sacred grounds, including burial sites of numerous Fort community members.

This type of collective memory stands in contrast to its more widely discussed form, public memory (Bodnar 1992, Hamilton and Shopes 2008, and Shackel 2001). Public memory is “a body of beliefs and ideas about the past that help the public or society understand both its past, present, and by implication, its future” (Bodnar 1992: 15). It is produced from political discussion that occurs when official and vernacular cultures intersect (Bodnar 1992). Public memory is “shaped by complicated power struggles” that occur with communities or can be used as instruments of the state (Hamilton and Shopes 2008: xv). The power of the state to control public memory leads to creation of official memories.

Official memories can be created on the national level, or in the case of Fort Ward, on the local level. The City of Alexandria has made decisions about which historical sites to preserve, interpret, and market as part of the city’s history. Until recently, the focus of these governmental efforts has been on the 18th century, primarily white, history of the city. These efforts are centered in the neighborhood known as Old Town, which has become synonymous with Alexandria as a whole in the collective memory of the city’s residents and the thousands of tourists that visit every year. Like many city-run museums, Gatsby’s Tavern, emphasizes its connection to past presidents with advertisements such as a sign that says “George Washington Ate Here.” Other city-run museums focus on the 18th-century architecture of the structure. Even the Alexandria Black History Museum and Urban

League's Freedom House museum, focus on the experiences of African Americans, primarily enslaved laborers, during the 18th and early 19th centuries.

The absence of the stories and memories of The Fort community and its descendants, as well as other African Americans particularly from the late 19th and 20th centuries represents a noticeable silence in the official memory of Alexandria. This silence has been the primary area of conflict between The Fort community descendants and city officials. Many of the descendants perceive the lack of interpretive material relating to the history of The Fort community within the park as an intentional exclusion of their community from the history of the land and of the city. Worse yet, the descendants view the destruction of community buildings, grave markers, and burials as an intentional effort by the city to erase The Fort from the historical record.

Trouillot (1995) argues that these types of silences are an important part of historical production at the moments of fact creation, fact assembly, fact retrieval, and retrospective significance. Silences, like the one quieting the history of The Fort, have come in the form of the exclusion of particular individuals from the historical record, the lack of emphasis on certain historical events, and the masking of conflicting narratives about the past (Trouillot 1995). Silences can often lead to forgetting.

“Memory can be about forgetting a past” as much as it is about remembering one (Shackel 2001:3). Forgetting is a privilege that allows those in power to maintain authority often at the expense of a subordinate group (Frisch 1986). However, this process can take on various forms, including “state-directed attempts to erase painful memories and produce national memory...selective remembering of the inhabitants...

[and] involuntary erasure produced by trauma” (Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008: 13-14). The physical manifestation of forgetting can be seen in how tragedy and violence in the past is marked on the landscape through rectification or obliteration (Foote 1997). Foote (1997) argues that the sites erased from the landscape speak to American values and memory as much as the sites that are marked.

The Fort community has experienced this type of physical erasure of memory twice. First, they witnessed the destruction of the remaining buildings of the community and displacement of residents to create Fort Ward Park. Second, they suffered the lack of recognition of the existence of the community for nearly 50 years in the interpretation of the park’s landscape, in its museum, and literature. These experiences reflect the important connection between memory and place. Memory provides an “important bond between culture and landscape” (Foote 1997: 33). Through the recent installation of signs about The Fort community, this connection is now visible on the landscape of Fort Ward Park.

Sense of Place.

Landscapes can contain many different places and spaces, and embody arrange of interpretations and values. Fort Ward Park is an excellent example of a landscape containing a variety of places and spaces, each of which is valued differently by different communities. Archaeologically there are many different places within Fort Ward Park, including a prehistoric Native American lithic scatter, Civil War earthworks and buried features, burials and building foundations of The Fort community, a 50 year old museum and restored earthworks that reflect the history of historic preservation efforts in the mid-twentieth century, and modern

playgrounds, picnic areas, and signage that reflect recreational use of the park's most frequent visitors. In many areas of the park, these different places, their uses, and people's value of them overlap and often collide with each other. How people experience these places within the landscape of Fort Ward Park is situated in their sense of place.

Feld and Basso (1996: 11) define sense of place as

the experiential and expressive ways places are known, imagined, yearned for, held remembered, voiced, lived, contested, and struggled over; and the multiple ways places are metonymically and metaphorically tied to identities.

Sense of place is grounded in an understanding of the surrounding landscape, but can be difficult to identify because of its experiential connotation. Casey (1996: 18) explains this by saying, "There is no knowing or sensing a place except by being in that place, and to be in a place is to be in position to perceive it." This is made more difficult because places can be experienced differently by different groups of people. These various relationships to place are reflected in Morgan, Morgan, and Berrett's (2006: 706) definition of sense of place as the "connection between people and the places they repetitively use, in which they dwell, in which their memories are made, and to which they ascribe a unique feeling" to understand the communities in which they work.

For the Descendant Society sense of place extends beyond the boundaries of Fort Ward Park to include homes and institutions surrounding The Fort community. The Descendant Society has identified several places as essential aspects of the community of which Fort Ward Park is just one. These include the Seminary and Macedonia/Mudville neighborhoods, Chinquapin Recreational Center, T.C. Williams

High School, the Virginia Theological Seminary (VTS), Oakland Baptist Church (OBC), and Woods Avenue (Figure 1.). Combining all of these locations together, the area surrounding Fort Ward becomes a place of contradictions. It includes the properties that housed the earliest homes and institutions of the community (such as Fort Ward, OBC and Cemetery, and the VTS) and those that destroyed or replaced these same homes and institutions (Fort Ward Park, T.C. Williams High School, and the Woods Avenue neighborhood). For many members of the Descendant Society, their sense of place comes from knowing a history of the landscape, which includes displacements and destruction that is invisible to most.

Sense of Community.

The sense of community is deeply intertwined with the ideas of both memory and place. Although there are many varying definitions of community, often reflecting the academic field in which they are used, my use of the word community, like that of many other scholars draws on Tönnies (1887) idea of *gemeinschaft*. For Tönnies community (*gemeinschaft*) was based on familial, kin, territorial, ethnic, and religious connections that give members a feeling of being part of a group. This expansive idea of community is important to my project because it includes The Fort community of the past and its present manifestation in the Descendant Society, in which members no longer live within a shared, defined space, but still remain connected.

Psychologists McMillan and Chavis (1986: 9) provide a definition of sense of community, which is comprised of four elements: membership, influence, integration and fulfillment of needs, and shared emotional connection. These elements are

equally relevant for territorial and relational communities. However, Glynn (1986) stresses the relationship to place by attributing the loss of sense of community to the creation of a division between communities of place and communities of interest. This is reflected in The Fort community's transition for a neighborhood-based community to its current manifestation in the Descendant Society.

Although, Jopling (1998: 49) argues that community identity is a "relationship among people living in a defined space," sense of community is not restricted to space and place. Instead, the other elements of community identity, locus, distinctiveness, identification, orientation, evaluation of quality of community life, and evaluation of community functioning (Puddifoot 1995) must be considered in order to explain the continuation of The Fort community in the form of the Descendant Society, membership at Oakland Baptist Church, and the continuation of personal relationships. For the current Fort community, identification is the most important aspect of their current community identity and community maintenance. This identification becomes an emotional connection is based on a shared history and forms the foundation of their sense of community (McMillan and Chavis 1986). "It is not necessary that group members have participated in the history in order to share it, but they must identify with it" (McMillan and Chavis 1986: 13).

This idea of shared history is essential for archaeologists and historic preservationists working with and studying communities. Although sense of community changes through time because of changing values within the community and external forces such as commerce, media, and transportation, the fact that shared

history remains an important aspect of defining community membership and identity highlights the need for professional studies of the past.

Project History

The land that now composes Fort Ward Park has been the subject of archaeological and historical research for nearly 60 years. Much of this work is the result of everyday Alexandrians who persuaded city officials to investigate the rich history of this property and preserve it as a historic site. From the community groups in the 1960s who sought to preserve the Civil War fort to the current groups who are working to commemorate the African Americans who lived, worked, and died on this land after the war, community activism is an essential aspect of the history of Fort Ward Park.

Involvement of Community Groups.

The ongoing work at Fort Ward Park is a result of actively involved community members, city archaeologists and officials, and privately hired contractors. Three community groups have been involved in conducting research, creating interpretative materials, and determining the use of Fort Ward Park. These groups include The Fort Ward History Work Group (History Work Group), The Fort/Seminary African American Descendant Society, and the Ad Hoc Fort Ward Park and Museum Area Stakeholders' Advisory Group (Stakeholders' Advisory Group). Membership in these groups often overlaps and for group members that are not city employees their time and work is unpaid and completely voluntary.

The History Work Group is an organization composed of City employees and volunteers, descendant community members, neighbors of the park, and others interested in conducting historical and archaeological research related to Fort Ward Park. The membership of this group changed and decreased over the past few years. Several local historians stopped attending these meetings because of their changing interests and/or disagreements with other group members. This group no longer meets, but was active between 2009 and 2012.

The Descendant Society is primarily composed of descendants and former residents of The Fort, Seminary, and surrounding African American communities. It has also welcomed in a few members that do not have familial connections to The Fort. Several Descendant Society members continue to live in this area of Alexandria, but many descendants have moved away. Oakland Baptist Church, located approximately one mile from Fort Ward Park, draws many descendants back to the area for Sunday services and special events. Many of the members of Oakland Baptist Church are also members of the Descendant Society and other Fort Ward community groups. In addition, the church supports events at the park and has hosted History Work Group meetings. Members of the Descendant Society continue to meet and stay in communication through email, a Facebook page, blog, and regular visits.

The Descendant Society has also been a driving force in the recent archaeological excavations at Fort Ward Park. They have helped shaped the archaeological excavation plans to focus on community burials. In addition, the creation of Krystyn Moon's (2014) report on the history of The Fort came out of the Descendant Society's desire to have a comprehensive text about their community's

history. Although both of these projects eventually became points of contention between the Descendant Society and city officials, they were undertaken to help meet the goals of the Descendant Society.

The Stakeholders' Advisory Group is composed of members of History Work Group, Descendant Society, and stakeholders interested in all aspects of the park, including recreation and natural resources. Stakeholders' Advisory Group members were appointed by the Alexandria City Council and were charged with creating recommendations for a management plan for the park. In 2011, the Stakeholders' Advisory Group submitted *Recommendations for the Management of Fort Ward Historical Park* to the city. This document included recommendations for the management and future use of the archaeological and historical resources in the park and museum, the natural resources in the park, and the recreational features of the park including the amphitheater, playground, and picnic areas. This report provided a framework to create a management plan for the entire park in 2014 (Lardner/Klein 2014). After the approval of the management plan, the Stakeholders' Advisory Group disbanded.

Civic Engagement and My Role in The Fort Project.

When I was presented with the opportunity to work at Fort Ward Park, the Office of Historic Alexandria (OHA), Ottery Group, Inc. staff, my advisor Paul Shackel, and I all saw the potential for conducting this work utilizing the principals of civic engagement. Civic engagement, as defined by the National Park Service, is “a long-term effort to build and sustain relationships with communities of stakeholders” (Little 2007: 4). Although archaeologists have begun to use this approach in their

work, particularly in academic and research-based projects, civic engagement is rarely undertaken in contract archaeology, where time, budget, and project design are generally constrained by compliance practices, often leaving little time or money available for conducting civically-engaged archaeology (Little 2007 and Little and Shackel 2014). The Fort project provided a unique opportunity to apply a civically-engaged approach to contract work.

Unfortunately, the relationship between the Ottery Group, Inc. and OHA did not develop into a long-term working relationship and the Ottery Group, Inc. was not able to develop a truly civically-engaged project. However, as an independent researcher, I had the freedom to continue my involvement in the project and undertake all of the seven activities outlined by Little and Shackel (2014) as necessary for civically-engaged archaeological and heritage work. These are:

1. Learning from others, self, and environment to develop informed perspectives on social issues;
2. Recognizing and appreciating human diversity and commonality;
3. Behaving, and working through controversy, with civility;
4. Participating actively in public life, public problem solving, and community service;
5. Assuming leadership and membership roles in organizations;
6. Developing empathy, ethics, values, and sense of social responsibility;
7. Promoting social justice locally and globally (Little and Shackel 2014: 47).

These activities as well as the values of collaboration, transparency, and democratization of knowledge, which I adopted from Shackel's (2010) work at New Philadelphia, served as guiding principles for my work at Fort Ward and particularly with the Descendant Society. Below, I outline my involvement in The Fort project and my efforts to conduct my work through the ideas and values of civic engagement.

I came into this project as a field technician for the Ottery Group, Inc., the contract company hired by the City of Alexandria to conduct the first stage of excavation at Fort Ward Park in 2010. The project had been presented to me as an atypical contract archaeology experience, because it was designed with continual community involvement deeply incorporated into the archaeological work. Through my position as a field technician, and an eager graduate student, I became the official company representative at History Work Group meetings and was asked to give a talk as part of the 2011 Friends of Fairfax County Archaeology spring symposium. At these meetings I updated attendees on the progress of the excavations, laboratory work, and historical research that the Ottery Group, Inc. was hired to perform. Although the Ottery Group, Inc. was not rehired to conduct the final stage of excavation, I continued to attend these meetings, stayed in contact with community members, and occasionally volunteered at the Alexandria Archaeology laboratory processing artifacts from the phase of excavation conducted by Alexandria Archaeology.

During these meetings and interactions with Descendant Society members and city officials, I observed a larger debate about historic preservation, ownership of the past, and the value of memory. I realized that there was a place for archaeology in this debate, in particular archaeology that was conducted by a third party. Both sides wanted to own the story of The Fort. Both sides felt as though they had information that the other did not. Both sides struggled to work together because of issues in the past, including the taking of community members' land through eminent domain, and issues in the present which were fueled by lack of transparency and mistrust on both

sides. I often took on the role of translating archaeological jargon, methodology, and interpretation to members of the Descendant Society who did not trust city archaeologists to give them clear explanations.

My role in this project has often been a precarious one. As a field technician for the contract firm, I was not in a position to make excavation decisions. In addition, decisions about the historical research and writing I did on behalf of the Ottery Group, Inc. for Alexandria was dictated by the research goals of Alexandria Archaeology, with influence from the Descendant Society and other community groups, and the desires of the contract firm. Through these meetings, I began to build relationships with members of the Descendant Society particularly the president, Adrienne T. Washington and members Francis Terrell and Glenn Eugster.

After the contract between the Ottery Group, Inc. and OHA ended, my position in the project became even less clear. I was no longer included in official correspondence with city archaeologists. I asked to be allowed to work on the city run excavations as a volunteer and was denied. However, I was able to volunteer in the Alexandria Archaeology laboratory to assist in processing the artifacts from their excavations at Fort Ward Park. I continued to attend meetings, but my role shifted from representing the archaeologists working on the site to an interested citizen. As I lost authority with the city, I developed a closer relationship with the descendant community members and other citizen members of the History Work Group. I also continued in my role of archaeology translator.

My shifting role in this project was at times a point of contention. For example, at one History Work Group meeting I brought up my desire to write my

dissertation on the archaeology of The Fort community. I had previously discussed this with both the President of the Descendant Society and the Co-Chair of the History Work Group. Both agreed that this would be a positive contribution to their efforts at Fort Ward and to get recognition for The Fort community. However, when I broached the topic at the meeting, the Director of Historic Alexandria aggressively interrogated me about my research plans and my choice to share them with the History Work Group. After this encounter, descendants and other community members made a special effort to assure me that they wanted me to do this research. Because of this situation a level of camaraderie we developed between the leaders of the Descendant Society and me. The harsh way in which I was confronted at this meeting by the official representative of the city was reminiscent of how descendants viewed their long-term treatment by city officials. This newly forged relationship has led to several co-authored pieces with the President of the Descendant Society, working with Descendant Society members to present the history of The Fort to a NPS youth program, and plans for future work together.

Transparency has been an important aspect of my work with the Descendant Society. Throughout my dissertation work, I have shared my research and writing with them, invited them to co-author pieces whenever I have been offered an opportunity to write about The Fort, and stayed in regular contact. I have also attempted to include Descendant Society members in the archival research process. I have scheduled trips to go to the archives with Descendant Society members to conduct research together, rather than simply presenting my findings to them. When I conducted archival research alone I shared both my interpretations and copies of the

primary documents with Descendant Society members. Providing access to primary source documents to Descendant Society members who are unable to travel to the various archives and have no experience researching in archives provides a level of transparency and access beyond what they have previously experienced. Although all of these efforts have been crucial in maintaining a trusting relationship with the Descendant Society, co-authoring articles has most directly met the goals of the Descendant Society. This sharing of authorship allowed members of the Descendant Society to have their names on written pieces about their community for the first time. This was a major victory in the struggle to tell their own story.

Because of this, it is important that my dissertation serves not only my academic needs, but the needs of the Descendant Society as well. Therefore, I have developed my research questions from the ideas and interests presented by Descendant Society members at History Work Group meetings as well as through personal communication. Since the archaeology work at Fort Ward began, leaders of the Descendant Society wanted to develop a major publication about their community. Although an archaeological dissertation is not necessarily the form in which they would have wanted to create this publication, Descendant Society members have agreed that it will help support their efforts for documentation, research, exhibits, and public recognition of The Fort community.

Historical and Archaeological Research.

Historical research and archaeological excavations have been conducted at Fort Ward Park throughout the 20th century. However, these previous excavations focused on uncovering Civil War related artifacts and archaeological features. The

earliest archaeological work was part of the construction of Fort Ward Park in the 1960s. Archaeologists excavated a portion of the northwest bastion of the earthen fort. The goal of this work was to provide information that could be used to reconstruct the bastion for the new park (Larabee 1961). This report is available to the public online at www.alexandria.gov/historic/archaeology and pictures from this excavation are on display in the Fort Ward Museum.

Excavations conducted in 1991 by Alexandria Archaeology, focused on identifying Civil War resources to celebrate the 30th anniversary of archaeology at the park. Targeted excavations uncovered the remains of the soldiers' barracks (Bromberg 1991). Bromberg's (1991) excavation summary also provides the first discussion of the archaeology of The Fort community. She includes a brief timeline of who owned park property following the Civil War and describes the connection between The Fort community residents and Oakland Baptist Church (Bromberg 1991). She mentions recovering domestic artifacts related to the post-war period and evidence of a fill episode of a ditch surrounding the earthworks after the war (Bromberg 1991). In her summary, Bromberg (1991) recommends further research of The Fort community in the form of examining historical documents and conducting oral history interviews, rather than more archaeological excavation. Bromberg's (1991) report is available to the public online at www.alexandria.gov/historic/archaeology.

Following Bromberg's (1991) recommendations, Alexandria Archaeology began conducting limited investigations into the historical documents related to and memories of residents of The Fort community. As part of "Alexandria Legacies: The

Alexandria Oral History Program,” members of The Fort and Seminary communities were interviewed about their memories of The Fort. Begun in the 1980s, “Alexandria’s Legacies” was designed to collect the stories and memories Alexandria’s residents. Efforts to record the oral histories of Alexandria’s African American residents began in 1982 by the Alexandria Archaeology Museum through their Alexandria African American Neighborhood Project. In the 1990s, this program was expanded to include the The Fort and Seminary communities. Since then, 13 members of The Fort and Seminary communities have been interviewed and had transcripts of their oral histories placed online. Alexandria Legacies has been maintained through the efforts of volunteers and OHA employees and continues today. Transcripts from Alexandria’s Legacies are available online at <http://alexandriava.gov/historic/info/default.aspx?id=29666>.

As trust grew between the Descendant Society members and me, they asked me to conduct oral history interviews with members of their community. Unlike the interviews conducted by Alexandria Archaeology, the deed of gift used for these interviews grants ownership of the recordings and transcripts to the Descendant Society.

These interviews not only contribute significantly to my research, but show the Descendant Society’s desire to break from OHA as the primary organization for recording their community’s history and memories. Many descendants feel that they have had little input in the questions asked during OHA interviews and that they have lost ownership of their stories to the city. Descendants decided that they would no longer conduct interviews with city officials or contractors and instead they would do

the interviews themselves. Unfortunately, the time needed to conduct and transcribe these interviews was too much for the Descendant Society to manage on their own. Together, we created questions, appropriate consent forms, and a deed of gift that would keep the ownership of the interviews within the community and reflect the topics they were interested in recording. These efforts have been spurred by the recent passing of Descendant Society members and relatives.

Archaeological investigations on The Fort began in 2009. That year a Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey was conducted by Sarah Lowry, an archaeologist and remote sensing specialist contracted by Alexandria Archaeology. The purpose of this survey was to locate unmarked burials associated with The Fort community that had been described in oral history interviews or identified in historical documents. Lowry (2009) investigated six survey areas of the park: Old Grave Yard, Jackson Cemetery, North Maintenance Yard, Maintenance Yard Entrance, Adams/Clark Lot (South Maintenance Yard), and Sergeant Young's Front Yard (West Maintenance Yard). This survey identified 38 possible burials, 21 in the Old Grave Yard, 10 in the Maintenance Yard, and seven in Jackson Cemetery survey areas (Table 1.).

That same year, historic preservationist Douglas Appler was contracted by the OHA to create *an Inventory of Historical Resources for Fort Ward Park* (Appler 2009). This document compiled information from historic documents, particularly land records, and oral history interviews to identify sites and structures associated with The Fort community. Appler's (2009) inventory, along with Lowery's (2009) report, served as a guide for the later archaeological excavations.

Table 1. Possible Graves Identified in 2009 GPR Survey

Survey Area	Possible Graves Identified in GPR Survey
Old Grave Yard	21
Jackson Cemetery	7
North Maintenance Yard	6
Maintenance Yard Entrance	0
Adams/Clark (South Maintenance Yard)	3
Sergeant Young's Front Yard (West Maintenance Yard)	1

During the winter of 2010 and 2011 the Ottery Group, Inc. was hired to ground-truth the potential burials identified through the GPR survey, conduct shovel test pit (STP) surveys of the Maintenance Yard and Shorts Lot, and undertake targeted excavations to identify archaeological features associated with The Fort community in the Maintenance Yard and Shorts Lot. During these excavations 130 shovel test pits, 12 mechanical trenches, and 20 test units were excavated. From these excavations 30 features and 22 burials were identified (Franz 2011a). In addition, a nonsystematic metal detector survey was conducted from which 42 artifacts were recovered (Franz 2011a).

The Ottery Group conducted a second phase of excavation in 2011 for the purpose of identifying archaeological resources, particularly unmarked graves that would be impacted by the installation of a rainwater drainage system (Franz 2011b).

The push for the installation of this drainage system came from the combined efforts of the Descendant Society, because water runoff was eroding the markers and soil of the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery, and residents of the surrounding neighborhood whose property was also damaged by the water runoff. During this excavation, an additional unmarked and badly damaged burial was identified.

During this time, I worked on behalf of the Ottery Group, Inc. to update Appler's (2009) inventory of park resources. This work included creating land histories of each parcel within Fort Ward Park, conducting additional historical research on the land and people of The Fort, and incorporating the archaeological discoveries into the inventory. Much of this work was done in partnership with fellow employees of the Ottery Group, Inc. including Matthew Palus who located documents pertaining to the pre-Civil War land owners of the park property and Lauren Schiszik who created GIS maps of Fort Ward Park that showed the change in land ownership through time (Figures 2-7). In addition, Alexandria Archaeology volunteer Linda Cartwright compiled documents relating to The Fort families, primarily censuses and other documents available on [Ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com), which were incorporated into the inventory.

In addition to Ms. Cartwright, numerous Alexandria Archaeology volunteers have made important contributions in all aspects of the work at Fort Ward. Volunteers transcribed many of the interviews conducted as part of the "Alexandria Legacies Project" and processed the artifacts from the third phase of excavation at Fort Ward. Unfortunately, members of The Descendant Society are rarely able to get involved in the project through this type of volunteering. Work commitments, lack of

transportation, health conditions, and uncomfortable feelings between Descendant Society members and city officials, prevent descendants from becoming active volunteers.

Alexandria Archaeology conducted a third phase of excavation during the summer of 2012. The purpose of this excavation was to conduct a shovel test survey of the entire park, excluding the areas previously surveyed by the Ottery Group, Inc., and to conduct targeted excavations to identify additional archaeological resources associated with The Fort community, including unmarked burials (Fesler, Bromberg, and Cressey 2012). During this phase of excavation 1,203 shovel test pits, 61 test units, and 19 mechanical trenches were excavated throughout the park (Fesler, Bromberg, and Cressey 2012). Twenty unmarked graves associated with The Fort community were identified. Over 10,000 artifacts were collected and processed at the Alexandria Archaeology laboratory.

During all three phases of excavation, the site was open to the public, including Descendant Society members, who frequently dropped by to check in on and photograph the progress of the archaeologists. Many of these photographs were posted on the Descendant Society Facebook page and blog for other members and the public to see. Signs were hung in the park museum and restrooms to provide information about the archaeological work and to encourage park visitors to visit the excavations and speak with the archaeologists. However, visitors during the first two phases of excavation were rare, because this work took place during the winter months and often in areas of the park not generally open to the public.

Locating unmarked burials was the primary purpose of all of these excavations. Descendant Society members repeatedly emphasized the importance of locating the burials of their family members and giving these sacred areas proper recognition and protection. In addition, locating burial areas is an important concern for city officials as they move forward with creating a management plan for the park. Because of the sensitivity of this issue, all of the parties involved with the excavation of Fort Ward Park, including city archaeologists, contract archaeologists, and Descendant Society members agreed that burials would be identified by excavating the upper soil levels to reveal the outline of the grave shaft of the burials. At no time were the grave shafts excavated nor were coffin pieces or human remains to be excavated. All but one of the burials identified archaeologically through each phase of work were identified by delineating the top of the grave shaft. Coffin materials of a single burial, located just to the south of the Old Grave Yard, were uncovered because the grave shaft had been previously removed, likely during the construction of the park access road.

In 2013, Dr. Krystyn Moon, a professor of history at the University of Mary Washington, was contracted by the City of Alexandria to write a report on the history of The Fort community. She was scheduled to present her draft report at a public meeting in January 2014. However, this was halted by the Descendant Society who had no previous knowledge of her efforts to write about their community and requested an opportunity to review the report before it was made public. The draft report was published in 2014 and contains an extensive review of the historical documents used in Appler's (2009) inventory, the Ottery Group's inventory update,

and new historical information. Because Moon (2014) and I were conducting our research at the same time much of our primary source work overlaps.

Methodology of Dissertation

Many of the initial methodological decisions of this project were determined by Alexandria Archaeology, who developed the excavation plans for all three phases of excavation. The artifacts were identified using Alexandria Archaeology's laboratory procedures. Likewise, the methods used in the "Alexandria Legacies Project" oral histories were established by Alexandria Archaeology. However, I was able to develop my own method of interpretation for the archaeological resources, historical documents, and oral histories. I was also able to create my own methodology for the oral history interviews I conducted and my documentary research.

Archaeological Research.

For this dissertation, I analyzed the archaeological materials identified and recovered during the Ottery Group, Inc. excavations in 2010 and 2011 and from Alexandria Archaeology's excavation in 2012 using a sensory approach. This analysis was based on my work with the Ottery Group, Inc. and the data shared with me from Alexandria Archaeology.

As a member of the field team that conducted the 2010 and 2011 excavations for the Ottery Group, Inc., I developed firsthand knowledge of the artifacts, features, and structures of The Fort community identified during these excavations. Because of this, I was able to have a full sensory experience with the archaeological materials

identified and recovered during these phases of work. The putrid smell of a recently buried dog coming through the ground as we scraped away the loose dirt that covered it, the ever increasing softness of the soil under my feet as I dug deeper into a privy, and the sound of the backhoe scraping away layers of topsoil, are embedded in my understanding of the archaeological materials recovered from Fort Ward Park. I called on these and my other sensory experiences as I reexamined the artifact databases, maps, and reports created by the Ottery Group, Inc.

However, because I did not participate in the 2012 excavations conducted by Alexandria Archaeology, I do not have the same sensory experiences with these materials. In order to get some hands-on experience with these artifacts, I volunteered in their laboratory processing the artifacts recovered from Fort Ward. This allowed me to see, touch, and otherwise interact with the materials from the third phase of excavation. However, the majority of archaeological analysis of the 2012 excavation used in this dissertation comes from the artifact and locational databases, maps, and summary reports created by the Alexandria Archaeology staff and shared with me for my dissertation.

Conducting a sensory analysis of the materials recovered from The Fort was difficult because I was given limited access to many of the artifacts and was not able to handle most of them. Therefore, I had to think about ways to understand a sensory experience with the archaeological materials from The Fort that did not primarily rely on my ability to interact with them physically. I used the descriptions provided in the artifact databases as a guide to the materials recovered from Fort Ward Park. However, these descriptions are primarily visual, emphasizing things like color and

decoration, and do not address the other senses. To create a multisensory understanding of the artifacts and The Fort community itself, I had to look for other sources of information that addresses not only the other physical senses like smell and touch, but also the senses of memory, place, and community. For this, I turned to oral histories, historical documents, and popular culture to fill in the sense-scape of The Fort community.

Oral Histories and Recorded Memories.

Although the majority of oral histories I use in this dissertation were conducted as part of the “Alexandria Legacies Project,” I was able to conduct several oral history interviews on behalf of the Descendant Society. For these interviews, I developed a set of questions that were edited and approved by the Descendant Society prior to beginning the interview process. I recorded the interviews digitally and created transcripts, both of which were given to the Descendant Society upon completion. An important difference between the oral histories I conducted and those done as part of the “Alexandria Legacies Project” is ownership. Those done as part of the “Alexandria Legacies Project” are owned by the City and are available for public use, the ones I conducted are owned by the Descendant Society and require their approval for use. For the Descendant Society, this was a way to maintain control of their stories and memories.

My use of oral histories in a sensory analysis of African Americans in the past builds on the work of archaeologists who have incorporated oral histories in a variety of approaches to understanding African Americans in the past. For me, oral histories were the primary source of information about the sensory experiences of The Fort

community members and in particular their sense of memory. Other historical archaeologists have used oral histories to contextualize their work in different ways.

Archaeologist Brian Thomas (1995) presents three primary ways in which pre-Emancipation African American artifacts should be contextualized. These are through slave narratives or autobiographies, interviews conducted with former slaves during the early 20th century, and ethnographic analogy. Archaeologists Cheryl LaRoche (2014) and Whitney Battle-Baptiste (2011) use recorded memories to create a more nuanced understanding of the experience of African Americans before Emancipation that includes the ideas of freedom, gender, and community. Likewise, historical documents, oral history interviews, and ethnographic analogy are used for contextualizing post-Emancipation African American archaeological sites and resources (Christman 2010 and Historic Alexandria 2011).

Slave narratives and autobiographies are an important source of recorded memory of the slave experience. Unfortunately, they were often ignored by early historians who saw them as reflections of white abolitionist editors rather than true descriptions of slave experiences. Although their use has been widely adopted by both historians and archaeologists, the narratives reflect only a very small population of enslaved African Americans, because the majority of autobiographies were written by freed, skilled, men (Thomas 1995). One example of archaeologists using these autobiographies to help inform their research is Mark Leone's work at Wye House Plantation on Maryland's Eastern Shore. Wye House was the childhood home of Frederick Douglass where he was held as a slave. In his autobiographies, Douglass described his experiences at Wye House and how it shaped his views on slavery.

Leone and his team use these autobiographies to contextualize the materials they are currently recovering from excavations of slave quarters and the green house (Leone et. al 2013).

Slave interviews or narratives provide an excellent source of information for archaeologists about the memories of former slaves about being enslaved. Unlike autobiographies, these recordings included a wider variety of individuals without the limitations of literacy, status, or gender. However, the majority of slave interviews were conducted by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) during the 1930s by white interviewers. In the addition, the interviewees were primarily over 70 years of age and most were under the age of 15 when they were enslaved (Thomas 1995). WPA interviews were used as the primary source of information in Leone and Fry's (2001) archaeological examination of the material items used in African American spirit practices.

Other factors can also affect the types and quality of information gathered from interviews. Mieka Brand (2007) specifically applies critical examinations to oral histories through her work in Union, Virginia. There, Brand (2007) was often confronted with the fact that the community and her interviewees were so accustomed to being interviewed that they often provided the interviewer with stories and information they anticipated the interviewer wanted to hear. Brand (2007), recognized that it was most often when the recorders were turned off that she learned new information. She argues that tone, word choice, and content of the conversations with interviewees noticeably changed depending on whether or not they were being recorded or officially interviewed (Brand 2007).

Despite the challenges of using information gathered from oral histories, archaeologists working on African American sites have successfully utilized them to create a better understanding of the communities they are studying. For example, Christman (2010) describes how oral history interviews were used to help guide archaeological excavations at New Philadelphia, Illinois. There, informants identified locations of buildings and other archaeological features, as well as providing a context for understanding race relations in the community. Likewise, LaRoche (2014) was able to identify sites associated with the Underground Railroad by combining memories with landscape analysis.

Historical Research.

For this investigation I examined a variety of historical documents, including land records, personal papers, censuses, city directories, newspapers, and military records to create a better understanding of The Fort community. Many of these documents have been examined by other researchers working at Fort Ward Park. However, unlike the other researchers, primarily historians, who have also used these documents, I do not treat them with any more authority or weight than the community memories or archaeological materials.

In addition, I sought out other sources of documentation, ignored by other researchers, to contextualize The Fort community. These alternative documents include movies, songs, advertisements, and other elements of popular culture, which do not specifically mention The Fort, but influenced life there. By looking at these elements of popular culture, I was able to understand The Fort through the documents

that community members would have interacted with on a daily basis rather than just the official narrative of government records.

Organization of Dissertation

Throughout this dissertation, the senses of memory, place, and community will be used to place The Fort community and its archaeology into a broader anthropological context. The artifacts and archaeological features recovered from the excavations at Fort Ward, along with the historical documents, and community memories will be used to provide a multilayered understanding of The Fort community during its occupation and how it is manifested and interpreted today.

In Chapter Two, “Historic Preservation and the Materiality of Memory,” I explore the connections between the sense of memory and its material expression in historic preservation. I provide a broad overview of historic preservation, the challenges of African American preservation, and how it has been practiced in Alexandria and at Fort Ward.

I use sensory history in Chapter Three, “Sensing Race in the History and Memory of the Chesapeake,” to place Fort Ward and The Fort community within a broader historical context. In this chapter I use the connections between race and the senses, including the five physical senses and memory, to tell a brief history of African American experiences in the Chesapeake, with particular attention to Alexandria and the greater Washington, DC area.

Chapter Four, “Sense of Place and the Origins of The Fort Community,” answers the question – what is the origin of The Fort community?—and discusses why the origin of the community is important to the sense of place. In this chapter, I

test three different hypotheses for the community's origin and how each hypothesis affects the sense of place for the different stakeholders in the park including descendants, archaeologists, and historians.

In Chapter Five, "Sense of Community," I use archaeological information, historical documents, and community memories to place The Fort community within the larger scholarship of African American communities. In this chapter, I discuss the role of the three pillars of African American communities, school, church, and family, along with the supporting structures of transportation, employment, and commerce, to the development to The Fort's sense of community.

Chapter Six, "The Senses of Popular Culture," explores the members of The Fort community's sensory interaction with material items and popular culture. This chapter uses memories, artifacts and popular culture items, including movies, music, foodways, dress, and newspaper advertisements to explore daily life for the men, women, and children living in The Fort.

Chapter Seven, "Sense of Responsibility," builds on the discussion of historic preservation developed in Chapter 2, by introducing the role of the sense of responsibility in the debates regarding the burials in Fort Ward Park. Here, I discuss the efforts and conflicts between the Descendant Society, OHA, and contractors to locate, identify, and commemorate burials associated with The Fort community.

Chapter Eight, "Conclusions," places this dissertation within the context of other anthropological, archaeological, and historical efforts currently underway to determine the relationship between the Defenses of Washington and nearby African American communities. Here, I address the question, how can civic engagement and

sensory analysis be applied to other Defenses of Washington parks? I discuss my current efforts to answer this question by applying these approaches to my work at three parks in Washington, DC.

Overall, this dissertation weaves archaeological and historical materials with the memories and stories of the Descendant Society through the lens of sensory archaeology and civic engagement. This work is as much a story about the The Fort community's past as it is a story about the present struggle for the community to claim its place in Alexandria's history, society, and landscape. My hope is that this dissertation can be used as a reference for creating civically-engaged and archaeologically informative projects at historical parks throughout the Chesapeake.

Chapter 2: Historic Preservation as the Materiality of Memory

As discussed in Chapter 1, a strong connection exists between memory and materiality (Hamilakis 2014). Although this connection can be made with almost any object, site, structure, or monument, the historical objects subject to preservation concerns are maintained or constructed to intentionally elicit remembering. The preservation of these “material artefacts, monuments and archaeological sites” is intended to create and shape official memories, but also inspire “various counter-memories” (Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008).

Monuments, memorials, archaeological and historical sites all serve as representations, or stand-ins, for people, events, and ideas of the past that no longer exist or are no longer visible in the present (Owens 1992). Therefore, these sites become the material manifestations of both remembering and forgetting. The necessity of these material reminders to evoke and elicit memory, suggests that places of commemoration are the physical manifestation of forgetting (Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008). Likewise, the destruction of these sites and objects, is a conscious effort to erase the memories of the past from the landscape (Levinson 1998 and Foote 1997). Through this type of landscape manipulation, a selective cultural memory is cultivated (Horning 2001).

The historic preservation of Fort Ward Park, including both official and counter-memories, is a stimulus for remembering some aspects of the past and forgetting others. But how can we fully understand the preservation and memory

issues at Fort Ward Park? I suggest that by placing Fort Ward Park within the larger historic preservation movement a better understanding can be developed. In this chapter, I provide a synopsis of historic preservation in America, particularly the preservation of African American sites, and the use of memory in this work. I then discuss how preservation has been carried out in Alexandria, Virginia and at the Defenses of Washington sites, including Fort Ward Park.

History of Historic Preservation

Like archaeology, historic preservation is a multi-sensory field. Because the majority of preservation projects involve standing structures, sensory work in preservation is rooted in sensory approaches to architecture. Sensory theory in architecture also builds on the work of Merleau-Ponty (1962) by placing the body at the center of experiencing the built environment (Pallasmaa 2012).

Every touching experience of architecture is multi-sensory; qualities of space, matter and scale are measured equally by the eye, ear, nose, skin, tongue, skeleton and muscle. Architecture strengthens the existential experience, one's sense of being in the world and this is essentially strengthened experience of self. Instead of mere vision, or the five classical senses, architecture involves several realms of sensory experience which interact and fuse into each other (Pallasmaa 2012: 45).

For preservationists, the sensory experience integrates the age and decay into their sensory architecture. The sound of an old house settling, the thick feeling of numerous layers of paint on a wooden surface, and the smell of dust and mold that penetrates poorly cared for structures are familiar to preservationists and experienced differently than for architects in general. But just as in archaeology, visual appearance has dominated preservation and interpretation of sites and structures.

In the United States, historic preservation began with efforts of the elites and women's groups to preserve the homes and sites associated with the Founding Fathers, such as George Washington's home Mount Vernon (Lea 2003). Efforts to preserve America's past through its historic structures were bolstered by wealthy philanthropists like John D. Rockefeller Jr. who funded the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg (Handler and Gable 1997 and Lea 2003).

Early preservation efforts emphasized visual aesthetics and high architectural style as the primary value of historic structures. In 1849, John Ruskin was one of the earliest people in the fields of architecture and what would later become historic preservation, to assign value to non-monumental structures and the changes a building goes through during its lifetime. For Ruskin (1849), the true beauty of the building lied not solely in its architecture, but also the story of its use, change, and decay, which could be seen in its patina. He argued, sometimes contradictorily, that changes to a building should be respected in order to tell the story of the building, which was its true value (Ruskin 1849). Ruskin's (1849) work can see as a foundation for modern preservation and the first appreciation of the multisensory aspects of the field.

Historic preservation expanded in the 1930s as New Deal programs led to massive government projects that sought to employ Americans in preservation-related projects, ranging from constructing park facilities, recording oral histories, and massive archaeological excavations (Battle-Baptiste 2011 and Lea 2003). Some of these programs directly impacted the Washington, DC area. For example, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camped at Fort Dupont, in Southeast Washington, DC,

and restored and built amenities for several of the Fort Circle Parks. These New Deal programs shifted the majority of preservation away from private organizations into the public sphere and diversified the types of sites that were preserved. In addition, the oral history program, which included recordings of former slaves, was the first national effort to document American memories of slavery (Covey and Eisnach 2009).

In the 1960s, the preservation movement expanded greatly and the field was professionalized. Much of the expansion of the historic preservation movement was tied into the centennial celebration of the anniversary of the Civil War. By the 1940s the last Union and Confederate veterans were dying, and people feared that the memories of the war would die along with the few remaining soldiers (Boge and Boge 1993). At the same time, Civil War battlefields were being destroyed by the expansion of the Interstate Highway System and suburban expansion (Boge and Boge 1993, Lea 2003 and Fowler 2003). The interstates were also drawing new visitors to historic sites as families began to take driving vacations. The loss of memories with the passing of a generation and newly gained access to battlefields and other historic sites, inspired people to act on behalf of the preservation of these important places.

The new preservation issues that arose because of the expanding suburbs, highway system, and desire to celebrate the centennial of the Civil War lead to the creation of the most important legislation for the preservation of historic sites, the National Historic Preservation Act (Lea 2003). In 1966, National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) became law and created the National Register of Historic Places. With the implementation of the NHPA, a new industry known as Cultural

Resource Management, was created. Archaeologists, preservationists, and historical architects were now needed to deal with federal properties and projects that received federal funds or permits; to be with compliant with the law.

Since the 1960s, the work of professional archaeologists and preservationists in the United States has been guided by the criteria established in the NHPA for National Register designation. Properties must have integrity and meet one of the four established criteria in order to be considered eligible for listing on the National Register. These four criteria included having an association with significant events or people in the past, being representative of a significant architectural style, architect, or artist, or having the potential to yield important information about the past (National Park Service 2006).

Other federal laws soon followed, such as the National Environmental Protection Act (1969), Archaeological Resource Protection Act (1979), and Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1994), all of which extended the protections provided in the NHPA (National Park Service 2006). States and some local municipalities also implemented their own laws to protect historical and archaeological resources on state or locally controlled land. These laws standardized the field of preservation and established the core values of the profession.

Recently, however, there have been efforts to shift how preservation is understood and conducted. Randall Mason (2006) describes this new approach as “value centered preservation.” Mason (2006: 35) argues that:

values-centered preservation enables the holistic understanding of sites...leads to an acknowledgment and inclusion of a greater range of stakeholders by accounting for all the values of sites...is based on comprehensive knowledge about a site's values, which is essential to support the long view of

stewardship that is one of the most basic contributions of historic preservation thinking...[and] reveals serious gaps in knowledge about the historic environment and how the historic environment is used.

For Mason (2006), the incorporation of values held by those from outside of the preservation community leads to an openness of dialogue and an expansion of what historic preservation can do. Value centered preservation makes preservation about people rather than buildings and allows room for multiple values to be considered.

The issues of mobility, mixing, and multiple identities creates a diversity that leads to multiple values, even within the same community (Mason and de la Torre 2000). Sometimes these values may conflict and these conflicting values can be represented in these differing approaches to recognizing and interpreting the past. Economic, functional, and social values are found at all historical sites, but often professionals, communities, and the wider public do not share or recognize each other's values (Van Heusden and Klamer 1996 and Getty Conservation Institute 1998). This is because values are "embodied in a community's (more or less) shared culture" (Layton 1994: 3). However, understanding and appreciating these different values should be at the core of the work conducted by preservationists (Mason 2006).

The multiple values referred to by Mason and de la Torre (2000) can be seen in efforts to balance the work and values of environmental and historic preservation. Robert Melnick (2000) describes nature and culture as in direct conflict, with nature as something to be conquered and overcome violently through culture. Rebecca Conrad (2001) sees the conflict as battle between territorial professionals trying to protect their disciplines. However, the values of both environmental and historic

preservationists have been incorporated into the Green Building movement (Elefante 2007). Adopting the idea that the greenest building is the one that is already built, environmental and historic preservationists create a multivalued approach that recognizes the environmental, economic, and use values of historic structures (Elefante 2007).

African American Historic Preservation

Despite the exclusive nature of the professional fields, African Americans have diligently worked to preserve their community histories and memories. Beginning in the 19th century, African Americans, and some Euroamericans, collected and preserved documents, material culture, and performances of African Americans (Ruffins 1991). One example of this is the work William Carl Bolivar, a historical researcher, journalist, and educator who lived in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He dedicated his life to collecting and archiving printed materials written by African Americans and writing newspaper articles about African Americans in his hometown of Philadelphia (Welburn 2007). Bolivar and other African Americans efforts to document African American history was the primarily work in creating and preserving a collective community memory (Welburn 2007).

These efforts continued into the 20th century and were often bolstered through educational and intellectual movements. In the 1920s Washington, DC educator Carter G. Woodson created Negro History Week, which would later be expanded into Black History Month, to celebrate the history of African Americans (Goggin 1993). The early 20th century Pan-African movement, which emphasized the shared struggle

of all African and African diasporic people, created a school of thought in which researching and preserving African American history was valued (Ruffins 1991).

In the past 20 years, there has been a significant increase in attention to African American historic sites. Increases in the number of sites preserved and the quality of the interpretation of African American history at many of these sites are two major accomplishments of preservationists. Today, the field of historic preservation is playing catch-up in the representation of African Americans. The interpretation of African American historical sites is often limited to specific times or themes, such as slavery and Civil Rights, or to the “they, too, were here” style of interpretation, meaning individual African Americans are tokenized rather than incorporated into the broader historical narrative (Davis 1989). In addition, large sites that include African Americans tend to do so in a limited way, such as only interpreting African Americans within the slave quarters and not in the “Big House.” Rarely is the history of African Americans thoroughly integrated into the broader historical narrative and is instead treated as an isolated aspect of historic interpretation.

Even when a site solely represents African American history, there are significant preservation challenges. African American sites often have trouble meeting the traditional ideas of a site worthy of being preserved. Since the 19th century, preservation has traditionally focused on standing buildings, especially grand houses that are most often associated with the lives of people considered to be important to national history, such as political and military leaders. Sites such as Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello epitomize this early and dominant type of

preservation. These standards and practices of preservation are reflected in the National Register of Historic Places' criteria of significance.

In the late 20th century, an over reliance on the National Register's criteria to determine which sites should be preserved has led to huge gaps in the preservation of historic sites that represent minorities, the lower class, and everyday life (Morgan, Morgan, and Berrett 2006). Many of these sites, although not considered eligible for the National Register, contribute to sense of place. The concept of sense of place appears in some federal legislation, such as the NEPA (1970). However, catastrophic loss of the built environment due to major disasters, such as Hurricane Katrina hastens the need for the preservation of the remaining sites that embody sense of place, although they might not qualify for the National Register (Morgan, Morgan, and Berrett 2006).

The National Register criteria also form the basis for similar lists and protection measures on state and local levels. Although there are some exceptions, African American sites do not generally meet the traditional ideas of significance because they were not created by a master or represent high artistic style (Criteria B) or are associated with a significant person (Criteria C). Most African American sites, that are considered eligible for listing, fall under Criteria A, associated with a significant event in the past, or Criteria D, yields or likely to yield information important to history or prehistory, and because of this, it is sometimes more difficult for their significance to be fully recognized and legitimized by both the public and even some professional preservationists.

This bias can also be seen in local preservation, particularly in the Washington, DC area. One instance that epitomizes the challenges that African American sites in this region is the recent update of the Prince George's County *Historic Sites and Districts Plan (HSDP)*. This provides an excellent example for understanding African American historic preservation and can be used for direct comparison to the efforts of OHA, because the municipalities are located directly across the Potomac River from one another.

In 1996, the *African American Heritage Survey*, was created by the Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission (M-NCPPC) Historic Preservation Office to document African American sites in Prince George's County, Maryland. However, these sites were not officially designated as either county historic sites or resources. In 2010, these sites were given official recognition in the updated *HSDP*. In the updated plan, approximately 25% of the officially designated historic sites in Prince George's County were African American sites. However this is not representative of the makeup of the county, where approximately 65% of people currently living in Prince George's County are African American (United States Census Bureau (USCB) 2010).

At a hearing held in January 2010, the *HSDP* was presented to the public, who were then invited to comment on the plan. The most heated public discussion over which sites should be included or excluded were about African American properties. One example from the hearing was the numerous testimonies in favor of designating of the Ridgeley School building as a historic site. Ridgeley alumni shared their memories of the school in powerful testimonies that stressed the role of the school as

an institution that helped Prince George's County African American residents overcome racist obstacles during the early 20th century. Ridgeley School, which had not been included in the draft plan by county preservation staff, was a Rosenwald School built in 1927. As a result of the efforts of members of the African American community to share their memories publically, the Ridgeley School was added to the *HSDP*.

Not all of the public testimonies resulted in additions to the plan. African American county residents repeatedly contacted the M-NCPPC preservation staff as well as testifying at the public hearing in favor of designating the City of Glenarden as a historic district. Glenarden is a small, nearly 100 year old, African American city that includes some of Prince George's County's oldest African American owned businesses, including Smith's Barbershop. However, informal comments by several preservation staff members dismissed the worthiness of this neighborhood as an insignificant collection of 20th century concrete block houses, unworthy of designation or protection. Some of the county preservationists felt that the architecture, in particular, was too common and there was nothing unique or significant enough about the history of Glenarden to merit preservation and official designation. However, the simple fact that members of the public value Glenarden's history and the remaining structures which embody their memories of the community, suggest that it merits recognition.

Another issue that faces the preservation of historic African American sites is that often few or no standing structures remain that embody African American history. In many cases these buildings have been destroyed through private

development, governmental efforts, or neglect. One method for dealing with sites that do not have standing structures is undertaking archaeological work to locate their physical remains. Unfortunately, archaeological excavations are not always possible. In these cases, studying the landscape, examining historical documents, and conducting oral histories become the primary ways of reconstructing African American communities that have been displaced, destroyed, or significantly changed (LaRoche 2014). Even when archaeological excavations are possible, it is necessary to examine the entire range of resources in order to obtain the most complete picture of the past. Thus, the most significant preservation of African American sites is not done on the physical site, but rather is conducted in the public and private memories of the surrounding community. In some cases, steps are being taken to create physical manifestations of these memories through exhibits, monuments, and memorials, however in others the recording and writing of these memories is the only form of preservation.

Again I turn to nearby Prince George's County, Maryland, for an example that can inform the work in Alexandria, particularly at Fort Ward. The Lakeland Community Heritage Project (LCHP) is an ongoing preservation project whose mission is

to collect, preserve, and interpret the heritage and history of those African Americans who created, lived in, and /or had association with the Lakeland community of Prince George's County, Maryland from the late 19th century to the present (lakelandchp.com/about).

The LCHP is the result of the combined efforts of Lakeland residents, former residents, descendants, and scholars at the University of Maryland, College Park.

Although a few of Lakeland's structures, including several homes, two churches, and a school are still standing today, the physical makeup of the community has significantly changed and an entire section has been destroyed. Students at the University of Maryland (UMD) have worked to document and recreate the physical landscape and educational experiences of Lakeland through historical research. UMD students recorded community and individual memories in oral history interviews, collected historical documents, especially photographs, and assembled them into a documentary film that was given to the LCHP for their use. This documentary, like the other preservation materials created during the project evoked and elicited memories of the participants and viewers.

The most important and difficult problem for interpreting African American sites are issues of racial violence associated with slavery and segregation. Often topics related to this type of violence and racism create an uncomfortable situation for both interpreters and visitors to historic sites. For example, in Handler and Gable's (1997) discussion of the Other Half tour at Colonial Williamsburg, the authors describe the interactions of African American guides and visitors. White and black guests often reacted differently to learning about slavery in 18th century Williamsburg. Many white guests sought reassurance from guides that slavery was not as violent or oppressive as it is often portrayed, while many African American visitors pressed the guides to discuss the extreme episodes of violence and torture associated with slavery (Handler and Gable 1997).

Given the issues of racism and violence, many African American sites can be considered sites of conscience. The International Coalition of Sites of Conscience

(ICSC) (www.sitesofconscience.org) is an international organization of museums and historic sites that deal with these types of difficult public interpretations. The ICSC has its own criteria for listing a site of conscience: history must be interpreted through a historic site, programs should stimulate dialogue on social issues and promote humanitarian and democratic values, and provide opportunities for public involvement (ICSC 2014). Ironically, despite the violence and racism associated with the sites discussed in this dissertation, many of them would find as much difficulty meeting the ICSC's criteria for listing as they do meeting the National Register's criteria, chiefly because many have yet to be designated as a historic site.

Violence in many African American communities in the Chesapeake was direct and physical as well as indirect, in the form of displacement. Displacements fractured communities through separation of people and the destruction of homes and other public buildings. This form of violence occurred in both Lakeland and Alexandria, including on the property of The Fort community. The stories of these displacements often appear quite differently in the standard historical narrative and the memories of the communities. Recalling these memories of violence is often very emotional for descendants, so eliciting these memories and creating interpretive materials regarding the displacements has to be done thoughtfully.

The violence associated with slavery creates similar emotional responses that must be handled mindfully. At Colonial Williamsburg, first person interpreters realized that they could not simply add in a few African Americans presenters to discuss slavery, but had to change the presentation itself (Horton 2006 and Matthews 1997). In many ways this is because no one wanted to play the role of a slave, but

also because of the intensity of the subject matter (Handler and Gable 1997). Heeding Blakey's (1997) suggestion, Colonial Williamsburg museum professionals developed relationships with African American historians from Hampton University to incorporate the African American past into their tours and educational programs (Matthews 1997).

One issue that created conflict in how slavery was interpreted was how slaves were dominated and controlled through sexual practices and laws governing miscegenation (Handler and Gable 1997). For instance, African American and the white interpreters who led the house tour of the large Wythe estate disagreed over whether sexual relationships between slaves and their masters should be incorporated into the story of the Wythe family. White interpreters argued that there was no documentation to support these stories. African American interpreters spoke about the necessity to critically examine documents that might have been "whitewashed." For example, details like a reference to one of George Wythe's female slaves living in the house with him and bearing a mulatto son implied a history of miscegenation that is ingrained in the memories of African Americans (Handler and Gable 1997). It is necessary to incorporate the perspective of the white and black interpreters, the historical documents, and the community memories in a way that a rich public memory can be created at their intersection (Bodnar 1992).

The incorporation of slavery into the interpretation and memories of historical sites has been met with mixed reactions. Visitors to Thomas Jefferson's Monticello report that the incorporation of information about slave life and specifically Jefferson's relationship with Sally Hemings into the tours of the plantation

community and main house was a welcome and important addition to the interpretation of the site (Horton 2006). While at Arlington House, the Custis-Lee family home in Northern Virginia, visitors expected to and were comfortable discussing slavery when touring the slave quarters (Horton and Horton 1999). However, this same comfort disappeared when slavery was brought up in the main house, because visitors did not expect to engage with the topic of slavery in that space (Horton and Horton 1999).

Being unprepared to confront memories of the violence of slavery and racism strongly affects how people react to the material presentations of these memories. An exhibit in the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, titled “Back of The Big House: The Cultural Landscape of the Plantation” only lasted for three hours after its installation before it was taken down (Horton and Horton 1999). The abrupt removal of this exhibit was in response to the requests of the African American employees of the Library of Congress who felt the memories and materials of slavery was too painful to face every day at work (Horton and Horton 1999).

Perhaps nowhere is the relationship between materiality and memory more evident than in the creation of monuments and memorials. Marie Tyler-McGraw (2006) discusses the use of signs and monuments as part of Richmond, Virginia’s heritage tourism. She describes the political struggle between African American groups, Confederate heritage groups, and political leaders to determine how Richmond’s past should be commemorated, remembered, and more broadly, who has the rights to make these decisions (Tyler-McGraw 2006). One example she uses is the debate over whether a statue of Archer Ashe, who was the first African American

man to win many of the most prestigious championships in tennis, should be placed on Monument Avenue. Up to that point, Monument Avenue featured a series of Confederate memorials constructed during the late 19th and early 20th century that reflected the values and interests of the elite living along the avenue (Tyler-McGraw 2006). At the core of this debate is the new memories that the Ashe monument, when placed in close proximity to the Confederate memorials, would trigger. The Ashe monument would be a visible reminder of the existence and struggle of African Americans. Even though Ashe was not a contemporary of the Confederates, seeing him alongside of them would make it much more difficult to view the war memorials through only the memories of heroism, bravery, and military sacrifice that they were intended to evoke, without also being reminded of the racism that both Ashe and the earlier generations of African Americans faced.

While the debate over the Ashe monument centered on its location, the memorialization of the Robinson House at Manassas National Battlefield Park in Virginia was centered on its materiality. Erika Martin, Mia Parsons, and Paul Shackel (1997) argue that instead of creating a new monument, the preservation of the remaining pieces of the Robinson house, its foundations and chimney, is the best way to memorialize the site because it embodies the Robinson family's struggle and persistence in surviving in a racist society. Here the materials of the monument itself is embedded with the memories of the past, because it was created by the people who are being memorialized.

Historic preservation, materiality, and memory also come together in temporary exhibits, programs, and literature. While Archaeology in Annapolis has

created many museum exhibits over the past 30 years, their primary focus on on-site, in-the-field interpretation organized through site tours and interpretive literature is at the core of their interpretive program (Potter 1994). Through the Archaeology in the Public's active engagement with the general public, archaeologists encourage visitors to think critically about how archaeology can provide commentary on contemporary life, particularly in regards to race relations (Potter 1994). Tours to African American home sites and neighborhoods, like those excavated and written about by Mullins (2001) and Matthews (2001), have provided a material foundation to encourage visitors to share their memories as they engage in critical discussions.

As of this writing, the biggest thing, both literally and figuratively, happening in the historic preservation of the African American past is the construction of a museum dedicated to African American history and culture on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. The Smithsonian and other museums on and around the National Mall establish the official and national memories for the United States. Previously, the national memory displayed in these exhibits included racist exhibits in the "Africa Hall" of the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History (Early 1996). After years of efforts by a group of African Americans known as "Tu Way Moja" (meaning "We are one" in Swahili) and Congressmen, these exhibits were removed along with the racist memories they inspired (Early 1996). Although Charles P. Henry (2007) argues that the political work undertaken to create an African American museum near the National Mall is an example of the efforts to get cultural reparations, I suggest that it is more than making amends, but a shift toward changing the national memory to include civic and counter-memories of African Americans on a grand scale.

African American Historical Archaeology

African American historical archaeology is closely tied to historic preservation, as much of the information and material items used in African American preservation projects has resulted from archaeological work. Likewise, archaeologists, like preservationists, have begun to actively incorporate memory into their research and interpretation of the past.

Until recently the majority of these archaeological and preservation projects were conducted with little or no input from African Americans communities. Today, professional archaeologists and preservationists regularly engage with African American communities as part of their work (Agbe-Davies 2010; Battle-Baptiste 2011; McDavid 1997; LaRoche 2014). This engagement is the first step in shifting relationships between archaeologists, who are thought to have power because of their education and training, and the community, which often feels powerless when it comes to making decisions about land use, interpretation, or other related issues (Watkins, Pyburn, and Cressey 2000).

Watkins, Pyburn, and Cressey (2000) briefly outline how and why archaeologists should work with descendant and local communities. They note that working with these communities is beneficial because of “the need to encourage preservation, develop an educated constituency, and attract the next generation of scholars” (Watkins, Pyburn, and Cressey (2000: 73). Nicholas and Mortensen (2010: 11) advise, “community-based research practices can provide the means both to understand how and why contentious issues emerge and to develop strategies that facilitate more meaningful, equitable and satisfying ventures.”

Several archaeological projects have followed this advice by developing community archaeology programs, including Quseir, Egypt (Moser et. al 2002), New Philadelphia, Illinois (Agbe-Davis 2010; Shackel 2010), and Annapolis, Maryland (Leone 1994; Logan 1998). Historic preservationists have made similar efforts through projects like Steven B. Burg's (2008) restoration project at the Locust Grove African American Cemetery in Shippensburg, Pennsylvania.

The condition of historical archaeology in the Chesapeake, particularly African American historical archaeology, in regards to the needs of the descendant communities is variable. Beginning in the 2000s, archaeologists and museum professionals in the Chesapeake have worked to engage descendant populations in historical archaeology (Cressey, Reeder, and Bryson 2003; Leone 2010). However, the level of success and manner in which this has been done varies quite extensively. Ultimately, civic engagement comes down to forming and maintaining trusting relationships between professionals and community members. Often, this is determined by the individual personalities and actions of both groups.

In 1997, *Historical Archaeology*, the journal of the Society for Historical Archaeology produced a thematic volume entitled *In the Realm of Politics: Prospects for Public Participation in African-American and Plantation Archaeology*. In it, archaeologists from throughout the country candidly described their efforts in public engagement on the African American sites where they were working. Anthropologist, Michael Blakey contributed a commentary on the articles included in the volume. In his commentary, Blakey (1997) established four areas of concern in regards to interpretation and public participation in African American archaeological

investigations, specifically as a commentary on the discussions presented by the other contributors. His areas of concern include: the politics of the past, Euroamerican insistence on control, relations between archaeology and African American scholarship, and the democratization of knowledge (Blakey 1997: 140). For Blakey, each of these concerns is affected by racism, yet each displays efforts to confront and overcome the inherent and often initially unrealized racism.

It is important to be aware of unrealized and unintentional racism when designing an archaeological project, especially one that involves a living descendant community. Omi and Winant (1994: 71) define as a project as racist if it “creates or reproduces structures of domination based on essentialist categories of race.” This is a good guideline for examining the interpretation of African American archaeological sites, especially in regards to forming relationships with descendant communities. Often actions that fall within this definition of racist are done so without intention or realization of their racist connotation.

For archaeologists, insistence on Euroamerican control is probably one of the biggest and least understood problems when working with a descendant community. Many archaeologists see that as trained professionals they have earned the right to control research design and interpretation. Archaeologists view their privilege to control the situation as coming from their education and training, not from their race (Derry 2003). What many archaeologists do not realize is that, for descendants, authority attributed to race and authority attributed to profession qualifications are intertwined. Many descendant communities have been victimized by white authorities who have used their status as professionals to implement racist policies, such as

community displacement. Feelings of distrust associated with the memories of victimization lasts for generations and are difficult to overcome when the same institutions responsible for the displacement are now responsible for the archaeological research (McDavid 2003).

Drake Patten's (1997) piece in *Historical Archaeology* on her work at the Foster home site near Charlottesville, Virginia deals with the politics of the past. She discusses the problem of applying the modern label "African American" to the Foster home site, especially in regards to how the public understands and remembers the site. Catherine Foster, the historic owner and namesake of the site was identified as a mulatto in census records. In addition, the only living descendants of Ms. Foster self-identify as white (Patten 1997: 133). The confusion of these cultural identities is rooted in the creation of racial categories, which was facilitated and scientifically justified by some early anthropological studies.

One example of a successful democratization of knowledge advocated by Blakey (1997) is the work at New Philadelphia. Anna Agbe-Davies (2010) describes how raw data was uploaded to public websites incrementally throughout the project. By making all of the information available to the archaeologists accessible to everyone, trust was built between the community and the archaeologists. Community members are often expected to share their memories with archaeologists, but the same expectation is not placed on archaeologists to share their raw data. Instead, they are expected to share final interpretations. By sharing raw data the archaeologists at New Philadelphia showed that they valued the interpretations of the community and their data was of no more value than the community's memories.

Although all of Blakey's (1997) concerns continue to be major issues in historical archaeology, I believe that there are other equally important issues facing historical archaeologists. The most important of these are the challenges of understanding and organizing archaeological sites and materials in ways that are not restricted by imposed, often racist, boundaries. Because this problem occurs during both the research and presentation processes it is particularly significant. These boundaries take many forms and the neat and tidy boundary lines that once defined spaces, artifacts, and even people's identities have become blurred and in many cases found invalid. One boundary that continues to be problematic is the boundary of academic discipline. Another problematic boundary is the often unavoidable reliance of physical boundaries to dictate research goals and questions. For archaeologists, the most problematic boundary, which at times is equally real and constructed, is the boundary that separates the past from the present. These problems with boundaries are not new for archaeologists working in the Chesapeake. However, they continue to be seen by many as too impermeable and too natural to defy.

In Blakey's (1997) commentary discussed above, he cited the lack of relationship between archaeologists and African American scholars as a significant problem in engagement with African American communities. Unfortunately, this academic narrow mindedness is not limited to African American scholarship, but also often to the work of our fellow anthropologists. One example is the limited use of ethnographic analogies by historical archaeologists. Modern ethnographic analogies of African American peoples are rarely applied as a source of comparison in the archaeological record and could provide an important source of new information.

Instead, archaeologists tend to limit their utilization of living African Americans as sources of information to oral history interviews. However, the application of studies such as Carol Stack's (1975) *All are Kin* could provide a different understanding of modern African American residential patterns, material use, and concepts of ownership, friendship, and family. Stack (1975) describes fictive kinship, membership in several different households for the purposes of eating, sleeping, and providing, and fluidity of childrearing. Many of these same patterns were identified by Mintz and Price (1976) as having occurred during slavery. Beyond this connection, Stack's work can be used to help interpret archaeological information. For instance, examining the ideas of fictive kinship or fluid childrearing may be used to better understand the children's toys Armstrong (2008) recovered from the Harriett Tubman site.

Racial segregation and displacement has affected how official histories have been constructed and interpreted to the public. Often, the history and even the presence of African American communities have been erased from the landscape and the memories of the public. Because of this, there is a need for professional archaeologists and preservationists to adopt the idea of community for understanding the groups they study and for recognizing the buildings, cemeteries and landscapes left behind the shared history which bonds the community. Likewise it is essential for archaeologists and preservationists to see the continuation of this shared history in the descendant communities living today. Working with descendants and other related communities to interpret the past is the only way for professionals to truly make these connections across space and time.

Historic Preservation and Archaeology in Alexandria

Historic preservation is an important part of the City of Alexandria's identity. The Alexandria Convention and Visitors Association's website (<http://www.visitalexandriava.com>) highlights Alexandria's "rich history" as the city's top draw for tourists. The majority of preservation efforts within the city are handled through OHA. OHA is responsible for "preserving and interpreting the historic properties, archaeological sites, cultural resources, artifact collections, objects, archives, records, and personal stories" in Alexandria (Office of Historic Alexandria 2011). As part of its mission, OHA operates seven museums including the Alexandria Archaeology Museum and the Fort Ward Park Museum.

Preservation also extends to the private sector. Local businesses such as, Alexandria Colonial Tours, emphasize their connection to Alexandria's past. These private companies primarily market the past to tourists and focus on Alexandria's colonial history as the major draw.

Historic preservation is particularly important for African American Alexandrians, who have used it as a way to respond to a series of displacements of African American communities during the mid-20th century. Rather than city-sponsored preservation activities, these were grassroots efforts lead by African American individuals and organizations to maintain their history and communities.

In the 1970s, Eudora N. Lyles founded the Inner City Civic Association to preserve her neighborhood from a proposal to construct an eight-lane highway through north Alexandria, which would displace hundreds of African Americans from their homes (Bah et. al. 2013). For seven years Mrs. Lyles and her organization

worked to preserve their inner-city neighborhood (Bah et. al. 2013). Their efforts were successful, and today, Mrs. Lyles' Uptown neighborhood is included in the African American Historic Sites Self-Guided Tour.

Starting in the 1980s the OHA began serious efforts to incorporate African Americans into the historical narrative of the city. In 1983, the Alexandria Black History Museum opened, becoming the first historical site in Alexandria specifically dedicated to African American history. The Black History Museum is partially housed in the Robert H. Robinson Library. The Robinson Library was constructed in 1940, as the first library to specifically serve Alexandria's African American community. Its creation was the city's answer to the arrest of six young African American men who conducted a sit-in strike at the segregated Alexandria Library after they were denied library cards (Bah et. al. 2013). Today, The Black History Museum includes a permanent exhibit showing the experiences of African Americans in Alexandria before Emancipation, a gift shop, and a temporary exhibit space that features new exhibits several times throughout the year. In addition, there is a separate library and reading room and a few panels explaining the history of the Robinson Library (Bah et. al. 2013).

In the late 1980s, Alexandria Archaeology began to focus on incorporating African American archaeology into the public narrative of Alexandria's past (Cressey 1985; Cressey 1993; Cressey, Reeder, and Bryson 2003). At this time, both public archaeology and African American archaeology were new fields and there was little guidance in how to do these projects most effectively. By the 1990s, City Archaeologist, Pamela Cressey, had published several pieces about African American

archaeology and working with African American communities in Alexandria (Cressey 1985; Cressey 1993; Watkins, Pyburn, and Cressey 2000).

Alexandria Archaeology is a division within OHA that actively conducts archaeological research in the city, operates a volunteer archaeological lab, and a small museum in the restored Torpedo Factory in Old Town. A pioneer in public archaeology, Alexandria Archaeology is one of the earliest and most successful examples of engaging the community in archaeological research. Alexandria Archaeology runs archaeological field schools to teach members of the general public excavation techniques on real archaeological sites and trains lab volunteers in artifact processing. Volunteers also greet museum guests and conduct historical research (Creeseey, Reeder, and Bryson 2003; Cressey 2005).

Alexandria Archaeology is also responsible for conducting or coordinating archaeological excavations on City property in order to meet the compliance requirements of city ordinances. From these excavations and accompanying historical research, Alexandria Archaeology produces numerous publications primarily directed at a public audience, including information on their website, museum exhibits, brochures, news stories, and reports. Alexandria Archaeology is also engaged in broader preservation activities including gathering and recording oral histories and involvement with the preservation of historic buildings.

Since its inception, Alexandria Archaeology has worked closely with two citizen organizations: the Alexandria Archaeological Commission (AAC) and Friends of Alexandria Archaeology (Cressy, Reeder, and Bryson 2003). Efforts of participants in both the AAC and Friends group expanded the public participation of

Alexandria Archaeology and introduced new sites and activities to the archaeological staff. In addition, the AAC helped create the Alexandria Archaeological Protection Code in 1989 (Cressy, Reeder, and Bryson 2003).

Initially, City archaeologists treated the African American descendant communities as part of the general public audience. For example, one of Alexandria Archaeology's early efforts to incorporate African Americans into the public narrative of Alexandria's past was through a series of newspaper articles, titled "Alexandria Artifact Stories" that ran from 1994-1997 in *The Alexandria Gazette Packet*. These articles often featured information about sites and artifacts related African American Alexandrians. However, as Alexandria Archaeology continued to work on projects associated with African Americans, descendant communities demanded to be treated as stakeholders, engaged throughout the research process.

This situation changed when archaeologists began to work on two African American burial sites, the African American Heritage Park and Freedmen's Cemetery. Because of the sensitive nature of cemeteries, meaningful engagement with Alexandria's African American descendant communities was necessary for the success of these projects (Cressey, Reeder, and Bryson 2003; Cressey 2005).

The creation of the African American Heritage Park came through the combined efforts of a city-formed task force to create an African American memorial, Alexandria Archaeology, and the AAC. The site of the historic African American cemetery was selected to be the location of the planned memorial to Alexandria's African American leaders. Today, the park combines the preserved cemetery with a sculpture created by Jerome Meadows, and an environment for meditation in nature.

Twenty-eight burials, five of which were connected to specific individuals were identified archaeologically (Alexandria Archaeology 1994; Anderson 1992). This site provides protection for the burials and some historic interpretation through park signage.

Freedmen's Cemetery is owned by the City of Alexandria and managed by OHA and has been the subject of extensive archaeological research. In addition, OHA has hired an artist to design a public memorial at the cemetery. Freedmen's Cemetery is an important site for African Americans in Alexandria (Cressey, Reeder, and Bryson 2003). In 1997, African American community members, descendants, and allies formed The Friends of Freedmen's Cemetery for the purpose of promoting preservation, commemoration, and research on the cemetery (Cressey, Reeder, and Bryson 2003). The success of the Friends group in working with OHA and Alexandria Archaeology to prevent the destruction of the cemetery and create a memorial, inspired the creation of The Fort/Seminary African American Descendant Society. In addition, several members of the Descendant Society can trace their ancestry to people buried in Freedmen's Cemetery, including the Ashby, Terrell (Terrill), and Wanzer families (Pippenger 1995).

In 2007, a memorial service was held at Freedmen's Cemetery to honor those buried there. Extensive documentary research was done to identify individuals who were likely buried in the cemetery and archaeological excavations were conducted to identify the location of burials. This research is available to the public online (www.freedmenscemetery.org) and was used to create an onsite memorial (Historic Alexandria 2011).

Years of intensive research and public efforts, finally culminated in the opening of Freedmen's Cemetery Park in September 2014, nearly 20 years after the first archaeological work was conducted at the site. Members of the Descendant Society grew increasingly frustrated with the length of time it took to complete the Freeman's Cemetery project and worried that the work at Fort Ward to locate burials and memorialize them would face similar delays.

Throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s, OHA continued its efforts to incorporate African American history into its public presentation of the city's past by creating new historic sites, such as the Freedmen's Cemetery, and diversifying the interpretation at its existing sites (Cressey, Reeder, and Bryson 2003; Cressey 2005). However, these efforts to incorporate the African American experience into the narrative of Alexandria's past were advanced largely by African American community members (Bah et. al. 2013; Cressey, Reeder, and Bryson 2003; Cressey 2005).

For example, Harry S. Burke a native Alexandrian and educator, was actively involved with the Alexandria Society for the Preservation of Black Heritage, Inc., the founding of the Alexandria Black History Resource Center in the Robinson Library, and the establishment of the African American Heritage Park (Bah et. al. 2013). African American Alexandrians are actively involved in descendant societies, friends groups, and community organizations that work with OHA to interpret historic sites and have also created an independent African American history museum run by the Northern Virginia Urban League (NVUL) called The Freedom House.

The Freedom House Museum is located in the basement of the NVUL offices and features an exhibit on the history of slave jails in Alexandria. The multisensory exhibit includes artifacts, text panels, reenactment videos, hands-on materials, and the restoration of the basement of the former Franklin, Armfield, & Co. building. However, the creation of this museum also reflects the efforts of OHA and Alexandria Archaeology. Archaeological materials recovered from city mandated excavations are on display in the museum (Artemel, Crowell, and Parker 1987).

In addition to the historic sites and museums specifically dedicated to telling the story of African Americans in Alexandria, there is a brochure of a self-guided walking tour of African American sites and neighborhoods in Alexandria that can be downloaded from the OHA website or acquired in hard copy from the Black History Museum. This brochure is particularly important, because it features post-colonial and post-Emancipation historical sites and information, which is absent from the African American museums.

Another important resource was realized in 2013 with the publication of *African Americans of Alexandria Virginia: Beacons of Light in the Twentieth Century* (Bah et. al 2013). This book, a product of the work done by the city appointed Charles Houston Ad-Hoc Naming/Narrative Committee, provides brief biographies and pictures of Alexandria's 20th century African American community leaders. The committee was created to research and select African Americans for recognition in the Charles Houston Recreation Center (Bah et. al. 2013). The importance of this book lies in its incorporation of Alexandria's African American community

members' memories and its emphasis on the 20th century, a period often neglected in Alexandria's public historical interpretation.

Preservation of Defenses of Washington

When you stand on a roof top or look out from the top of the Washington Monument, a circle of green seems to surround Washington, DC. What to the casual observer looks like a ring of tree covered hills are actually the preserved Civil War Defenses of Washington, DC. Although more than half of the 68 original forts were either destroyed through development or are inaccessible to the public because they are on private property, 24 of these forts have been preserved as public parks under the custodianship of the National Park Service and local municipalities.

Historians Benjamin F. Cooling and Walter H. Owen's (2010) book *Mr. Lincoln's Forts: A Guide to the Civil War Defenses of Washington* is the definitive guide for visitors and scholars interested in visiting Defenses of Washington sites. They provide driving directions to each site, historic photographs and engineers' drawings of the forts, and short, detailed histories of the military occupation of the forts. Cooling and Owen (2010) describe the current conditions of each fort's earthworks and provide tips for seeing the archaeological features that are generally unmarked.

Twenty of the Defenses of Washington forts, known as the Fort Circle Parks or the Civil War Defenses of Washington, are owned by NPS and are open to the public as parks. The creation of this system of parks was the result of some of the earliest preservation efforts in the Washington, DC area. As part of the 1902

McMillan Commission Report to Congress, the creation of a “Fort Drive,” which would be a scenic roadway connecting the Defenses of Washington, was proposed.

This was part of a nationwide effort to preserve the Civil War sites during the early 20th century. Between 1901 and 1904, 34 bills were introduced by members of Congress to create 23 additional historic sites, including many battlefield sites (Boge and Boge 1993). However, several non-military historical sites were also included in these bills, creating an overwhelming burden of properties and expenses for the War Department, who owned and managed most historical battlefields at the time. The size and cost of these preservation efforts were staggering, resulting in a standardizing of the process through the Antietam Plan (Boge and Boge 1993). The Antietam Plan reduced preservation costs by restricting government purchase of battlefields to “land along roadways and narrow tracts delineating the lines of battle” and maintaining the “agricultural setting of the battlefield” (Boge and Boge 1993: 24). In 1933, the War Department shifted ownership and management of Civil War battlefields to the Department of the Interior, where it remains today under NPS (Boge and Boge 1993)

The New Deal legislation of the 1930s led to the expansion and development of the NPS Fort Circle Parks. The Capper-Cramton Act of 1930 increased the land associated with the Defenses of Washington owned by NPS, which led to the acquisition of Fort Dupont (National Park Service 2004). Also, during this time a portion of “Fort Drive” was constructed by the CCC connecting the forts east of the Anacostia River. The CCC also reconstructed portions of Fort Stevens and were housed at a camp at Fort Dupont Park (National Park Service 2004).

The level of preservation and interpretation varies among these parks. For example, Fort Mahan Park (Northeast Washington, DC) is a small 12-acre park that consists primarily of the earthworks, a sports field, and a few nature trails. One interpretive sign provides a brief description of Fort Mahan. Nearby, Fort Dupont Park (Southeast Washington, DC) is a large 376 acre park that includes picnic areas, an amphitheater, community gardens, several recreational fields and courts, and activity center. The earthworks of Fort Dupont, although well preserved, only compose a small portion of the park and often go unseen by park visitors. Near the earthworks is an interpretive sign, similar to the one at Fort Mahan. In addition, there is a small exhibit that presents the history of Fort Dupont and Defenses of Washington system in the Fort Dupont Visitor's Center. The Visitor's Center also provides visitors with NPS brochures about the Defenses of Washington and other topics relating to the Civil War.

Four of the Defenses of Washington forts have been preserved as city parks, including Fort Ward. The District of Columbia owns and operates Fort Lincoln as a city park and the City of Arlington, Virginia, owns and operates Fort Ethan Allen and Fort C.F. Smith as city parks. Fort Ward is one of the largest and best preserved of all the city and national parks.

Preservation at Fort Ward

The historic preservation movement in Alexandria is deeply intertwined with the history of The Fort community and how it is recognized and understood today. In the 1960s, as Alexandria was growing and expanding, development to the north and east of the center of the city was transforming this area from a semi-rural community

to a busy suburban area. One of the most significant building projects was the construction of the Bradlee Shopping Center in 1957. In addition, several neighborhood developments, such as Marlboro Estates, were also constructed in the area of Fort Ward during the mid to late 20th century. This led Alexandria residents, historians, and Civil War enthusiasts to mobilize to protect Fort Ward from development into a subdivision or strip mall like so much of the land around it. Through these efforts the City of Alexandria began purchasing properties on the fort grounds. The largest of these properties was the acquisition of the Eagle Crest properties. These lots composed the majority of the west side of the fort. In 1938, these lots were purchased and subdivided into small lots intended to be developed into a subdivision of single family homes. Although this neighborhood was never created, their development seemed guaranteed because of the increasing population in the area.

As early as 1959, Alexandria city officials and residents were discussing turning the land of The Fort community into Fort Ward Park. Credit for spearheading this effort is given to Dorothy C.S. Starr, for whom the Fort Ward Museum Library is named. Mrs. Starr and her husband Richard F. Starr lived on Seminary Road, less than half a mile from the park, and were able to witness firsthand the encroaching development on the historic earthworks (Alexandria City Directory (ACD) 1953, 1957).

In a letter from Charles W. Hendryx, Alexandria's City Arborist, to Mrs. Starr, he describes the conditions of the earthworks, suggests changes to the land that need to be made, such as the creation of a parking lot, the possibilities of community

events at the park, and the benefits the development of the park would bring to Alexandria. He mentions that some property to the east of the fort is held in private ownership and should be acquired (Moon 2014). However, he never mentions the homes, cemeteries, or community that occupied the park and represented The Fort community. Likewise, the existence of this independent African American community is left out of most publications describing the creation of Fort Ward Park (Cressey, Reeder, and Bryson 2003; Cressey 2005; Cressey and Anderson 2006).

By the early 1960s, Mrs. Starr's efforts to persuade the City to create the park proved successful. The city purchased properties of The Fort community, sometimes through the use of eminent domain, and began to construct the park.

After the city purchased the park land, they hired archaeologist Edward Larrabee to conduct excavations to better understand the Civil War history of the site (Cressey and Anderson 2006). The success of Mrs. Starr's preservation efforts, the archaeological excavations, and recreated earthworks at Fort Ward inspired other Alexandrians to advocate for archaeological research as a response to Urban Renewal efforts in the Old Town area of Alexandria (Cressey 2005). Eventually, the former residents and descendants of The Fort community would replicate this advocacy in their efforts to reclaim their place in the history of Alexandria and on the landscape of Fort Ward Park.

Historic Preservation of The Fort Community.

Several community organizations are involved in the preservation of The Fort community. These include those discussed in Chapter 1 (the Descendant Society, History Work Group, and Stakeholder's Advisory Group) as well as The Friends of

Fort Ward, which is a community group dedicated to the preservation of the Civil War resources at Fort Ward Park.

Until recently all of the historic preservation, research, and interpretation of historic and archaeological resources has been focused on the Civil War occupation of the site. However, over the past five years two significant preservation products dedicated to The Fort community were created. A brochure and set of interpretive signs, were produced through joint efforts of Alexandria Archaeology and the Descendant Society that together form a self-guided walking tour for visitors to Fort Ward Park.

Other preservation products have been developed through my work with the Descendant Society independently of the City. These include public and academic presentations, articles, and a summer youth program field trip to see the remains of The Fort community. Descendant Society members also manage their own Facebook page and blog, which provides information about The Fort community history, updates on the research and preservation progress, and provides an outlet for Descendant Society members to share their opinions and experiences publically.

Conclusions

The connection between memory and materiality is essential for creating successful sensory historic preservation projects. The sense of memory both informs and is informed by the places and objects preserved. In the case of Fort Ward, the memories and materials of the Descendant Society and The Fort community are a recent, but desperately needed addition to the interpretation at Fort Ward Park.

The history of exclusion from and current efforts of incorporation of The Fort memories and materials into the preservation and interpretation of Fort Ward Park reflects the history of historic preservation throughout the nation. It also is the product of over 30 years of public archaeology as a tool of historic preservation in Alexandria.

Since its inception, Alexandria has been a national leader in public and community archaeology. However, in the case of Fort Ward and The Fort community, Alexandria seems to be the victim of its own success. As residents of Alexandria, members of the Descendant Society have witnessed archaeology throughout the city. They have seen and worked with fellow African American Alexandrians to protect and preserve sites like Freedmen's Cemetery. The success of Alexandria's public archaeology program has raised the expectations of the Descendant Society to be more than audience members, as thoughtfully engaged stakeholders in the presentation of their city's past (Agbe-Davies 2010).

The next steps for historic preservation at The Fort and Fort Ward Park must fully incorporate the memories and materials of The Fort community through meaningful interactions, civic engagement, and shared ownership of these past. It is no longer acceptable to tokenize this part of Alexandria's past, nor is it enough to conduct work that does not include all of the necessary actions of civic engagement outlined in Chapter 1.

Chapter 3: Sensing Race in the History and Memory of the Chesapeake

This chapter provides a historical background of African American experiences in the Chesapeake in order to better understand and contextualize The Fort community. To do this, I have turned to the work of sensory historians who stress “the role of the senses...in shaping peoples’ experience of the past... [in showing] how they understood their worlds and why” and recognize the changing nature of sensory experiences (Smith 2007: 842). By using sensory history, connections between The Fort communities, regional and national events and cultural trends can be made through shared sensory experiences.

An essential aspect of understanding the history of the Chesapeake is recognizing the importance of race in events of the past and how they are interpreted today. Historian Mark M. Smith (2006) emphasizes this connection in his work *How Race is Made: Slavery, Segregation, and the Senses*. Smith (2006) traces the history of race and racism in the United States through sensory ideas and perceptions that were documented in the writings of Americans from the colonial period through the mid-20th century. Following Smith’s model, I use a sensory interpretation of the history of African Americans in the Chesapeake. However, I will use memory, in addition to the physical senses, as an essential sense for understanding race and history.

The application of memory as a sense in the understanding of race is recognized by scholars, such as Gerald Early (1998: 704), who asserts that in the

United States “race is memory.” Race can affect how and what in the past is remembered, as well as how those memories are experienced, shared, and used.

Kenneth J. Bindas (2010: 116-117) describes how African Americans and Euroamericans remember the past differently by saying,

Each generation of Americans since the Civil War has had to deal with the structural and generational memory of slavery, Jim Crow, and its corresponding historical paradigm of subordination, which helps to construct a collective memory. For African Americans, this process reminds them that for their historical cohort slavery was a lived, real situation that produced distinctive social and political systems, culture and folkways. For white Americans, slavery and its aftermath have a different collective memory, one that reflects their political, moral and economic dilemmas. This gap between what the dominant (white) culture identifies as collective memory—slavery as a moral, political or economic wrong righted by the Civil War and a century of active racism that followed—and the African American collective countermemory concerning the daily subjugation and secondary citizen status is where the present negotiation concerning race in America is taking place.

Slavery and the Concept of Race

Because race is an essential concept in the history of the Chesapeake, it is important to understand how the term was used and how its use changed through time. Today, several definitions for race exist. For example, sociologists Omi and Winant (1994: 55) define race as “a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies.” Manning Marable (1992: 295) defines race as “a group identity imposed on individuals by others.” However it is defined, race is not natural, self-evident, or created outside of a power structure.

The idea of race has its roots in the concept of ethnicity, which was used in both the Old and New Testaments, as well as Greek and Roman documents (Smedley 1998). However, the concept of race as an identifier did not exist in the ancient

Mediterranean, Middle East, or Africa (Smedley 1998). Instead people's kinship, occupation, birthplace, or a more fluid ethnic or cultural associations were used to define a person's identity.

Beginning in the 16th century, the term race was used in the English language as a descriptor (Smedley 1998). However, it was not until the 18th century that the word race implied a significant separation between groups of people. At this time, racial identifiers and skin color were not synonymous. In this regard, Theodore W. Allen (1994) argues that the English concepts of race and racial oppression were first developed as a way to suppress the Irish, with whom they shared a fair skin color. "Irish history presents a case of racial oppression without reference to alleged skin color or, as the jargon goes, 'phenotype,'" implying that race could be sensed in other ways besides sight (Allen 1994: 22; Smith 2006). These ideas and senses of race were exported to North America through the immigration of both the English and the Irish.

Once in the United States, racist depictions of the Irish continued to emphasize non-visual sensory markers of race. In newspaper cartoons and other publications, the Irish were depicted as ape-like creatures, emphasizing animalistic smells, behaviors, and sounds as sensory markers of the Irish race (Orser 2007). Therefore, racism in America is not simply a black and white issue, in which the visual differences in the color of skin and physical features are the most important factors in the separation of the races. The perception of sensory differences between groups of people, both nonvisual sensory markers inherent to the physical body, such as a person's body odor, and sensory ability, such as a person's ability to feel pain, were important in separating races (Smith 2006). These ideas of race and racism

cultivated by the English and Anglo-Americans about the Irish, created a model for how race and racism would be applied to African Americans and other groups in the United States (Allen 1994).

Although the foundations of American racism are rooted in the English-Irish model, the extreme and seemingly impenetrable system of racism directed at African Americans allowed for the creation and continuation of legal, race-based slavery which continues to impact the relationships between African Americans and Euroamericans today (Chunchang 2000). The shared experience of slavery, whether personal or ancestral, and the racist ideology in which slavery was embedded, affected all African Americans, enslaved and free, during the 19th and 20th centuries, despite their differences in gender, age, education, class, time and geographic region. This is reflected in Marable's (1992) definition of Blackness, which goes beyond physical manifestations of race to include shared consciousness, experiences, history, traditions, culture and cultural features. These non-physical manifestations of race suggest that experiencing the world through the lens of racism can be understood as a sense.

African Americans in the Chesapeake before the Civil War

Prior to the American Civil War the majority of African Americans in the United States were enslaved. Slavery first came to what is now the United States in the 17th century, but initially race and enslavement were not completely intertwined. Terrance Epperson (2001) describes how the word "white" became incorporated into the legal documents of 17th century colonial America. For Epperson (2001) this change in language reflects the growth of the conception of the separation of races

based on skin color and other physical features, which then was reflected in the separation of the legal status and living quarters of people of different races.

Theodore W. Allen (1997) argues that Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, during which poor, white servants and African freedmen joined together to oppose the colonial leadership, was the major catalyst in the English defining of race in the New World on the basis of skin color and other phenotypical features. The threat of future revolts like this one, despite the fact that it had been unsuccessful, led English and colonial leaders to pass laws that created divisions between the poor based on racial classifications.

Therefore, whiteness was created as a way to both unify and separate different groups of people in the English colonies (Allen 1994, 1997). The white race, Allen (1997: 251) argues was an invention of social control that incorporated the slave holding and landed elite with the "non-slaveholders, self-employed small land holders, tenants, and laborers" into one white-supremacist ideology, which masked internal class conflict.

At the same time a sensory definition of blackness was also developed. It incorporated skin color and other phenotypical traits, along with smell and texture of skin (Smith 2006). Blackness was also associated with elevated animal-like sensory aptitude, such as the increased ability to see, smell, and hear, and lessened ability to feel pain or suffer from heavy labor (Smith 2006). Therefore, during the 17th and 18th century, "according to white elites, then, not only was blackness sensorily distinctive, but blacks themselves sensed differently" (Smith 2006: 12).

Plantation documents from the 17th and 18th centuries in the Deep South illuminate the development of the conception of race through the lens of slavery. In 17th century Georgia and South Carolina, planters described their servants and slaves by their race (Joseph 1993). By the end of the 18th century, however, they were identified by their labor, skills, and abilities. Race was no longer mentioned (Joseph 1993; Morgan 1986). By the late 18th century it was a given that slaves would not be white and therefore it no longer became necessary to record their race, suggesting an acceptance of the existence of racial differences and racial categories associated with the status of slavery to the point that they no longer need to be specified (Berry 2007; Joseph 1993; Morgan 1986).

Despite the assumption that all enslaved laborers would be African American, owners and overseers used sensory indicators to differentiate among the enslaved. Slave owners used sensory markers, including skin color and “physical likeness” to decide which enslaved laborers would be allowed to work in the fields, kitchens, and workshops of the plantation (Berry 2007: 27; Smith 2006). Generally, slave owners selected lighter skinned workers, both men and women, for skilled and less physically demanding labor.

Although slavery existed throughout all of the states at some point, regional differences were evident in the 18th century. For instance, in the late 1700s, several states, including Connecticut, Vermont, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and New York, began the process of gradual emancipation of enslaved African Americans living within these states. In 1783, the Massachusetts State Supreme Court ruled that slavery was illegal under the state constitution, immediately freeing all enslaved African

Americans in Massachusetts (Battle-Baptiste 2011). However, federal laws, including the 1793 Fugitive Slave Act, allowed slave owners to reclaim their slaves who had fled to northern states where slavery was outlawed (Finkelman 2011).

During the 18th century, large populations of enslaved African Americans were concentrated in the Chesapeake region were primarily working on tobacco farms. However, after over 100 years of cultivating tobacco, the soils of the tobacco fields became depleted and the market for Chesapeake tobacco was waning (Artemel, Crowell, and Parker 1987; Deyle 2005). When the value of tobacco collapsed, the most valuable commodity that many Chesapeake plantation owners held was their enslaved workers (Berry 2007).

While enslaved workers were no longer needed as much in the mid-Atlantic, the cotton industry was booming in the Deep South (Deyle 2005). In addition, the international slave trade was outlawed in 1807, making the domestic slave trade the only option for the cotton farmers of the Deep South to acquire the slave labor they desired. For the planters of the Chesapeake who no longer needed a large slave labor force because they were growing less labor intensive crops like corn, the domestic slave trade provided a profitable way to get rid of their extra labor and raise capital for other investments (Artemel, Crowell, and Parker 1987; Deyle 2005). During this time, Alexandria was one of the most important ports for the exportation of slaves to the Deep South.

Washington, DC and Alexandria were both essential places of business in the domestic slave trade (Evans 1961; Kraus 2009; Laprade 1926). The profit potential for some slave traders was so great that free people were kidnapped, taken south, and

sold into slavery (Laprade 1926). For those who owned large companies like Alexandria's Franklin, Armfield & Co, the profits from slave trading allowed them to move into elite social circles (Evans 1961). Two sites associated with the domestic slave trade in Alexandria have been explored archaeologically (Kraus 2009). Lisa Kraus (2009) focused her work on the archaeology of the Bruin Slave Jail one of several slave jails or pens used to house African Americans before they were transferred south to be sold. Excavations were also conducted at the Franklin, Armfield & Co. headquarters and slave jail, which have now been interpreted in the Freedom House Museum operated by the NVUL.

Advertisements for enslaved African Americans who were for sale or had runaway emphasized the slaves' appearance and skills (Schafer 1981). Advertisements included general descriptors like mulatto and Negro as well as more specific ones, such as an ad for a man described as having a "bold look" (Schafer 1981: 46). Advertisements for runaways, often warned of the escaped slaves ability to pass for white. These ads imply both the untrustworthiness of sight alone to recognize blackness and the ability of the other senses to detect it through careful observation of a runaway's gait and speech (Smith 2006).

Although slavery had become not only legal, but a celebrated institution amongst some people, it was not without its detractors. Early objections to slavery arose primarily from religious groups as part of the First Great Awakening and religious revivals that followed (Pendleton 1947). In the late 17th century, members of the Society of Friends first began to object publicly to slavery in both England and its

colonies. In the 1750s, after many years of debate, the Quakers created official policies that opposed slavery for members of the Society of Friends (Pendleton 1947).

Similar debates on the morality of slavery were held in the Baptist and Methodist churches. Several church leaders opposed slavery, sought to officially denounce it within their religious group, and became actively involved in abolitionist societies. For example, The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage had numerous Quaker members as well as Methodist Reverend Lucius C. Matlack and Baptist Reverend John Rippon (Pendleton 1947: 91). However, the economic strength and political pull of Southern members of the Baptist and Methodist churches stopped both denominations from outlawing slavery among their followers (Pendleton 1947).

Although the efforts of these early abolitionists led some people to free their slaves, most enslaved people were freed by purchasing their own or their family members' freedom or by running away (LaRoche 2014). These forms of self-emancipation show that enslaved people were active in achieving their own freedom, rather than passively waiting for freedom to be bestowed upon them (McPherson 1995). However, slave owners and other whites often attributed a slave's ability to escape to their heightened and more animal-like sensory abilities rather than their intellect (Smith 2006).

Beginning in the 18th century laws were passed in Virginia to create a separation between free and enslaved African Americans in order to make freedom undesirable for those who could get it and difficult for those who were free to help the enslaved self-emancipate. For example in order to break the ties between freedmen

and their family members who remained enslaved, some early Virginia laws required manumitted slaves to leave the state (Wolf 2006). Freedmen were seen as a threat to the continuation of slavery because they could aid in the purchase or escape of family members or friends who remained enslaved. Advertisements for runaway slaves echo this fear of freedmen in that they often blamed free blacks or other fugitive slaves for enticing enslaved people to flee (Schafer 1981).

Other laws were specifically constructed to limit manumissions in order to continue the profitable plantation system. Large plantation owners, who were generally rich and politically connected, were very effective in persuading Virginia lawmakers to pass these laws (Wolf 2006). Laws defining and refining the definition of black, emphasized that blackness was inherent to a person and could be detected through other senses besides sight (Smith 2006).

Although small in number, free African Americans and the communities they formed were an important part of the pre-War United States. These communities became important advocates for the end of slavery and provided a support system through churches, businesses, and fraternal organizations that helped newly freed African Americans transition into free citizens (LaRoche 2014). During the early 19th century, Alexandria's free black population grew rapidly. By 1810, nearly 30,000 free blacks lived in Virginia, 868 of whom lived in Alexandria (Nicholls 2000). Between 1810 and 1830, the numbers of enslaved African Americans living in Alexandria slowly declined while the population of free blacks grew. By 1830 there were 1,201 free blacks living in Alexandria, composing nearly half of the African American

population and 21% of the total population of the city (Artemel, Crowell, and Parker 1987).

The growing free black population pushed Virginia and other states to legally define blackness and the rights and privileges available to whites and free blacks (Smith 2006). These legal definitions eventually led to “one-drop” laws, which confirmed that blackness was not regulated by visual appearance, but was inherent to the body and could be detected through other senses (Smith 2006). In some ways, this flipped the definition of slavery and blackness, making black skin color or appearance unnecessary for being enslaved, but enslavement remained an essential characteristic of blackness. This reversal left free blacks in more precarious situations, because slavery was now seen as an intrinsic quality of their being despite their status as free people.

As the 19th century progressed tensions between free and slave holding states grew and much of it was concentrated in the Chesapeake. Slavery was legal and abundant in Virginia, Washington, DC, and Maryland, but these areas also had the largest free black populations in the country. Several major national events in the 1850s, including the Compromise of 1850, the publishing of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), a series of violent episodes and skirmishes known as Bleeding Kansas (1854-1861), the Dred Scott Trial (1857) and John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry (1859), sparked emotional reactions and increased tensions between the North and South.

At the same time, identifying individuals as belonging to a particular race and as a free or enslaved person was becoming increasingly difficult because of generations of miscegenation and a rising free-black population (Smith 2006). Skin

color and other visual cues were no longer sufficient for identifying a person's race or status, leading Americans, and particularly slave owners, to seek other ways of identifying an individual. Light skinned or mulatto runaways, who were feared to pass as whites as a means of escape, posed the biggest threat to the slave system which relied on only the visual definitions of race. Therefore, "slow speech, accent, dialect, stuttering" and the "innate black stench" served as sensory markers of blackness and slavery (Smith 2006: 34, 36).

Of the many events in the 1850s that increased tensions over slavery, Stowe's publication provides the clearest window into the sensory understanding of race during that time. In 1852, Harriet Beecher Stowe published her novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a bestseller that was widely read across the country. It was also transformed into a play that reached an even broader audience. Unlike previous writings about the experiences of enslaved African Americans, Stowe's work did not target a strictly abolitionist audience. Instead, it helped create popular sympathy for enslaved African Americans that spread beyond traditional abolitionist circles through its appeal to New England Christianity (Hovet 1981).

Despite her abolitionist motivations, Stowe (1852) was subject to and used the sensory ideas of race to create her characters. Her work shows that the perceived sensory markers of blackness were not limited to white slave owners but were held to be true by white northerners, including abolitionists. Stowe's (1852) physical descriptions of Uncle Tom and his family in comparison to those of Eliza and her family, stand in sharp contrast to each other in how these characters should be sensed.

Uncle Tom is described as a “large, broad-chest, powerfully-made man, of a full glossy black,” his boys as “woolly-headed,” and Aunt Chloe as having “a round, black, shining face...so glossy as to suggest the idea that she might have been washed over with white of eggs” (Stowe 1852: 17, 18). These descriptions emphasize the color and texture of black skin and hair, giving the reader a feel for each person as well as a picture of them. The references to the shine of skin also implies a thickness to it, which Smith (2006) argues was one of the primary sensory markers of blackness that slave owners used to justify the harsh work and violent discipline inflicted on their slaves.

The descriptions of Eliza, George, and Harry, all of whom have lighter skin as a result of miscegenation, emphasize their beauty and attractiveness. Of Harry, Stowe (1852: 2-3) writes, “His black hair, fine as floss silk, hung in glossy curls around his round, dimpled face, while a pair of large dark eyes, full of fire and softness, looked out from beneath the rich long lashes.” Although this paints a picture of an attractive boy, unburdened by the sensory markers of blackness, Stowe (1852) continues the introduction of Harry with a demonstration of his ability to sing, dance, and create a minstrel-like performance. Each of these characteristics show that despite his appearance, Harry retains some the sensory markers associated with blackness, including a sense of “musical expression” that was thought of by whites to be “rousing, emotional, and unrefined” (Smith 2006: 20).

The experiences of enslaved African Americans living in the Chesapeake region have been the subject of significant archaeological and historical research, such as the previously mentioned excavations conducted by Kraus (2009). However,

much of this work focuses on the experiences of enslaved people living and working on plantations, often associated with famous historical figures. This work includes the excavations at Wye House Plantation on Maryland's Eastern Shore (Leone et. al. 2013), at Thomas Jefferson's home Monticello (Neiman, McFaden, and Wheeler 2000; Scholnick, Wheeler, and Neiman 2001), and George Washington's Mount Vernon (Pogue 2006). In addition, two major long-term archaeological programs, Archaeology in Annapolis and Alexandria Archaeology have addressed slavery in the cities of the Chesapeake (Leone 1994; Shephard 1999).

The Chesapeake during the Civil War

When Abraham Lincoln was elected president in 1860, the tensions between the North and South and between abolitionists and slave holders were at an all-time high. Within just a few months of his election, South Carolina voted to secede from the United States and the first shots were fired at Fort Sumter by South Carolina artillerymen. In January of 1861, six more states joined South Carolina in leaving the Union. The Civil War had begun.

During the Civil War the Chesapeake was divided. Although Maryland, Virginia, and Washington, DC were all slave territories, only Virginia joined the Confederacy. In addition, Virginia's secession was not immediate. Virginia's strong political ties to the creation of the Union and economic ties to northern port cities, delayed the Commonwealth's secession (Geier 1999). However, most Virginians supported the legal right of states to secede and only joined the Confederacy after learning that Union troops would travel through Virginia to use force against the states in rebellion (Geier 1999). Similar feelings were held by many in Maryland.

Although Maryland remained in the Union, it stayed a slave state composed of a mix of southern sympathizers and strong Unionists.

Virginia was home to the earliest battles of the Civil War. The sights, sounds, and smells of war infiltrated the lives of Virginians and have been used by modern authors to tell the story of the war. Renowned Civil War historian and novelist Shelby Foote (1974: 238) recreates the sensory experience for Virginians in Manassas following the battle, writing “For twenty miles around, all down the greening slopes of Bull Run Mountain, there was a smell of burning bacon, an aroma which the natives would remember through the hungry months ahead.”

Smith (2015) calls on these same senses to reinterpret the war using sensory history. He relies on the sensory descriptions of the people who experienced the war first hand to create a sense-scape of Manassas. In his description of the battle of First Manassas (Bull Run), Smith (2015: 42) uses the words of Confederate General Beauregard to show how military leaders used their senses of sight to spot “bayonets, gleaming above the tree-tops” and sound to listen “to the sound of musketry” in order to locate “troops who were concealed by brush.”

Washington, DC, as the nation’s capital, was at the center of conflict. Washington was truly surrounded by and completely embedded in the war. The city itself went through a major transformation during the course of the war from a small, developing capital city that was seasonally occupied by politicians and those who served them, to a fortified military hub with a growing population. From the White House, President Lincoln could see the Union soldiers preparing and recovering from battle in the South. Washingtonians picnicked at the First Battle of Manassas taking

in the sights, sounds, and smells of war. Escaped slaves, referred to as contraband, flooded the city and established camps, concentrating on the northern edge of the city. Washington was surrounded by newly constructed forts and just across the river, visible to Washington's residents was Arlington House, the recently abandoned home of Confederate General Robert E. Lee. But perhaps one of the most meaningful changes to the city was the 1862 emancipation of slaves in the District (Furgurson 2004; Johnston 1993).

Alexandria also experienced major changes during the course of the Civil War. Although part of Virginia, Alexandria was occupied by Union forces from the earliest days of the war. Immediately after Virginia voted to secede, Union forces mobilized to occupy Alexandria in order to maintain control of the ports and railroads that made it an essential site for the future supply needs of the Union troops as they would inevitably have to move south. One of the most famous incidents of the early days of the war happened when Union Col. Elmer Ellsworth of the New York Zouaves was killed when he stormed the Marshall House to remove a Confederate flag (Wickliffe 1889, Republished Alexandria Historical Society 1997). The death of Col. Ellsworth became a symbolic story for both Union and Confederate sympathizers in Alexandria. For pro-Union Alexandrian's, the colonel's actions were seen as heroic and patriotic, while for secessionists he was viewed as an intruder and agitator who got what he deserved. Perhaps no event is more celebrated in the museums and interpretations of Alexandria's role in the Civil War, because it epitomizes split allegiances and the feelings of tension that engulfed the occupied city.

Construction of the Defenses of Washington. The Defenses of Washington was a system of earthen fortifications constructed to protect Washington, DC, during the American Civil War. As part of the Defenses system 68 forts were constructed on the high-ground encircling the city, along with batteries and numerous rifle trenches connecting these fortifications.

As disagreements between the North and South began to swell into violence, concern over the vulnerability of Washington also grew. Once Virginia seceded and joined the Confederacy, Washington became the borderland between the Northern Union and Southern secession. Although Maryland, which encircles most of the district, remained in the Union it was a slave state. Maryland was perceived by both Northerners and Southerners as having a precarious allegiance to the Union as well as a population of Southern sympathizers and slaveholding residents. Almost immediately both military and political leadership recognized the need to protect the nation's capital and have this protection visible to the enemy.

In addition to Washington's close proximity to the enemy, the capitol had a recent history of attack. During the War of 1812, the British had easily seized Washington, burning down the White House, after winning the Battle of Bladensburg, in Maryland. During the War of 1812, Washington had only Fort Washington to guard the city. This fort is located to the south of Washington and was primarily constructed to protect against ships coming up the Potomac River from the south. The overland routes, which had been successfully used by the British in 1814, remained unprotected until the outbreak of the Civil War (Cooling and Owens 2010).

The fortifications that compose the Defenses of Washington needed to be constructed as quickly and cheaply as possible. Therefore, they were earthen structures, supplemented with wooden buildings, fencing, and supports. The use of these materials also made it possible to expand, change, and restructure the fortifications as different needs developed throughout the course of the war (Cooling and Owen 2010). The forts that composed the Defenses of Washington varied in size, shape, and use. Several of the forts, such as Fort Chaplin in Northeast DC, were either infrequently or never occupied. Others, like Fort Ward, had numerous regiments occupying the fort at all times (Cooling and Owen 2010).

Only Fort Stevens in Northwest DC came under direct attack during the Civil War. In 1864, Juble Early lead Confederate soldiers through Maryland to attack Washington from the north. The soldiers at Fort Stevens, supported by the long range fire of other nearby defenses such as Fort Totten, were able to stave off the Confederate attack and protect Washington (Cooling and Owen 2010).

African Americans in the Civil War. From its outset, African Americans were actively involved in the fighting of the Civil War. During the first years of the war, the role of African Americans was limited to participation in the United States Navy and as supportive laborers. African Americans had continually served in the Navy since the American Revolution. In addition, they did not serve in segregated units and received the same promotions and pay as white sailors (Ramold, Gould, and Hannon 2014). In the Navy, African Americans served as firefighters, coal heavers, cooks, stewards, and even formed a gun crew (Shackel 2003).

In 1862, the United States Congress passed legislation allowing for African Americans to serve in the Union Army. In 1863, the United States Colored Troops (USCT) was created and began enrolling African Americans in segregated units under white commanders. Thousands of African American men, mostly former slaves, from Virginia, Maryland, and Washington, DC enlisted in the USCT. One of these men was the father of The Fort community member John H. Peters (Moon 2014).

Throughout the war, the labor of African Americans was essential to both the Union and Confederate armies. For example, African Americans were the primary labor force for railroad construction for both the Union and Confederate armies. In the South, African Americans labored in mines, on farms, and constructing some of the Confederacy's most famous military sites such as Andersonville Prison (Jameson 2013). However, the primary difference was that African Americans who labored for the Confederacy were forced, while those who labored for the Union did so voluntarily.

African Americans also worked as spies and scouts for the Union forces. Harriet Tubman is one of the best known examples of an African American spy. Tubman was assigned to the 2nd Carolina Volunteers, where she worked as a cook, nurse, and spy for Col. James Montgomery (Chism 2005). She honed her skills as a spy during her numerous trips south leading runaway slaves north to freedom. In an article titled "The Moses of Her People," Tubman's sensory aptitude, including her strength, pain resistance, and acting ability, was highlighted as a reason for her success (*The San Francisco Call*, 29 September 1907: 14). After the war, Tubman

received a pension from the US Federal Government for her service (Chism 2005). This is especially noteworthy, considering pension applications, especially those of African Americans and women, were heavily scrutinized by the Pension Board (Johnson 2011).

Although large numbers of African Americans were actively involved in the war efforts, for many achieving immediate freedom was essential before military service or other contributions could be made. African Americans flocked to the Union army as they infiltrated the South. Major General Benjamin Butler made the first legal argument for granting freedom to enslaved African Americans who sought safety at Fort Monroe in Hampton, Virginia. Butler's policy of classifying enslaved African Americans as contraband of war because their labor was used to support the Confederate Army, became law when Congress passed the Confiscation Acts of 1861 and 1862 (Johnston 1993; McBride and McBride 2011).

With the protection of the Confiscation Acts, the African American population of Washington grew as escaped slaves fled nearby Virginia and other southern states for the safety of the capital city. A large contraband camp was set up near present day Logan's Circle on the northern edge of the city. Smaller camps were created near the forts that surrounded the city. Fort Greble and Battery Carroll in the Anacostia neighborhood in Southeast DC were home to a large camp that eventually became one of DC's oldest African American neighborhoods (NPS 2014a). Former slaves were eventually concentrated in Freedmen's Village on the grounds of Arlington House. The contradiction between the Lee's mansion, which "glittered with affluence," and the modest homes of the refugees was remarked upon in the daily

news (*Daily National Republican* 1863). The enslaved population of Washington, DC, was freed through the 1862 District of Columbia Emancipation Act (Furgurson 2004). By the end of the war, over 40,000 fugitive slaves had moved to Washington. These new migrants, plus the newly freed DC slaves, and the long-standing free black community, made Washington a center of African American life in 19th century America (Johnston 1993; Cooling and Owen 2010; Furgurson 2004).

Enslaved African Americans seeking freedom also came to Union-occupied Alexandria. Mr. Laurence Bradby (2014), who's great grandmother escaped slavery and settled on the outskirts of Alexandria, remembered his grandmother teaching him that the "slaves went to where the soldiers were." For enslaved people in the rural parts of Virginia, like Mr. Bradby's great grandmother, traveling to Alexandria was closer and more familiar than cities in the North.

The 19th Century and Post-War Chesapeake

At the end of the Civil War, the country was torn and tired. Reconstruction (1865-1877) had taken hold of the South and for the first time African Americans were given full citizenship. For African Americans living in the South, the protection of the Union Army and political structure of Reconstruction provided safety that would disappear after the army was removed. The end of Reconstruction ushered in the Jim Crow era. Voting laws, curfews, and the creation of segregated spaces were enacted to help white southerners regain control over African Americans living in the South (Smith 2002). Violence was also a significant part of Jim Crow, particularly in the Deep South. White Virginians "sanctioned violence to keep blacks in their place, but they also labeled as extremist any individual who pushed for change outside the

limits mandated by paternalism” and “disavowed the race-baiting and violence so prevalent elsewhere in the South” (Smith 2002: 8, 10).

The sensory definitions of blackness did not disappear with the end of slavery. Instead, whites reconfigured their sensory stereotypes of blacks to suit Jim Crow segregation rather than slavery (Smith 2006). This reconfiguration combined a series of contradictions of closeness and separation that solidified white power in the South.

In sensory terms, whites used the very suspension of the rules of segregation—wholly necessary to the day-to-day function of the system—to further reinforce black inferiority. Southerners white and black understood that utter separation flew in the face of the social and economic realities. Black and white did interact; they had to. Whites relied on black labor, and that dependence often allowed for a degree of intimacy and physical proximity that collapsed racialized space. Black sound, black, scent, black touch, black taste—all penetrated the white world on a regular basis and with a frequency that sometimes shocked northern visitors. *The point about segregation is not that it was a system of complete separation; the point is that whites derived their authority by defining when and where sensory intimacy was permitted* (Smith 2006: 49-50, emphasis added).

During this time African Americans began to migrate from the South to the North. In comparison to the Great Migrations of the 20th century, the post-War migration was smaller and the majority of African Americans relocated to small and mid-size towns and cities, rather than the large urban metropolises (Blocker 2003).

Some of the towns that attracted Southern African Americans were newly established black towns, while others had been in existence for decades serving as essential stops along the Underground Railroad (LaRoche 2014). In the United States and Canada the majority of black towns were established after Emancipation (Shackel 2010: 13). The reasons for the creation of particular black towns varied. Some black towns were the result of a “white philanthropy,” in which groups of manumitted slaves were colonized by their owners (Pease and Pease 1962: 19). Other black towns

grew near the industries and larger white communities for which they provided labor. Yet, other black towns were more independent, housing industries within the town itself or relying on their own agriculture (Pease and Pease 1962). For many, black towns provided essential aspects of daily life, including social and family unity, consciousness of civic responsibility, and political cohesion that African Americans living both in the North and the South could not find elsewhere (Pease and Pease 1962: 22). Two well-studied examples of black towns that prospered after Emancipation are Brooklyn, Illinois (Cha-Jua 2000) and New Philadelphia, Illinois (Shackel 2010).

After the war, the African American population of Washington, DC and its surrounding areas continued to grow. Between 1860 and 1870 the population of Washington, DC increased by 75% from 75,080 to 131,700. By 1900, 331,069 people were living in Washington. Many of these new residents were southern blacks seeking new opportunities that were not available in the rural south. However, African Americans coming to Washington and to other northern cities were limited in the areas they could settle. For many African Americans, housing in Washington's alleys were the only option available. In Washington, newly arrived African Americans were pushed either to the edges of the city or to the alley dwellings within the city (Cheek and Friedlander 1990; Little and Kassner 2001).

During this same period the population of Alexandria also increased, although at a much slower rate. Most notably, the population jumped nearly 45% between 1850 and 1860. In 1850, 8,734 people lived in Alexandria. From 1860 to 1866, the black population alone nearly tripled to 8,000 (Reidy 1987). Despite post war efforts

to reduce the free black population in Washington, DC, Alexandria, and the surrounding areas, many stayed (Reidy 1987). By the early 20th century around 15,000 people lived in Alexandria, 20-40% of whom were African American. Unfortunately these numbers do not include the people living just outside of the city in the area of Fort Ward.

Early 20th Century Chesapeake

The movement of African Americans increased even more during the early 20th century. The period known as the first Great Migration (1910-1930) witnessed over one million African Americans leaving the rural South. The lack of safety and security in the South, coupled with limited economic opportunities provided ample motivation for African Americans to try a new life in cities and towns in the North, Mid-West, and West (Trotter 2002).

“Wartime production, declining immigration, and market imperatives to cut production costs led to increased demands for unskilled workers for a variety of industrial, transportation, and service jobs” in the North and Mid-West (Phillips 1996). Because of the larger number of people moving and improvements in transportation, African Americans settled in a greater variety of locations during the 20th century. For example, Allensworth, California, founded in 1908, by Lieutenant Colonel Allen Allensworth, an ex-slave from Kentucky, was the only town in California to be founded, financed, and governed by African Americans (Cox 2007).

During the early 20th century, African American communities in and around Washington, DC that had been established following the Civil War continued to grow. Jim Crow segregation affected every aspect of life for African Americans

living around DC. This segregation prevented access to public buildings, schools, and businesses controlled by whites. African Americans reacted to this segregation in a variety of ways, including protests, and through the creation of separate institutions and businesses (Taylor 1994; Moore 2000).

Primarily, African Americans worked within the confines of segregation to create institutions and businesses to serve their own communities. Churches and schools were at the center of these communities and remain so today. For example Dent Chapel, in Bladensburg, Maryland, started as a small community chapel led by former slave Abraham Dent. Today, the congregation, now called Reid Temple, has over 10,000 members and two locations in Silver Spring and Glen Dale, Maryland (Furlong 2011).

Similarly, The National Training School for Women and Girls in the Deanwood neighborhood of Washington, DC, continues to operate as the Nannie Helen Burroughs Elementary School. Founded by Nannie Helen Burroughs in 1909, the school modeled itself after the educational programs at Tuskegee Institute. Burroughs, a friend of Booker T. Washington, adapted his approach to education with the motto of the “3 B’s, the Book, the Bible, and the Broom” (Brown et. al. 2009).

In addition, although many African Americans sought employment outside of their community either as domestic workers for nearby white families or laborers at large white run institutions, some created their own businesses to serve community members. For example, in Richmond, Virginia, in 1903 Maggie Walker became the first African American woman to charter a bank and serve as its president (Ingham

2003). Walker's St. Luke Penny Savings Bank merged with two other banks and continued to operate until 2009.

As African Americans moved to these cities and created communities, restrictions on where they could live often pushed them to the edges of town and into the suburbs. Although generally considered solely a white phenomenon, suburbanization has included large numbers of African Americans and African American communities (Wiese 2004). Like any suburb, African American suburbs were located within close proximity to larger cities, and often near industry or other large centers of employment. Nearly one third of African Americans in the United States today live in suburbs and millions of African Americans lived in suburbs as early as 1900 (Wiese 2004). Examples of African American suburbs surrounding Washington, DC, include many of the communities in Prince George's County, Maryland, like Lakeland and neighborhoods in east Washington like Deanwood and Anacostia. The Fort and Seminary communities functioned as African American suburbs in Northern Virginia for both Alexandria and Washington, DC.

Like many of the communities surrounding Washington, DC, African Americans living in Alexandria, Virginia, were also active in creating their own institutions and securing employment, education, and civil rights. For example in 1939, African Americans living in Alexandria, Virginia, organized a sit-in at Alexandria's segregated Queen Street Library. The protesters pressed the City to provide better educational opportunities for African Americans living in Alexandria. Although the protesters were arrested, their efforts were successful. The protest led to the City building the Robert Robinson Library to serve Alexandria's African

American community until desegregation in the 1960s (Bah et. al. 2013). Today, this library houses Alexandria's Black History Museum.

Mid-20th Century Chesapeake

After World War II, African Americans continued to leave the rural South for urban centers, creating a Second Great Migration (Trotter 2002). By the mid-twentieth century, independent African American communities existed across the country in rural, urban, and suburban areas. Schools, churches, fraternal organizations and business were at the heart of the communities.

Three major social movements during the late 20th century, including the Civil Rights movement (particularly the desegregation of schools), the historic preservation movement, and Urban Renewal, had significant impacts on African American communities. (Low et. al. 2002; Mullins 2006). Each of these social movements was intended to improve the communities in which African Americans lived. However, racism greatly affected how the ideas from these movements were implemented as well as the ultimate results.

Schools and churches were at the heart of the Civil Rights movement which took hold of the South after the 1954 ruling of *Brown vs. the Board of Education*. Litigation and protest increasingly became the ways in which African Americans dealt with segregation. Following *Brown vs. Board of Education*, African Americans worked to desegregate schools within their own communities, despite the hateful and sometimes violent backlash from white segregationists, who once again turned to sensory arguments, “even old stereotypes that had lost currency in the early 20th

century” such as blacks increased ability to smell, to make their case for segregation (Smith 2006: 116).

With the backing of the Federal government, African Americans throughout the DC area took legal action to secure their rights. In 1960 Dervey and Thelma Lomax attempted to enroll their son Gregory Lomax in College Park Elementary School, in College Park, Maryland. After two denials of admission, the Lomaxs, with the support of the NAACP, won an appeal to the Maryland state board of education. Gregory was enrolled at the following year into College Park Elementary opening the door for his brother and other African Americans students from his neighborhood to also attend the predominately white school in the years to follow (Lakeland 2009).

Following World War II, big changes began occurring across the country. The Great Depression was over and cities flush with a rising population began to modernize. One way city governments approached modernization was through Urban Renewal. The rhetoric of Urban Renewal was centered in the idea of revitalizing neighborhoods and communities by addressing issues of substandard housing and businesses that had been neglected during the Great Depression and the war (Low et. al. 2002; Mullins 2006). However, Urban Renewal involved moving people from their homes and communities and replacing the structures and institutions they had built. The communities who experienced these displacements and replacements often had very mixed feelings about the changes. For people who did not want to give up their land, governments often used eminent domain to acquire the property of landowners unwilling to sell. In many places, African American communities were disproportionately affected through this process. In addition, the revitalization often

took much longer than promised and regularly did not fulfill the guarantees originally made by government officials whose actions permanently disrupted communities.

Urban Renewal affected communities throughout the nation, including in the greater Washington, DC area. For example, in Lakeland, Maryland city officials adopted an Urban Renewal plan in 1970. Residents were removed from their home by the mid-1970s, but construction on new housing did not begin until 1981. When housing was constructed, high rise apartment buildings were built rather than the single family homes that community members expected and were accustomed to living in (Lakeland 2009). Likewise, in the 1960s, Urban Renewal became a big factor in the revitalization of Alexandria. However, these efforts were often met with opposition centered in the Historic Preservation movement (OHA 2014).

Conclusions

Today, the history of the Chesapeake can be seen throughout the region in the preservation of historic and archaeological sites, dozens of museums, and in the memories of the families who have lived in the area for generations. Even as the population diversifies, with immigrants coming from all over the United States and the world, the deep association between the senses, the idea of race, and the history of the region continue to be important factors in how the people of the Chesapeake relate to one another.

Sensory markers and abilities associated with blackness permeated American thought during the 18th and 19th centuries. As miscegenation changed the visual appearance of both enslaved and free African Americans, whites increasingly relied on non-visual markers to define blackness. These sensory stereotypes became deeply

rooted in American ideas of race and were called upon to justify the policies of Jim Crow segregation in the 20th century. Even today, the remnants of these thoughts can be seen in the association between blackness and sexuality, musical ability, and animalistic behaviors (Bogle 200; hooks 1999; Smith 2006).

Chapter 4: Sense of Place and the Origins of the Fort Community

Determining the origins of The Fort community is an important research goal that has been established by the Descendant Society and adopted by the OHA and Alexandria Archaeology. For the professional historians and archaeologists researching The Fort community, establishing the beginnings of The Fort community on the land that is today Fort Ward Park is an essential part of the interpretation of the site. For members of the Descendant Society, understanding the community's origins, not just the beginning of their occupation on the Fort Ward Park, is essential for securing their sense of place.

There are three competing memories of the origins of The Fort community. Members of the Descendant Society have suggested that the founding community members were already living in the area of Fort Ward, and likely on the property of Fort Ward Park, prior to the outbreak of the Civil War and the construction of the fort (A. Washington to D. Cavanaugh, email, 5 March 2010, Fort Ward Papers (FWP), Alexandria Archaeology (AA), Alexandria). Another memory that has been suggested by historians and archaeologists as well as supported by the Descendant Society is that African American escaped slaves were drawn to Fort Ward for freedom in response to the Confiscation Acts (1861 and 1862) and may have lived and worked at Fort Ward as contraband (D. Cavanaugh to P. Cressey, email, 2010, FWP, AA, Alexandria; A. Washington to D. Cavanaugh, 5 March 2010, FWP, AA, Alexandria). The third theory is that members of The Fort community never lived on

the property of Fort Ward until after the Civil War and the decommissioning of the fort. This idea can be seen in “The Fort’ Heritage Trail: An Enduring African American Community” brochure and interpretive signs recently installed at Fort Ward Park. These interpretative materials were created through the combined efforts of the Descendant Society and OHA.

These theories of the origins of The Fort community are not necessarily contradictory. Different members of the community could have arrived at different times and for different reasons. Infact, the community’s origins likely reflect the diversity of experiences of African Americans in Northern Virginia and the greater Washington, DC, area during the 19th and 20th centuries (Johnston 1993).

It is also important to recognize that The Fort community’s sense of place extended beyond the boundaries of the modern day park. Although only the residents who lived on or immediately adjacent to the earthworks are considered part of The Fort, the majority of these community members had family in the nearby communities of Seminary and Macedonia (Mudtown) as well as in downtown Alexandria (Bradby 2014; Douglas 1992). The Fort community residents visited friends and family members, shopped, worked, attended school and church, and went to the movies off park property. The Fort community is anchored in the relationship and connections between its members and the institutions they created, not simply their shared land.

Determining the origins of The Fort community is important for establishing a sense of place for the Descendant Society in Fort Ward Park and Alexandria as a whole. The displacement of The Fort residents left the community without a locus to

bind it together. The destruction of The Fort community buildings, homes, and cemeteries changed the experience of walking the landscape and therefore altered the sense of place for the former residents, descendants, and visitors to the park. By determining the origins of The Fort community and bringing that information to the Descendant Society and general public, the experience of visiting Fort Ward Park is altered to include a sense of place that includes 100 years of African American occupation of the land.

Historical Research and Memory Methodology

A wide range of historic documents were examined to determine when the founding families of The Fort community, their relatives, and possibly their ancestors came to the land that today comprises Fort Ward Park. Unfortunately, prior to the Civil War identifying individual African Americans in the historical record is difficult. Enslaved African Americans are listed in the Federal Slave Censuses by their age and sex, not by name. Similarly, in personal records of slave owners, only the first names of their enslaved workers are typically given. However, strong evidence for African American presence can still be uncovered in the historical documents of the pre-War period.

Several types of historical documents were examined for evidence of self-emancipated African Americans settling at or around Fort Ward during the war, including land records, the Federal Slave Census, military documents, the Cassius F. Lee papers (VTS, Alexandria), and records from the Freedmen's Bureau (National Archives (NA) 1865-1872: Records of Assistant Commissioners (RAC) District of Columbia, M1055; NA 1865-1872: RAC Virginia M821; NA 1865-1872: Field

Office Records (FOR) District of Columbia M1902; NA 1865-1872: FOR Virginia). Descendant Society members also provided family origin stories that described how their ancestors sought freedom in The Fort and Seminary areas.

I examined the Federal Slave Census for the lists and descriptions of the enslaved laborers of the landowners on and around the park property. I also looked through the deeds and other land records for indications that slave quarters were built on park land. I then looked at the Lee family papers and the VTS records for references to African Americans living and working in and around the Fort Ward Park property. VTS maintains an archive of the institutional records that also includes private records of people associated with the Seminary, like Cassius Lee.

I conducted a cursory examination of the military documents maintained at the National Archives relating to the Defenses of Washington and specifically Fort Ward (NA 1861-1865: War Department, Defenses of Washington) and contrabands (NA 1862-1863: War Department, Defenses of Washington, Office of the Chief Engineer, Monthly Record of Clothing Furnished to Contrabands at Fortifications North of the Potomac). Because the purpose of looking at these documents was to find references to African American civilians, I limited my intensive study to the records that were most likely to list civilians by name. These are the licenses and miscellaneous records (NA 1861-1865: War Department, Defenses of Washington). I also examined records from the Freedmen's Bureau for references to the names of slave owners who owned property in and around Fort Ward. A more intensive research effort may find a mention of African Americans in the letters and orders, particularly in the ephemera. However, that level of intensive documentary research

is beyond the scope of this project.

I also looked at post-Emancipation records to identify the birth dates, places, parents, and other personal information about the earliest residents of The Fort that might indicate where they were living prior to the Civil War. The documents I examined include deeds, censuses, wills, marriage records, city directories, and other personal and property records. These types of records could not be associated with any individual member of The Fort community before the war, but that may be indicative of the scarcity of information about enslaved African American individuals prior to the war rather than an indication that community members were not living in the area.

The written record can also be inaccurate. For example, members of the Descendant Society point to a probate record that listed heirs to a parcel of the Shorts/McKnight property as grandchildren when in fact they were the children of the family member in question (Washington and Furlong 2013). In addition, descendants often read and use historic documents in a different way than either historians or archaeologists to support their interpretations of the beginnings of The Fort.

Because of the difficulties of using historical documents to understand African American life, particularly before Emancipation, and the importance of oral traditions for sharing African American culture, it is imperative to use oral history interviews to develop a more complete picture of the past. These interviews record family memories and stories that have passed down for generations and often provide the only insight into the experiences of individual African Americans and families. Oral histories have been used to document the experiences of enslaved African Americans

since the recording of Slave Narratives by the Federal Writer's Project of the Works Project Administration in the 1930s. Today, archaeologists and historians regularly use oral histories to better understand the African American experience both before and after Emancipation (Christman 2009; Hamilton and Shopes 2008; Honey 1994; Jopling 1998; LaRoche 2014; Moser et. al. 2009).

The Fort Community Predated the Civil War: Documentary and Memory Evidence

The earliest documents indicating the presence of African Americans living on or near the Fort Ward Park property date to the late 18th century. In 1729, the property was acquired through a land grant from Thomas Lord Fairfax to Henry Awbrey (Aubrey) as part of the Northern Neck Proprietary. Awbrey's original grant was composed of 1,261 acres of land bounded to the north by Four Mile Run (Ottery (Appler) 2011: 15). In 1749, Awbrey's entire land grant was conveyed through a lease and release instrument to William Ramsey, Alexandria's first Lord Mayor, a city founder, and merchant. Ramsey acquired the property through a formal deed in 1768 (Ottery (Appler) 2011: 15-16). Like much of the newly acquired land in the American colonies the tract that includes the property that would become Fort Ward Park was not developed. Instead it was held for prestige and possible future use or improvement.

Throughout most of the 18th century, the land of Fort Ward Park was owned as an undeveloped portion of a larger 1,261 acre track by the Ramsey family. But after William Ramsey's death in 1785, his sons broke apart and sold the large track of land. In 1797, 1,169 acres, which included the land that would become Fort Ward Park, were transferred to Robert Allison, Ramsey's son-in-law (Fairfax County

Circuit Court, Deed of Records Room, Fairfax, Virginia [FCCC] 1797: Deed Book [DB] Z1: 318-322).

In the 1797 deed transferring property from William Ramsay to Robert Allison, the description of the metes and bounds includes a reference to “the road on the height above Ramsey’s [sic] quarter,” (FCCC 1797: DB Z1: 318-322). This suggests that enslaved workers were housed on Ramsay’s farm on Four Mile Run, which included the property that would later become Fort Ward Park. Ramsay’s 1795 will mentions seven slaves, although Mitchell (1977) indicates that he owned 13 in 1760.

Ramsay’s enslaved workers may have been the first African Americans to utilize or live on the land that is today Fort Ward Park. The transfer of the property and the distribution of his slaves most likely displaced any of the enslaved African Americans that had been living or working on the property. However, the Ramsay family continued to be one of Alexandria’s most prominent slave holding families throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, including one son who served as the city’s mayor (Government Printing Office 1893). Although the African Americans enslaved by the Ramsay family did not continually occupy the land of Fort Ward Park, they still were part of the larger African American community of Alexandria and may have had some connections to the ancestors of The Fort and Seminary community members.

The property continued to be divided and sold as separate lots into the 19th century. And was later reassembled through a series of purchases made by Isaac George. Through purchases recorded in five deeds, George compiled just under 86

acres into one property (Appler 2011: 18). By 1848, Philip Hoof purchased these 86 acres for \$3,000 (Appler 2011:19). Half of this 86-acre lot was composed of the land that would later become Fort Ward Park.

As this property changed hands and was divided and reconsolidated, one thing remained consistent, the property owners were also slave owners. Philip Hooff, who owned the Fort Ward Park property as part of a larger lot from 1844 until after Civil War, was a slave owner. In the 1840 Federal Census Philip Hoof is listed as the owner of one female slave between the age of 10 and 23 (USCB 1840). In the 1850 Federal Census Slave Schedule, Hoof has five slaves described as one black female age 45, one mulatto female age 25, one black female age 19, one mulatto female age 4, and one male mulatto age one month (USCB 1850a). By 1860, Hooff had six slaves described as one black male age 40, one black female age 30, one black female age 21, one mulatto female age 12, one mulatto male age 9, and one mulatto male age 8 (USCB 1860a). When the war broke out it is unclear whether or not these enslaved workers stayed in the Alexandria area. However, if they did remain, they would have been familiar with this property, inspiring them to establish their homes as freemen in that location.

No major improvements were recorded in the tax records during Hooff's pre-War ownership of the property. Despite the lack of building, it is still likely that Hooff's slaves or other African Americans living in the area worked on, hunted on, traveled across, or used this property in some way.

There is more evidence of African Americans living in the area surrounding Fort Ward, than on the park property itself. Prior to the Civil War, the nearby Virginia

Theological Seminary (VTS) rented slaves from local slave owners to work at the campus (Prichard 2012). During the 1850s, a period of expansion and building at VTS, slaves from Mount Vernon were rented to VTS (Constant 2009). Despite not being owned by the VTS, these enslaved laborers lived and worked on the VTS campus and were an essential part in the daily operations and growth of the institution. In an 1856 letter, VTS student Phillips Brooks writes “All the servants are slaves” (Constant 2009: 19). However the relationship between the enslaved workers, their owners, and their temporary masters at VTS was often contentious. In several letters to his family in Massachusetts, Brooks writes that white residents in Alexandria feared slave uprisings and actively discouraged northern seminary students from leading religious services for “the servants of the seminary and the [African American] neighbors” (Constant 2009: 20). In 1860, a brick house, behind a faculty residence known as The Wilderness, was constructed as a “servants quarters,” likely designed to house slaves on campus (Prichard 2012: 49).

Another portion of the Awbrey/Ramsey property, to the east of what later became Fort Ward Park, was sold and developed in the early 19th century. The owners built a summer home named Prospect Hill. Then, in 1858, Cassius Francis Lee and Anne Eliza Gardner Lee purchased Prospect Hill and converted it into a permanent residence. They renamed it Menokin, after the home of Francis “Lightfoot” Lee.

The Lees owned Menokin until 1908. During this time both Cassius and his wife Anne Eliza Gardner Lee wrote extensively and their family records provide some of the best leads for identifying ancestors of The Fort community. Mr. Lee

served as the Treasurer of the nearby VTS, which maintains his personal records in their archives. Mrs. Lee was an avid correspondent with Sophie Madeleine DuPont, whose letters have been preserved by the Winterthur Library in Delaware as part of the DuPont family collection and transcribed copies are kept at the VTS archive. Mrs. Lee's letters provide insight into what life was like in this area prior to, during, and immediately following the Civil War. In her letters, she often mentions the people living and working at and around Menokin, providing glimpses of African Americans in the area.

Labor provided by enslaved African Americans would have been essential for running and maintaining Menokin and the other Lee family properties. In an undated letter from Anne Eliza Gardner Lee to her children, she describes her life beginning at time of her marriage to Cassius Lee in 1846 (A. Lee to Children, letter, 1800s, Cassius F. Lee Collection [CFLC], Virginia Theological Seminary [VTS], Alexandria). During these early years of their marriage, Anne and Cassius lived in the city of Alexandria (Cavanaugh 2009). As Cassius' second wife, Anne experienced some difficulty as she adjusted to her new role as the head mistress. Anne describes Lee's slaves as "all old ones" who "always spoke of me [Anne] as your stepmother and looked with distrust upon me" (A. Lee to Children, letter, 1800s CFLC, VTS, Alexandria).

In 1850, Cassius Lee owned seven African American slaves and employed and housed one white servant, named Margaret Pender, a 21 year old woman from Ireland (USCB 1850a, 1850b). The Lees' slaves are described in the Slave Schedule as one black female age 63, one mulatto female age 46, one mulatto female age 45,

one mulatto male age 14, one mulatto female age 10, one mulatto male age 5, and one mulatto female age three (USCB 1850a). Some of these enslaved workers are likely the same “old ones” described by Anne in her letter to her children. It is likely that some, if not all, of these enslaved laborers moved with the Lees to Menokin in the 1850s.

By 1860, Cassius Lee owned five slaves who were listed in the Slave Schedule as one black male age 58, two black females age 35, one black male age 35, and one mulatto male age 21 (USCB 1860a). His wife Anne Lee (spelled in both the USCB 1860a, USCB 1860b as Anna Lee) also owned 13 enslaved laborers in 1860. They are recorded as two black men age 75, one black female age 75, one black female age 50, one black male age 40, one mulatto female age 40, one black male age 35, one black male age 20, one mulatto male age 16, one mulatto female age 14, one black female age 13, one black male age six, and one mulatto female age four (USCB 1860a).

Anne Lee also provides some additional information about African Americans living and working on and around Menokin in her letters to Sophie-Madeline du Pont. An avid correspondent, particularly during the war years, Anne’s letters to Sophie describe the fear and danger she, her family, and their neighbors experienced as they tried to maintain some normalcy in their day-to-day living.

In 1861, Anne Lee writes to Sophie from Menokin about the growing Union army’s overwhelming impact on Washington and all the surrounding areas. She reports that soldiers are begging for food at the Seminary and at a nearby mill. She describes how “a poor miller” sent “an old coloured man who could scarcely crawl, to

beg Mr. Lee to come to him” in order to get some relief from the demanding soldiers (A. Lee to S. DuPont, letter 1861, CFLC, VTS, Alexandria). Later that year, Anne again writes to Sophie from Menokin that she is “shut up between two armies,” highlighting the immediate and severe impact of the war on people living in Northern Virginia (A. Lee to S. Dupont, letter, 1861, CFLS, VTS, Alexandria).

The difficulty of war was experienced by both white Southerners and their enslaved workers. In an 1861 letter from Cassius Lee to Mrs. John Fowle, he alludes to the danger that African Americans experienced during this time. In response to her request for information about the wellbeing of an African American girl, Lee offers to inquire about the girl and “see that she does not suffer” (C. Lee to Fowle, letter 1861, CFLC, VTS, Alexandria).

By 1862, the Lees had fled Menokin and it was occupied by soldiers (A. Lee to S. DuPont, letter 1862, CFLC, VTS, Alexandria). While away from home, Anne Lee continued her correspondence with Sophie, providing additional insight about the lives of enslaved African Americans living in Virginia. In 1863, Anne writes to Sophie from Long Island, New York, that she has lost her “nurse,” who had lived with her for seven years (A. Lee to S. DuPont, letter, 1863, CFLC, VTS, Alexandria). Although, she does not specifically state that her nurse was either African American or enslaved, during the 18th and early 19th century African American women frequently served as nurses, first during slavery and later as domestic servants. The term nurse during this period refers to a woman who nurses and cares for one or more babies or children, while also laboring as a domestic servant. In a 1912 article in *The Independent*, a self-proclaimed “Negro Nurse” describes her duties by writing,

I not only have to nurse a little white child . . . I have to act as playmate . . . to three other children . . . , I wash and dress the baby two or three times each day; I give it its meals . . . I have to put it to bed each night; and, in addition, I have to get up and attend to its every call between midnight and morning. If the baby falls to sleep during the day, as it has been trained to do every day about eleven o'clock, I am not permitted to rest. It's "Mammy, do this," or "Mammy, do that," or "mammy, do the other," from my mistress, all the time. So it is not strange to see "Mammy" watering the lawn with the garden hose, sweeping the sidewalk, mopping the porch and halls, helping the cook, or darning stockings (Negro Nurse 1912).

It is unclear whether Anne's nurse traveled with the family to New York or if she was left behind in Virginia. Similarly, it is unclear what happened to the rest of slaves living and working at Menokin after the Lees left. If they stayed in the area, it is likely that they or their relatives may have been some of the founding members of The Fort community. Unfortunately, the identities of the African Americans listed in the Slave Censuses and those mentioned in the Lees' letters are unknown, so their connection to The Fort remains uncertain.

Upon returning to Virginia after the war, the Lees continued to rely on black labor at Menokin. Connections between these hired servants and the Lees former slaves are also unclear, but records showing enslaved workers remaining on the property of their former masters as employees or share-croppers occurred frequently throughout the South (Brink 1989). What is known is that members of the McKnight/Shorts family, one of the founding families of The Fort community, were working and living at Menokin in 1870 (USCB1870).

Descendants suggest that it is likely that Birney and Samuel McKnight might have remained as servants for the Lee family because they had been previously been enslaved there or that other members of the Shorts/McKnight family may have been in the area because they too were once enslaved by the Lees (Washington and

Furlong 2013). Census and birth records, along with family Bibles, indicate that numerous members of the Fort and Seminary communities appear to have migrated from the Prince William, Loudoun, and Fauquier counties areas of Virginia and may have been enslaved at some point by the Lee and related families who owned plantations in that area (Washington and Furlong 2013).

One example of how Descendant Society members read historic documents differently is their interpretation of “A Round of Visits: A War-Talk with Cousin Cassius Lee” from *Recollections and Letters of General Robert E. Lee*. This document was written by Robert E. Lee, Jr. (2006) as a recording of a story told to him by Cazenove Lee, son of Cassius Lee. Cazenove Lee describes how General Lee pointed “to Fort Wade [sic], in the rear of our home” and explained why he did not attempt to take the fort during the war (Lee 2006). For members of the Descendant Society the description of the fort being to the “rear” of Menokin suggests that slave quarters may have been located in that area of the property (Washington and Furlong 2013). However, archaeologists do not necessarily interpret this reference the same way, because slave quarters have been identified in many different areas on properties in Virginia. For example, some quarters are still standing near the front of the main house at Mount Vernon, remains of quarters have been located archaeologically to the side of the main house at Montpelier, and to the rear of the main house at Monticello (Pogue 2006; Reeves 2011; Scholnick, Wheeler, and Neiman 2001).

The Freedmen’s Bureau Records for the District of Columbia contain descriptive lists of freedmen for whom agents requested transportation and letters of response of whether or not the individuals requesting to be moved actually showed up

for transport. These records provide important details about African Americans who had come to the DC area during the course of the war including the names, physical descriptions, former place of residence, former owner, current residence, and destination of the freedmen seeking transport. Individuals with the same surname, and sometimes the same full name, as founding members of The Fort community appeared throughout this list, including Adams, Clark, Hall, Jackson, Simms, and Stewart (NA 1865-1869: Descriptive Lists of Freedmen for Whom Agents Requested Transportation, District of Columbia). These individuals may be relatives of founding members of The Fort community.

One freedmen requesting transport was John Grant. Grant was described as a 21 year old man, who stood 5'2 1/2" with black complexion, eyes, and hair. Grant listed his former residence as Alexandria and his former owner as Robert Lee, cousin of Cassius Lee, (NA 1865-1869; Descriptive Lists of Freedmen for Whom Agents Requested Transportation, District of Columbia). Although Grant did not later become part of The Fort community, he may have been enslaved with some of the community members. No entries for the former enslaved workers of Phillip Hoof, Cassius Lee, or Anne Lee were included in this list, which indicates that these African Americans either fled during the war or settled in the area after the war.

Members of the Descendant Society consider the use of the similar names, such as Cassius, Harriet, and the surname Stewart/Stuart used by both members of the Lee and McKnight families as a reflection of a deep connection, possibly a master slave relationship, between these families (Washington and Furlong 2013). Coby (1987) addresses the relationship between first names of slaves and their owners in

her study of the Ball family of South Carolina, and their enslaved workers. Her findings both support and contradict the interpretation of the Descendant Society. She writes, “Although slaves generally avoided the use of male names uniquely associated with their owners, female slaves, occasionally received the name of an owner’s sweetheart, wife, or daughter” (Coby 1987: 573). However, the pattern of freedmen sharing their surname with their former owners can be seen throughout the South. In his discussion of African American ancestry, Baker (1997: 13) writes, “Most of the former Wessyngton slaves used the Washington surname after they were freed. A few of them used surnames of previous owners.”

The similarity in names between white residents in Alexandria and founding members of The Fort community extended beyond the connections to the Lee family. When looking through the Defenses of Washington records, I found an application for a fishing license for Harrison Javins of Alexandria (NA 1863: War Department, Defenses of Washington, Licenses). Included in the license package was an oath of allegiance for both Harrison and Thomas Javins (NA 1861-1865: War Department, Defenses of Washington, Licenses). According to the 1870 and 1880 Federal Censuses, white members of the Javins family were living throughout the Alexandria and Mount Vernon areas of Fairfax County. Unfortunately, Sam [sic] Javins of The Fort community does not appear in the Federal Census until 1900. Here Samuel Javins is recorded as being born in 1865 in Virginia to parents who were also born in Virginia (USCB 1900). Although the connection between the white Javins family of Alexandria and Mount Vernon and the African American Javins of The Fort cannot

be specifically identified, there does appear to be a connection between these families.

Likewise, members of the Descendant Society point to the similarity of place names used by members of The Fort and Seminary communities and other prominent Virginia families. Most notably is the use of variations of place names incorporating the word “oak” and its derivatives. Two plantations in Leesburg, Virginia, James Monroe’s Oak Hill and Oatlands, owned by the Carter and Eustis families, are similar to the Baptist mission, church and school established by members of The Fort community, first as Oak Hill, then as Oakland (Washington and Furlong 2013).

Additionally, the 1909 Bailey v. Bailey divorce case suggests that members of the McKnight/Shorts family were living near Fort Ward prior to or during the Civil War. In his oral testimony, Searles McKnight states that he has known Mrs. Belle Bailey “ever since directly after the war, about two years after the war” (FCCC 1909: Bailey v. Bailey). This answer suggests to the descendants that the McKnights were already living either near on or on the Fort or VTS properties before or during the Civil War.

Unfortunately, historical documents that include the names of members of The Fort community living specifically on the property that is now Fort Ward Park that predate the Civil War have yet to be found. However, descendants suggest that this is because their ancestors were held in bondage.

The Fort Community Grew Out of a Contraband Camp: Documentary and Memory Evidence

A growing area of research in history and archaeology, are the temporary camps of African Americans who escaped slavery in the South that were established during the Civil War (Johnston 1987, 1993; McBride and McBride 2011; Willis 2011). Several research projects focusing on contraband who sought refuge at the Defenses of Washington are being conducted by NPS, American University, the African American Civil War Memorial and Museum, and the District of Columbia Historic Preservation Office. Because of these efforts, descendants, archaeologists, and historians working at Fort Ward have questioned whether or not escaped slaves also sought freedom at Fort Ward.

The contraband policy, first developed at Fort Monroe, Virginia, under the leadership of Major General Benjamin Butler, made the legal argument that because slaves were being used by the Confederate military for labor they could be held by the Union military as contraband of war (Johnston 1987; Willis 2011). This policy became law when Congress passed the First Confiscation Acts of 1861 and 1862. The Confiscation Acts did not grant enslaved people freedom, but it did prevent the military from having to return enslaved people to their owners (Williams 2005). The policy was also designed to allow for the Union army to benefit from the labor of African American refugees, particularly young, able men (Williams 2005). After the general Order Number 143 was issued in 1863, many of these refugees joined the USCT, including founding members of The Fort and Seminary communities John

Montgomery Peters and William Wood (Cavanaugh 2011; Washington and Furlong 2013).

Because of the conditions of war and the implementation of the contraband policy, the African American population of the Washington, DC, area including Alexandria, swelled to nearly seven times its pre-war size during the Civil War. In just Alexandria, the black populations almost tripled from 1860 to 1866 (Reidy 1987). Contraband settled in small groups associated with some of the Defenses of Washington forts as well as in a large camp on the northern edge of DC known as Camp Barker (Johnston 1993). In 1863, Freedmen's Village, the most notorious contraband camp, was established on the property of Robert E. Lee's former residence Arlington House (Reidy 1987). Operating for nearly four decades, Freedmen's Village served as the home for thousands of African American refugees, the majority from Virginia and Maryland, during and following the war (Reidy 1987). After its closing in 1900, the majority of residents settled in Alexandria County (Reidy 1987).

Some of the personal documents of members of The Fort community suggest that some of the founding members, or at least their parents, came from areas of Virginia outside of Alexandria. The McKnights, Terrells, Shorts, Stewarts, and Jacksons all have connections to Fauquier County (Moon 2014). The marriage certificate between Harriet Stewart McKnight (b. 1832) and Burr Shorts (b. 1847) lists both of their birth places as Fauquier County. Harriet McKnight's step-daughter, Maria McKnight Blackburn (b. 1849), also lists her and her parents, Willis and Marie McKnight's birthplace as Fauquier County (Moon 2014). However, the death

certificate of Clara Adams, shows that she was born in Fairfax County in 1866, indicating that her parents Harriet McKnight and Burr Shorts were living in Fairfax County by that time (Cartwright 2012; Moon 2014).

The Freedmen's Bureau Records also provide information about African Americans coming to Alexandria during the Civil War. The District of Columbia transport records include a list of 12 African Americans living in Alexandria and seeking to go to Arkansas. All 12 arrived for transport and appear to have no relation to The Fort community members (NA 1865-1869: Descriptive Lists of Freedmen for Whom Agents Requested Transportation, District of Columbia). However this transportation request provides details about where these freedmen, some of whom were likely considered contraband, were living in Alexandria and where they came from.

Two freedmen, Richard Day and Tobias Williams, listed their current residence as near Battery Rodgers, suggesting they came to Alexandria as contraband seeking the protection of the military presence around the city (NA 1861-1865: War Department, Defenses of Washington Descriptive Lists of Freedmen for Whom Agents Requested Transportation, District of Columbia). Two of the 12 freedmen listed, John Gibbson and Robert Lee, were originally from Alexandria. The others came from Fauquier County, like the McKnights and Shorts, Caroline County, Gauge County, Culpepper, and Occoquan Virginia. This suggests that other refugees, including founding members of The Fort community, who came to Alexandria during the war, may have also come from these same areas.

Similarly, the Freedmen's Cemetery burial records also indicate that enslaved African Americans sought refuge at forts surrounding Alexandria. Four individuals, including two children, were listed as living at Fort William(s), which is just over a mile to the South of Fort Ward. The two children, John Henry Shorts, (d. September 1864, age 1 year) and Charlie Jackson (d. October 1864, age 7) both share their last name with members of The Fort community (Cressey 2010a). Because they are children it is likely that they were living in this area with their families, indicating that both the Shorts and Jackson families were settled in the area during the Civil War. Randall Chapman (d. September 1864) and Lucy Ann Price (d. March 1865, age 25) also resided at Fort Williams and were buried in Freedmen's Cemetery (Cressey 2010a).

There is little documentary evidence of African Americans living and working at Fort Ward. A single letter written by a Union soldier in 1864 mentions the presence of African Americans at Fort Ward. The soldier, William S. Armstrong, describes the over 100 "darkies" working on expanding and improving the fort, a project estimated to take six months to complete (Moon 2014: 26). This expansion project was proposed in 1862, proceeded slowly in 1863, and was conducted primarily in 1864 when the perimeter was expanded to 818 yards (from 540 yards) and increased to 36 gun placements (from 24 placements). In addition, the interior structures were replaced and reconstructed (Cooling and Owen 2010).

Unfortunately, the identities of these "darkies" is not known, therefore it cannot be assumed that some or all of them would meet the definition of contraband. Some may have been escaped slaves, some may have been recently emancipated

slaves from Washington, DC, and others could have been free blacks. Moon (2014: 27) suggests that the 100 men who worked at Fort Ward “were probably organized at an Engineer Camp close to the Long Bridge and the Freedmen’s Village at Arlington House,” but gives no information about their status or identities.

Several historical documents describe African Americans seeking refuge during the war at VTS (Prichard 2012). Although it is not clear whether these refugees were coming from the immediate area, perhaps slaves left behind by fleeing owners like the Lees, or from deeper into Virginia and the South, seeking freedom and safety behind Union lines. What is evident is that many African American men and women moved to the Seminary grounds during the war (Prichard 2012).

VTS was a safe place during the war because it was used as a hospital for Union soldiers. Records of the soldiers returning to duty after receiving treatment at the VTS seminary provide the names, ranks, and companies of the men that may have interacted with African Americans seeking refuge at the seminary (NA 1864: War Department, Defenses of Washington, Commandant of Rendezvous of Distribution; NA 1864: War Department, Defenses of Washington, Provost Marshall List). Despite his connections to the Confederacy, Cassius Lee played an active role in getting the seminary designated as a Union military hospital, hoping that would protect it from plundering by soldiers and damages from military engagement (W. Biddle to C. Lee, letter, 1862, CFLC, VTS, Alexandria).

The creation of the hospital on the Seminary’s campus created a place for African American refugees to work and live. Displaced African Americans first settled in a faculty residence named Maywood, likely working as laundresses for the

hospital and policing the grounds (Pritchard 2012). As the war continued the African American population seeking refuge at the seminary grew. By 1862, a “shanty town of African American huts began to grow up on the periphery of the VTS campus,” taking the form of a contraband camp (Pritchard 2012: 62).

Superintendent of Hospital Nurses at the Seminary Hospital, Jane Stuart Woolsey provides some of the most detailed information about contrabands living on and around the seminary in her book *Hospital Days; Reminiscence of a Civil War Nurse* (1868). According to Woolsey (1868), African American refugees began to gather in great numbers at the Seminary Hospital after the second battle of Bull Run (Manassas). So many refugees came to VTS that their “huts hung upon the edges of the camp and were scatted over the fields all the way to the City” (Woolsey 186: 70). Woolsey (1868) says that the refugees were treated kindly, frequently visited by the Chaplin, employed by the Seminary Hospital, and received government rations. She goes on to describe the homes built and occupied by the refugees living around the Seminary. Woolsey (1868: 71-72) writes

The huts . . . were strange patchwork; bits of shelter-tents and blankets, ends of plank, barrel staves, logs, and mud, but most of them were neatly whitewashed and with the likeness of a little, fenced garden behind, and near many and many, by the roadside, was a rough grave with a red-wood cross at its head.

However, by the time Woolsey wrote *Hospital Days*, published just three years after the end of the war, the huts, gardens, and grave markers of the contraband camp had already been destroyed (Woolsey 1868).

Abolitionist Harriet Jacobs wrote in September 5, 1862, issue of *The Liberator* an article title “Life Among the Contrabands” about her experiences

visiting with the African American refugees living in Washington, DC and northern Virginia. She described the refugees as being “distributed more over” Alexandria, living in a variety of locations and conditions (Jacobs 1862: 3). At one place in Alexandria, Jacobs writes about encountering “what the people call the more favored slaves” who “would boast of having lived in the first families in Virginia” (Jacobs 1862: 3). Perhaps some of these refugees came from the Lees or other prominent families that had connections to the Fort Ward and Seminary area.

After touring the contraband camps in the city of Alexandria, Jacobs traveled out into the county to visit the VTS. Impressed by the conditions of the hospital and contraband camp, she wrote, “Many of the contrabands are here. Their condition is much better than that of those kept in the city” (Jacobs 1862: 3). According to Jacobs (1862), the refugees at the Seminary had a healthy environment, church services every Sunday, and a strong community in which members took care of each other, even those who were considered strangers, in order to overcome the suffering they experienced while they were enslaved. These communal relationships and dedication to Christian faith are perhaps the earliest seeds of the The Fort community.

In his volume *Specimen Days and Collect*, poet Walt Whitman writes about his experiences visiting soldiers at hospitals and in the field during the Civil War. As part of his work tending to sick and injured soldiers, Whitman regularly visited the Seminary Hospital during the late summer and fall of 1863 (Whitman 1892).

Unfortunately, Whitman does not give extensive details of his experience at the Seminary Hospital or his interactions with the African American refugees there. However, in a later entry discussing his overall experiences during the war he writes,

“Among the black soldiers, wounded or sick, and in the contraband camps, I also took my way whenever in their neighborhood, and did what I could for them” (Whitman 1892: 99).

William R. Patton, a Union soldier serving as a drum major in the 9th Army Corps, 3rd Division, 2nd brigade, 211th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers between 1864 and 1865, was stationed in the Seminary/Fort Ward area immediately after the war. In his diary, he records his experiences in and around Alexandria. In one entry, he mentions receiving a visit from Joseph Ranker on April 28, 1865 who was “stationed in Fort Ward, near this place.” In the previous entry from April 27, 1865, Patton described a community of African Americans living near the soldiers. He writes, “Quite a colony of negroes on the hill here. Had one to cook our beef and potatoes” (Roberts 1995: 74). This supports the idea that African American refugees were seeking safety and work in the areas on or near Fort Ward and VTS campus.

The burial records from Freedmen Cemetery in Alexandria, Virginia, provide the strongest connections between these African Americans who sought freedom, safety, and employment in the area of Fort Ward and VTS and the founding families of The Fort community. Rachel Terrill, wife of Philip Terrill, died in November 1867, and lived at “Mrs. Peyton’s near Seminary” and Mary Terrill, wife of Joe Terrill, died in June 1867, and lived “near Fairfax Seminary” (Cressey 2010b). Susan Thompson, who passed in September 1866, also lived “near Fairfax Seminary” (Cressey 2010b).

Oral histories are another way to uncover information about movements of enslaved people seeking freedom behind Union lines. These family memories are especially important because so much of the experiences of individuals who were

fleeing slavery is absent from the documentary record. This absence is because escaping was a criminal activity that many were fearful to write about, most slaves were unable to write and record their own history either because they were illiterate or poverty prevented them from having access to writing materials and time to write. Racism also prevented whites from recording the experiences of African Americans (LaRoche 2014).

During an interview with Mr. Laurence Bradby a resident of The Seminary community, he explained how his grandmother remembered his great grandmother's escape from freedom. Bradby (2014) describes the arrival of members of the Roy family to The Fort/Seminary area by saying,

Escaping from slavery and they ended up here . . . They came here out of slavery. And they, I was instructed by my grandmother many, many years ago that people that escaped from slavery back in those days during slavery, they always looked for places where the Union soldiers were instead of the Confederate soldiers, because they were well protected by the Union soldiers. And this is one of the reasons that they ended up right here near Fort Ward.

Similarly, John Montgomery Peters, father of 19th century Fort community landowner John Peters, ran away from his master, James Carter of Aldie, in Prince William County, Virginia. A teamster who was familiar with the route leading to the bustling Alexandria seaport, James Peters escaped in time and joined the 1st regiment of the US Colored Troops commissioned on Mason Island in Washington, DC (D. Cavanaugh to A. Washington, F. Terrell, and J. Sanchez, email, 10 February 2011; Washington and Furlong 2013). Following the war, John M. Peters was employed by James and Martha Steele, when he fell in love with their adopted daughter Josephine Sanctuary (Cavanagh 2011). John and Josephine ran away together in 1867 or 1868 and married (Cavanagh 2011).

The Fort Community Resulted from Migration Following the Civil War:

Documentary and Memory Evidence

In this scenario, The Fort community is generally described as beginning with the first purchases of property by African Americans (ca. 1879) within the area that composes Fort Ward Park. The interpretive signs and brochures produced by the OHA with the Descendant Society thus mark the beginning of The Fort community as occurring after the Civil War.

The paucity of direct historical and archaeological evidence indicating African American presence on the Fort Ward property prior to or during the Civil War are the strongest indicators of the post-war development of The Fort community. After the war, the first historical documents appear connecting specific members of The Fort community to the land that now composes Fort Ward Park. First and last names of founding members of The Fort community and their relatives appear in a variety of public records including censuses, voters' registration records, and property records. In addition, Anne and Cassius Lee's letters continue to make references to African Americans working and living in the area following the war.

The first direct reference to members of The Fort community living in the area of Fort Ward is the listing of Burr Shorts in the Fairfax County voter registry in 1867 (Conley 2001). By 1870, several members of the McKnight/Shorts family appear in the historical documents as living in the area surrounding Fort Ward. Burr and his wife Harriet Stuart McKnight Shorts both appear in the 1870 census as living in the Falls Church District of Fairfax County (USCB 1870). Several other members of the Shorts and McKnight families appear on the same page of the 1870 census, including

Birney and Samuel McKnight who were living and working as domestic servants at Menokin (USCB 1870). This indicates that Burr and Harriet Shorts were living very near Menokin nearly a decade before they purchased their property in The Fort community.

The years immediately following the war were a period of adjustment for both former slave owners and newly freed African Americans. Wealthy white Southerners, like the Lees, were dependent on African American labor, and this dependence continued after the war. The 1870 Federal Census lists three African American servants as part of the Cassius and Anne Lee household at Menokin (USCB 1870): Mary Jones age 30, Birney McKnib (McKnight) age 25, and Samuel McKnib (McKnight) age 18. Birney (also spelled Bernie) McKnight was the daughter of Harriet McKnight Shorts and her first husband Willis McKnight and later became a property owner in The Fort. The Samuel McKnight (McKnib) listed in the 1870 Federal Census is likely a misspelling of Searls, Serles, or Surrel McKnight, Birney's brother and another child of Harriet McKnight Shorts and Willis McKnight (USCB 1870).

In 1878, Anne Lee suffered from temporary paralysis likely caused by a stroke (P. Fowle to S. DuPont, letter, 1878, CFLC, VTS, Alexandria). While this medical problem temporarily halted her correspondence with Sophie DuPont, a letter was sent from Paulina Cazenove Fowle to Sophie on Anne's behalf acknowledging the importance of this friendship to Anne. In it, Paulina indicates the difficulties that former slave owners faced adjusting to the wage-labor system in terms of locating and hiring domestic help. In her letter she writes that following Anne's illness it has

been “impossible to hire a cook” (P. Fowle to S. DuPont, letter, 1878, CFLC, VTS Alexandria).

Later that year, after partially recovering from her paralysis, Anne resumes her correspondence with Sophie. In closing one of her letters, Anne writes “the old coloured man is waiting to take us to ride,” once again highlighting the presence of African Americans in the area and her dependence on their labor (A. Lee to S. DuPont, letter, 1861, CFLC, VTS, Alexandria).

The next year, Burr and Harriet Shorts became the first African American property owners of what would become The Fort community (FCCC 1879: DB E5:578-579). Some have suggested that this land was available for purchase by the Shorts and later, by other members of The Fort community, because the property was in dispute as a result of the 1872 Hooe v. Hooff court case. Another possibility is that the families rented or leased land until they were able to secure the funds to purchase it (LaRoche 2014).

The peripheral location of the Fort Ward to Alexandria may have contributed to its availability to the founding members of The Fort community also. Fort Ward is approximately 3 miles from the center of Alexandria and was outside of the Alexandria city limits until the mid-20th century. The peripheral location to the Alexandria’s city center and to nearby Washington, DC may have made the land surrounding Fort Ward less desirable to white settlement because few businesses would have been located in The Fort area during the late 19th century.

The conditions of the land itself also made this area less desirable to whites. During Harriet Jacobs’ visit to the contraband camp at the Seminary, she records one

refugee woman's complaints about the soil in the area being so poor that people could not grow the foods they would need to live. This refugee was shocked to be living in a place where people had to buy parsley rather than grow it themselves (Jacobs 1862). Descendants also recognize the problems with the land. Descendant Society President Adrienne Washington writes, "Although the families maintained small farms, the hilly, clay-filled land was also not conducive to large scale planting" (Washington and Furlong 2013). In addition, the impact of the construction and occupation of a fort would likely have had negative impacts on the land, making it a less desirable area for settlement.

The pattern of independent African American communities occupying the edges of the city can be seen throughout the Washington, DC area. In fact, beginning in the 1860s and expanding in the 1880s, the majority of African Americans either settled on the periphery of the City or in alley dwellings (Johnston 1993). The communities located on the periphery of the city often took the form of semi-rural, suburban neighborhoods which relied on one primary source of employment. For The Fort community, VTS and EHS served as the primary source of employment (Belk 1994).

Archaeological and Landscape Methodology and Analysis

Analyzing the archaeological record and landscape were also essential to determining the origins of The Fort community. Because of the limitations of this project, archaeological information was only available from the park property itself. However, archaeological excavation is the best method for uncovering direct evidence from the Fort Ward Park property. In addition, an analysis of the landscape

as a whole provides clues to African American presence in the area, including Menokin, VTS, and the Seminary community.

Archaeologist Cheryl LaRoche (2014) outlines a methodology for analyzing landscapes of pre-Emancipation African American communities in her work *Free Black Communities and the Underground Railroad: The Geography of Resistance*. Her methods involve reading the landscape for clues to where African Americans would have traveled and settled as part of their journey to freedom. She identifies natural and cultural resources that both escaping African Americans and free African Americans would have sought out to maximize their safety and success. LaRoche (2014) identifies natural and constructed landscape features, such as caves, waterways, iron furnaces, and houses, inferior or undesirable land, a dispersed settlement pattern, close proximity to significant Underground Railroad activity, and cemeteries as elements of a “geography of resistance” that epitomizes African American communities in the 19th century. Taken together with information gathered from historical documents and oral history interviews, a guide can be created to locating African American communities that seem invisible on the landscape because of abandonment, destruction, and development. I use this guide to help determine when and why the land of Fort Ward Park was settled by African Americans in the 19th century.

The first origin story of The Fort is that ancestors of the founders of the community were already living on the land as enslaved workers before the outbreak of the Civil War and Emancipation. In order to determine if there was an African American occupation of the Fort Ward Park property prior to the Civil War, I

hypothesized that there would be concentrations of domestic or work-related artifacts and features that predated the Civil War. Using the information gathered through historical documents that showed that the pre-war owners of the park property were slave owners, I determined that it was possible that enslaved African Americans could have lived on or worked what became park land. If this land was used as a location for housing enslaved African Americans, concentrations of artifacts associated with domestic occupation, such as ceramics, glass, and food remains, which predate the war should be recovered. Likewise, I hypothesized that archaeological features related to structures, such as quarters or outbuildings, cooking hearths, privies, wells, or storage pits, would be found if there was a pre-war occupation of this land. These features could be located anywhere on the property, because they would have predated the construction of the earthworks. However, the construction of the fort and the clearing of firing lines would have led to the destruction of any buildings in front of the earthworks. Therefore any structures constructed in front of the fort, must have been constructed either before or after the war.

In order to identify possible contraband camps archaeologically, I used the work of archaeologists Stephen and Kim McBride at The Home for Colored Refugees at Camp Nelson, Kentucky, as a source of comparison (McBride and McBride 2011). The Home for Colored Refugees was a planned refugee community for African Americans who fled slavery and particularly for African American men who were wanted to join the U.S.C.T (McBride and McBride 2011). The Home was composed of a barracks, mess hall, 97 duplex cottages, a school and related buildings, a hospital

and related buildings, a workshop, store, and office (McBride and McBride 2011). As the refugee population grew, additional housing was needed. Sixty tents were initially brought in to house incoming refugees. Eventually the refugees began constructing their own cabins and huts when the government could no longer keep up with providing housing for the influx of African Americans to the camp (McBride and McBride 2011). The population of The Home eventually reached over 3,000 refugees.

During the excavations at The Home, McBride and McBride (2011) discovered different artifact patterns for the areas of the site that included government provided housing, such as the government built barracks and cottages, versus the refugee built huts. At the government built cottages a very “low quantity and density of ceramics . . . coupled with the complete absence of animal bones” suggested that the cottage residents were dependent on the government mess hall for food and did very little cooking and eating at home (McBride and McBride 2011: 30). Conversely, at the huts built by African American refugees, a larger quantity of ceramics and the presence of animal bones indicate that the residents of the huts were able to maintain a more traditional domestic experience by preparing and consuming their meals at home (McBride and McBride 2011).

In addition, several artifacts recovered at The Home showed direct connections between the African American refugees and service in the U.S.C.T., including uniform buttons and a poncho grommet (McBride and McBride 2011). A unique set of lead artifacts was recovered from the refugee built huts. Melted and shaped lead, that may have been reshaped bullets or residue from making weights or other objects, was recovered from the huts (McBride and McBride 2011). This reuse

of military items for a domestic purpose may be a signature artifact of contraband settlements.

I studied the artifacts recovered from Fort Ward to see if they fit within these patterns of artifact distribution. In addition, I examined the identified archaeological features to see if they represented construction techniques used to create shelters for refugees at contraband camps in the Washington, DC, area and at Camp Nelson. There is great variation in the types of housing used by African American refugees at these camps, due to variations in population, duration of stay, and types of housing supplies available to the refugees (Johnston 1993; Reidy 1987; Woolsey 1868). I also looked at the location of the features on the landscape. The need for protection and clear lines of sight for the fort guns would have dictated the location of contraband settlements, just as they did for soldiers' quarters and other fort structures.

Based on the results of all three phases of excavation at Fort Ward Park, there is little evidence that indicates a historic, pre-Civil War occupation of the park property. The majority of the artifacts recovered from both the Ottery Group, Inc. excavations and the Alexandria Archaeology excavations date from the late 19th century to the present. Although some artifacts could also have been made or used before the Civil War, such as certain whitewares and stonewares, they were generally recovered in context with other items that date to the post war period.

In addition, none of the identified archaeological features could be associated with pre-war activities. Unfortunately, the majority of the features identified by the Ottery Group, Inc. were not excavated because complete feature excavation was outside of the scope of work. In addition, the excavation summaries provided by

Alexandria Archaeology do not provide detailed description of the excavation of the archaeological features identified in 2012 (Fesler 2012a; Fesler 2012b; Fesler, Bromberg, and Cressey 2012). This could represent a critical gap in the understanding of the earliest occupations of the park property, particularly because significant areas of the park have been either completely disturbed, including the location of the park amphitheater, or have had the historic occupation soil layer removed leaving only subsurface features, such as under the park access road and in the Maintenance Yard (Fesler 2012b; Franz 2011b). Other areas that also likely have significant disturbance include the reconstructed earthworks, the museum, restrooms, and officer's quarter building, the reconstructed fort gate, the park loop road, and parking areas. Without excavation, it is nearly impossible to tell if any of these intact features contain evidence of the pre-war period. It is also possible that artifacts and features relating to the pre-war period could have been destroyed through the construction of park resources or buried beneath them and are currently inaccessible. Even if either of the scenarios occurred, artifacts associated with the features would remain. However, based on the artifacts and features uncovered during the 2010-2012 excavations, there is no archaeological evidence of historic pre-war use of the park property.

This property could have still been utilized by the enslaved African Americans living in the surrounding area. Whether the land was cultivated or remained wooded, the property of Fort Ward Park would have been an important place in the landscape of the enslaved workers in the area. If used as cultivated farmland, enslaved African Americans would have been responsible for planting and

harvesting the land and tending to the crops. For many of the enslaved workers, the majority of their day would have been devoted to working in these fields.

Likewise, a wooded property would provide cover for enslaved African Americans to travel, hunt, or simply be hidden from their owners gaze. LaRoche (2014) emphasizes the importance of natural environments, such as forests and thickets, to hide African Americans escaping slavery. In his 1852 novella *The Heroic Slave*, Frederick Douglass highlights the woods as a place for freedom. In his narrative, the main character Madison Washington seeks freedom in the cover and protection of the woods, first as a place to freely and outwardly express the sorrow and frustration he experiences as a slave and later as a hiding place on his journey to freedom. Hunting, sometimes illicit and sometimes condoned by owners, also took place in the woods surrounding slave homes. Wild game was an important supplement to the owner provided rations for many slaves (Covey and Eisnach 2009). Small mammals like rabbit, opossum, raccoon, and squirrel served as an important source of protein for enslaved workers living in the Washington, DC area. Covey and Eisnach (2009: 124), quoting Ms. Lancy Harris of Washington, DC, in her *Slave Narrative*, write “William Joiner used to fetch possums, coon and sometimes raccoon and rabbit and I used to do the cooking.” Unfortunately, none of these important uses of the landscape would leave a strong archaeological signature.

To determine if the earliest African American occupants of the Fort Ward Park property were part of a contraband camp, I compared the distribution of artifacts recovered from the Fort Ward Park excavations to the patterns at The Home of Colored Refugees at Camp Nelson. Although, the number of refugees coming to Fort

Ward would not have been near the over 3,000 that moved to Camp Nelson, the patterns of dependence on a government mess hall for food and reuse of military items for domestic purposes could still be evident even within a smaller refugee population. Identifying these patterns in the archaeological record of Fort Ward could indicate that African American refugees sought freedom and safety in this Union occupied portion of Confederate Virginia.

Alexandria Archaeology identified two concentrations of Civil War period artifacts during their excavations at Fort Ward Park. One is an area along a trench that extends from the northwest bastion of the fort to an earthen battery and the other is west of a rifle trench that extends from the northeast bastion of the fort (Fesler 2012a; Fesler 2012b; Fesler, Bromberg, and Cressey 2012). The majority of artifacts associated with the Civil War were recovered during a metal detecting survey of these areas.

Unfortunately, housing specifically built for refugees arriving at Fort Ward or to house the 100 men who came to build the fort expansion was not identified. It is likely that these contraband were housed in tents, similar to the ones described by McBride and McBride (2011). One tent grommet from the Civil War period was recovered as part of the metal detecting survey, suggesting that tents may have been used to house contraband residents at Fort Ward.

Another possibility is that contraband could have been housed in the barracks or other government-built buildings for soldiers. The barracks were located during the 1991 excavations (Bromberg 1991). Unfortunately, this report does not include detailed descriptions of the barracks' artifacts, so it is unclear whether or not ceramics

or food bones were recovered. Historic documents indicate that there was a mess house, but it has not been identified archaeologically (Bromberg 1991; Cooling and Owen 2010; Fesler, Bromberg, and Cressey 2012; Franz 2011a; Larrabee 1961). Nonetheless, it is likely that neither soldiers nor contraband laborers took meals in the barracks or other living areas, but rather ate all of their meals at the mess house.

Refuge deposits directly associated with the mess house have not been identified, but would likely consist of food bones, ceramics, and metal dishes, pots, and utensils. The majority of food bones and ceramics, as well as all of the metal cooking artifacts recovered from Fort Ward Park can be directly associated with The Fort occupation. However a few ceramics can be directly connected to the Civil War occupation. Fragments of a blue and gray stoneware crock, a white salt-glazed stoneware tankard, and a Bristol glazed stoneware ginger beer bottle were recovered during the metal detecting survey of the concentrations of Civil War artifacts.

Few animal bones were found in the concentrations of Civil War artifacts, all of which came from near the northwest bastion. Three dog teeth and eight unidentified animal bones were recovered, of which only the unidentified bones likely represent food remains. The paucity of cooking items, ceramics, and animal bones recovered from the concentrations of Civil War artifacts, suggest that the meals eaten by people living within the fort, whether soldiers or contraband, were provided by the government, prepared and consumed in the mess house, and not fixed individually across the site. It is likely that the mess house and its associated refuge were near the barracks and has yet to be discovered because it is located beneath the parking lot or other modern park features making it inaccessible to excavation. The absence of

food-related items in the living areas of the fort and no evidence of refugee built homes, reflect the pattern identified by McBride and McBride (2011) of contraband being housed and fed in government buildings and tents.

At The Home, McBride and McBride (2011) found an association between contraband and reshaped lead objects. They suggest that some of these items may represent weights created out of bullets and other lead items, but do not know the purpose of most of the reshaped lead objects (McBride and McBride 2011). Sixteen carved, melted, or otherwise reformed lead objects were found at Fort Ward as part of the metal detecting survey conducted by Alexandria Archaeology. Table 2 lists these items and their descriptions, as written in the Alexandria Archaeology Laboratory. Like McBride and McBride (2011), Alexandria Archaeology was unable to determine the function of many of these items. However, they interpret two of these objects as gaming pieces.

One suggested gaming piece, is a flat lead disc. If this object was associated with a contraband worker or fleeing refugee, it may actually represent West African spirit practices. Coins, buttons, and other shiny circular items used by African Americans and interpreted as items used for conjure or protection have been recovered from archaeological sites dating to the 18th and 19th century, including Camp Nelson (Leone and Fry 2009; McBride and McBride 2011). Although the use of this particular object as a gaming piece or spiritual item cannot be determined, the frequent reuse and reshaping of lead objects at Fort Ward is similar to the pattern seen at Camp Nelson.

Table 2. Melted, Carved, and Reshaped Lead Objects

Artifact #	CN #	Form	Portion/Element	Notes	Sum Of Count
2	3002	BULLET	COMPLETE	.58 caliber bullet, possibly melted, Civil War era	1
63	3064	SCRAP METAL	FRAGMENT	melted lead, probable Civil War date	1
72	3073	SCRAP METAL	FRAGMENT	large hunk of melted scrap lead, Civil War era	3
73	3074	SCRAP METAL	FRAGMENT	scrap lead, probable Civil War era	1
90	3091	BULLET	COMPLETE	flattened lead bullet, may have been used as gaming piece; Civil War era	1
92	3093	SCRAP METAL	FRAGMENT	melted lead	1
103	3104	BULLET	COMPLETE	melted lead bullet, Civil War era	1
104	3105	BULLET	FRAGMENT	carved lead bullet, possible gaming piece, Civil War era	1
107	3108	HARDWARE UNIDENTIFIED	FRAGMENT	a carved/bent fragment of lead; possibly originally a handle	1
136	3137	UNIDENTIFIED FORM	FRAGMENT	lead chunk, once possibly a piece of hardware	1
750	3149	BULLET	FRAGMENT	two small carved lead bullets	2
759	3158	MELTED LEAD	FRAGMENT		1
771	3170	BULLET, ROUND	COMPLETE	0.69 caliber round ball, possibly carved or fired	1

A few toys, including a ceramic marble, pewter doll shoe, and toy pistol were also recovered during the metal detecting survey of the concentrations of Civil War artifacts. Although, it is most likely that these items were deposited during The Fort community occupation, the recovery of toys from Camp Nelson suggest that these toys may have been associated with children escaping slavery with their families (McBride and McBride 2011).

The similarities between the artifact patterns seen at The Home for Colored Refugees at Camp Nelson and Fort Ward, suggest that if contraband were living at Fort Ward they were housed in government provided structures, most likely tents or a portion of the barracks. This type of housing and militarized life style would have been appropriate for managing the 100 contraband workers who came to expand the fort in 1864. Although it is uncertain if these men lived on site or commuted daily to Fort Ward, they certainly would have had meals at the fort. The lack of evidence of food bones and other food-related artifacts in the Civil War context suggest that meals were taken in the mess house.

There appears to be no archaeological evidence of refugee families living at Fort Ward. The presence of toys in the areas of Civil War artifacts suggest that children may have been at the site during the Civil War, but more likely the items were deposited shortly after the end of the war. It is likely that any refugees coming to Fort Ward would have been sent to VTS, where a large refugee camp already existed. Archaeological excavations at VTS, where the historical documents indicate that African American refugees settled, may provide the best comparison for understanding the contraband experience associated with Fort Ward.

The archaeological excavations conducted thus far support most strongly the third hypotheses, that the earliest members of The Fort community did not live or work on the park property until after the end of the Civil War. The majority of artifacts recovered from both the Ottery Group, Inc. and Alexandria Archaeology excavations date to the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

In addition, none of the architectural features identified during either the Ottery Group, Inc. excavations or Alexandria Archaeology's excavations predated the Civil War (Franz 2011a; Fesler, Bromberg, and Cressey 2012). There also appears to be no evidence of non-military structures placed behind the fort walls or demolished to clear site lines. In fact, one of The Fort community homes, Cassius and Rachel McKnight's home, was placed directly on the earthworks themselves, solidifying its post-war construction.

Conclusions

Uncovering the origins of The Fort community is important for both the descendants of the community's founders and for the archaeologists, historians, and park officials who are responsible for interpreting the site. Using archaeological and landscape resources, historical documents, oral histories, and community memory, I am able to determine that there is the possibility that each of the three theories related to the genesis of The Fort community are at least partially correct. The Fort community did not appear on the landscape in one isolated moment. Instead it reflects the diversity of settlement experiences of African Americans throughout the greater Washington, DC area.

The historical record shows that African Americans were living in the area of Fort Ward Park before the Civil War. Both the owners of the property that included the land that now composes Fort Ward Park and the neighboring land owners were slave owners. These enslaved workers were likely the first African Americans to utilize the property that became Fort Ward Park. Although the archaeological excavations conducted by The Ottery Group, Inc. and Alexandria Archaeology did

not uncover any evidence of a pre-Civil War domestic occupation, it is likely that enslaved African Americans utilized this land for hunting, hiding, traveling, or working.

Some of the strongest evidence for the arrival of the founding members of The Fort community comes from the period of the Civil War. Numerous historical documents, such as Jane Stuart Woolsey's (1868) account of life at the Seminary hospital, describe African American refugees settling in the area near Fort Ward, particularly the hospital at VTS. In addition, at least 100 African American men worked at Fort Ward as laborers in 1864. Likewise, the descendant community memory includes stories of ancestors seeking freedom behind the Union lines of Fort Ward.

Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence for contraband living on the Fort Ward Park property is inconclusive. No distinct archaeological features or artifact concentrations found at Fort Ward Park can be directly connected to a contraband settlement. However, the pattern of Civil War artifact distribution is most similar to the pattern of government constructed contraband housing at The Home, meaning almost no food bones or cooking materials were identified near the official contraband housing (McBride 2011). This indicates that if contraband were living and working at Fort Ward, they were likely subsisting on government rations, eating in the fort mess house, and depositing their trash in the same areas as the soldiers stationed at the fort.

The historical and archaeological evidence for post-war occupation is abundant. Beginning in the 1870s, land records and census records tie members of

The Fort community to the pieces of land that now compose Fort Ward Park. Likewise, the manufacture dates of artifacts collected by The Ottery Group, Inc. and Alexandria Archaeology concentrate around the late 19th and 20th centuries. However, the overwhelming strength of this evidence is deceptive because The Fort community needs to be understood in a broader context. The Fort was an essential part of a larger community of African Americans living on the outskirts of Alexandria and was not limited by the boundaries of the modern park. By thinking about The Fort community as a portion of a larger community that included Seminary and other nearby neighborhoods, a broader origin story unfolds. By expanding beyond the arbitrary boundaries of the park, an African American community can be understood as beginning in the quarters of enslaved workers who worked the land on and around the park, expanded when refugees sought freedom behind the Union lines, and became permanent as homes, schools, and churches were created after the war.

I suggest that all three of these interpretations combine to create a sense of place for not only Fort Ward Park, but also the areas surrounding it that are deeply intertwined with The Fort community. Returning to Feld and Basso's (1996) definition, sense of place is created through the knowing, imagining, yearning for, remembering, voicing, living, contesting, and struggling over a place. This means that each piece of evidence discussed in this chapter, whether it is historical documents, archaeological remains, or community memories, equally contribute to The Fort's sense of place. Therefore, The Fort's sense of place is less dependent on determining one origin story of the community and more reliant on incorporating all of these stories.

Sense of place at The Fort stretches beyond the park boundaries, including VTS, Menokin, and the surrounding communities. It is anchored in the knowledge that African Americans, whether directly related to the founding families of The Fort or not, have lived, worked, over-come adversity, and built the foundations on which The Fort community could thrive. The Fort's sense of place is alive in the Descendant Society and now all of the people who have learned its story.

Chapter 5: Sense of Community, Placing The Fort in African American Community Scholarship

This chapter presents the ways in which The Fort and Seminary communities fit within the current scholarly work on African American communities. To do this, I rely on several sources of information including archaeological remains, such as artifacts, architectural features, and land use; stories and memories of members of The Fort and Seminary communities; and historical documents. This chapter is divided into two parts. First, I discuss the scholarship about African American communities, exploring the characteristics, values, and experiences that are essential components of African American communities. Next, I explain how these characteristics, values and experiences can be seen in the archaeology, history, and memory of The Fort. The overall goal of this chapter is to use the sense of community to place The Fort within the broader scholarship of African American studies.

Literature Review of African American Communities

Archaeologists, historians, anthropologists, and other social scientists have produced a variety of work examining, defining, and comparing African American communities. Broadly speaking, historic African American communities are based both on relational and territorial connections and easily fit within the general definitions of community and sense of community discussed in Chapter 1. Like other ethnically-or racially-defined communities, African American communities are based on obligatory relationships, contain a system of institutions, and include a shared history (Bender 1978; Dougherty 1974; McMillan and Chavis 1986). However, the

distinguishing characteristics that shape African American sense of community are the connections to African heritage, the shared history of slavery, and the experience of racism. Racism, both in legal and social forms, defined and continues to define the territories, boundaries, institutions, and experiences of the people living within African American communities.

Race-based slavery, which is the ultimate legal form of racism in the history of the United States, has shaped African American sense of community from the country's inception to today. This can be seen in rural and urban areas and in all regions of the country. For Woods (1998), the connection between modern racism and the African heritage of slavery lies in the plantation tradition of the South. This tradition remains "painfully alive among those still dominated by the economic and political dynasties" (Woods 1998: 4). The plantation tradition in the rural South has continued from the time of slavery, survived the populist movements of the 1880s, was supported by New Deal programs in the 1930s, was advanced through technical achievements during the Green Revolutions of the mid- to late 20th century despite the efforts of the Civil Rights movement, and continued to be supported through state and federal legislation and funding in the 1990s (Woods 1998).

Slavery was also an essential factor in the creation of black towns and the historic African American communities within them, particularly in the Midwest. Pease and Pease (1962: 34) describe the creation of black towns as "the product of the slavery system, color prejudice, the reform temper of the Middle Period, and the benevolence of good men is without a doubt." New Philadelphia, Illinois, and Brooklyn, Illinois, are two examples of black towns started by African Americans

before Emancipation as a way to create safe communities for African Americans who were able to get out of slavery (Shackel 2010; Cha-Jua 2000). These black towns and others like them also provided a gateway for escaped slaves seeking freedom through the network of the Underground Railroad (LaRoche 2014).

Racism, grounded in the legal authority of slavery and later Jim Crow, was also a defining factor in African American sense of community in urban areas.

Gregory (1999: 53) writes,

Black Corona (Queens, New York) borders were not defined by its spatial coordinates on the urban landscape but rather by the complex power relations and practices that excluded its residents, on racial grounds, from fully participating in the political economy and public life of the society. Black identity was ‘crafted,’ negotiated, and contested along these ever shifting boundaries of exclusion from the labor market, the politely, and the wider public.

Baltimore’s African American communities were similarly bounded by labor restrictions and the presence of European immigrant groups, who served as competition for jobs and housing (Hayward 2008). In Richmond, Virginia, African American communities were restricted to the city’s periphery and geographically undesirable areas, such as along a deep ravine (Richardson 2008).

Political and social segregation was often manifested in governmental actions, such as the creation of boundaries, denial of services, and displacement of communities. This was especially true in the racist policies and social practices that established the boundaries of many African American suburbs (Wiese 2004). In Dallas, Texas, during the early 20th century, the local director of the Federal Housing Administration refused to approve any housing for African Americans if there were any objections from whites living nearby (Wiese 2004). Likewise, roads in the

Lakeland community in College Park, Maryland, were restricted to the boundaries of the neighborhood itself, rather than continue into neighboring white communities (Lakeland 2009).

These restrictions on African American community development are forms of structural violence (Halperin 2010). Similarly, structural violence through legal and social efforts, such as Urban Renewal, led to the displacement and collapse of many African American communities (Halperin 2010). Nieves (2007: 91) describes the effect of displacement on the sense of community by stating, “it was only after residents had settled elsewhere that they fully realized what they had lost: the heart of their community life, their circle of support, and the place where they had a strong sense of belonging.”

Despite the detrimental effects of episodes of structural violence, the threat and actuality of race-based physical violence was often a more immediate factor in the creation and destruction of African American communities. For example, several of the African American communities in Baltimore were created because

hostility between the Irish and the blacks (and between the blacks and the Germans) created a situation in which members of each group wanted to live near one another, both for protection from other groups and for their own social and cultural life (Hayward 2008: 200).

As in Baltimore, race-based conflict and discrimination in housing pushed African Americans to congregate in particular neighborhoods or areas. This occurred in urban, suburban, and rural environments, creating a strong connection to place as a defining aspect of African American communities.

Physical violence, like structural violence, stemming from racism was often the reason for a community’s demise. One example is the destruction of the African

American community in Harrison, Arkansas, through mob violence during the early 20th century. Froelich and Zimmerman (1999) argue that this incident reflected the growing racial violence and population shifts resulting from the expansion of the railroads. During this time there were frequent lynchings and other acts of violence carried out against African Americans throughout the country. Little coverage was given to this violence by the white media. In fact, this type of violence was celebrated in popular culture, such as Thomas Dixon's novel *The Clansman*. The popularity of this novel, which was turned into the film *The Birth of a Nation*, demonstrates a widespread acceptance of violence against African Americans amongst the majority of whites in the early 20th century. In Harrison, even whites who opposed the violence, protected their African American neighbors, or helped them flee were unwilling to publicly condemn any of its perpetrators, none of whom were ever named (Froelich and Zimmerman 1999). The incidents in Harrison are reflective of similar experiences of violence and fear that contributed to the African American sense of community throughout the South during the early 20th century.

Nonetheless, Taylor (1994; 135) refutes the idea that African American communities, particularly those on the West Coast, were primarily "formed and maintained by denial and exclusion" based in racism and violence. Rather a "sense of shared culture" among African Americans was created through the development of institutions and organizations (Taylor 1994: 135). Moore (2000), who like Taylor, studies African American communities in the west, emphasizes African American agency rather than outside oppression in determining the structure of African American communities. Moore (2000: 3) determined that for African Americans

living in Richmond, California, “voluntary racial congregation was not merely a reaction against exclusion and denial; it was at the heart of community formation” and shaped their sense of community.

Whether racial grouping occurred out of fear, a need for protection, or a desire to live among people with whom they felt a shared culture, African American communities developed and grew during the Jim Crow era through the institutions they created. “House. Home. Community. Church. These are the threads that run throughout the . . . neighborhood story and bind this unique place to its people” (Richardson 2008: 142). This statement embodies how scholars understand the primary institutions that form African American communities as well as the chief experiences that create a sense of community. Much of the scholarly work that examines African American communities has primarily focused on home or family, church, and the other essential of institutions and organizations created by African Americans. Schools, especially during the early 20th century, became an important defining institution of African American communities. Places of employment, commerce, and entertainment as well as access to transportation are also contributing factors for the development of African American communities. However, they are often located outside of the physical boundaries of the communities and are owned and operated by whites. In addition, fraternal organizations, mutual aid societies, civil rights groups, labor unions, the arts, and sports are also contributing organizations to many African American communities, but are not seen as a defining aspect of African American communities because many were too small or rural to develop these types of organizations.

Taylor (1994) argues that it was through the development of institutions and organizations that African Americans were able to create community. For Taylor (1994: 136-137), “These various organizations and institutions represented the nexus of community” of which “the black church provided its foundation.” Again, Moore (2000: 3) echoes Taylor by arguing that African Americans “expressed racial solidarity in the founding of their churches, in their educational endeavors, and in their clubs, mutual aid societies, and other institutions.” Similarly, Gravely (1984: 65) states that African American churches were the “institutional core of free black community life.”

Religion and Church.

The importance of the church in African American communities and sense of community is reflected in the significant attention it has received by scholars from a variety of fields (Baer and Singer 1992; Brown 1994; Gilkes 1986; Gravely 1984; LaRoche 2014). Baer and Singer (1992: 39) suggest the church is so important in African American communities because “the ‘Black church’ is one institution over which African Americans are in full control.” Gravely (1984: 72) echoes this idea by writing, “always, the independent black churches stood as intuitional symbols of human liberation.” For LaRoche (2014: 133) the black church was “the center, the cement, the soul of the African American community.”

Churches were important political and social institutions as well as religious ones (LaRoche 2014). Both men and women took on leadership roles within the church that extended into the community. For example, in the Afro-Baptist church, positions such as the “Mother of the Church” were an extension of the esteemed role

of a mother in the community (Brown 1994). Similarly, church ministers often became outspoken leaders against slavery, segregation, and other restraints placed on African American communities (LaRoche 2014).

Churches were involved in the development of African American education and literacy through their Sunday schools (LaRoche 2014). In addition to regular services and Sunday school, churches were at the center of social life for their congregants. These social events often took the form of fundraisers. For example, Dent Chapel (later known as Reid Temple), an AME Church in Maryland and Washington, DC, held church dinners, fish fries, bar-b-ques, and picnics to raise money and bring the community together (Fisher 2011).

Education and Schools.

Scholars have also paid significant attention to the importance of education in African American communities, particularly before the 1954 ruling in *Brown v. The Board of Education*. Like the church, neighborhood schools were defining institutions in African American communities and their sense of community. For example, Hoffschwelle (1998: 87) determined that association with a community school, as well as religious identity, were primary characteristics that defined African American communities in Tennessee during the early 20th century. Likewise, Harrison (Harrison and Woods 2009: 641), speaking of present day New Orleans, Louisiana, asserts that neighborhood schools “build community cohesiveness.”

During the Jim Crow era, African American teachers were often challenged by the lack of supplies, subpar facilities, and having to teach students at multiple grade levels in the same room. However, African American teachers were well

known for their involvement with the community outside of the classroom.

Fairclough (2001: 9) attributes the leadership of teachers within African American communities to the fact that “they personified the belief that education meant liberation,” a theory that was supported by the huge number of educated African Americans that found work as teachers. In addition, teaching in black schools was one of the few careers widely open to educated African Americans, particularly women.

During the early 20th century, many of these teachers worked at Rosenwald schools. Rosenwald schools were built for African American students through a matching funds program established by Julian Rosenwald and in partnership with Booker T. Washington. Rosenwald schools were supposed to emphasize “black self-help, black community identity, and interracial cooperation” (Hoffschwelle 1998: 70). Hoffschwelle (1998: 89) stresses the sense of community in the creation of these schools by stating,

Progressives....envisioned that schools constructed through black self-help programs would bind rural African Americans more closely to each other, the countryside, and rural whites. That did not happen. For African American Tennesseans, self-help was not a choice but a necessity....They acted out of a preexisting sense of community identity.

African American high schools in the early 20th century, particularly in the South, were caught between the different ideas of appropriate education for African Americans held by Northern white philanthropists who helped fund schools, white politicians who governed schools, and the African American teachers, parents, and students. Focusing high schools on industrial education and homemaking was seen as a way to appease southern whites who generally opposed African American

education (Anderson 1988). However, in reality, many African American high schools in the South offered a college preparatory liberal education, which included classes in Latin, history, and upper mathematics (Anderson 1988: 199). This type of educational programming was developed to meet the desires of the African American community for an equal education and because white run school boards were often unwilling to purchase the equipment necessary to teach industrial arts (Fairclough 2001).

Similarly, African American educators, particularly university presidents, were often trapped between trying to appease white politicians, white philanthropists that funded black schools, and African Americans activists (Fairclough 2001). For example, Robert Morton, who led the Tuskegee Institute after Booker T. Washington, had to balance the different immediate and long-term goals and needs of his institution, his students, and the progress of race. Reaching this balance was difficult because these goals and needs were often in opposition to each other (Fairclough 2001).

Family and Households.

Although both the church and school were primary institutions, the family was the core of African American communities. Nobles argues that African American culture was primarily learned through interactions within families. However, “the issue of racism totally masks the understanding of African-American culture itself, to say nothing of the family as an instrument of culture” (Nobles 2007: 77). Nobles (2007: 83) identifies five strengths of African American families, which are “Legitimation of beingness . . . provision of a family code . . . elasticity of boundaries

. . . the provisions of information/knowledge . . . and mediation of concrete conditions.” One of the primary duties of African American families was to teach African American children to survive in a racist society. In order to do this, Nobles (2007: 83) suggests that the parent-child relationship should be centered on “the sense of history, the sense of family, and the sense of the ultimate supreme power (God).” Again, reflecting the three core institutions that shape the African American sense of community; church, school, and family.

African American family organization has been studied by a variety of scholars, especially through historical examinations of family within the confines of slavery and modern ethnographic studies conducted by cultural anthropologists. For example, Sudarkasa (2007) examines the connections between African American and West African family organization and structure. She argues that African ways of constructing families were not completely destroyed by slavery, as many others argue, and instead continuations of these practices can be seen in African Americans from the time of slavery to today (Surdarkasa 2007). Sudarkasa (2007: 47-49) contends that what has been identified as instability in African American families actually represents a historical practice “among Black Americans (that) the concept of “family” meant first and foremost relationships created by “blood” rather than marriage” and that a distinction should be made between family and household in order to see connections to African constructions and sense of family.

However, Landry (2000) argues that the two-parent household has been and continues to be the norm for African American families. Evidence for this can be seen in the practices of marriage, even during slavery when they were not legally

recognized, and coupled with census data that shows the regular practice of naming of sons after their fathers (Landry 2000). According to Landry (2000) the perception of African American families as being unstable, matriarchal and composed primarily of single mothers and absentee fathers, is a result of the controversial Moynihan Report (1965) and does not match with the historical data.

Morgan (1998) also analyzes the composition and organization of families during slavery in the Chesapeake and Low Country. However, he adopts a different perspective from Sudarkasa (2007). Building on the work of Mintz and Price (1976), Morgan (1998) highlights the possible connections between slave kin systems in the United States and systems of kinship in Africa, but credits the institution of slavery as a more significant factor in determining the African American kinship system.

Morgan (1998: 555) writes “In general, then, it cannot be claimed that African influence was fundamental to African American familial development. What is more interesting is that slaves created a distinctive form of family life, irrespective of the derivation of particular influences.”

In her work *All are Kin*, anthropologist Carol Stack (1974) examined a late 20th century Midwestern African American urban community. Stack (1974) observes behaviors such as creating systems of fictive kinship, having membership in several different households for the purposes of eating, sleeping, and providing, and fluidity of childrearing, which are interpreted as adaptations to poverty and racism. The ability to relate to many people as family regardless of household or blood, creates a sense of community that views all the members through familial relationships.

The concept of household is a separate, yet closely related concept to family.

Fox-Genovese (1988) argues that the household, defined as “units that pool income resources,” was the primary unit in which Southern society was organized (Fox-Genovese 1988: 86). She sees households as so encompassing that even “slaves belonged to the households of their masters” and individual slave households were actually sub-households of the larger income sharing of a plantation (Fox-Genovese 1988: 93).

Stack (1974) also explores the idea of household within the context of resource distribution. She discusses in detail the system of reciprocity that allows for urban, poor African Americans to survive and provide for their families and extended kin networks. This system provides a safety net, but prevents participants from getting ahead because of the obligation to share any excess with kin members rather than save or invest it for individual profit.

Transportation, Employment, and Commerce.

The three pillars of African American communities, church, school, and family, were supported through transportation, employment, and commerce institutions. Although there are some exceptions, these institutions were more often governed, owned, or operated by whites and existed adjacent to, rather than within, the African American community. However, without ready access to transportation, employment, and commerce African American communities would not have been able to exist. In addition, there is a greater variety in these types of institutions, particularly places of employment, which can be major factors in creating a unique sense of community.

The importance of transportation for the development of African American

communities was emphasized by the Center for Historic Architecture and Preservation in their *Survey of African American Communities in Fayette County, Kentucky* (2005). Similarly, Cha-Jua (2000) attributes the development of Brooklyn, Illinois, an African American town, to its access to major transportation routes, including the Mississippi River and several railroads. Here, access to transportation also meant access to employment in the transportation industries themselves and the industries that used the river and railroads to ship their products. Like Brooklyn, centers of employment were generally located adjacent to African American communities across the country. These took many forms including farms, industry, and clusters of white residences that employed domestic help.

Jobs could also be found within African American communities. These were often in the form of businesses owned by African Americans that specifically catered to members of the community, such as groceries, barber shops, and beauty salons. Barbering, in particular, was a valued skill for African American men and was one of the best ways for them to gain economic and social status. Throughout the 19th century, free African Americans who owned barbershops primarily served white clients, were often top earners, and continually successful (Bristol 2004). The increase in legalized segregation, strained racial relations, and the perception that African Americans spread disease or were unhygienic in the 1890s and early 20th century forced African American barbers to shift their businesses to principally serve African American rather than white patrons (Bristol 2004). By the 20th century, Jim Crow regulations had restricted African American barbershops to be black spaces (Gill 2004).

Like barber shops, beauty salons were important business within the African American community. Importantly, beauty salons and the production of beauty products were some of the few businesses in which African American women could be financially successful and were socially acceptable for women to partake. African American women utilized available space for their salons, including their homes and porches (Gill 2004).

The gendered divide between barber shops and beauty salons could also be seen in other African American-owned businesses in the 20th century, particularly those that were at the core of the community socializing, such as shops, stores, and places of entertainment (Dougherty 1974). Entertainment venues, like theaters and nightclubs, and organizations, like sports teams, were another source of employment and business ownership for African Americans, particularly those living in large cities (Taylor 1994).

The Fort as an African American Community

The Fort community fits well within the parameters of scholarly definitions of African American communities, both as a reaction to the physical and structural violence of racism and as the culmination of African American agency to create lasting institutions and organizations. The creation of The Fort can be seen as a direct response to the violence of slavery, as discussed in Chapter 4. However, in this chapter I stress the agency of African Americans to create a unique sense of community for The Fort.

I begin my discussion of The Fort as a community by describing the purchase of land by community members. Although land ownership is not necessary for the

creation of an African American community, it is an important and defining characteristic for The Fort residents' and descendants' sense of community. I then discuss the three pillars of African American communities, family, church, and school, at The Fort. Finally, I describe how transportation, employment, and commerce helped build and shape the community. Although the primary sense I discuss in this chapter is sense of community, I also incorporate the physical senses into the discussion of the archaeological materials associated with the defining institutions of The Fort community.

First Purchases of Property by Members of The Fort Community

In the years following the end of the Civil War, many African Americans were becoming land owners for the first time. However, the land available for African Americans to purchase was often “small, less-expensive, less-desirable parcels that were either too worn out to be of value to planters, or inherently inferior” (Hargis 1998: 243). The land encompassing Fort Ward fits this description because of the damage done to it through the creation of the earthworks and occupation of the soldiers.

In 1879, Burr and Harriet Shorts became the first African American landowners of property in what is now part of Fort Ward Park. They purchased a 10-acre rectangular tract that composes the majority of the southeastern portion of the park from Rodophe Claughton, who had been appointed to manage the Hooff property (Figure 2). By 1898, several African American families also purchased property near the Shorts in what is today Fort Ward Park. Members of the Miller (1884), McKnight (1890 and 1894), Jackson (1894), Javins (1894), Terrell (1897), and Ashby (1898)

families all owned one or more properties in the area. In addition, Burr and Harriet Shorts' daughter Clara Adams took ownership of the southeastern corner of her parents' property in 1898. These families are considered the founding families of The Fort community. Many of the properties, such as the Shorts and Jacksons were large, while others like Robert McKnight's property and Samuel Ashby's properties were smaller. Primarily, the house lots were arranged along Braddock Road. Later, smaller unofficial roadways, such as School House Lane were created that lead directly into the community.



Figure 2. Clara Adams in The Fort (Courtesy of The Fort Ward/Seminary African American Descendant Society).

Changes in property ownership and size continued into the 20th century. By 1919, Burr and Harriet Shorts had passed away and their once large track of land had been divided among their children (Figure 4). However, several of the individual lots

owned by the Shorts children remained undeveloped, particularly those owned by the children who did not reside in The Fort community.

During the 20th century, several other large properties in The Fort were also divided into smaller lots. Members of the founding families remained the primary property owners, although some new families purchased or rented property in The Fort as well. These new families include the Peters, Randall, Casey, Collins, Craven, Hogan, and Young families.

By 1938 approximately 24.5 acres, over half of the land that now composes Fort Ward Park was purchased by Arthur Herbert (Trustee), Fanny S. Herbert, George E. Warfield, Albert V. Bryan, and Mahlon H. Jannery to be developed as Eagle Crest subdivision (Figure 6). Twenty-two lots and three connecting roads were planned for this neighborhood, as well as detailed restrictions governing the subdivision's creation. The first restriction was, "Neither the said land nor any part thereof, shall, at any time, be sold to, conveyed to, owned by or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race. This restriction and condition shall be perpetual" (FCC 1938: DB Z12: 52-54). The irony of creating a neighborhood that banned African American residents and owners from land that had been previously owned by African Americans is apparent. However, this urge to create an all-white neighborhood in this area reflects the increased suburbanization occurring within the context of Jim Crow segregation in the 20th century. Although Eagle Crest was never developed, it impacted the sense of community at The Fort by concentrating African American homes in what is today the southeast portion of Fort Ward Park. In addition, the existence of the planned subdivision served as not only a threat to

significantly change the landscape and makeup of The Fort's sense of place and community, it was later viewed by historic preservationists as a threat to the Fort Ward earthworks.

In the 1950s, people around the United States began to form organizations dedicated to preserving historic sites associated with the Civil War in preparation for the centennial. During this time, individuals like Dorothy Starr and organizations such as the Alexandria Civil War Centennial Committee and the Seminary Hill Association, began to advocate for converting the land of The Fort community into a historic park (Moon 2014). In 1954, the City of Alexandria responded to these efforts by purchasing the land surrounding and including the earthworks of Fort Ward. By 1955, the City had purchased 17 acres, all associated with Eagle Crest (Moon 2014).

Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, the City pursued the remaining properties surrounding the earthworks, which were primarily owned by African American members of The Fort community. For nearly a decade the City acquired properties in The Fort parcel by parcel. Some owners sold outright, while others were pressured and threatened that they would lose their land without compensation, and some even had their property condemned (Moon 2014). The transfer of property from the hands of The Fort community members to the City of Alexandria remains a contentious issue between the Descendant Society and City officials.

Families and Households of The Fort.

As described above, the core of African American communities and their sense of community is the family and the household. A lot of research has been done by the Descendant Society and Alexandria Archaeology to identify and document

The Fort families. Much of the documentary research on The Fort families was compiled by Catherine Cartwright on behalf of Alexandria Archaeology. This information was shared with the Fort Ward History Work Group and the Descendant Society via email and at community meetings. Cartwright's research focused on gathering and organizing information about the founding families of The Fort community from Federal Censuses. Additional work has been done by members of the Descendant Society and Alexandria Archaeology to collect information about landowners who purchased their property after the community had been established, renters who lived within The Fort community, and to uncover additional information from other documentary sources that can supplement Cartwright's work. I have used the work done by Cartwright and others as a guide to my research, but have relocated the original documents whenever possible to make my interpretations.

In 2014, historian Krystyn Moon was hired by Alexandria Archaeology to write a report on the history of The Fort community, which served as a compilation of the previous research and her own archival research. Moon's (2014) report covers many aspects of the documentary history of The Fort. Throughout the report she weaves the family histories of The Fort. Because Moon and I were researching The Fort simultaneously, we utilized many of the same documents and sources. However, Moon's (2014) work has been invaluable in placing The Fort community and families into historical context.

In this chapter, I combine the previous documentary research compiled by Cartwright and Moon (2014) with my additional research, oral history interviews, and archaeological evidence to develop a different perspective of The Fort community

families. My goal is not to write a definitive history of each family, but to use archaeology, historical documents, and community memories to understand how The Fort's sense of community fits within the scholarship of African American communities. Although I have incorporated memories of the Descendant Society that have been recorded in oral history interviews, my work cannot recreate the emotions and memories that Descendant Society members have of their family members.

Because families can take on many different forms and can be spread across a wide geographic area, in this chapter I have decided to use the concept of household to talk about The Fort families. As discussed previously, households are defined by sharing of resources and space, therefore households are easier to see archaeologically than families, which are defined by relationships. Households also indicate community membership and the physical representation of families through the home structure, both of which contribute to how community is sensed. In addition, many aspects of daily life are deeply intertwined with the ideas of family and household. Some of these concepts including gender roles, domestics work, and childhood experiences will be explored further in Chapter 6.

Seeing Families and Households on the The Fort Landscape

It is unclear how the first African American families were able to purchase the land that is now Fort Ward Park. The recent experience of slavery, few financial resources, and race-based discrimination limited the land available to African Americans for purchase. However, a legal dispute over the property following the war may have been one of the reasons that the Fort Ward property became available for sale to African Americans.

In December 1865, Fort Ward was decommissioned and the salvageable materials from the fort and its structures were sold at auction. The property was returned to its previous owner, Philip H. Hooff. However, but because of a legal dispute with Daniel F. Hooe “liens and other incumberances” were placed on Hooff’s property in 1879 (Otery Group (Appler 2009) 2011). Portions of the land remained in dispute and under the supervision of Rudophe Claugton until 1897, by which time the first families of The Fort had already began purchasing their properties (Otery Group (Appler 2009) 2011).

Land and home ownership were and continue to be important aspects of The Fort and Seminary sense of community (Bradby 2014; Wanzer 2014). Community members, as well as outsiders, considered home ownership a defining characteristic of The Fort and Seminary, therefore it affected how both residents and others sensed their community. Property records, primarily deeds, provide detailed information about the properties of The Fort community. From these sources the locations of structures, property boundaries, and owners were identified and mapped (Figures 2-7). Additional research, utilizing city directories, censuses, and community memory

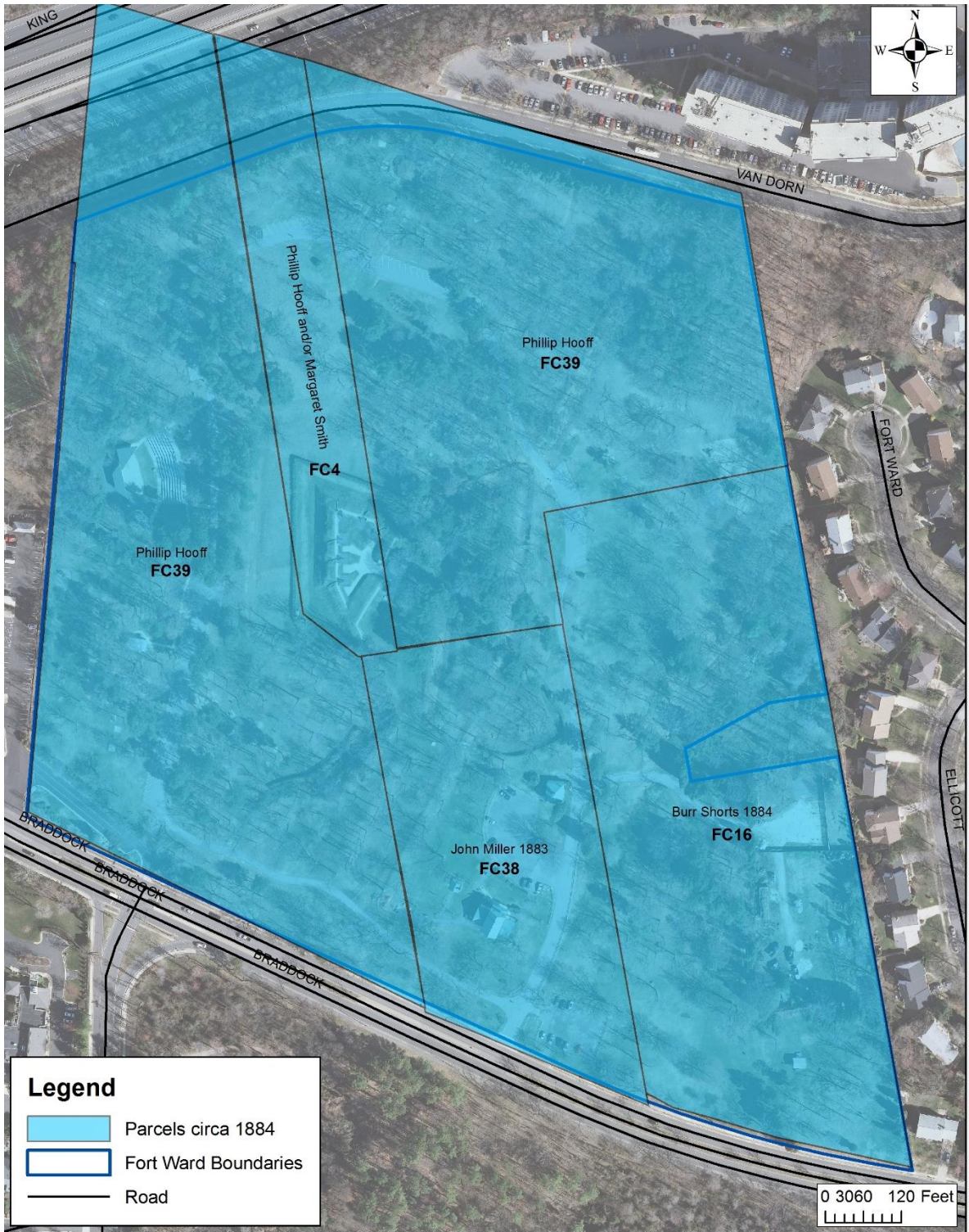


Figure 3. Map of The Fort Property Owners, 1884 (Courtesy of The Ottery Group, Inc.)

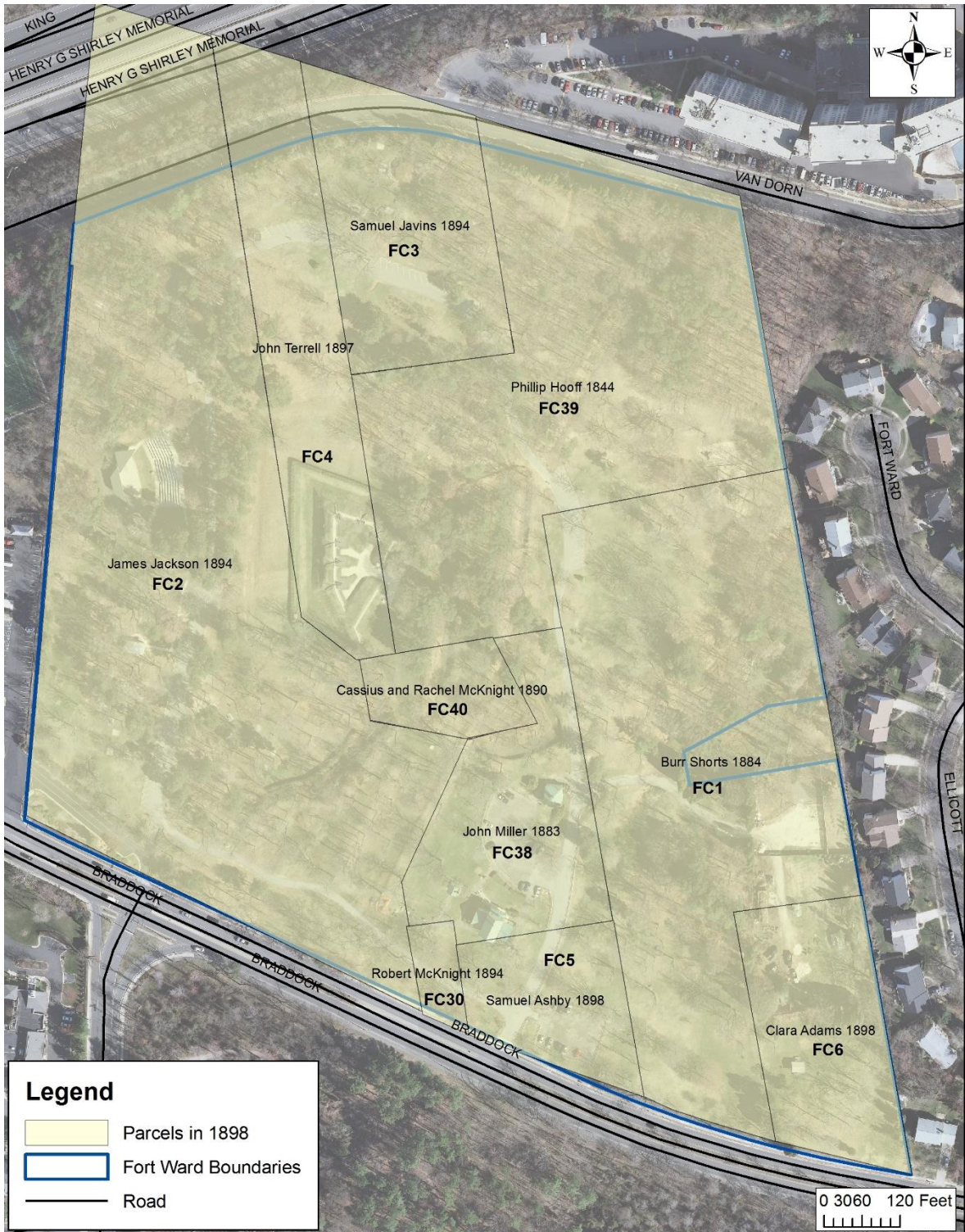


Figure 4. Map of The Fort Property Owners, 1898 (Courtesy of The Ottery Group, Inc.)



Figure 5. Map of The Fort Property Owners, 1919 (Courtesy of The Ottery Group, Inc.)



Figure 6. Map of The Fort Property Owners, 1927 (Courtesy of The Ottery Group, Inc.)



Figure 7. Map of The Fort Property Owners, 1939 (Courtesy of The Ottery Group, Inc.)



Figure 8. Map of The Fort Property Owners, 1962 (Courtesy of The Ottery Group, Inc.)

identified the residents, both property owners and renters, living in The Fort. From this information the families and households of The Fort community can be connected to the landscape and the archaeological features and artifacts recovered.

Despite property lines and boundaries, members of The Fort shared their land with their neighbors. The communal attitude of The Fort and Seminary community members can be attributed to the familial connections between members and also a sense of community described by Laurence Bradby (2014) as “we all lived it like one family.” Through a system of real and fictive kinship, The Fort and Seminary community members shared land and resources in order to support each other. For example, Sgt. Lee Thomas Young was allowed to plant his garden on the Brown family’s property and later he allowed for Clara Adams to be buried on the edge of his property that once backed up to her house (Young 1996, 2009). Dorothy Hall Smith (1994) recalls that the women in The Fort helped each other with the washing and “they shared food with the neighbors.” These communal experiences created a sense of community that made The Fort feel and function like one large, extended family.

Because of the abundance of historical documents that defined property lines and household boundaries for members of The Fort community, it is easy fall into the trap of interpreting the archaeological record solely within this context. However, descendants’ memories about sharing resources allow us to look at the archaeological record differently. For example, butchering hogs was a major social and resource sharing event in the community during the fall. Barbara Ashby Gordon (1994) and Dorothy Hall Smith (1994) describe how

And all the friends, most of the people lived in the Seminary, Mudtown, would come up and bring their hogs and [inaudible] and we would have a big old time slaughtering hogs. That was every winter...Everybody knew how to do it, but everybody did their own, but just did it (at our house) because we had a big garage and they tied the hogs up in the garage and slaughtered...It was like a two- or three- day affair. They would do it all day...Sometimes as many as 10 or 12 people...It was a gathering place...everybody had a good time then. They played checkers and, you know, drank a little homemade brew or whatever, but it was a big event (Barbara Ashby Gordon 1994).

The Ashby home as a center of meat processing is reflected in the archaeological record. Fifty-five percent of the food bones recovered archaeologically came from the Ashby house.

Despite both the archaeological evidence and memories that reflect the collective attitude of The Fort and Seminary community members, the individual households still played an important role in the community. The best way to see this archaeologically is through the identification of home sites.

Several home sites in The Fort were excavated by archaeologists. One of the most notable features of each of these residences is their solid foundations. These foundations became a symbol for some members of the Descendant Society for the community itself (Personal Communication Adrienne T. Washington 2012). Despite references to the houses as being poorly built, run down, or flimsy, the foundations identified archaeologically show well-constructed, substantial homes, that were built to last for generations (Fessler, Bromberg, and Cressey 2012). This became a metaphor for the community itself in that it has been seen as small, weak, and easily moved or ignored, but is actually enduring and built on a strong foundation of the familial-like relationships between members and their shared sense of community.



Figure 9. Ariel Photograph of The Fort Community c.1930 (Courtesy of The Fort/Seminary African American Descendant Society).

Although around 40 structures were identified through aerial photographs and land records, only five house foundations were uncovered archaeologically because of the constraints of time and funding for the excavations. These are the Shorts/Randall, Ashby, Craven, Hogan/Craven, and Young homes. Other evidence of occupation, including midden and non-structural features, can be tied to home owners and residents through property maps and records.

Shorts/Randall Family Home Site.

The Shorts-McKnight Family is one of the founding families of The Fort Community. Burr Shorts and his wife Harriet McKnight Shorts appear in the area of Fort Ward as early as the 1870 Federal Census (USCB 1870). In addition, Burr Shorts regularly appears in the tax record beginning in the 1866 Personal Property Tax. For both Burr and Harriet this was a second marriage. Burr had three children, Martin, Malinda, and Thomas, with his first wife (Moon 2014).

Harriet had 10 children, Lavinia McKnight Perkins¹, Amanda McKnight Clark, Bernie McKnight Terrell², Florence McKnight Javins, Kitty McKnight, Cassius McKnight, Charles McKnight, Robert McKnight, Samuel McKnight, and Searles McKnight,³ with her first husband Willis McKnight. Together, Burr and Harriet had one daughter, Clara Shorts Adams. They also adopted several other children, including Jacob Ball, Henry Shorts, and William Alexander (USCB 1880).

The children and grandchildren of Burr and Harriet Shorts form the core of The Fort community. Many of them became property owners of lots throughout what is today Fort Ward Park. In 1898, Burr and Harriet deeded two acres in the southeast corner of their property to their daughter Clara Shorts Adams (FCCC 1898: DB B6: 512). In 1919, after Harriet Shorts passed away, the remaining property was divided among her children. Serles McKnight, Lavinia Miller, Minnie Robinson, Cassius McKnight, Maria Blackburn, Bernie Terrill, and Florence Javins each inherited 0.47 of an acre. Kate Stewart received one acre, which included the Shorts family home. Amanda Clarke received an L-shaped three-acre lot with a small frontage on Braddock Road (FCCC 1919 DB N8: 404). In 1912, Jacob Ball, the adopted son of Harriet McKnight Shorts, purchased a long lot of $\frac{3}{4}$ acre fronting Braddock Road and bounded to the east by School House Lane (FCCC 1912: DB: 430).

The Shorts home was one of the first homes built in The Fort community and was originally home to Harriet McKnight Shorts and Burr Shorts. However, after Harriet's passing in 1919, a new family moved into the home. Harriet's daughter Kate Stewart, who inherited the family home did not live in the home. Instead, she rented it

¹ Also spelled Luvinia, Lavonia, and Levinia.

² Also spelled Burney.

³ Also spelled Surles.

out. In the 1930s, Kate Stewart deeded the home to her son Daniel. He rented the home to the Randall family, who lived in the Shorts home throughout the 1930s and 1940s (Moon 2014).

Lanear⁴ Randall, his wife Jessie M. Randall, and their sons Lanear Jr. (age 23), Warren (age 19), David (age 18), Aaron (age 16), Herman (age 14), Joseph (age 12), Earl (age 9), and Clayton (age 8) (USCB 1940), quickly became integrated into The Fort community. They were members of Oakland Baptist Church and Lanear Senior and Junior both worked as waiters at EHS, a primary place of employment for community members. The Randalls continued to live in The Fort until the home burned down sometime in 1940s (Moon 2014).

Because of the importance of this house as one of the earliest in the community, the Shorts site was chosen to be the first home site excavated by the Ottery Group. A shovel test survey, one mechanically-excavated trench, and two hand-dug test units were excavated on the Shorts/Randall Property. During this excavation three structural brick piers, one possible brick pier, and a brick chimney base associated with the Shorts house were uncovered.

Adams/McKnight Home Site.

Clara Shorts married Robert Adams in 1885/6 at the Colored Chapel at VTS. Clara and Robert did not have any children, but took boarders into their household starting in the 1920s (Cartwright 2012). In 1898, Clara inherited the southeastern corner of her parents' property, and the following year donated the northern corner of

⁴ Also spelled Leanear or Lanier.

her property to the Falls Church School Board for the creation of a school for the children of The Fort community.

By the 1930s, Willis McKnight acquired a portion of Clara Adams' property. Willis was the son of Robert and Suzie McKnight, and grandson of Harriet McKnight Shorts, and Clara's nephew (Cartwright 2012). Willis and Rebecca McKnight eventually sold this property to the City of Alexandria in 1964. Another portion of Clara Adams' property was deeded to Charles E. and Lucy Casey in 1931.

The Adams property was the focus of significant archaeological excavation because of the possibility of burials being located on the site. A shovel test survey, three mechanical trenches, and three test units were excavated on the Adams property by the Ottery Group. These trenches were then expanded by Alexandria Archaeology. Unfortunately, these excavations did not uncover any architectural features.

Cassius McKnight Home Site.

Cassius McKnight was the son of Harriet and Willis McKnight. He and his wife Rachel J. McKnight purchased three quarters of an acre in The Fort in 1890. His lot was located in the middle of what today is Fort Ward Park and he constructed his home on top of the earthworks (Moon 2014). In 1900, Cassius, Rachel, and their 12 year old daughter Viola R. McKnight were living in this home in The Fort (USCB 1900).

In 1919, Cassius McKnight also inherited a 0.47-acre lot from his mother Harriet Shorts after she passed. However, like several of his siblings who also inherited small lots in the area he did not develop this small property. However, Cassius continued to live in The Fort until he passed in 1924.

Robert McKnight Home Site.

Robert McKnight was the youngest son of Harriet and Willis McKnight. As a young man he lived with his mother and stepfather, Burr Shorts. In 1894, Robert and his wife Susie purchased a small lot along Braddock Road, just to the west of the current entrance to Fort Ward Park. Robert and Susie had two children, Willis and Freddie McKnight. Their son, Willis would later become a land owner in The Fort after he acquired a portion of Clara Adams property. Their daughter Freddie McKnight, later married a man named Herbert Simpson and moved to New York (Moon 2014).

Casey/Belk Family.

Charles Casey bought a small lot, adjacent the south side of the school/St. Cyprian lot, from Clara Adams. This lot is located just to the south of the lot Clara Adams had donated to the Falls Church School Board for the creation of a school in 1899. Charles Casey, son of John Wesley Casey and Ada Adams Casey, was married to Lucy Casey. Clara Adams' husband Robert was brothers with (or half-brothers with) Ada Adams Casey. Eventually, Maydell Casey Belk and her husband Lonnie Belk lived in a home on this property.

Shovel test units and a mechanically dug trench were excavated on the Casey/Belk property. Although no architectural features were identified, a rectangular shaped, wood lined, capped privy was excavated on the edge of the lot. Unfortunately, this privy was only partially excavated because it fell outside of the scope of work (Franz 2011). However, several datable artifacts were recovered from the excavated upper levels of the privy, including a toy Marx race car and cone top

beer can. These artifacts indicate that the privy was used and filled between the 1930s and mid-1950s. It is likely that it was not capped until the Casey/Belk family sold their property to the City of Alexandria in 1965 under threat of condemnation because they did not have indoor plumbing (Belk 1994; Moon 2014).

Ashby Family Home Site.

Samuel Ashby, son of Julia and Frank Ashby, married Louise (Sue) Jackson. Sue Jackson Ashby was the daughter of William and Mary Cooper Jackson (Cartwright 2012). Samuel and Louise (Sue) Ashby had seven children: Ella Ashby, William Herbert Ashby, Arthur (Archie) Samuel Ashby, Alice M. Ashby, Richard Albert Ashby, John Linton Ashby, and Julia Virginia Ashby. Samuel Ashby purchased a lot along Braddock Road from John and Lavenia Miller, daughter of Willis McKnight and Harriet Shorts, in 1898. This property stayed in the Ashby family until 1961, when it was deeded to the City of Alexandria. At that time, the Ashby home was no longer standing.

Fronting Braddock Road, the Samuel Ashby house would have caught a visitor's eye approaching The Fort community. The Ashby home was a well built, two-story frame building with a large front porch. Pictures of the Ashby home dating to the 1950s show a well maintained house and lawn.

Barbara Ashby Gordon (1994) describes the house by saying

the front porch was across the whole front of the house... Then you open up the front door and you go in and...The hall goes straight back to the kitchen... You come to the back door at the kitchen and then the back porch and then the back door... To the right are steps going upstairs... the door is to the right of the houses... We go in a little three or four steps to your left, a huge sitting room.... It's open to the hall...where the children were not allowed, in this sitting room...there's: A sofa, old furniture, I think like an old phonograph.

Old pieces... You couldn't even walk in it... You could walk through to the kitchen and go in the dining room... the kitchen was right in the middle of the house.. And then the dining room you could go through the kitchen to the dining room, and that's a huge room, and that had a big ornate furniture in it, china closet, chandelier, and everything, but you were allowed in there... Huge back porch the length of the house. The width of the house... I can't remember what furniture was on the back porch. I know there was a big huge tub where you took your baths on Saturday night in a tin tub on the back porch... And in the dining room there was a pot-bellied stove... and we also had a pot-bellied stove upstairs...went up the steps, which were narrow, wooden banisters kind of curved... There's 3 bedrooms upstairs... It was—there was two bedrooms and then they took part of the largest one when we got indoor plumbing and made a bathroom out of it...bedroom to the left of the stairs was were grandparents slept... The half bedrooms had front windows, and the side bedrooms had five windows... Then you could go up in the attic... Just a big, empty room, the full area of the house, the whole house... Then you would come out of the house, around to the side...out the front or back door... And Daddy had a cellar...You could not go to the cellar from inside the house. You had to go out, and go in the cellar. That was the area where he stored all of his tools—the lawn mower and whatever—... You went down steps to get to it.



Figure 10. Ashby Family Home (Courtesy of The Fort/Seminary African American Descendant Society).

Shovel test pits and 13 test units were excavated on the Samuel Ashby property. Structural features were identified in three of these test units and artifacts related to the house were found throughout the site. During these excavations evidence of brick or concrete piers were uncovered by Alexandria Archaeology (Fesler 2012b). The majority of the Ashby home foundation is located under the park parking lot and was not excavated.

Craven and Hogan/Craven Family Home Sites.

Although they were latecomers to The Fort community, the Cravens became some of the largest landowners in The Fort during the 20th century. Originally from Loudoun County, James Walter and Susie Garnett Craven moved to the area after 1910 (Moon 2014). In 1921, they purchased almost nine acres of land, stretching across the northeast and north-central portion of the park, from Thomas Dodd a descendant of Elizabeth Hoof (FCCC 1921: DB U9: 415).

James and Susie had five children: James Craven, Edward Craven, Daisy Craven, Susie Craven, and Richard Craven. In 1926, James and Susie sold their property to George E. Garrett, Robert R. Dye, and Robert P. Dye. However, by 1930, James' brothers George and Charles Craven followed him to The Fort. Charles Craven moved into James and Susie's former home, renting it from Garrett and Dye (Moon 2014).

The Craven lot is located just north of the reconstructed bastion of Fort Ward. During the early 20th century, two buildings would have stood on this lot. Two brick piers of the larger and easternmost of the Craven buildings were identified by Alexandria Archaeology (Fesler 2012a).

Located in the southeast corner of the park, the Hogan/Craven home would have been the first dwelling in The Fort community that a traveler heading west along Braddock Road would have seen. The Hogan/Craven home was built sometime after Frederick (Fred) and his wife Ada Ashby Hogan purchased the land from Clara Adams in 1931 (Moon 2014). Prior to purchasing this property, Frederick, Ada, and their son Jame [sic] lived in The Fort as renters, paying \$5 a month in rent (USCB 1930).

Alexandria Archaeology excavated three test units on the Hogan Home lot and uncovered a small portion of the house's masonry foundation and a portion of what appears to be a brick and concrete pier. Unfortunately, little information about this foundation has been published. However, both brick fragments and nails were recovered from the Hogan/Craven house site, suggesting that it, like other homes in The Fort, had a frame structure on masonry piers.

Jackson/Garnet Ashby Family Home Site.

James F. Jackson, brother of Louise (Sue) Jackson Ashby, purchased two adjacent lots totaling over 69 acres, running along the entire west side of what is today Fort Ward Park in 1894. In 1869, he married Kittie Jackson, with whom he had 13 children. In 1925, James Jackson sold the majority of his property to his grandson Garnett Ashby, son of Isaac Ashby and Maria Jackson Ashby. Previously he sold small, narrow lots in the southwest corner of his property to John Peters in 1913 and 1922 and another one to Frank Lewis in 1922.

Peters Family Home Site.

John Peters, daughter of John and Josephine Sanctuary Peters, married Ella Ashby Butler Peters, daughter of Samuel and Louise Jackson Ashby, in 1908. John and Ella Peters had seven children, Clifton Peters (Butler), Reginald Peters (Butler), Edith Peters, John Peters, Jr. Fred Peters, George Peters, and Woneada Peters.

In 1913, John Peters purchased a small, narrow lot located in the southwest corner of what is today Fort Ward Park from James Jackson. In 1922, John Peters purchased two additional lots adjacent to his property, running along the east edge of his property from James Jackson.

Frank Lewis Home Site.

Several men named Frank Lewis appear in the Alexandria city directories. However, the entries for Frank P. Lewis, are most likely the ones associated with the Frank Lewis who owned property in The Fort community from 1922 to 1935.

In 1888, Frank P. Lewis first appears in the Alexandria City directory as an African American waiter living at 316 N. Pitt (ACD 1888). The same entries occur in the 1899, 1900, and 1901 directories (ACD 1899, 1900, 1901). In 1902, Frank Lewis the African American waiter has moved to 309 N. St. Asaph and remains there in 1903 (ACD 1902, 1903). In the 1911 city directory, Lewis is listed at the same address but is now employed as a laborer (ACD 1911). In the 1916 city directory, Lewis is continuing to work as a laborer, but has moved to 913 Oronoco (ACD 1916). Later, Lewis stops appearing in the city directory, indicating his move out of the city to the unincorporated Fort community, where he purchased a narrow lot from James Jackson.

Javins Family.

In 1894, Samuel (Soom) Javins purchased 2.5 acres of land located in what is today the north center of Fort Ward Park. In 1921, he purchased additional property to expand his lot to 4.2362 acres. Samuel Javins married Florence McKnight, daughter of Willis McKnight and Harriet McKnight Shorts ca. 1881. They had six children: Robert T. Javins, Arthur Samuel Javins, Ada V. Javins, Adolphus Javins, Frank L. Javins, and Odell Javins. They also adopted Florence H. Javins (Cartwright 2012).

Terrell Family Properties.

Bernie McKnight married John William Terrell on March 8, 1875. Their children include, Caroline Terrell, Cora Lena Terrell, John William Terrell Jr. and Jacob Terrell (Cartwright 2012). In 1897, John W. Terrell purchased an acre of land between the Javins and Jackson properties.

In 1919, Bernie Terrell inherited a 0.47 acre lot of her parents' property. Sometime before her death in 1930, Bernie Terrell transferred this lot to Oakland Baptist Church. At present, a little less than half of this lot is owned by Oakland Baptist Church and is used as a portion of the church's cemetery.

Miller Family Home Site.

Luvinia McKnight Perkins married John Miller on May 13, 1875. Lavonia had one daughter, Mary Perkins, with her first husband, Jonathan Perkins. John and Luvinia had at least four children, Mary Miller, Emmanuel Emmet Miller, Mattie J.

Miller, and Bertha Miller. Overall, Luvinia Miller had 10 children, many of whom passed away before they could be counted in the 1900 census (USCB 1900).

John Miller was also one of the earliest land owners in The Fort Community. In 1883, John Miller bought 5 acres in what is today Fort Ward Park. His property is adjacent to Burr and Harriet Shorts' lot and runs along the western edge of the Shorts property. The Miller property can be seen on the 1884 Map (Figure 2). The boundaries of the original Miller property include the Fort Ward Museum, public restrooms, and parking areas of Fort Ward Park. The Miller property was later portioned off and sections of it were sold to other families in The Fort community including the Ashbys and the Jacksons.

Young Home Site.

Sergeant Lee Thomas Young was a relative latecomer to The Fort community. Sgt. Young moved into the former school house/St. Cyprians church structure, which had been converted to a single family home under the ownership of John Lorenzo Claiborne. Claiborne purchased the property in 1943 (FCCC 1943: DB 421: 16-18). In his 2009 oral history interview, Sgt. Young said that he purchased the property from Claiborne in 1947.

In the 1940 Federal Census, John Claiborne is listed as a 38 year old black man, who was born in approximately 1902 (USCB 1940). He was the proprietor of a barber shop which was located on 528 N. Patrick Street in Alexandria (ACD 1936, 1938, 1942, 1945). He and his wife Clara rented their home for \$25 a month (USCB 1940). Clara was also 38 years old, born in approximately 1902, and worked at a school. John Claiborne lived at several different residences during the 1930s and

1940s, including 1202 Princess (ACD 1936) and 816 Duke Street (ACD 1942). It does not appear that Claiborne ever lived in The Fort, but he was responsible for converting the church/school building into a residence (Young 1996).

Sgt. Young and his wife Delia Young are recorded in the 1956, 1957, 1958, and 1959 Alexandria city directories as living at 4133 West Braddock Road (ACD 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959). Sgt. Young's daughter Judy also lived there (Wanzer 2014). Today, this address would be within the park boundaries and represents their home in The Fort

The Young home is better known for its earlier uses as St. Cyprian's Church and as The Fort School. Because of its association with the school and church, the Young home site was one of the first to be excavated the Ottery Group, Inc. During these excavations, the original foundations of the structure could not be identified and were likely destroyed by the use of the property as the Maintenance Yard for the park. However, a 15 ft. cinder block foundation and two concrete piers associated with a major expansion of the original building were uncovered. This expansion likely dates to the conversion of the building into a private residence. According to Sgt. Young (2009) John Claiborne and his family had "redone it from a church to a house." Sgt. Young (2009) goes on to describe the house by saying, "It was beautiful to me! Amen! It was an old fashioned...Had a front porch. A long one. High ceiling, old fashioned ceiling, hardwood floor."

Clark/Hyman Home Site.

Amanda McKnight (Grey) Clark(e), was the daughter of Willis and Harriet McKnight. She was married twice, first to Robert Grey and later to an unknown man

with the last name Clark. In 1919, Amanda, like her siblings, inherited property after her mother passed. However, she inherited a much larger lot totaling three acres. By the early 1930s, she built a house on this land and moved into it (Moon 2014). Unfortunately she would not get to live in this house long, passing away in 1933 at the age of 80.

During the last few years of her life Amanda (McKnight) Clark divided her lot and sold one acre to Wallace and Cynthia Smith, another lot to the Diocesan Missionary Society of Virginia, and a pass a portion to her grandson Leonard Hyman. This lot was combined with the purchase of The Fort School property to make St. Cyprians. It also included a portion of what is today referred to as the Old Grave Yard, which included burials that were contemporaneous to the purchasing of the property in 1927.

Leonard G. and Thelma M. Hyman may not have resided on the property they owned. No records of them living in that area of Alexandria could be found. In the 1920 Federal Census, Leonard G. Hyman was living in Washington, DC, in the home of his mother Harriet E. Hyman, daughter of Amanda (McKnight) Clarke (USCB 1920). He is listed as a 23 years old mulatto male, born in Virginia, and employed as a clerk for the US Treasury Department.

In the 1930 Federal Census, Leonard G. Hyman was living in Tuskegee, Alabama, as a lodger in the home of Alphonse and Wilhelmina Heningburg (USCB 1930). He and eight other men rented rooms from the Heningburgs. All of the lodgers worked for the school, presumably the Tuskegee Institute, in some way. Leonard was employed as the school photographer.

Rev. Luther H. Mills.

Luther H. Mills appears in several of the Alexandria city directories including 1954, 1956, and 1958. In each he is listed under clergymen, but his residence is given as Washington, DC. In 1956 and 1958, he is specifically listed as the Reverend Pastor of Oakland Baptist Church. Although Rev. Mills, purchased land within The Fort, he never resided there. His acquisitions of property reflect his connection to the community through Oakland Baptist Church, leading him to either buy property on behalf of the church or to give financial assistance to church members.

Smith/Collins Home Site.

Wallace and Cynthia (Sinthia) Smith purchased just under an acre of property from Amanda (McKnight) Clark. This lot contained a small portion of the Old Grave Yard, just south of the Oakland Baptist Church cemetery, and was bordered by the School House/St. Cyprians/Young property to the east.

In the 1920 and 1930, Wallace is described as a 34 year old black man born approximately 1886 and living in the area of The Fort (USCB 1920, 1930). He rented his home and worked as a laborer at Fort Myer in Arlington County Virginia. His wife Cynthia was a 22 years old black woman, born in approximately 1898. She worked as a cook at the high school, likely the nearby EHS. In 1920, they had one child, a baby named Mary E. who was born that year.

In 1930, Wallace was described as being 43 years old and working as a laborer whose employment is described as “day work school seminary” (USCB 1930). His wife Cynthia (spelled Sinthia) was now 34 years old and at home. They

had five children Mary E. (spelled Marry) age 10, Edonia age 9, Christine age 6, Wallace Jr. age 3, and Lewis M. age 1.

Alfred Collins and his wife Sarah Inez Collins purchased slightly less than one acre in The Fort community in 1937. Alfred and Sarah Collins were well educated African American professionals. He was a lawyer and she was a public school teacher. Both Alfred and Sarah were born in Virginia, but lived in Washington, DC, for many years. In the 1930 census, they have two daughters, Muriel I. age nine and Barbara J. age two, living with them (USCB 1930). Alfred owned their DC home, located at 1924 2nd NW (Washington, DC City Directory 1929). By 1947 Alfred and Sarah were living in Alexandria, Virginia. They appear in the 1947, 1950, and 1956 Alexandria city directories living at 303 N. Alfred Street in downtown Alexandria (ACD 1947, 1950, 1956).

Wanzer Family.

Although the Wanzer surname does not show up in many of the land records, they were an essential part of The Fort/Seminary community. The Wanzers are related to several of the founding families of The Fort through marriage, are longtime residents of the Seminary community, and belonged to the same churches and community organizations as The Fort families. However, because many of the Wanzers who lived in The Fort were women, their names most often appear as their married name such as Jennie Wanzer who married John Linton Ashby. In addition, the Wanzers were active members of Oakland Baptist Church. For example, Daniel Wanzer was a church trustee (FCCC DB 698: 98).

Richard L. Ruffner.

Richard Ruffner was a prominent member of white society in Alexandria. He worked as a lawyer and served as Alexandria's mayor from 1937 until 1940. He and his wife Mary, had one son also named Richard L. Ruffner. In 1940, they lived on Rosemont Avenue in Alexandria, Virginia (USCB 1940). During this time the Ruffners purchase four lots in the southeast corner of what is today Fort Ward Park.

Although the Ruffners were not part of either The Fort or Seminary community, their ownership of property in The Fort shows the changes occurring in this area. As a newly incorporated part of the growing city, this land was now seen as valuable to Alexandria's white residents.

Utilities and the Changing Household

Although the house structures are the primary way that households can be seen in the archaeological record, only five were excavated. Because this is a small sample, other ways of understanding The Fort houses archaeologically are needed. To do this, I looked at the artifacts and memories associated with utilities, such as plumbing and electricity. These utilities not only changed the experience of living within these houses, but also were directly connected to the displacement of the community, forever changing The Fort sense of community.

The introduction of indoor plumbing, electricity, and garbage pick-up made a significant impact on homes and the women who were responsible for maintaining them. These utilities helped raise the expectations of what a housewife or her help could accomplish at home. New electric devices used for cleaning and cooking changed the expectation of cleanliness for the home and type of meals that could be

created (Cowan 1976). For example, the introduction of central heating to homes allowed for basements to be used year round as comfortable living spaces. Although this would have eliminated some chores involved with maintaining a kitchen fire to warm the home, a new expectation of cleanliness for the basement, now usable as a living space was created and along with it additional domestic chores (Cowan 1976).

The introduction of electricity not only changed the expectations of cleanliness, but also how the homes were sensed. “It is the immersion in light that makes seeing come into being in the first place” (Hamilakis 2014: 80). Therefore, the type, natural, fire-based, or electric, and intensity of lighting has a major impact on how a home is experienced. Electric lighting was not available for the earliest homes in The Fort. During this time residents relied on oil lamps, candles, and fireplaces for lighting their homes. Evidence of this can be seen archaeologically. Two candlestick fragments, 61 fragments of lighting glass, and five metal lamp parts were recovered during the excavations at Fort Ward. Several of these lighting artifacts can be associated with home lots. One candlestick base fragment and nine chimney/lamp glass fragments were recovered from the Shorts/Stewart/Randall lot, three fragments of chimney/lamp glass were recovered from the Ashby lot, and 12 fragments of chimney/lamp glass were recovered from the Jackson/G. Ashby lot. The other candlestick came from a portion of land, last owned by Richard Ruffner, between the Adams/McKnight house and Hogan/Craven house.

By the mid-20th century the majority of the homes in The Fort and Seminary communities had electricity. This too can be seen in the archaeological excavations at Fort Ward. Fragments of light bulbs, electric lamps, conductors, conduits, lining,

sockets, and insulation were recovered throughout the park. Despite having electricity, the majority of the homes remained without air-conditioning throughout the occupation of The Fort. Fortunately, the rural landscape of The Fort kept homes cool in the summer even without air-conditioning. The cooler comfort of the country in this area had been recognized early on with the construction of Menokin, which originally served as a summer home (Cavanaugh 2009). “It was so many trees up there, you never did ever have to have air conditioning. In the summertime, we still had to use blankets” (Belk 1994).

Access to electricity did not guarantee that homes would have electrical refrigeration or other electrical appliances, like washing machines. Instead, a variety of cold storage practices were adopted by members of The Fort community well into the 20th century. Dorothy Hall Smith (1994) describes what she calls a “kill” that they used for long term storage of foods and other stuffs. “Well, it’s a real deep hole that goes down so far in the ground. Then it has a level, like a shelf, and they put the breakable things up on the shelf. The potatoes and other things go down in [inaudible] store” (Smith 1994). Her cousin, Barbara Ashby Gordon (1994), continues,

Now, my grandfather, on his property...built—John Ashby, yes—a storage place similar to that that Dorothy is speaking of, just back of the garden area, and it was built into a hill and it was built deep into the hill and had shelves and that’s where they would put vegetables that my grandmother canned in the winter, and that’s where we stored potatoes and other vegetables, root vegetables.

Dorothy Hall Smith (1994) also describes how they used wells to keep freshly made food cool overnight.

They used the well for things that were needed right away. Like in the well they would let the food down so far in the well, like if the food was cooked on

Saturday evening for Sunday, they lowered it in the well so far down near the water where it would be real cool. Things like maybe corn puddings or very seldom potato salad, anything baked. They would lower it down and then whatever they needed, they could you know, raise it back up. Definitely the well was used for things that was needed the next day the well. They lowered it so far down.

In addition to being a way to keep food fresh, wells served as the primary source of water for members of The Fort community (Belk 1994; Douglas 1992; Smith 1994; Young 1996). Many community members speak with pride about the quality of the water and the independence they had by not having to rely on government utilities. For many community members the wells represent the self-reliant, independent, high quality, and affordable sense of community that defined The Fort.

She [Clara Adams] had a well. She had a chain and a bucket on hers. I had an electric pump in mine—a jet pump. Mine was a little deeper, I think mine was 70 feet deep. I had the deepest well here; it was a good well (Young 1996).

The use of wells for drinking water was one of the primary ways in which The Fort community was criticized by city officials seeking to acquire the land for the creation of a commemorative park (Belk 1994; Moon 2014). The Minimum House-Hygiene Ordinance of 1957 included requirements that each residence must have running water to all kitchens and bathrooms (Moon 2014). This ordinance was used to determine whether or not housing could be considered blighted and provided the legal argument for condemnation proceedings on houses within The Fort, Seminary, and other African American communities in the area.

The quality and taste of the water collected from these wells never seemed to be an issue for community health, but rather the use of wells did not meet government

standards for what was perceived to be sanitary. “That was the best water around here. Our well never did go dry. But they wouldn’t let us use the water. We had just had it cleaned out and they said we had to close the well in” (Douglas 1992).

Washing was conducted in the home using well water brought into the house. Prior to the installation of running water, community members bathed in tubs in their kitchen, where the water could be heated, but privacy was scarce (Wanzer 2014). Others had running water in their homes that was sourced from their private well (Young 2009). Archaeologically, evidence of bringing water into the home for bathing can be seen in the recovery of four fragments of a wash basin. This basin was carefully decorated with hand-painted green and brown leaves and was recovered from the surface of the Jackson/G. Ashby lot.

Occasionally, members of The Fort and Seminary communities used chamber pots, or as they called them “slop jars” (Wanzer 2014), to relieve themselves within the home. This can also be seen archaeologically from a fragment of a chamber pot recovered from Shorts/Stewart/Randall lot. However, outhouses or privies were the primary way in which members of The Fort used the restroom until the 1950s (Belk 1994; Douglas 1992). These were carefully maintained and cleaned weekly to prevent contamination of the well water and to maintain a sanitary environment (Douglas 1992).

Like wells, privies became a point of contention between city officials and community members during the last decade of The Fort community’s occupation of what became park land. Connecting to city sewer lines was expensive and required land owners to give up a portion of their property. Describing the installation of sewer

lines, Elizabeth Douglas (1992) said “Now they never started putting this sewage in until the [19]50s. When they started putting that in, of course, then you had to pay \$250 for the tapping of the sewage plus you had to give your land for the sidewalk. We never got a dime (of compensation for the property loss).” Despite the high price of connecting to the sewer and water lines, many residents hooked up their homes. The Wanzer family, who lived on Woods Lane in the Seminary community got indoor plumbing in 1957 (Wanzer 2014). Members of The Fort community also connected to indoor plumbing as evidence by two fragments of a porcelain toilet recovered from Jackson/G. Ashby lot and the 64 fragments of ceramic drainpipes found throughout the park.

If community members were unwilling or unable to afford connecting to the city sewer and water lines, their reliance on a well or privy could be used as a reason to condemn their property. The threat of condemnation and the resulting loss of property without any compensation, lead many homeowners to sell their properties to the city during the 1960s.

The city told her (Ada Casey) that if she didn’t sell it she would lose out because they were going to condemn the houses because they didn’t have any bathrooms, no running water and stuff, so that is when she gave in (Belk 1994)

The archaeological evidence supports the descendants’ memories of outdoor plumbing that was sanitary and well maintained (Bradby 2014; Douglas 1992). During Ottery’s excavations at Fort Ward Park, the Casey/Belk family privy was uncovered. The Casey/Belk’s privy was a rectangular, wood-lined, and was capped by a layer of sterile soil. Although, the privy was not completely excavated, numerous

artifacts were recovered from it. The items recovered from this privy suggest that it was filled and capped in the 1930s (Franz 2011a).

Like water and sewage, trash disposal was the responsibility of the members of The Fort community with little interference from government officials until the last few years of occupation. Burning and burying trash were the two most common ways of disposing of garbage (Bradby 2014; Wanzer 2014; Young 1996). In addition, many items were repeatedly reused or recycled minimizing the overall amount of garbage. For example, Laurence Bradby (2014) recalls collecting glass soda bottles to turn in for money at the local store. Although, some artifacts showed evidence of burning, such as bones recovered from the Shorts/Stewart/Randall chimney base, a location of large trash burning episodes was not identified.

The introduction of utilities like electricity, running water, and indoor plumbing changed the sensory experience of living in the homes of The Fort. In the early years, candles and oil lamps provided soft, warm light that danced across the walls as a cool breeze from an open window came into the home. Later, the sterility of electric light replaced the flicker of candles and the noise of electric radios overtook the sounds of rural nights. Hot baths that had resulted from pumping well water, feeding kindling into the stove, heating the water to the right temperature, and hoping that none of your family members needed to use the kitchen while you bathed, transitioned into relaxing affairs, where the bather could submerge themselves in warm water privately. Every sense associated with living in The Fort, from the taste of well water to the smell of burning garbage, changed as the community became more suburban and had greater access to city utilities.

Household Gardening

Another way of understanding the homes in The Fort community is through their gardens. Gardens, perhaps even more so than houses, can help create a unique sense of community on the landscape. Gardens have strong associations with the physical senses. The aroma of blooming flowers, rich soil, and fresh grass mixes with the buzzing of bees and bird songs, and the moist heat coming from sunbathed fertilized soil are all experienced in a garden. However, African American gardens often also have connections to the others senses, like memory, through their use as spiritual and commemorative places. The combination of all of these senses contribute to the experience of senses the community.

Scholars have studied African American gardens as places of commemoration and the expression of identity throughout the United States (Edwards 1998; Gundaker 2001). Commemorative displays created in private yards show connections to religious and spiritual beliefs as well as African heritage (Gundaker 2001). Grey Gundaker (2001: 33) draws on connections to West African spirit practices through the use of thresholds such as gates and conduits in the form of pipes in order to “mediate the boundaries between worlds.” Likewise, Ywone D. Edwards (1998) cites the use of the Kongo cosmogram in some African American yards. These African traditions, either remembered or invented, were combined with elements of European and American traditions to create uniquely African American yard displays (Edwards 1998). The meanings of many of the objects used in yards are misunderstood or missed because of their mobility and changing significances. Gundaker (2001: 42) argues that the creators of yard and grave yard commemorations do not feel like they

should have to explain their meanings to viewers, instead “people *can* see what they *should* see” and there is “no point trying to explain deep matters to the spiritually unprepared.” This is similar to the approach adopted by white plantation owners who constructed articulated and processional landscapes that were only understood by their peers.

In some African American communities creating these commemorative displays is an essential aspect to how African Americans have created physical places for themselves and their memories. This is true for both The Fort and Seminary communities where members maintained commemorative, ornamental, and food producing gardens on their properties (Smith 1994; Gordan 1994; Wanzer 2014).

“They all had their little gardens, but not farming, as such,” Barbara Ashby Gordon (1994) said of the members of The Fort community. Despite the small size of the gardens, the food they produced was an important part of the everyday diet of community members (Smith 1994; Gordon 1994). The fruits and vegetables grown by community members were preserved and eaten throughout the year.

Equally important in the memories of the descendants was that these gardens and yards were well maintained and attractive (Wanzer 2014). In addition, photographs of the homes in The Fort community show well maintained yards and gardens with ornamental features. One of the most notable ornaments can be seen in a photo of the Ashby house. Taken sometime after 1955, this photograph shows the front of the Ashby home and a portion of the front lawn. Along the right side of the front lawn is a planter hanging from the tripod. According to Descendant Society members, this planter was actually a military helmet (Gordon 1994).

Archaeological evidence of gardening has been uncovered throughout the park, particularly in the form of flower pot fragments. Four of these fragments were recovered from excavations in the area of the park known as the Maintenance Yard. Although, many of the homes and important community structures were in this area, these fragments will not be considered for this analysis because this area was used as the city’s arboretum during much of the 20th century and the stratigraphic levels between The Fort occupation and the arboretum are unclear. Additionally, seven flower pot fragments were also recovered from the Old Grave Yard, indicating their use in the commemoration and memorialization of the dead. In this section only the flower pot fragments recovered from home sites located outside of the Maintenance Yard and away from burial areas will be analyzed here.

Seven home sites had at least one flower pot fragment. The majority of these came from the Hogan/Craven home site in the southeast corner of the park.

Table 3. Flower Pot Fragments at The Fort Home Sites

Home Site	Number of Flower Pot Fragments
Ashby	25
Ball	1
Hogan/Craven	42
Jackson/G. Ashby	1
C. McKnight	1
Randall/Schott	1
Shorts	7

Some of these pots may reflect African influence in the gardens in The Fort and Seminary communities. For example, four of the flower pot fragments recovered from the Ashby home site were decorated with a dark blue glaze. Archaeologists working on African American sites have recognized the importance of the color blue in African and African American spirit practices, because of its association with “the spirit world above” and regularly recover blue objects as part of bundles and other spiritual deposits (Leone and Fry 1999: 380). In addition, these are the only flower pot fragments recovered from The Fort that have a colored glaze, which suggests that the color blue was specifically chosen for the Ashby garden.

The Archaeology of Religion and Church at The Fort.

Religion, and its associated institutions, was an important part of The Fort community and remains so today. Oakland Baptist Church continues to bring descendants and former members of community together for regular Sunday services, special events, and holidays making the church the de facto keeper of The Fort’s sense of community. Churches were also the center of social activity for the community, hosting events like dances, raffles, and dinner sales that served as social events and fund-raisers (Douglas 1992).

The first African Americans living in The Fort, Seminary and surrounding communities most likely attended Sunday school and religious services and at the VTS (Moon 2014). During these early years, The Fort was sensed through its relationship with VTS. By 1882, Seminary students were holding regular weekly services for servants working at VTS and funds were being raised to build a chapel for African Americans living in the Seminary area (Moon 2014). By 1883, the Chapel

of the Good Shepherd, also known as St. Cyprians, opened to serve African Americans around VTS. The earliest version of Good Shepherd/St. Cyprians was on VTS grounds and operated there through the early 20th century.

In 1926, the Diocesan Mission Society of Virginia purchased the quarter acre lot from the Fall Church School District for the use of an Episcopal church to serve The Fort community. By 1931 or 1932, St. Cyprians was in full operation in the school house building (C. McKnight 1992; Moon 2014). Once it relocated, St. Cyprians sat in the center of The Fort community, serving as a center for religious and social life. This altered the sense of community to include greater independence from VTS, although The Fort remained closely tied to the institution.

The congregation was primarily composed of families living in The Fort, including the Peters, Craven, Randall, McKnight, and Thomas families (Appler 2009). Baptisms, confirmations, weddings, and holiday celebrations were held at St. Cyprians and often included members of The Fort and Seminary communities who were not members of the congregation (Moon 2014; McKnight 1992).

Community members of all denominations supported St. Cyprians while it was located in The Fort. Charles McKnight (1992) recalls,

Clara Adams was a member and founder of Oakland Baptist Church...part of her land that was donated for the school and so for the church (St. Cyprians). And so she attended...Aunt Clara, as we called her, became very interested in Oakland Baptist and St. Cyprian's because she—I do believe it was she who donated the grounds for the building of the school—and also she had great ties with the church itself.

Beginning in the 1880s African Americans living in the The Fort and Seminary areas began worshiping at Oak Hill Baptist Mission. This too shows a

lessening of dependence on VTS for their religious lives. In 1891, community members including Clara Adams, founded Oakland Baptist Church. That year the church trustees purchased 0.2 acres of land near the intersection of King Street, Quaker Land, and Braddock Road from Brook Johnson (Moon 2014). In 1893, construction of the church building was completed, making Oakland Baptist Church one of the primary institutions of The Fort and Seminary communities.

Despite not being within The Fort itself, several of The Fort families were also founding members of Oakland Baptist Church, including members of the Adams, Terrell, Casey, McKnight, and Shorts families (Moon 2014). From its inception, Oakland Baptist Church served as the center of social and religious life for the members of its congregation. In addition to regular services, the church members, particularly the youngest members, attended Sunday School, conventions, teas, Baptist Training Union meetings, and camps (Bradby 2014; Wanzer 2014). Even today, many descendants of the founding church members remain active in the church and Oakland Baptist has served a primary role in the creation of the Descendant Society.

While Oakland Baptist Church has remained an important part of the African American community in Alexandria, St. Cyprians closed in the 1940s. In 1942, the St. Cyprians property was sold and the building was converted into a private residence. For a community that in the early years had been almost completely dependent on VTS and the Episcopal Church for its religious and employment needs, this marked a major shift in the sense of community from feelings of reliance and to independence.

Excavations were conducted by The Ottery Group, Inc. to locate the foundations of St. Cyprian's Church. Mechanical trenching uncovered a portion of a concrete foundation associated with the mid-20th century expansion and conversion of the church into a private residence. However, Sgt. Young (2009) describes the home as "old fashioned" with a large front porch, hardwood floors, and high ceilings. Like the other buildings in The Fort, St. Cyprian's was a frame structure set up on piers. Unfortunately, none of these piers were located archaeologically.

Only one religious artifact was recovered from the excavations at The Fort. It is a Catholic Miraculous Medal bearing an image of the Virgin Mary and the words, "O Mary Conceived without Sin Pray for us who have Recourse to Thee." Also known as the Immaculate Conception medal, the Miraculous Medal was first produced in France in the 1830s and was later adopted by Catholics throughout the world as a symbol of devotion to Mary. Although small in size, the weight of this medal around the neck of the wearer would create a physical sensation that served as a constant reminder to the wearer of the importance of their faith.

Although the majority of community members belonged to either Baptist or Episcopalian churches, Catholicism was also practiced by a few community members. For example, Sgt. Young's (1996) children converted to Catholicism in order to get a quality private education.

They went to St. Joseph's in Alexandria. They didn't have a public school for the blacks then you know... Later they integrated and then they started going to Blessed Sacrament... My kids never did go to Manassas (Public School) 'cause they was Catholic. They went to St. Joseph's. I'm Protestant, but they was Catholic... We just had to find a school for our children and that was the easiest way. They turned Catholic. We didn't mind; we had to get them an education so you did it any way you could (Young 1996).

Perhaps one of the most important ways community members demonstrated their faith and the importance churches played within The Fort's sense of community was through the transfer of property. Throughout the 20th century several of The Fort community members sold or transferred their land to Oakland Baptist Church. Primarily, these transfers were done in order to create a church cemetery for community members.

Two transfers of property to Oakland Baptist Church were designated specifically for the creation of a cemetery. Bernie (McKnight) Terrell and her sister Florence (McKnight) Javins each inherited adjacent 0.47 acre lots after the passing of their mother Harriet McKnight Shorts in 1919. In 1929, Florence (McKnight) Javins and her husband Samuel Javins conveyed this property to Oakland Baptist Church, although it took 10 years and Florence's death for the transfer to be completed (Deed Book Fx113: 515).

Likewise, sometime before her death in 1930 Bernie (McKnight) Terrell also transferred her property to Oakland Baptist Church for the creation of a cemetery. Bernie is also one of the earliest known burials in the cemetery along with her husband John William Terrell (d. 1925), her sister Maria (McKnight) Blackburn (d. 1925), and Russell Lewis (d. 1929) (Moon 2014). These early known burials and dozens of unmarked burials identified archaeologically in the adjacent Old Grave Yard, show that these properties and the surrounding areas were used as a burial ground before any official designation was made or property obtained by the church.

In 1943, Reverend Luther Mills purchased 0.36 acres from Clara (Shorts) Adams on behalf of Oakland Baptist Church. Clara (Shorts) Adams was one of the

founding members of Oakland Baptist Church and the half-sister of Bernie (McKnight) Terrell and Florence (McKnight) Javins. It is unclear why she sold this property to Reverend Mills and Oakland Baptist Church. Perhaps she was trying to support an institution she believe in, like she had done many years earlier by giving land for the creation of The Fort school. Or, maybe the church purchased the property as a way of financially supporting one of its most dedicated and aging congregants. Although it is possible that Clara, like her sisters, sold this land to be used as a cemetery, neither community memory nor archaeological excavation indicate that this property was ever used as a burial ground.

The Archaeology of Education and Schools at The Fort.

Just three years after Booker T. Washington's infamous "Atlanta Compromise" speech at the meeting of Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, which attracted white support of his educational efforts in the South, the first school for children in The Fort community was established. Like many other African American communities, residents of The Fort took charge of creating educational opportunities for their children. In 1898, Clara Shorts Adams and her husband Robert Adams sold a quarter acre of their property for \$35 to the Falls Church School District for the purposes of providing a school for the African American children living in The Fort (Appler 2009). The location of The Fort School reflected the role of education in The Fort's sense of community, making it both physically and metaphorically at the center of The Fort.

A small, frame, one-room school house that looked "just like a little child's drawing of a house" was constructed on this lot in 1899 (Johnson 1992; McKnight

1992). It served as the school for children living in The Fort and Seminary communities until the 1920s, when the community began efforts to build a larger Rosenwald school. In 1926, this new school, known as the Seminary School for Colored Children, opened its doors on the site of what is today T.C. Williams High School (Johnson 1992; Moon 2014). After the construction of the new school, The Fort school house was converted to a church that severed the Episcopalian members of the community. In 1942, the building underwent major alterations to serve as a private residence that eventually became the home of the Young family.

As described above, locating architectural features relating to the school house was a primary goal of the initial excavations of The Fort community. However, only the remains of the mid-20th century expansion were identified. It is possible that architectural features relating to the original school house building may exist further to the east of the cinderblock foundation, outside of the Maintenance Yard (Franz 2011a). Fortunately, artifacts reflecting the importance of education were recovered throughout the community.

Although none of the artifacts recovered from the excavations at The Fort can be directly connected to The Fort School, objects related to literacy and education were found throughout the park. The majority of these items are associated with writing. Pens, pencils, and a few inkwell fragments indicate that in the years following slavery, members of The Fort embraced writing as an important aspect of their community.

Likely due to the restrictions imparted on them as slaves in their earlier lives, many of the founding members could not read or write. The 1870 Federal Census

demonstrates both illiteracy among the older community members, while also recording the enrollment of their children in school (USCB 1870). Tables 4 and 5 show who among the founding families were recorded as being able to read and write in the 1880 and 1900 Federal Censuses (USCB 1880, 1900). Because the literacy of children under age 10 was not recorded by census takers, they have been excluded from these lists.

From these tables, it is easy to see that with each new generation the number of residents who could read and write increased dramatically. In both these censuses nearly all the children are listed as attending school at least half the year and, by age 10, nearly all are literate. A slate pencil recovered from the Shorts/Randall home site was likely used by one of the Shorts/McKnight children to complete their assignments from The Fort School.

Table 4. Literacy of The Fort Community Members According to 1880 Federal Census

Name	Approximate Age	Read	Write
Burr Shorts	46	No	No
Harriet (McKnight) Shorts	55	No	No
Clara Shorts (Adams)	15	Yes	Yes
William Alexander	11	Yes	Yes
Florence McKnight (Javins)	25	Yes	Yes
John (A) Miller	30	No	No
Lavinia (McKnight Perkins) Miller	35	N/A	N/A
Mary Miller	13	Yes	Yes
(John) William Terrell	28	No	No
Bernie (McKnight) Terrell	25	No	No

Table 5. Literacy of The Fort Community Members According to the 1900 Federal Census

Name	Approximate Age	Read	Write
Cassius McKnight	48	Yes	Yes
Rachel J. McKnight	39	N/A	N/A
Viola R. McKnight	12	Yes	Yes
Robert McKnight	40	Yes	Yes
Susie McKnight	39	No	No
Willis McKnight	14	Yes	Yes
Freddie McKnight	10	Yes	Yes
Searles McKnight	56	No	No
Mary McKnight	54	N/A	N/A
Ernest McKnight	21	Yes	Yes
Harry McKnight	16	Yes	Yes
Harriet McKnight	11	Yes	Yes
Harriet (McKnight) Shorts	65	No	No
Jacob Ball	19	Yes	Yes
Carrie (Shorts) Monroe	27	Yes	Yes
Robert Adams	35	Yes	Yes
Clara W. (Shorts) Adams	35	Yes	Yes
Walter A. Adams	19	N/A	N/A
Samuel Javins	35	No	No
Florence (McKnight) Javins	40	Yes	Yes
Robert T. Javins	13	Yes	Yes
Arthur S. Javins	11	Yes	Yes
John A. Miller	49	Yes	Yes
Lavinia (McKnight Perkins) Miller	54	No	No
Emmanuel E. Miller	23	Yes	Yes
Bertha F. Miller	17	Yes	Yes
Samuel Ashby	40	Yes	Yes
Sue Ashby	35	Yes	Yes
Ella Ashby	19	Yes	Yes
William H. Ashby	15	Yes	Yes
Archie S. Ashby	13	Yes	Yes
Alice M. Ashby	11	Yes	Yes
James (F.) Jackson	52	No	No
Katie Jackson	51	No	No

Willie F. Jackson	18	Yes	Yes
Robert H. Jackson	13	Yes	Yes
Katie M. Jackson	11	No	No

Learning to read and write was also important to the adults in The Fort.

Between 1880 and 1900, John Miller changes from being listed as unable to read and write to able to do both. Perhaps, he learned these skills from his border Emmanuel (Emmett) Miller, who was employed as a school teacher in 1900. Likewise, writing was a skill that came to several of the community members later in life. For example, in the 1870 Federal Census Florence McKnight (Javins) and Robert McKnight are listed as being able to read, but not write (USCB 1870). However, by 1900 they are recorded as having both skills (USCB 1900).

The importance of writing is highlighted both by the continued efforts of community members to master the skill, even as adults, and the 31 writing artifacts recovered archaeologically. Although, at first glance pens and pencil fragments may seem like modern trash rather than artifacts associated with The Fort community's embrace of literacy, and certainly at least four of the pens recovered are from the park period, the majority were discarded by community members. For example, a fragment of an Eagle brand pencil, was recovered from the Ashby property. Eagle Pencil was an American company that produced pencils beginning in the 19th century until they merged with several other manufactures and became the Berol Company (Berol Co. 2014). Although the majority of pencils recovered from The Fort are not as easily identifiable as the Eagle pencil, their context ties them to The Fort community. For example, a pencil marked with "...E F...A..." (Possibly Faber-Castell or Four Star) was recovered from the Casey/Belk privy.

Two stoneware ink wells dating to the 19th century were also recovered from The Fort excavations. One of these was recovered from a concentration of Civil War artifacts in the northwest corner of the park and is likely associated with the military occupation of the site. The other was recovered from an unknown location within the park (Trench 86 no coordinates).

Reading and writing are sensory experiences. As Hamilakis (2014: 13) explains, reading a book involves “the bodily handling and turning of the pages, the (physical) contact with writing.” Each writing instrument recovered from The Fort embodies its own sensory experience. The smell of a freshly sharpened pencil, the smooth flow of a pen as it glides across the page as the writer connects their letters, or the scratching sound of a slate pencil handled by an inexperienced child are deeply inscribed in the objects recovered from The Fort. While each of these sensory experiences varies based on the identity of the user, they all embody the value of education.

The valuing of education in The Fort can be seen in the early adoption of literacy, construction of a school house in The Fort, and continued education of adults. The importance of education became a cornerstone of The Fort’s sense of community. This can be seen in their continued dedication to education long after The Fort School was no longer used.

After the closing of The Fort School in the 1920s through the 1940s, children in The Fort community primarily attended the Seminary School. During the 1950s and 1960s the teens of The Fort and Seminary attended several different segregated public and private high schools. As described above, the Young children went to

Catholic school in Alexandria, while many of the other students were bussed to Manassas for high school. Charles McKnight (1992) describes this experience, “Thirty-five miles. All those that lived at the Fort were bussed...for four years straight, I rode 35 miles one way, 70 miles a day, going to Manassas.” Segregation kept the majority of the teens in The Fort from attending local schools until the construction of the only black high school in Alexandria, Parker Gray High School, in 1950.

In 1964, Alexandria began the process of desegregation. A year later Parker Gray was closed and students were sent to the other Alexandria high schools, including T.C. Williams. The construction and integration of T.C. Williams had major impacts on The Fort and Seminary communities. T.C. Williams was built on the location of the Seminary School and in the Macedonia (Mudtown) neighborhood (Moon 2014). The construction of the school displaced several African American families who were part of the Seminary community and had ties to The Fort community, including the family of Descendant Society President, Adrienne T. Washington. In fact, her childhood home had the same address as T.C. Williams (Personal Communication Adrienne T. Washington). Later, the teens living in the Seminary community and displaced from The Fort who stayed in the area were some of the first African Americans to attend the school.

The connection between the desegregation of schools and displacement continues to impact The Fort sense of community as experienced by the Descendant Society. In 2014, members of the Descendant Society along with the Seminary Civic Association, and individual neighbors challenged T.C. Williams’ efforts to install

lights on their sports fields (Chandler 2014). Not having lighting for night games on the sports fields had been a small concession to the members of the Seminary/Macedonia (Mudtown) community who had lost their homes during the school's construction. For the Descendant Society, the efforts to put up lights was just another example of the city breaking promises to the community (Chandler 2014).

The Archaeology of Employment and Labor

Coming out of slavery, the founding members of The Fort and Seminary communities' job skills were limited because of their illiteracy and experiences as enslaved laborers, primarily as domestic workers and farm hands. These limitations coupled with their newly acquired freedom, shaped the sense of community in The Fort. During the early years, many of the community members continued to work doing similar jobs at the homes of wealthy white families and large institutions like the VTS and EHS. Throughout the entire history of The Fort community people worked "mostly at the high school...between the Seminary and the high school" (Belk 1994). This close relationship to these institutions, which could be seen as a dependent relationship, marked the earliest sense of community at The Fort.

While these institutions remained primary employers for community members well into the 20th century, as time went on, The Fort became increasingly independent from them. The industrial boom of the 1940s, followed by the development spawned by the incorporation into the City of Alexandria created new job opportunities for community members. The 20th century also provided new educational opportunities for African Americans including those living in The Fort and Seminary communities through the construction of schools throughout the area. By the 1960s, members of

The Fort and Seminary communities used their skills and education to become leaders in desegregating the workforce of many local businesses and institutions, including the Lindsay Cadillac and Alexandria Fire Department (Bradby 2014; Wanzer 2014). Therefore the experience of living in The Fort community shifted from one with many limitations and dependent on VTS and EHS, to a more self-reliant and independent sense of community.

Because community members worked outside of the boundaries of The Fort, the archaeological record regarding direct connections to employment outside the community is sparse. Historical records, community memories, and the location of The Fort provide the greatest information about work done outside of The Fort. However, many community members, particularly women, brought in income through work they did in their homes. In The Fort community, the primary income generating work done at home was laundry (Brady 2014; USCB 1900, 1910). Unlike the work done outside of the home, The Fort women's work as laundresses is well represented in the archaeological record.

Laundry.

Washing, ironing, and mending clothes have long been jobs associated with African American women, both within the home and as a source of income. Laurence Bradby (2014) recalls that after coming to the Seminary area from where they had been enslaved, his grandmother and great grandmother "used to iron clothes for people back in the day. That's the kind of work they did."

According to the Federal Censuses, many female members of The Fort community took on similar work throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Although low

paying and physical demanding, working as a laundress allowed African American women the freedom to work from their own homes, rather than to live with white families as maids, nurses, and other domestics. For example, the 1900 Federal Census records Rachel McKnight, wife of Cassius McKnight as a “washer woman” (USCB 1900). Likewise, the 1910 Federal Census records that Kittie Brooks Jackson, wife of James F. Jackson worked as a laundress at home (USCB 1910).

Washing and ironing clothes were physically demanding tasks. Women in The Fort community washed clothes by hand using a zinc tub and a washboard (E. McKnight 1994). They ironed using heavy, cast irons that “you’d heat them up on the stove” (Bradby 2014). These tasks were both multi-sensory experiences and had impacts on the laundress’ sense of touch (Smith 2006). The distinct feeling of repeatedly plunging one’s hands into a tub filled with hot water, vigorously rubbing clothing weighted by water and soap on a board, tightly twisting soaked clothing to wring out the water, and then hanging each item on a line to dry, thickens and leathers the skin on the hands and arms to make them less sensitive to finer textures, heat, and even pain (Smith 2006).

Evidence of this type of work also shows in the archaeological record. Two fragments, a handle and a base, of stovetop irons were recovered from the Ashby house lot and 35 buttons associated with The Fort community were recovered throughout the park. High concentrations of buttons often indicate locations where washing and ironing or fabric scrapping were conducted (Lampard 2009; McBride and McBride 2011; Yamin 2001). Thirty-seven percent (13 buttons) of the buttons that were recovered came from the excavations of the Ashby property. This may

indicate that the Ashby women were working as laundresses at their home. Six buttons (17%) were recovered from the McKnight property, where Rachel McKnight lived and worked as a washer woman. In addition, a portion of a thimble was recovered from the George Garrett property, just north of the Shorts/Stewart/Randall lot.

Seminary.

As discussed in Chapter 3, VTS was a major draw for enslaved African Americans seeking freedom and employment during the Civil War. VTS continued to be a major employer for both men and women living in The Fort and Seminary communities. During much of the occupation of The Fort, VTS provided the “only jobs” (Belk 1994).

Numerous community members worked at VTS at a variety of jobs including cooks, waiters, laborers, domestics, and chauffeurs. Clara Adams was employed as a domestic worker (Appler 2009). Edmonia Smith McKnight (1994) recalls that her father Wallace Smith “used to be one of those cooks at the Theological Seminary” and in the 1930 Federal Census he is recorded as a laborer at VTS (USCB 1930). Maydell Casey Belk (1994) remembers her father, Wesley Casey, and uncle, Charles Casey, working at VTS. According to Sgt. Lee Thomas Young (2009) “all the McKnights worked at the Seminary.” Unfortunately, no archaeological evidence was recovered that can directly connect The Fort members to VTS.

Episcopal High School.

Like VTS, EHS served as a place of employment for generations of workers in The Fort and Seminary communities. Almost immediately following the Civil War, members of The Fort and Seminary communities worked at EHS primarily as laborers. Fortunately, detailed information about this early period of employment is available in Lancelot Blackford's diaries. Blackford served as the Headmaster of EHS from 1870 to 1913. During this period, he often wrote in his diary about African Americans who worked for the High School and lived in The Fort, Seminary, and other surrounding areas. For example, in September 1877, Blackford recorded that he lowered the wages for several of his African American employees, including Fort residents John Butler, a waiter, Fanny Strange a domestic servant, and Warren Garner, Sr. (Moon 2014).

Archaeologically, the relationship between EHS and The Fort community can be seen in the grave marker of Virginia Fitzhugh. The only complete, standing headstone in the Old Grave Yard, Virginia Fitzhugh's marker is escribed with the epitaph "a good and faithful servant." Until her death, Virginia Fitzhugh worked as a domestic laborer in the home of Willoughby A. Reade, a teacher at EHS (Moon 2014).

Mid-20th Century Employment.

Employment opportunities for members of The Fort and Seminary communities expanded dramatically during the 20th century. The military provided jobs within the service and as domestic support to members of The Fort community. During World War II, the US Naval Torpedo Station located in Old Town

Alexandria, began intense production of submarine and aircraft torpedoes. Members of The Fort and Seminary communities provided much of the needed labor for the production of arms at the Torpedo Factory (Belk 1994). Although the factory closed after the end of World War II, members of The Fort continued to work for the military. Community members Sgt. Lee Thomas Young and Gerald Wanzer served in the Army and the Air Force respectively. Other community members worked at Fort Belvoir as civilians (Young 1996).

Other members in The Fort and Seminary communities sought employment building and working in the new stores and businesses constructed along King Street, Quaker Lane, and in the Fairlington area (Belk 1994). Julia Bradby worked at a clothing store along Route 7/King Street near Bailey's Crossroads (Bradby 2014). Her son, Laurence Bradby and Sgt. Young's grandson worked at Lindsay Cadillac (Bradby 2014; Young 2009). As a trained mechanic at Lindsay Cadillac, Laurence Bradby broke several barriers. Speaking about this experience he said,

I was one of the first black state inspectors, back in the day. And every day the state police come up to the dealership and try to catch me doing something wrong inspecting the car. (laughs) But it didn't happen. I didn't do anything wrong. But I was the very first black mechanic as well as, I was the very first Virginia State Inspector. And this was long before the Virginia State Police was integrated (Bradby 2014).

Seminary resident Gerald Wanzer broke similar barriers when he was hired as the first black telephone installer for the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company and two years later became the second African American fireman for the Alexandria Fire Department (Wanzer 2014).

Through these employment opportunities members of The Fort and Seminary community incorporated the experience of breaking racial barriers into their sense of community. These expressions of drive and independence among individuals built on the increasing independence and self-reliance of The Fort community as a whole. These features denote The Fort's sense of community and can still be seen in the determination of the Descendant Society to tell their story without depending on city officials or experts to do it for them.

Transportation for the Fort Community.

Access to transportation was vital in determining the location and success of African American communities throughout the region. For The Fort, the close proximity to major roads was an essential factor in the establishment of the community. According to Cooling and Owen (2010), Fort Ward's importance for the security of Union occupied Alexandria and Washington, DC, came from its strategic location. "It defended the Leesburg and Alexandria Turnpike (modern Route 7) and overlooked the country to the north and west toward Bailey's and Balls Cross roads" (Cooling and Owen 2010). Because the earliest members of The Fort community traveled these same roads to Fort Ward as they sought freedom during the Civil War and independence and security after the war, they are important aspects of The Fort's sense of community on the landscape and in the minds of community members (Moon 2014).

The major roads that connect The Fort and Seminary communities to Alexandria, and other Virginia towns and cities are Braddock Road, King Street (Route 7/Leesburg Pike), Seminary Road, and Quaker Lane. These roads remain

important thoroughfares today. However, the conditions of the roads has greatly improved. According to Seminary Hill resident Keating Karig Carrier (2005) when her family moved to the area in 1938, “Seminary Road was a dirt road. They sprinkled a little liquid tar on it in the summer time to keep the dust down.” Likewise, Descendent Society member, Barbara Ashby Gordon (1994) described the feel and taste of tarring of Braddock Road during her visits to The Fort.

But my greatest thrill was in the summer when they tarred the road. Braddock Road was tarred. When they tarred the road, the sun would make it so hot that you could, when you walked you’d leave your shoeprint in the road. Well, in evenings when the moon came out, we’d go to the road and dig down deep, deep, deep, full of fresh tar, and we would put that in our mouths and chew it.

Smaller roads, such as School House Lane, also existed within The Fort community to connect and separate neighbors from each other. Barbara Ashby Gordon (1994) recalls, “Because the roads were dirt roads and when it rained, they became mud roads, and the chickens just never went beyond their yards.” Through these memories the sights, sounds, smells, feelings, and even tastes of these roads can be sensed.

The Fort and Seminary community members traveled these roads in a variety of ways. The earliest residents would have walked, traveled by horse, and wagon. Some residents of The Fort and Seminary communities continued to ride and keep horses into the 20th century. Elizabeth Douglas’s (1992) father kept a horse in a small stable at their home and Dorothy Hall Smith (1994) remembers her older brothers using a “horse and wagon” to travel to Green Valley, where more jobs were available. Later horses provided entertainment rather than the primary source of transportation. As a boy in the 1940s and 1950s, Laurence Bradby (2014) would ride horses near EHS. He remembers, “We would jump up on the fences and jump on the horses and

ride them for free” (Bradby 2014). The presence and use of horses throughout the occupation of The Fort gives a rural or semi-rural feel to The Fort sense of community.

Artifacts related to riding horses and traveling by wagon were recovered during the excavations at Fort Ward, primarily through metal detecting. Twelve of the 19 horse-or wagon-related artifacts are associated with The Fort community occupation. Of these, two horseshoes were recovered during excavations on the Jackson (1894-1925)/G. Ashby (1925-1934) property.

In the 20th century, the Fort and Seminary residents began to utilize motorized transport. “We had a bus” said Maydell Casey Belk (1994), “There were few people that had cars, and we could walk from the Seminary down to King Street.” Descendant Society members describe community members walking to work, nearby stores, and to school, suggesting that walking was the primary mode of transportation for most community members particularly in the early years of The Fort (Young 1996; Belk 1994). By the 1950s, some community members, such as Sgt. Young were fortunate enough to have their own car, which allowed them to travel farther from home for work, school, or shopping (Young 2009). Many others relied on public transportation in order to travel outside of the community. The increased use of motorized vehicles, whether public buses or private cars, shifted the sense of community at The Fort to a more suburban feeling.

Unfortunately, the bus was not always the most dependable or affordable form of transportation. Keating Karig Carrier (2005) describes the difficulties of traveling by bus to Washington, “You could also take the bus because the bus used to make up

lost time or if they were too fast, they'd make the time difference up at the Seminary. So sometimes the bus was sitting there for a long time. And the driver would get out and have a cigarette.” Likewise, Laurence Bradby (2014) describes how as a teenager he and his friends often chose to walk to Alexandria in order to spend their \$0.15 bus fare on food or treats at the movie theater.

Evidence of public transportation use was recovered archaeologically. Two copper train tokens, featuring a large cutout “W” in the center were recovered. These tokens were used as part of the Washington, DC, transit system in the 1920s. One token was found on the Ashby home site and the other came from the Robert Jackson home site. Although rail remains an important mode of transportation connecting Alexandria to Washington, DC, and cities all along the east coast, the sensory experience of carrying the light weight, plastic cards, secured in a wallet, used to board the modern railways is distinctly different from the weight and jingle of metal tokens moving and mixing with loose change in a rider’s pocket.

Whites living and working at VTS and EHS during the 20th century were less likely to be dependent on public transportation to travel into Alexandria or Washington, DC. The majority of white families in the area had their own cars. Many hired chauffeurs from The Fort community to drive them around in their family cars (Belk 1994; Carrier 2005).

Evidence of automobile use was also uncovered at The Fort. Of the 14 automobile parts recovered from excavations at Fort Ward, at least three of them are associated with the modern use of the land as a park. These three items were recovered near park roads or adjacent to parking lots. The other 11 are likely

associated with The Fort community. These automobile parts include a brake pedal (Jackson/G. Ashby lot), blinker lenses (Jackson/G. Ashby and Craven), hubcap (Ruffner 1), ball joint and pin, power take-off unit, wheel cap, window crank, and unidentified cylindrical part.

The Henry G. Shirley Memorial Highway, which today creates the northern boundary of Fort Ward Park was completed in 1952. Unlike any other point in the community's history, the opening of this highway brought members of The Fort community quick and ready access to Washington, DC, and major highways. That same year, the City of Alexandria annexed a large portion of Fairfax County, including The Fort community (Moon 2014). With annexation, many improvements, including paving roads and creating sidewalks, were made on the roads that The Fort and Seminary communities relied upon. However, with these improved transportation routes the land of The Fort and Seminary community became significantly more desirable to businessmen and city officials seeking to develop the newest part of the city. Just as access to roads had been a factor in the settlement of The Fort community, the improvement of these roads and construction of the highway was a factor in the community's demise.

Conclusions

The Fort community fits well within the scholarly descriptions of African American communities. The three pillars of African American communities, family, church, and school, as well as places of employment and transportation form the foundation of The Fort and Seminary sense of community. At the core of The Fort sense of community was the idea of treating each other as family and the communal

use of resources. Simultaneously, The Fort's changing relationship with VTS and EHS, reflect a shift in the sense of community towards increasing independence, self-reliance, and determination.

Although The Fort is similar to many other African American communities, the memories, experiences, and stories of Descendant Society members highlight the unique sense of community at The Fort. This sense of community was reflected on the landscape and in the thoughts, memories, and emotions of community members and outsiders. Although certain aspects, such as the importance of education and role of religion have always been and continue to be part of the sense of community, other factors, such suburbanization, have changed how The Fort is experienced and remembered.

Chapter 6: The Senses of Popular Culture in The Fort

To create a sense-scape of The Fort community, I have turned to three sources of information: artifacts, memories, and popular culture. I have selected these resources because they represent the items community members used and interacted with on a daily basis. Community members' memories are shaped by the images, words, and sounds that they would have regularly encountered while living in The Fort.

For this chapter, I will use Browne and Browne's (1991) definition of popular culture, which ties closely to Hamilakis' (2014) understanding of the senses and Thomas' (2006) description of phenomenology. For Browne and Browne (1991: 1)

Popular culture is the everyday, vernacular culture that comprises virtually all our lives. It is the way we live, the thoughts we think the people around us and their activities; like the water the fish swims in, popular culture is the cultural air we breathe.

Applying a sensory approach to Browne and Browne's (1991) idea that popular culture is the air we breathe, turns the focus away from the air to the experience of breathing it in and out. In the same way, I will focus this chapter on the sensory experience of absorbing and creating popular culture by members of The Fort community through an analysis of the material culture they left behind.

By creating this sense-scape based in popular culture, I am connecting The Fort community within broader historical and cultural trends happening in the United States between the end of the Civil War and the opening of Fort Ward Park in 1964. Making these connections is a goal of this dissertation that was established with the

Descendant Society. However, applying a sensory archaeology approach to this goal comes from my expertise as an archaeologist. Using a sensory approach, I will explore how racist and gendered ideas, practices, and laws as well as the community's response to them shaped The Fort community and the archaeological materials they left behind.

For this chapter I am using a multisensory approach to understand The Fort community. Although, the senses I will consider in this chapter are primarily associated with the physical senses of sight and sound, each has a unique cultural component. For this chapter, memory will be the primary sense used to discuss the artifacts of The Fort. I will also use the experiences of consuming popular culture in the form of fashion, foodways, advertisements, music, cinema, and television as senses.

Sensory experiences and interactions with material items are affected by the gender, race, age, and identity of the historical subject and the archaeologist interpreting the past (Hamilakis 2014; Hurcombe 2007). This is anchored in the differences in the human body associated with sex, ability, age, and other differentiating factors (Spyer 2006). Likewise as people interact with popular culture, whether in the form of advertisements, entertainment, foodways, trends, or values, their sensory experience is shaped by their social identity and culture.

For example, the sensory experiences of African American women during the 19th and 20th centuries was affected, not only by their race and gender, but also by their work as domestic laborers. The experiences of cleaning, cooking, and caring for a home, whether their own or that of their employer, affected how African American

women experienced their homes, workplaces, and possessions. While the male members of an African American household would have seen home as a refuge from work, comforted in the smell of home cooking, fresh laundry, and soaped floors, women would have associated these same smells with the labor that they expended to produce them.

In addition, popular cultural influences, such as advertisements, magazines, television shows, and movies ingrained the ideas of the cult of domesticity and the ideal house wife in the minds' of Americans (Landry 2000; Neuhaus 2011). The intention of this media was to reflect and dictate the ideals of femininity, motherhood, and the ideal housewife to white America (Neuhaus 2011). However, African Americans also took in these messages as they consumed popular culture. But because of their differences in identity, African American women experienced this culture in a different way allowing them create their own definition of womanhood, which was based on the value of working outside of the home (Landry 2000).

Sense of Style.

Clothing and dress affect how men, women, and children interact with the world, whether in the form of the physical impact of restrictive garments, such as a girdle, or the behavioral effects of wearing a school uniform (Holloman et. al 1996). Building on Patricia Spyer's (2006: 125) idea that artifacts "may serve as 'extensions of the senses,'" articles of clothing and items of personal adornment can be understood as extensions of the body that have direct implications for how the wearer experiences the world. This follows the Warneir's (2006) concept of bodily schema, which incorporates the objects we intimately interact with every day, such as the cars

we drive and the chairs we sit in, with the human form. Likewise, the sensation of wearing clothing filters the wearer's interaction with their environment. Because artifacts related to clothing and dress can be tied to individuals, they provide an important window into understanding how different members of The Fort community would have experienced their daily lives.

Clothing also affects how the wearer is perceived. "Clothes make statements about economic status, occupational roles, affiliations with other people, differentiation from others, and individual expression" (Hunt 1992). For members of The Fort and Seminary communities, their dress influenced how they interacted with other African Americans living in the Alexandria area. As Gerald Wanzer (2011) noted, "The kids would call us farmers because in the summer time, in the spring, we would come to school with mud on our shoes."

Stylish dress was important for both men and women living in The Fort and Seminary communities. Gerald Wanzer (2014) recalls, "We had a certain way that we dressed, you know. Big old hats and long army coats. You know, yeah. You had to be in with the crowd, in with the guys. All the guys dressed a certain way."

Artifacts associated with dress were recovered throughout The Fort. A man's pocket watch was recovered from the Old Grave Yard and a wrist watch from the Shorts/Stewart/Randall home site. Two decorative pins and two locket were located during a metal detector survey. Thirty-five buttons and four buckles associated with The Fort community were also recovered from across the site. Of these, a highly decorated suspender buckle was recovered from the Shorts/Stewart/Randall lot and a

small, silver-plated buckle, used to secure ladies undergarments, was recovered from inside the Ashby house.

Undergarments are the intermediary between the public display of clothing and the private body (Smith 2007). Unlike other clothing items, undergarments are not intended to be seen by the public, although the effect of wearing them can be seen in how clothing fits and how the wearer carries their body. The buckle recovered from the Ashby home site was likely associated with a girdle worn by one of the female residents of the home.

Beginning in the 18th century, girdles became a regular part of women's dress (White 2009). Over the centuries, the girdle changed in style and material, although its purpose, to cinch the waist, remained the same (White 2009). The feeling of restriction and compression that comes with wearing a girdle limits a woman's ability to move, bend, and relax comfortably. Because a girdle restricts a woman's movement it also restricts the type of work she can do comfortably while wearing it. Therefore, the physical restraint experienced by wearing a girdle reflects the social constraints placed on women. Monica L. Smith (2007) argues that as the 20th century progressed, women's undergarments became increasingly similar to men's undergarments, reflecting women's increasing social freedoms primarily through their entrance into the workforce.

However, this interpretation does not account for the experiences and expectations placed on African American women. Throughout the entire 20th century African American women were expected to labor both in and outside of the home. Often this work was physically demanding, sometimes dirty, and jobs like cooking or

laundering would have been hot. Wearing restrictive and heavy undergarments like a girdle would have not only been uncomfortable, but also would have increased the difficulty of this work. Despite the involvement of African American women in the labor force, they were still subject to the social expectations that they wear what was deemed appropriate feminine dress, including a girdle. Therefore, the relaxation of women's undergarments during the 20th century did not mark the entrance of African American women into the workforce as it did for white women, instead it was a reflection of the lessening discomfort, both physically and socially, that they experienced as the century progressed.

Children were also affected by their dress. In particular, the clothing of school age children was closely related to their gender and the social ideas of what clothing was appropriate for boys and girls. During the 20th century, girls living in The Fort and Seminary almost exclusively wore dresses and stockings to school and church (Douglas 1992; Johnson 1992). Mary Crozet Wood Johnson (1992) described what she wore to school as a young girl.

“I remember dresses...At that time I was wearing high-top shoes...And white stockings...You put your foot in and cover the knee, cover the whole knee, but the time it here [inaudible]. And a bodice” (Johnson 1992).

She goes on to describe her shoes by saying, “I had both but mostly laces. I do remember, though, the small buttons. And a buttonhook” (Johnson 1992). Some of the clothing items recovered from the excavations at The Fort reflect Mrs. Johnson's description of what she wore as a child including a shoe eyelet and snap were recovered from the Shorts lot.

Tastes Like a Memory.

Cooking, eating, and drinking are multi-sensorial activities that are deeply intertwined with memory (Hamilakis 2014). Oral history interviews with members of The Fort community show the importance of preparing and consuming food as part of individual and community memories (Douglas 1992; Gordon 1994; McKnight 1994; Smith 1994; Wanzer 2014). These memories are shared both at the prompting of the interviewer and as what seems to be a spontaneous recollection brought on by an environmental trigger, like handling fragments of tea wares uncovered during the archaeological excavations. Hamilakis (2014: 84) describes this relationship between food and memory by stating,

Sensory remembering through eating can be of two kinds: tastes and smells of food can evoke past events, persons, and situations in an involuntary manner...But remembering can also be generated voluntarily, as a conscious process of creating memory *in the future*.

Barbara Little (1991) proposes that foodways should be studied as popular culture in historical archaeology. For Little (1991: 27, 29) archaeology's consideration of popular culture can be defined as the "material culture associated with everyday life," which includes "food, plates, houses, gardens, and the arrangement of villages, farms, and cities." As popular culture "food has the power to ...enhance local and global ties" (Farquhar 2006: 156). Therefore food consumption and traditions are one of the ways The Fort community is connected to other communities throughout the region. By adopting the idea of foodways as popular culture and their deep relationship with memory, a sensory understanding of food preparation, storage, and consumption can be developed.

Preparing, Serving, & Eating Food.

Preparing, serving, and storing food were greatly affected by industrialization, technological innovation, and changing ideas of domesticity. The transition from wood stoves, often in kitchens separated from the main house or outdoors, to coal stoves, and later to gas and electric stoves revolutionized the type of meals prepared. Access to industrially produced foods, such as canned foods, changed diets. With these changes the smells, flavors, and textures of food also changed.

As discussed in Chapter 5, prior to the introduction of electricity to The Fort community residents used wells and cellars for underground cold storage of food. However, preserving the food itself was essential for a community largely without access to refrigeration. Both men and women were responsible for making sure there was enough preserved food available year round to feed their families. Men smoked meat that they obtained through hunting or raising livestock in order to make it last longer (McKnight 1994). Women canned and made preserves of the fruits and vegetables from their orchards, gardens, and wild plants (Smith 1994; Gordon 1994; Wanzer 2014).

In addition, raising livestock and maintaining gardens and orchards protected members of The Fort community from the cost and difficulty of purchasing food from white-owned stores during the Jim Crow era. Few stores were located in the vicinity of The Fort until after World War II. Therefore, only a limited selection was available at the nearest country store and any other purchases would have required travel to Alexandria, Georgetown, or Washington, which was a major undertaking for a community that primarily relied on walking as their major form of transportation

(Young 1996; Belk 1994). In addition, some white store owners would charge an inflated and unfair price to black customers (Bradby 2014; Mullins 1999). Therefore, the easiest and most affordable way for members of The Fort to acquire high quality food was by raising and preserving it themselves.

Hunting, Raising Livestock, and Processing Meat.

Raising livestock, hunting, butchering, and curing meat were responsibilities of men and boys within The Fort community (Douglas 1992; Gordon 1994; McKnight 1994; Smith 1994; Wanzer 2014). Chickens and hogs, as well as a few cows were kept by the majority of members of The Fort and Seminary communities (Douglas 1992; Gordon 1994; McKnight 1994; Wanzer 2014). For example, Elizabeth Douglas (1992) describes how her brothers hunted for rabbits for family meals, while she tended to animals as pets. Likewise, Edmonia McKnight (1994) describes her father processing hogs,

Oh, we had four or five hogs that my daddy killed every year...No, he butchered his own!...Had an old smokehouse...Yes because of curing the meat. It was good, too. That was some good eating back there then, honey!...Now, honey, indeed I couldn't tell you. I couldn't tell you nothin'. But I know that my Daddy used to put the smoke and then smoke it. Put the little barrel and smoke it. How he did it, I don't know.

Although men were the primary caretakers of the large livestock and responsible for processing the meat, the women and children often assisted in tending to other animals. As a girl, Elizabeth Douglas raised a pig she called "Blossom" and kept a chicken in her home that was born late in the year (Douglas 1992).

A variety of faunal remains were recovered from the excavations of The Fort community, including 113 food bone fragments. Unfortunately, these bones have not

been analyzed by a faunal expert, therefore the species, elements, and markings of the majority of these bones have not been identified. However, because the majority of the bones recovered were found in direct association with homes in The Fort community they can be interpreted as food bones. In addition, 22 (19%) of the bone fragments recovered were burned, which indicates that they were cooked and eaten.

Twenty-three (20%) animal bone fragments were recovered from a test unit on the Shots/Stewart/Randall property, which also contained the chimney base. The location and the butchering marks on 12 of these bone fragments indicated that these were all food bones dating to the occupation of the house, either by the Shorts family or their long time tenants the Randall family.

Two-hundred and fourteen oyster (70%) and clam (30%) shells were recovered throughout The Fort community. In addition, a fishing weight was recovered from the Craven home site. Interestingly, none of the descendants mention eating seafood in their oral history interviews. This may suggest that the oyster and clam shells were primarily associated with the Civil War occupation of the site and therefore not part of the community memory reflecting the sharp decline in African American consumption of seafood after 1870 (Mullins 2002). Community members may not have discussed oysters because they were not asked about them or did not think they were important enough to mention.

Raising, Canning, and Preserving Fruits and Vegetables.

Canning and preserving fruits and vegetables was an essential part of making sure there was adequate food supply for the families of The Fort throughout the year. The responsibility of preserving fruits and vegetables primarily fell on the female

members of The Fort community households. Maydell Casey Belk (1994) recalls that her mother did all the canning in her family. “String beans, corn, tomatoes, anything they grew...Whatever grew in the garden was canned. Preserved, I guess they call it, preserved and put up” (Smith 1994). Other vegetables that were grown and preserved included squash and sweet potatoes (Gordon 1994). Fruits from orchards and collected from wild plants, such as black berries, were also preserved.

These memories are especially important for reconstructing the foodways of The Fort community, because no identifiable plant food remains were uncovered archaeologically. However, 273 jar fragments, 9 lid fragments, and 59 lid liner fragments were recovered from The Fort excavations, indicating that canning and preserving food was widespread throughout the community.

Cooking and Preparing Food.

Both the men and women in The Fort and Seminary communities cooked and prepared food for their families. As discussed earlier men were primarily responsible for butchering and smoking meat and women were mainly in charge of preserving and canning fruits and vegetables. However, the division of labor was not distinct when it came to cooking meals. Elizabeth Douglas (1992) remembers, “He (her father) was a good cook and so was my mother...And he baked pies.” This suggests that artifacts, like the bottle of McCormick’s Vanilla Extract recovered by archaeologists at The Fort, that are generally associated with women or women’s labor, particularly in regards to cooking, were just as likely to be used by men. Children also helped prepare food for family meals including churning butter (McKnight 1994).

Edmonia McKnight's (1994) description of her mother's cooking draws on the sensual memories of the smell of cooked meat, the shine of grease, and the heat of a hot stove, while also showing the importance of maximizing food resources. She recalls,

My mother, she used to cut up the meat, like the middlens and all that stuff, cut up all the fat and stew it up and make lard...So, she used to make crackling bread when she cook up the meat...She would put it in the stove and bake it, you know, and all the grease'd come out and she would put the grease in one of these big tall cans (McKnight 1994).

Both male and female community members worked as cooks outside of the home as well. Community members Frank Lewis and his wife Leaner Lewis worked as cooks at EHS in the 1920s (Moon 2014). Wallace Smith worked as a cook at VTS and Belle Bailey was a personal cook for Reverend R.K. Massie at the Seminary (McKnight 1994; Moon 2014). Elizabeth Douglas' mother worked for one Alexandria family as a cook for nearly 10 years (Douglas 1992). Numerous other members of The Fort and Seminary communities appear as cooks in the Federal Censuses throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, often working at VTS, EHS, or in private homes.

Despite the fact that both men and women cooked and prepared food in The Fort and Seminary communities, women, not men, were targeted in advertisements, newspaper articles, and popular culture of the period for food products, recipes, cooking tips, and cookware. During the late 19th and early 20th century, numerous recipes appear in *The Washington Bee* (8 June 1901) in columns directed at African American women under titles like "For the Housewife," "Hints to Housekeepers," and "Pointers for the Cook." Recipes such as these would have been especially useful

for both African American women and men who prepared food for their families and worked as cooks or domestics in white homes or institutions like VTS. However, the experience of seeing these headlines would have left the viewer with the distinct impression that men were not and should not be responsible for cooking food.

The adoption of these recipes, or at least the ingredients that they contain, can be seen in the archaeological record of The Fort, which emphasizes the impact of these visual messages on the behavior of community members. For example, each of the articles listed above utilized mayonnaise as a primary ingredient. Although mayonnaise was often homemade, members of The Fort community also purchased it.

Two fragments of a Gelfand's Mayonnaise jar base were recovered from the Hogan/Craven home site. Gelfand's Mayonnaise was a regional brand, developed by Simon Gelfand of Baltimore, Maryland, in 1918 and was regularly advertised in the *Evening Star* in the early 20th century. A Gelfand ad from October 28, 1921 asks readers "Why make mayonnaise yourself when Gefland's is just as pure and wholesome" (*Evening Star* (ES) 28, October 1921) This advertisement reflects the shift in culture away from homemade toward store bought and the changing roles of women from producers to consumers that marked the early 20th century.

From the memories of The Fort and Seminary community members and the archaeological remains, a sense-scape relating to the foodways of The Fort begins to emerge. This sense-scape would feel like a cool fall day that smells like a mix of smoked meat, fresh bread, and baking pies. It sounds like cheerful voices slightly slurred from imbibing in homebrew talking over the sounds of livestock or

whispering while on a hunt (Smith 1994; Gordon 1994). From the archaeological remains the smell of rotting seafood and sweetness of vanilla, the soft sound of the cast of a fishing line, the creamy texture that mayonnaise adds to a dish, and the strength it takes to unscrew at tight fitting jar lid are introduced into the sense-scape of The Fort.

Memory and Childhood.

While Western society tends to romanticize childhood as a period of protection, freedom, pleasure, and innocence, social class, gender, time, and country of residence greatly affect how a person experiences the early years of their life (Brookshaw 2009). However, all children experience a minority status defined by age, power relations, and materiality (Brookshaw 2009). Therefore children's interactions with the material world are experienced through the sense of childhood. This can be seen in the difficulty of handling objects designed for larger adults versus the ease of using items specially created for children. However, it is the power of adults over nearly every aspect of childhood, including allocation of time and resources that creates a sensation of restriction that defines the sensation of childhood.

The combination of restriction and freedom that defines the sense of childhood appears in the childhood memories of The Fort and Seminary community members. Laurence Bradby (2014) used the word "respect" 10 times during his interview to describe his childhood experience. However, the "respect" Bradby emphasizes does not describe how children were treated, but instead emphasizes the expectation for how children treated adults. He repeatedly made statements like "we

all had respect for our parents and older people” and “we had to, had to have respect for the older people” (Bradby 2014). In addition, children were expected to help with the house work. “Everybody had chores to do,” including taking care of animals, preparing food, and cleaning (Douglas 1992).

Other community members focus on play as the center of their childhood.

Play is the area of childhood in which children experience the most freedom.

Descendants describe a childhood centered on playing outside (Bradby 2014; Johnson 1992; Wanzer 2014). Young boys living in The Fort and Seminary carried around sacks of marbles to play with and camped and hunted for Native American arrowheads in the woods (Personal communication Adrienne Washington; Wanzer 2014). Likewise, Mary Crozet Wood Johnson (1992) recalls, “I loved to skip rope. And we played tag after we got older, not when we were very small. And we played jacks. And I loved to shoot marbles. I wore a hole in my thumb shooting marbles.” She goes on to say, “We had dolls every Christmas, and doll clothes. And my mother at times made extra doll clothes” (Johnson 1992).

The artifacts recovered from The Fort excavations echo the descendants’ memories about the freedom of play. Three ceramic and 15 glass marbles, and several small porcelain doll fragments were recovered from The Fort. In addition, toy cars, soldiers, and dishes were also recovered. See Table 6 for a complete list of the toys and their locations.

Table 6. Toys

Toy	Description	Count	Location
Pistol	3 cm long	1	Metal Detector Survey
Hatchet	"WASHINGTON HATCHET" on one side	1	Metal Detector Survey
Whistle		1	Metal Detector Survey

Soldier	base of a toy soldier; some oxidation present	1	Ashby
Soldier	mounted toy soldier, painted blue	1	Ashby
Doll	porcelain toy, doll/figure leg; unglazed	1	C. McKnight
Doll	miniature, pink bisque, "2/[illegible]" "Germany", 1.8", separately attached arms missing	1	Shorts/Stewart/Randall
Cup	half of a porcelain toy cup	1	Ball
Saucer	Porcelain toy, Unglazed bottom	1	Shorts/Stewart/Randall
Wheel	small copper wheel with wings and a hook attached	1	C. McKnight
Car	Marx Race Car, #7, ca. 1930s	1	Belk/Casey
Car	front half; painted green	1	Jackson/G. Ashby
Marble	red clay marble	1	MD No Location
Marble	Clay, probably 19th century	1	Jackson/Ashby
Marble	complete if mended; red, white, and blue threading throughout colorless glass	1	Jackson
Marble	colorless and white glass	1	Shorts/Stewart/Randall
Marble	colorless and orange glass	1	OBC
Marble	light green and dark green glass	1	Craven
Marble	Glass	1	Miller
Marble	dark blue and red glass; scratched	1	Ball
Marble	blue and white glass; some chipping present	1	Hogan/Craven
Marble	small clay marble	1	Ashby
Marble	blue and yellow glass	1	Smith/Collins
Marble	blue, brown, and yellow glass	1	C. McKnight
Marble	half of a clear and green glass	1	Ashby
Marble	green with white swirl glass, air bubbles	1	Shorts/Stewart/Randall
Marble	green with white and possible light blue swirl glass, air bubbles	1	Shorts/Stewart/Randall
Marble	green with opaque surface white and light blue glass, weathered	1	Shorts/Stewart/Randall
Marble	green and opaque white, machine-made	1	Shorts/Stewart/Randall
Marble	marble, amber and white, machine-made	1	Shorts/Stewart/Randall

The conflicting sensation of freedom and restriction that embodied childhood in The Fort is evident in the memories and toys left behind. Even in play, where children experienced the greatest amount of freedom, restrictions coming from societal ideas of gender limited the types of toys and games that they played. However, marbles, a unisex toy, are both the most abundant toy recovered archaeologically and most mentioned in oral history interviews. This suggests that the children of The Fort adapted traditionally restrictive gender roles in their play.

Popular Culture in Print: Adver-sight-ments and Articles.

Interactions with printed advertisements go beyond the simple sensation of seeing the advertisement. Advertisements are created to change the desires and behaviors of the viewer. Viewers do not merely see an advertisement, but they react to it, by either internalizing the values portrayed in it (leading them to desire and purchase the advertised good) or to reject the images and goods in the advertisement (Mullins 2002). Because of this, I argue that viewing and reacting to advertisements should be considered a sense (for better or worse dubbed adver-sight-ment).

Although interactions with advertisements have not been used in sensory archaeology, advertisements are frequently used in historical archaeological research. Primarily, advertisements have been used by archaeologists studying 19th and 20th century consumer choices, availability of goods, and cultural trends and patterns. In his work, *Race and Affluence: An Archaeology of African America and Consumer Culture* archaeologist Paul Mullins (1999: 18) discusses how African American consumption in Annapolis, Maryland, was a “sociopolitical statement of civil aspirations, material desires, and resistance to monolithic racist caricatures.” These “racist caricatures” were primarily seen in advertisements that targeted white consumers with stereotypical images of African Americans, such as Aunt Jemima and Uncle Ben (Mullins 1999).

These advertisements provide the context for African American consumption patterns and the archaeological evidence left behind. In the simplest form, advertisements provide the where and what for goods available in a particular region. Equally important, they provide a window into the social ideas and values of the

people creating and viewing the advertisements. Thus seeing an ad featuring Aunt Jemima does not only tell you where pancake mix was available for purchase, it also tells you that the ad creators (white men) believe that the target audience of the advertisements (white women) thinks the ideal African American woman is an older, unattractive by mainstream standards, docile servant who is knowledgeable and trustworthy in the fields of domestic chores (Mullins 1999). Although these advertisements utilized images with which white women, the primary consumers for foods and household items, would be most comfortable, the advertisements were also viewed by African American consumers.

Likewise, these same ad creators developed and used images of the “ideal housewife” to sell other products. Jessamyn Neuhaus (2011: 6) describes the character of the ideal housewife as “as middle- to upper –class, slim, pretty, and until the 1970s, white.” Although these advertisements targeted white women as the primary consumers for foods and household items, they were also viewed by African American male and female consumers. For both white and black audiences, the opposing images of black and white women in advertisements marketing hygiene products, cosmetics, foods, and cleaning supplies solidified racially-based ideas of beauty and gender roles that dominated late 19th and early 20th century America (Mullins 1999; Neuhaus 2011; Sivulka 2001).

The importance of advertisements within popular culture grew as the 19th century progressed into the 20th century, marking the transition from the primary role of women from producer to consumer (Landry 2000; Neuhaus 2011). During the 18th century, the majority of Americans lived on farms. As farmers’ wives, women were

responsible for making clothing, tending family gardens, assisting during the busy planting and harvesting seasons, food preparation, and raising children. Many of these women also were employed in the home doing tasks such as piece work. After the Industrial Revolution, more families were concentrated in urban areas. Items, such as clothing, that women were previously responsible for creating within the home, were now easily available for purchase. As more items became available for purchase, women's roles as consumers increased. This trend is reflected in the advertising of the late 19th through the mid-20th century (Neuhaus 2011).

The sensory quality of advertisements is in the interaction between the images and messages within them and with the African Americans living in The Fort and Seminary who viewed them. Much like breathing, community members took in the ideas and values expressed in advertisements and expelled them as a differently valued and remembered material form. This sensory interaction can be seen in memories of community members and the artifacts they left behind.

The absorption of advertisements can be seen in the memories of The Fort community members. For example, Elizabeth Douglas (1992) recalls, "Now, really, the only thing that my mother would ever send us to the store for, now, Bobwhite Baking Powder...Baking soda, or salt, or "When it rains, it pours," with the little girl on the front." Memories like this show how deeply imbedded the images and ideas used in advertising are in the culture of The Fort. While these brands are deeply embedded in Mrs. Douglas' memory, none of the containers recovered from the excavations of The Fort can be directly associated with Bobwhite Baking Powder or Morton's Salt. Instead, similar items from other brands, such as the base of a six

ounce bottle of Rumford Baking Powder that was recovered from the Shorts/Stewart/Randall home site, were found at The Fort. This suggests that the remembered importance of these brands may not be equivalent to the frequency of their use. It is likely that these items were remembered because of the rarity of their purchase combined with frequent viewing of their images and slogans in print advertisements, making a particular brand name equivalent with a product despite its actual brand.

However, there is some evidence of brand loyalty. Two McCormick's products, vanilla extract and iron glue, were recovered from the same feature, suggesting they were bought, used, and deposited by the same family and perhaps the same individual. Despite being completely different products, the well-recognized name McCormick's likely persuaded the purchaser to trust in the quality of each.

Shopping in The Fort

For members of The Fort community, the majority of shopping required them to travel into Alexandria or Washington, DC. A few stores were located near The Fort community during the 20th century. In particular, many community members talk about visiting Donaldson's Store to purchase food and other necessary items (Belk 1994; Bradby 1992; Bradby 2014; Moon 2014). However, access to shopping in nearby Washington, DC, and Alexandria provided access to goods not available within The Fort and Seminary communities.

Even though members of The Fort and Seminary communities were granted access to most stores, they continued to face discrimination as they shopped. Separate water fountains and "Colored Only" and "White Only" signs decorated the walls of

the local five-and-dime (Wanzer 2014). Even how community members shopped had to be adjusted because of race-based prejudices. Laurence Bradby (2014) recalls, “We went to buy shoes for instance. If you tried on a pair of shoes you had to buy them, whether they fit you or not.”

One way that many rural and suburban African Americans avoided the costs and difficulties of traveling into town to make purchases was to order goods through catalogs. Sears Roebuck and Montgomery Ward catalogs were used by members of The Fort to make purchases and then later reused to be cut apart into paper-dolls by young girls or even the pages torn out and used as toilet paper (Douglas 1992).

Purchasing Food.

There were several food items that could not be produced within the community itself. Residents needed to purchase staples like salt and baking soda. Other items such as sodas and candies were bought as treats. Just as today, the children and teens were some of the biggest consumers of these items in The Fort community.

By 1910, John William Terrell, a landowner in The Fort (1897-approximately 1919), owned a small store that served African Americans living in The Fort and Seminary communities (Moon 2014). At his store, Terrell sold groceries and dry goods, like lamp oil, typical of a small country store (Douglas 1992). After Terrell’s death in 1925, his family did not continue to operate the store and it likely closed (Moon 2014).

At the same time, Victor Donaldson, a white farmer living in the area opened a store. During the early 20th century members of The Fort and Seminary

communities did the majority of their shopping at Donaldson's Store. For decades it "was the only place to buy any food" and walking to the store to make purchases was a daily ritual for community members (Bradby 1992). During its early years, Donaldson's was also the primary location for Fort and Seminary community members to buy non-food items, such as cloth, without having to travel into town (Moon 2014). Many Fort and Seminary community members speak fondly of Donaldson's Store and its owner Mr. Victor Donaldson, because of his willingness to sell to and to extend credit to African Americans (Bradby 2014).

By the mid-20th century Donaldson's Store became more like a modern convenience store, where shoppers primarily went to buy sodas and candies (Belk 1994). By this time soda had become the beverage of choice for many Americans and advertisements for soda filled the newspapers of the period. During the early and mid-20th century, advertisements for Orange Crush, Coca-Cola, and other sodas appear in nearly every issue of the *Evening Star*.

The adoption of soda as a regular part of the community diet is reflected in the archaeological record of The Fort. Two-hundred and twenty-four soda bottle fragments were recovered. Several brands of soda could be identified, including Coca Cola, RC Cola, Pepsi Cola, Lemon Soda, and Orange Crush. One bottle in particular is a ribbed, colorless Orange Crush bottle, dating between 1920 and the 1960s that was recovered from the Belk/Casey privy. Perhaps this bottle is one of the many Mrs. Belk remembered purchasing at Donaldson's Store.

During the 1920s, Orange Crush and Lemon Crush were heavily advertised in the *Evening Star*. In 1920, the ad campaign for Orange Crush was based around the

slogan “Like oranges? Drink Orange Crush” (ES, 24 May 1920, 29 July 1920, 20 September 1920). While these advertisements emphasized the use of real fruit to make the soda, portraying it as healthy and refreshing, one suggested serving Orange Crush with ice cream to make a float (ES, 20 September 1920). Although serving the soda with ice cream may conflict with the overall healthy message of the ad, it encourages consumers to recognize the multiple uses of the product, as a dessert, a refreshing beverage, and a way to consume healthy fruits.

As the 20th century progressed, the number of stores in the area that sold food also increased and supermarkets opened throughout the Alexandria area. In a full page ad in the January 22, 1921 edition of the *Washington Bee*, the Piggly Wiggly grocery store chain lists a variety of products available at their stores, along with their prices. Included in this list are four types of canned meats, including “Libby’s Potted Meat,” which sells for \$0.05 a can. A potted meat jar from the Armour Company was recovered from the Ashby home site.

At this time, the nearest Piggly Wiggly to The Fort would have been just under four miles away, a long distance for a person walking with armfuls of groceries. Although the desire and taste for preserved meats can be seen in the recovery of the Armour jar and in the memories of community members, the inaccessibility of major supermarkets likely curtailed their purchase of these items. Instead community members, reacted to the images of potted meat in the local papers by buying brands available at closer stores or making their own preserved meat.

Keeping House.

For many African American women, cleaning and other domestic chores were their responsibility within their own homes and a source of income by working in others' homes. According to the 1870 census, several women who belonged to the founding families of The Fort, including Maria McKnight, Kate [Kittie] McKnight, and Lucy Shorts worked as domestic laborers in nearby homes (Moon 2014). Women of The Fort and Seminary communities continued to work as domestics well into the 20th century (Moon 2014).

Even if they did not work outside of the home, the women of The Fort and Seminary communities were responsible for maintaining a clean and tidy home. By the 1950s cleanliness, was equated with good health. This idea filtered throughout advertisements for cleaning products. For example, in the 1950s Clorox targeted its magazine ads to mothers emphasizing the importance of using Clorox as a “protector of children’s health” (Neuhaus 2011: 41). This same concept was carried into legislative acts, including Alexandria’s Minimum House-Hygiene Ordinance of 1957.

Adherence to the popular idea that it was a mother’s responsibility to maintain a clean home for the health of her children, despite not necessarily being able to afford to comply with local laws setting a standard of cleanliness, was maintained in The Fort community. As described in Chapter 5 community members established a criteria of cleanliness for their wells and privies, rather than discontinuing their use even after they were outlawed in 1957. Likewise, a screw top from a Clorox bottle, dating between 1951 and 1962, and five fragments of two amber glass Clorox bottles, one dating between 1940-1944 and one from 1951-1962, were recovered from the

Shorts/Stewart/Randall house lot. These bottle fragments are representative of members of The Fort complying with the health and hygiene standards celebrated in the Clorox ads, but not the local laws in that it is evidence of public dumping. By the 1950s when one of these bottles was produced, the Shorts/Stewart/Randall home had burned down (Moon 2014). Therefore, the cap came from other members of The Fort community likely illegally dumping garbage on the empty lot.

Grooming and Hygiene.

For African Americans grooming and hygiene became economic and political issues during the 19th and 20th centuries. Stereotypes of African Americans as animal-like and less than human, were centered in a society that celebrated “the beauty of white skin and soap-and-water rituals” as virtues and a mark of civilization for white Americans (Sivulka 2001: 255). Both white owned and African American businesses capitalized on the social emphasis on hygiene and grooming as a way for African Americans to subscribe to the values of white America. Some companies emphasized the social change that would come to the users of their products in their advertisements. For example, Higgins soap distributed a set of trading cards that showed the progression of an African American family from a disheveled mess to middle-class respectability after a week of washing with Higgins soap (Sivulka 2001). Other brands directly made promises to whiten skin and straighten hair in order for their users to not only adopt white values, but white features as well.

For educational leaders like Booker T. Washington, teaching proper grooming and hygiene was an important part of African American education and advancement. For Washington, utilizing proper hygiene was a way for African Americans to gain

self-respect and make themselves more appealing to white employers (Sivulka 2001). While a student at the Hampton Institute, Washington was taught the importance of cleanliness, hygiene, and personal presentation, values he brought with him to the students at the Tuskegee Institute and was passed on to the thousands of children that attended Rosenwald Schools. Other African American educators adopted similar hygiene programs in their schools. Nannie Helen Burroughs, a friend of Washington, used the Three B's; the Bible, the bath, and the broom, as the guiding principal for her National Training School for Women and Girls in Washington, DC.

Of all the areas of hygiene emphasized by African American educators, perhaps the best known is Washington's "Gospel of the Toothbrush." Adopted from Hampton's principal General Samuel Armstrong, the "Gospel of the Toothbrush" became a guiding principal at Tuskegee which Washington (1901) credits with "bringing about a higher degree of civilization among the students." The adoption of this ideal can be seen at The Fort where two toothbrushes and two toothpaste tubes were recovered from the Smith/Collins, Hogan/Craven, and Garrett home sites.

Vaseline.

One fragment of a Vaseline jar, dating to before World War I, was recovered from the Jackson property (1894-1925). Products like Vaseline would have been an ideal cosmetic item for members of The Fort community, who had limited budgets and shopping opportunities, because of its affordability and multiple uses. These attributes were often incorporated into advertisements for Vaseline that appeared in African American newspapers during the early and mid-20th century. In a brief advertising article appearing in the December 2, 1903, edition of the *Afro American*

(Baltimore) readers are told to be wary of “second-class druggists” who “dishonorably palm off on their customers” imitations of Vaseline (*Afro American* [AA], 2 December 1903). Although primarily an advertisement for the multiple uses and high quality of Vaseline, this article reflects the experience-based wariness that many African Americans had of white business owners who sought to take advantage of African American costumers.

Vaseline increased its efforts to attract African Americans consumers in the mid-1960s, by specifically targeting African American publications and including African Americans in the advertisements. The 1966 advertising campaign in African American publications , undertaken two years after Fort Ward Park opened, was a newsworthy event covered in African American newspapers, including the *Los Angeles Sentinel* (6 January 1966: C6), *Philadelphia Tribune* (28 December 1965: 3), and *Afro American* (1 January 1966: 10) throughout December 1965 and January 1966. These articles describe the new African American targeted ad campaign featuring an African American woman “endorsing ‘Vaseline’ petroleum jelly for its various personal care skin uses,” while the articles themselves describe Vaseline’s many other non-cosmetic uses such as preventing corrosion on a car battery and softening a baseball glove (AA, 1 January 1966: 10).

Noxzema Jar.

Six fragments of a signature cobalt blue Noxzema cream jar were recovered from the Jackson property (1894-1925)/ Garnet Ashby property (1925-1938). Like Vaseline, Noxzema is a multi-use product that was advertised as both a medical ointment and a cosmetic product. However, its appearance in the archaeological

record of The Fort community reflects the often conflicting values of self-care and Civil Rights.

Noxzema would have likely been easily available for purchase for residents of The Fort and Seminary communities. Invented and produced in Maryland in the 1910s, Noxzema was a regional product that was adopted nationally by the 1920s. This national adoption was driven by advertising efforts, in print and later on radio. These advertisements touted the many uses of the product, which had originally been invented to sooth the sunburns of visitors to Ocean City, Maryland.

Product advertisements for Noxzema and those of stores selling Noxzema appear throughout *The Washington Times* and *Evening Star* in the late 1910s and 1920s. During this time a jar of Noxzema cost approximately \$0.50. Although soothing sunburns still remained the primary advertised product use, ads also claimed it could be used for “skin blemishes, wind chap, eczema, skin irritations, shaving comfort, baby’s rash and for tired aching feet” (ES, 11 June 1922; *The Washington Times* 16 June 1922). Similar ads appear throughout *LIFE* magazine during the mid-twentieth century. For example, in the June 3, 1946 issue of *LIFE*, a full page advertisement highlights the numerous uses of Noxzema discovered by a nurse, including treatment for “Girls with ‘Problem Skin’” and “Red, Rough, Housewife Hands.” Along with the claims of its varied use, this ad includes pictures of a sunbather, nurses, teen girl, housewife, soldier, doctor, barber, dancers, and a lifeguard, all of whom are white.

Although Noxzema focused its advertising efforts on attracting white buyers through its use of young, attractive white models and emphasizing its use as a

sunburn treatment, the inclusion of different product uses in these same advertisements subtly showed that this was a product that should be used by peoples of all races, sexes, and ages.

However, in 1941 the Noxzema company came under intense scrutiny for its use of the phrase “nigger in the woodpile,” meaning something was not being disclosed or suspicious, in letters demanding payment from delinquent druggists who sold their product (Miller 2012: 227). In response, the National Negro Congress led a boycott of Noxzema, demanding a public apology for the use of the word and an increase in hiring African American workers (Miller 2012). African American newspapers, such as *The Chicago Defender* (23 August 23 1941: 3) and *Philadelphia Tribune* (17 July 17 1941: 2) ran articles encouraging their readers to participate in the boycott and to write letters to Noxzema’s company headquarters in Baltimore. However, little to no coverage of this boycott appears in the large mainstream papers. It is unclear if knowledge of or participation in this boycott reached the semi-rural Fort and Seminary communities.

By the 1960s, Noxzema changed its advertising strategy and actively sought black consumers. In the 1960s and 1970s, ads for Noxzema regularly appeared in *Ebony* magazine. These ads specifically targeted African American women and marketed Noxzema as a facial cleanser. In an ad appearing in the December 1961 issue of *Ebony*, a young African American woman is pictured happily washing her face with Noxzema alongside text that claims Noxzema “Makes your skin look lovely—even without makeup!” This claim would likely be appealing to African American women, especially considering finding makeup that matched darker skin

tones continues to be a problem today. Unlike the early advertisements that drew in African American buyers by generalizing the product's use, these ads in the 1960s specifically aim to attract African American female consumers through both its imagery and emphasize its use as a facial cleanser.

Hair Care.

Hair products were some of the few specialized personal care products made and advertised specifically for African Americans (Mullins 1999). African American newspapers are full of ads for tonics, pomades, and other products marketed to smooth, straighten, and grow African American hair. For example, one page in the March 26, 1910, issue of *The Washington Bee* features ads for six different hair products including Nelson's Hair Dressing and Ford's Hair Pomade.

Styling and caring for hair was often the subject of articles in these papers. The June 16, 1932 issue of the *Afro American* ran an article titled "The Hair and Scalp; How to Care for Them" (AA, 16 June 1932: 9). In it, readers are instructed how to treat hair issues like dryness and graying and are encouraged to brush and nourish hair to maintain hair and scalp health. Similarly, the March 22, 1952, issue featured an article titled "Use Hair Brush for New Styles" (AA, 22 March 1952: 13). This article instructs readers about how to properly brush their hair, which type of brush is best suited for their hair type, and the benefits of regularly brushing hair.

Although none of the bottles, jars, or containers recovered from the excavations can definitely be associated with hair tonics or pomades, five combs and one hair brush were recovered from the Ashby, Cassius McKnight, and Shorts/Stewart/Randall home sites, as well as other locations. A razor hone was

recovered from a test unit in the Old Graveyard and a razor head was also recovered during the metal detecting survey.

Health Care & Medication.

Multiple-use medicines were desirable to African Americans living in The Fort and Seminary communities because of limited budgets and few nearby shops. In addition, nationally recognized brand-name products provided a sense of security and safety in their contents.

Archaeologist Paul Mullins (1999) suggests that high numbers of pharmaceutical bottles recovered from African American sites in Annapolis, Maryland, is reflective of African Americans conforming to the expectations of the white medical system, which encouraged body discipline, but denied them regular access to health care. For members of The Fort and Seminary communities, doctors' visits were limited to emergencies and many babies were born with the assistance of a midwife rather than in a hospital (C. McKnight 1992). However by the 1940s, members of The Fort and Seminary communities had regular access to doctors and hospitals for serious conditions and Fort resident Elizabeth Douglas (1992) studied nursing. Maydell Casey Belk (1994) gave birth to her children in Alexandria Hospital under the care of an African American doctor. Others traveled to the hospitals in Washington, DC, to seek medical care. As a boy in the 1940s, Laurence Bradby contracted polio. Between the ages of four and about the time he would have started 6th grade, Laurence stayed at Children's Hospital in Washington, DC, which had cared for both black and white children since its founding in 1870 (Bradby 2014).

One-hundred and two pharmaceutical bottles, were recovered during the excavations at Fort Ward. However, for this dissertation I will focus on the few that can be identified as representing a particular product and brand.

Bayer Aspirin.

Two whole Bayer Aspirin bottles and one bottle fragment were recovered from The Fort excavations. Both whole bottles were recovered from the Ashby home site and the fragment from the Hogan/Craven home site. Invented in Germany in the late 19th century, Bayer aspirin became widely used in the United States by the 1910s. Bayer aspirin was advertised widely in African American newspapers during the early and mid-20th centuries. These ads emphasize the multiple conditions that Bayer treats and the safety of the product. For example, in an ad appearing in the January 4, 1927 edition of *Afro American* (Baltimore) readers are directed to “Take without Fear as Told in the ‘Bayer’ Package” for the treatment of colds, inflammation of the nerves, toothache, nerve pain, headache, lower back pain, rheumatism, and general pain (AA, 4 January 1927: 2).

This ad also emphasizes that Bayer aspirin is a safe product. For African Americans purchasing over-the-counter medicines, safety was an important consideration. Patent medicines, which were widely used as cure-alls, often did not disclose their ingredients or advertised different or exotic ingredients that were not in the medicines at all. Often patent medicines contained alcohol and opiates, making them unsafe for consumption and ineffective for the treatment of many afflictions besides pain. Therefore, medications like aspirin, with proven effectiveness and

consistent composition would have been desirable for members of The Fort community.

Kruschen Salts Jar.

One complete jar with an iron cap was recovered from the Ashby home lot. Like many of the other self-care items recovered from the excavations at The Fort, Kruschen Salts were advertised as having multiple uses. Advertisements in the *Afro American* (17 May 1930: 12, 11 June 1932: 10) focus on its use for weight loss, while ads in *Atlanta Dailey World* (2 June 1945: 2) highlight its uses as a laxative that treats bloating, headaches, and sluggishness. Kruschen salts are still sold at health food and vitamin stores to treat these same conditions.

Milk of Magnesia.

Although Milk of Magnesia is primarily used as an antacid and laxative, like many of the products used by members of The Fort and Seminary communities, it was marketed for its multiple uses, including headaches, sluggishness, and flatulence (Pittsburgh Courier, 14 November 1931: 5).

Milk of Magnesia is also considered a beauty secret by many women. Sometimes, these uses were advertised by the company. For example, in an ad in the November 16, 1929, issue of the *Afro American* the headline reads “Sour Stomach Sweetened Instantly” followed by the byline “The Best Way to Whiten Teeth” (AA, 16 November 1929: 13). However, these alternative uses were primarily shared in women’s magazines and by word of mouth. In an 1899 issue of *Woman’s Work* magazine, an article titled “Household Hints,” advises women to use Milk of

Magnesia to treat sensitive teeth, by holding in their mouth after brushing their teeth (*Woman's Work* 12 February 1899). Today, a review of African American beauty websites and blogs suggests using Milk of Magnesia as a makeup primer and a treatment for oily skin (Black Hair Media 2007; Bajan Beauty Blog 2012). Similarly, other health and beauty websites advocate its use as a body deodorant (Mothering 2010). In all of these articles, Milk of Magnesia is suggested as an affordable alternative to specialized self-care items.

Twenty-one fragments of Milk of Magnesia bottles were recovered throughout The Fort excavations. This is the largest number of identifiable pharmaceutical containers recovered. Over half of these (12 bottle fragments) were recovered from the Samuel Ashby home lot. Milk of Magnesia bottles were also recovered from the John Miller and Cassius McKnight house lots. The large number of Milk of Magnesia bottles, 21% of the pharmaceutical bottles recovered from the site, may reflect that Fort community members ate a diet that is low in fiber and high in dairy products and red meats. However, the oral history interviews indicated that fruits and vegetables, both canned and fresh, made up a significant portion of The Fort and Seminary community members' diets. Because of this, I suggest that the large number of Milk of Magnesia bottles reflects community members' preference for products that had multiple uses.

Vicks Va-Tro-Mol.

Two fragments of a Vicks Va-Tro-Mol bottle, were recovered from The Fort excavations. During the 1930s and 1940s, Vicks produced Va-Tro-Mol, a liquid medicine that was applied in each nostril using an eye-dropper to prevent colds and

relieve nasal congestion. Unlike many of the other pharmaceutical and self-care items recovered, advertisements for Vicks Va-Tro-Mol, such a display ad in the September 2, 1944, issue of *New Journal and Guide* (Norfolk), only propose these two uses.

Today, health and lifestyle magazines, websites, and blogs list the multiple uses of Vicks Vaporub, including treating colds, cuts, nail fungus, tick bites, preventing cats from scratching furniture, and calming race horses (Kinney 2014). However, no Vicks Vaporub jars were recovered, despite the longer production of Vaporub. The choice to purchase Va-Tro-Mol, a more specified product, rather than Vaporub, may reflect the power of memory to dictate purchasing choices. In 1918 and 1919, the Washington, DC area was hit especially hard by the national flu epidemic. Likely, whomever purchased the Va-Tro-Mol lived through or heard first hand stories of the epidemic. Because of the devastating toll the flu took on the Washington area, it is likely that members of The Fort community selected Va-Tro-Mol because of its preventative claims, rather than Vaporub, which only claimed to relieve cold symptoms.

Whether it was the smell of Clorox, the sticky smooth feeling of Vaseline, or chalky taste of Milk of Magnesia, the products purchased by community members stimulated the senses. However, it was the sensation of interacting with the advertisements for these products that affected the community the most. Community members created their own definitions of cleanliness and hygiene and product value and use.

Sound Track of The Fort.

While music is primarily associated with sound, creating and listening to music is a multi-sensory activity. Playing a musical instrument requires the musician to touch their instruments. Singing requires the sense of speech. Even while listening to music a person can feel the vibrations of the sound, they may sing along with favorite lyrics, or dance to a catchy beat.

Music is also deeply connected to memory, emotion, and social and cultural contexts. While “the making of music carries with it a mixture of shared feelings, collective endeavors, and individual talents, tastes, and desires,” it is also subject to the “material and non-material resources” of individual musicians, distributors, and their promoters (Long 2013: 36). Because of this, the music of popular culture reflects the power dynamics of the cultures in which it is made. This means that for commercially-produced African American music, white executives have and continue to have significant control over its production and marketing (Worsely 2010).

Music plays a particularly important role in the interactions between African Americans and European Americans. Despite slavery and segregation, African American music and musicians were incorporated into the mainstream popular culture (Small 1999). During the 19th century, African American music had two homes. Commercially, African American music was centered in minstrel performances of the vaudeville circuit, which catered to both black and white audiences. Outside of the commercial realm, African American music was centered in the black church (Small 1999). The heyday of The Fort community coincides with

“the exceptionally fertile years of black-American musical theater,” which lasted from 1898 to 1933 and was deeply connected with vaudeville (Kenny 1986: 233).

During the 1930s, radio became the primary format in which Americans were exposed to news, music, and other entertainment. Radios were quickly becoming such an important part of American culture, as a reflection of both wealth and social connectedness, that the 1930 Federal Census recorded whether or not each household owned a radio set. However, for residents of The Fort, radios were not immediately adopted, likely because of the cost of both electricity and the set itself. Only John Peters was recorded as owning a radio in 1930 (USCB 1930). However, by 1940 radio ownership was no longer recorded in the census, reflecting the almost universal adoption of the technology. By this time, many of The Fort and Seminary community members owned radios and listening to them was an important part of community entertainment (Bradby 2014; Douglas 1992; Wanzer 2014).

Whether it was making music or listening to the radio, music was an important part of entertainment, worship, and togetherness in The Fort and Seminary communities (Douglas 1992; Wanzer 2014). “Now everyone of our family mostly was musical,” says Elizabeth Douglas (1992), “Mama had a piano, one of those old, big pianos. . . My brothers also played guitars. My father played a banjo. We would have all kinds of singing and entertainment.” Ms. Douglas also recalls other children from the neighborhood coming to her home to sing and play the piano. She says,

My mother used to have, I think, every boy and girl that had grown up. Mama would let them sing and all and play the piano, and they would dance and everything. She’d probably make one of these sheet cakes and have some kind of lemonade or something and give it to them. That was their entertainment (Douglas 1992).

Artifacts recovered from The Fort reflect the importance of making music in the community. Six harmonica parts were recovered during the excavations. Three fragments of a harmonica plate were recovered from the Ashby home site. Harmonica parts were also found near structures on the Jackson/G. Ashby and the Smith/Collins properties and in one of the concentrations of Civil War artifacts. Harmonicas are affordable and mobile instruments, making them desirable for Fort community members and soldiers.

Music was also at the center of many of the social events that community members attended. Elizabeth Douglas (1992) remembers going to dances with live bands at nearby Liberty Hall. Music, both live and recorded, was also an important part of neighborhood parties. In the early 20th century, the Terrell's were known for hosting neighborhood parties on the weekends (Douglas 1992) Likewise, Gerald Wanzer (2014) recalled that as a young boy in the 1950s his older sisters had parties in their Seminary home where the teenage attendees danced. When he became a teen, Wanzer (2014) went to dances where he did the Pony, the Mashed Potato, the Hully Gully, the Bugaloo, and the Twist, a dance made famous through his favorite song "The Twist" by Chubby Checker. As a child in the 1960s, Adrienne T. Washington (Personal Communication 2012) and her parents attended parties at the Casey home where they listened to the music of artists like James Brown.

For members of The Fort and Seminary communities, listening to music was not only a part of social events, but the sound track to their everyday lives. Gerald Wanzer (2014) describes this by saying, "But music, you know, I guess there was always, most black families have music in their home. They have a radio

playing...Music would be in the background, you know.” Despite the importance of the radio, the selection of stations and music available to residents of The Fort and Seminary was limited. Laurence Bradby (2014) remembers,

Well, when I grew up (in the 1940s), there was something, there was no such thing as FM radio. Everything was AM. And they played a lot of country music. And I learned how to yodel. (yodeling) Yodel-o-oo Yodel-ya-ayy Yadaly-ee. (laughs). And they just didn’t get the music out until 12 o’clock. At midnight yeah. But we had AM. When I grew up we had AM radios.

“Lipstick, Powder, and Paint.”

In 1956, Big Joe Turner recorded the song “Lipstick, Powder, and Paint.” Written, composed, and performed by African American men for a multi-racial audience, this song describes an African American woman as being primarily the sum of “lipstick, powder, and paint.” The combination of these cosmetics both masks her intentions and makes her desirable. The song also plays into the stereotypes of African American women as being sexually promiscuous and talented lovers in the lyrics “Hide me till your man pass by” and “What kind of love is that you make. The world starts a-tremblin’ and the buildings shake” (Stone 1941)⁵. However, it is the refrain of “lipstick, powder, and paint” that drives home the idea of the necessity of cosmetics, even for promiscuous or sexuality adept women, to be desirable.

“Lipstick, Powder, and Paint” reached audiences beyond Big Joe Turner’s core fan base, because it was featured in the 1956 film *Shake, Rattle, and Rock*.⁶ *Shake, Rattle, and Rock* tells the story of a group of white adults who are trying to

⁵ Jesse Stone also wrote songs under the names Charles (or Chuck) Calhoun, including “Shake, Rattle, and Roll,” which was also recorded by Big Joe Turner.

⁶ The title of the movie is a play on one of Big Joe Turner’s most well-known songs, “Shake, Rattle, and Roll,” which was later recorded by Bill Haley and the Comets and Elvis Presley.

prevent their teenagers from being corrupted by new rock and roll music. Although this film pokes fun of the “square” adults, the racial associations between what is considered bad and corrupting and blackness are overt in “Shake, Rattle, and Rock.” The musicians and corrupters in the film are real black performers like Fats Domino and Big Joe Turner and the innocent teens are all white.

In the scene featuring “Lipstick, Powder, and Paint,” a group of white teenagers are watching Big Joe Turner and his all African American band perform the song on television. There are two purposes to this scene; one is to have a reason to feature another African American musical number and the other is to provide a group scene where the teens decide to make a new plan to save rock and roll. “Lipstick, Powder, and Paint” as both a song and as a description of a black woman, becomes the stand-in for temptation and defiance of the white teens.

The ideas expressed in this song were deeply entwined in American culture of the first half of the 20th century. Greater expectations were placed on women in regards to her attractiveness and her responsibility for the appearance and cleanliness of her family. This made both black and white women the primary targets of popular culture in terms of appearance, hygiene, and grooming. However, black women faced the additional pressure of overcoming racial stereotypes of cleanliness and beauty. In order to meet societal expectations of attractiveness and femininity, African American women used cosmetics to enhance or change their appearance, a practice that became the center of debate of cultural, political, and individual ideas and values (Sivulka 2001).

In the 20th century, the African American market for cosmetics grew with the increased purchasing power of black consumers and the mass production of cosmetics. Social implications were deeply intertwined with each of the cosmetics African American women were encouraged to use. As indicated in “Lipstick, Powder, and Paint,” there was, and continues to be, a strong association between lipstick and sexual temptation. Adoption of the social expectations of using lipstick and other cosmetics, although not necessarily the social implication of them, can be seen at The Fort. One tube of lipstick was recovered from the Shorts/Stewart/Randall lot. This property was owned and occupied by women throughout the 20th century, including Harriet Shorts (d. 1918), her daughter Kate Stewart, and Jesse M. Randall who rented the property from the Stewards during the 1930s and 1940s.

Scent of a Woman.

Sexuality, temptation, and identity are deeply intertwined with scent and particularly a woman’s perfume. Duke Ellington highlights the connection between women and their perfume in his collection of four songs known as the Perfume Suite. Ellington (1973) writes about his portrayal of women and perfume in his music in his autobiography by saying “The premise behind it was what perfume does to or for the woman who is wearing it. And each part portrayed the mood a woman gets into—or would like to get into—when wearing a certain type of perfume.” The four types of moods embodied in a women’s perfume according to Ellington are romantic, conflicted, chaste, or a prima dona (Ellington 1973).

One perfume bottle was recovered from the Shorts/Stewart/Randall home site and another from a test unit within the Ashby house. By 1920, Samuel Ashby had

passed away and the household was headed by his widow Louise Ashby. She continued to serve in this role for nearly three decades. By 1940, her daughter Virginia Ashby, age 44, and niece-in-law Mary Ashby, age 26, also lived in the home with Louise. The perfume bottle likely belonged to one of these three women.

The Fort in the Movies.

The sensorial and the cinematic are interwoven in many different ways. Cinema is often, rather unfortunately, discussed as part of visual culture, and as such, one could have assumed that it too, as a medium is subject to and a further promoter of the desensorisation of vision. In fact, the opposite is true. To start with, the portrayal of movement was a major breakthrough, and once sound was added, the aural dimension enriched and complicated the medium. Crucially, cinema is a public ritual, a communal multi-sensorial and affective event (Hamilakis 2014: 61).

As Hamilakis (2014) describes above, watching moving pictures is a multi-sensorial activity. Going to the cinema involves not only the sensations of sight and sound, but the smell of fresh popped popcorn, the tickle in the nose as you drink a bubbly soda, and the sweet and salty flavors of concession stand treats. These aspects of the cinematic experience are also deeply interwoven into the memories of The Fort and Seminary community members. Laurence Bradby (2014) remembers,

It cost 15 cent to ride the bus, so instead of riding the bus...we'd walk all the way down to Fayette [Street], and go to the theater. . . We would save that money and buy, and give us extra money to buy the food. Popcorn and hotdogs back then (Bradby 2014).

For residents of The Fort and Seminary communities, as well as other African Americans, going to the cinema during the first half of the 20th century was an experience cloaked in segregation. The theater described above by Mr. Bradby was the Carver Theater (also known as the Alexandria-Carver Theater), a segregated

theater that served Alexandria's African American communities until 1965 (Bradby 2014; Wanzer 2014). In addition, the walk to the theater took him and other community residents through all white areas of town, where they were not allowed to stop and rest during the three and a half mile walk to the theater (Bradby 2014).

Even without the sensory experiences of eating, communal watching, and segregation, watching a movie is still a unique sense. Eisenstein argues that cinema should be considered its own sensory field (Hamilakis 2014). The blend of images, music and sounds, and movement that compose a film make watching it a sensorial experience vastly different from looking at a still photograph or watching live action, partially because "the sound appears to be coming from the image itself" (Hamilakis 2012: 63). Like any other sensory experience, cinema is affected by the identity and culture of the person experiencing it.

For African Americans, including The Fort and Seminary community members, the cinematic experience was shaped by the racism they experienced on a daily basis. Beginning in the 1930s, African American actors and actresses began to regularly appear in major Hollywood films. Unfortunately, the majority of roles available to black actors and actresses reflected the positions available to blacks in American society, such as maids, Pullman porters, and other servants. Worse yet, these characters were rarely written with complexity or dignity and instead appeared as racist stereotypes (Bogle 2001; Watts 2007). Black actors and actresses seeking to have careers in film were left with little choice but to take on roles that fell within one of the five stereotypes of African Americans in film; toms, mammies, coons, tragic mullatos, and bucks (Bogle 2001).

Unfortunately, stereotypes of African Americans can still be seen in film and television (Bogle 2001). African American women in particular were, and continue to be, depicted in the same limited roles, such as a Mammy or as a sexual commodity, which were the roles ascribed to them during slavery (hooks 1999). Likewise, the image of brutal buck, which was used during slavery and Reconstruction to depict African American men as violent and animalistic, continues to be used in hip hop movies and music today (Du Bois 1935; hooks 1999; Worsley 2010). The perpetuation of these racist stereotypes is one way in which film and television affect how we understand race, racism, and the place of African Americans within society. For example, Prayal (2012) argues that racial legal dramas like *A Time to Kill* (1996) shape the public's misunderstanding of modern racism and its role in the American legal system. For Prayal (2012: 147) these "White Legal Hero" movies only show the most egregious forms of racism, masking the micro-aggressions and racial disparities in the American legal system and society as a whole.

However, during the early and mid-20th century, actors willing to take on roles as docile and clowning servants, otherwise known as toms and mammies, became the most successful in Hollywood and the most criticized by African American audiences. Although African American actors, such as Bill "Bojangles" Robinson and Clarence Muse faced this critique throughout their careers, Hattie McDaniel received the greatest amount of criticism for her role of Mammy in *Gone with the Wind* (1939). McDaniel's performance was ground breaking, in that it was rewarded with an Oscar, making McDaniel the first African American to win the film industry's highest honor. However, the attention that this award gave her drew some of the

harshest critiques from African American newspapers, who accused her of perpetuating a negative stereotype and selling out her race for financial gain (Watts 2007).

By the 1950s, television began to replace the cinema as the primary source of multi-sensorial entertainment. Initially, for members of The Fort and Seminary communities watching television was a social activity similar to that of going to the cinema.

And then when it, in '55, '53, when they first came out with TVs, we all got one of the big old screen TVs. And the neighborhood was so nice, if you didn't have a TV on Sunday you would go over to a neighbor's house and watch TV, back in the day. That's my day (Bradby 2014).

However, as more families obtained their own television sets watching TV became a more private activity. Whether alone or with a group, a greater level of intimacy between viewers and performers was achieved by watching television than going to the cinema. For television viewers, TV personalities are welcomed into their homes on a weekly or even a nightly basis, making the images and sounds of television programs part of the sound and sight-scape of the home. Because of this both negative and positive portrayals of African Americans could be projected directly into American homes (Lindo 2012).

The multi-sensory experiences of watching films and television can help contextualize the experience of listening to and owning recorded music in The Fort and Seminary communities. At The Fort, 1,060 fragments of records were recovered, nearly all of which were identified as 78 RPM vinyl records. The vast majority, 1,023 fragments, were recovered from the Shorts/Stewart/Randall home site. Vinyl record

fragments were also found on the Ball, Hyman, Craven, Cassius McKnight, Miller, and Young home sites. From these pieces, four records, all from the Shorts/Stewart/Randall collection, were identified using their serial numbers. These records are recordings of Harry James and His Orchestra, David Rose and His Orchestra, the Merry Macs, and Bing Crosby. All four were recorded between 1939 and 1942 and all of the featured musicians were white.

Initially, the abundance of what many consider white music at an African American site may seem strange or simply explained away by lack of access to black music. The idea of limited access is reflected in Laurence Bradby's (2014) description of the limited musical offering on the local radio stations during the 1940s and 1950s. However, during the first half of the 20th century nearby Washington, DC, and particularly its U Street neighborhood, was at the center of African American culture and music. Known as "Black Broadway," the U Street neighborhood was home to numerous theaters, which hosted performances by some of the most famous African American musicians, including neighborhood resident Duke Ellington. For residents of The Fort and Seminary who regularly traveled to DC for shopping, medical care, or other needs, black music was readily accessible.

Instead the albums recovered archaeologically reflect a more complex relationship between race, music and other forms of entertainment, and consumer choice. African Americans have influenced nearly every genre of American music, including rock, pop, and country (Small 1999). Musician and musicologist Christopher Small (1999) suggests that "not much vernacular music of our time has escaped its (black music's) powerful presence."

African American influence can be seen in the albums recovered from The Fort. David Rose and Bing Crosby regularly performed with African American musicians and actors with whom they worked. Beginning in 1948, David Rose worked for 20 years as the orchestra conductor for several iterations of Red Skelton's variety show. During this time David Rose and His Orchestra performed on the same stage as African American musical acts including The Four Knights (1948), Nat King Cole (1955 and 1966), and The Supremes (1966) (Hyatt 2004). African American actors and dancers also performed on Red Skelton's shows in acts that were accompanied by David Rose and His Orchestra.

The inclusion of African American performers on Red Skelton's programs was reflexive of Skelton's views on racial equality and the importance of recognizing the contributions of African Americans to art and culture (Gehring 2008). Skelton openly criticized racism in the United States and forged meaningful friendships with African American performers, such as Sammie Davis, Jr., throughout his career (Gehring 2008). Skelton's attitude of racial tolerance and respect for African American performers would have set the tone for all those working on his shows. Therefore, it can be assumed that David Rose and His Orchestra did not merely share a stage with African American performers, but were encouraged to interact with them off stage as well. These interactions would have led to important influences on David Rose's music, just as watching and performing with African Americans was an influence on Skelton (Gehring 2008). Rose was most heavily influenced by jazz musicians, whose impact can be heard in his most famous composition "The

Stripper.” Therefore, identifying David Rose’s music as “white” music, erases the impact African American performers had on its creation.

It is also important to understand this music in a visual context. David Rose and His Orchestra were not simply musicians, but rather musicians who were best known for their work on television. The influence of African Americans on Rose can certainly be heard musically, but it is more difficult to see in their actual performances. Despite Skelton’s inclusive racial attitude, white and black performers were rarely, if ever, seen in the same scene together on his show. Racial segregation was both the law and culture of Skelton and Rose’s audience. Therefore, Rose’s orchestra, which was rarely seen on the show anyway, did not share scenes with African American performers. Performances were generally conducted in a segregated format, white performing with whites and blacks performing with blacks in separate segments and scenes. Although integration could be heard through the blending of the music, it was rarely seen.

Similarly, disconnects between the creation of music and the visual portrayal of this music can also be seen in the work of Bing Crosby. Crosby’s recording of “Camptown Races” was on one of the albums recovered from The Fort. This song was also featured in the movie *Riding High* (1950).

“Camptown Races,” also known as “Gwine to Run All Night” or “De Camptown Races,” was written by renowned folk artist Stephen Foster. Foster’s “Camptown Races” was first published in 1850 and was performed as a minstrel song, primarily by white actors in blackface. “Camptown Races” continued to be popular into the 20th century when several artists recorded the song on the 78” RPM

records. Crosby's recording of "De Camptown Races," which was recovered from the Shorts lot, was made in 1940. Ten years later Crosby once again sang this song, this time as part of his role as Dan Brooks in the film *Riding High*.

As Dan Brooks, Crosby played a free spirit who loves his racehorse Broadway Bill. Brooks is assisted in his adventures with Broadway Bill by his eventual love interest Alice Higgins, played by Colleen Gray, and his African American horse trainer Whitey, played by Clarence Muse.

The role of Whitey falls into Donald Bogle's (2001) characterization of a "Tom." Toms, like Muse's Whitey, were considered "Good Negro characters" who despite their suffering remain "submissive, stoic, generous, selfless, and oh-so-very kind" (Bogle 2001: 6). Clarence Muse was renowned for his ability to play "the inhibited, humanized Tom" (Bogle 2001), and for his ability to bring a level of dignity to his roles that other actors did not or could not achieve during the early 20th century.

Muse's ability to bring humanity to Whitey is described in a classic movie blog called "Great Entertainer Archives." The blogger writes

I was pleasantly surprised [by] the way the Clarence Muse character was portrayed here. Yes, he was the exercise boy/groom for the horse, a subservient role to Bing Crosby as owner, but he was not portrayed negatively as many blacks were portrayed in such movies. He was an equal partner in the training of the horse- and sang equally well with Bing Crosby! (Great Entertainers Archive 2011).

However, this review is countered by Bogle's (2001) description of the first time Muse played Whitey, in 1934 version of the film entitled *Broadway Bill*, the original movie on which *Riding High* was based. Bogle (2001: 54) writes

Muse's role called for much tommyery and even some racking instances of Jim Crowism. In one scene, the film's producers upheld their self-imposed color bar by having Muse eat his food standing while Baxter remained seated. It would have been unheard of to have a black and white sit at the same table.

Bogle's (2001) counter to the blogger's review established that despite the congeniality between the black and white characters, equality is never achieved. In addition, despite the blogger's statement that Whitey "was an equal partner in the training of the horse," he was not. Whitey was the horse trainer. He did the majority of the labor that went into making Broadway Bill a race horse. He was not a partner, he was a subservient laborer.

Muse's Whitey is an essential figure throughout the film. He creates a social space between the owning and working of the horse, literally a step between animal and man. He provides the labor that interacts between the natural world and the power that comes from owning and controlling it. Without Whitey, Crosby's Dan would not be believable as a horse owner. Whitey needs to be there to do the work that Crosby's Dan cannot do, because of his status and his race, and to give Dan the appearance of wealth he does not have. Whitey makes the relationship between Dan and the horse possible.

These images are a metaphor for the relationship between The Fort community and the rest of Alexandria. Just as the African American artists making contributions to the music recorded on these albums had not received credit for their work, African Americans in The Fort community did not receive recognition through the historic interpretation of Fort Ward Park and Museum for their work to shape the

land, create a community, and support some of Alexandria's major institutions through their labor.

Just as the musicians on the recovered albums can be used as a metaphor for The Fort community, a similar analogy can be made using Muse's Whitey. First, like Whitey, members of The Fort community existed as a labor source for the white residents of Alexandria. Just as Whitey's labor of grooming and training Broadway Bill was almost invisible, especially when compared to that of Brooks who primarily owned the horse. The labor of The Fort community was nearly invisible in the interpretation of Alexandria's past. It cannot be seen when visiting VTS and until just a few years ago, visitors to Fort Ward Park would have seen no evidence, except for two isolated headstones, that The Fort community had ever existed on the park's property.

Whitey's labor was not only invisible, but often he, himself was difficult to see. For example, in the scene in *Riding High* in which Bing Crosby, Colleen Gray, and Clarence Muse sing "Camptown Races," Muse is kept in the background, walking behind the white actors in the scene. This scene is powerful in its deliberateness. Each person and thing featured in the scene and their placement within it is important for telling the story. Without each actor, costume, or prop arranged in a particular way the scene would be incomplete and would not make sense to the audience watching it. Whitey's placement in the background with the horse, walking behind his white counterparts, would have made sense to the 1950s audience, just as him standing to eat his food made sense to the audience of the 1930s.

Similarly, in another scene in *Riding High*, this one featuring the song “Sunshine Cake,” Muse is once again relegated to the background for the majority of the song. It is not until the end of the song, when Muse’s character Whitey had not realized that the time for singing had passed, was Muse brought to the foreground. Only when he becomes the butt of a joke, does Whitey become the focus of the scene.

However, Muse’s presence in these scenes is also a visual necessity. The audience has to see him just as they have to see the horse, the stable, and everything else. Without any of these things the scene would appear incomplete. Audiences lived in a world where African Americans were constantly visible, but never really seen. They were there providing labor, being in the background of life, but were not recognized. His absence from these scenes would have been as glaring as his presence is often unnoticeable. For example, in the Camptown Races scene Crosby often walks directly in front of Muse, blocking almost his entire body from the view of the camera. However, the point of the scene is not to look at Muse, not see him at all really, just as you are not supposed to “see” the people walking in the background as people, but just props that let you know that the scene is set on a road.

Likewise, The Fort community was absolutely essential for Alexandria to function and to make sense. Like Whitey, The Fort community was in the background of Alexandria, just outside of the city limits for most of its history and invisible to white residents living in the center of town. Even after its incorporation into the City, The Fort community remained out of sight for most residents and visitors. All visible traces of the community were then demolished by the City and nothing was created to commemorate the community’s destruction.

The albums and movies described above would have been listened to or seen during the height of occupation of The Fort community. Members of The Fort and Seminary communities may have seen *Riding High*, or one of the over 200 movies in which Clarence Muse performed, at the Carver Theater, while Alexandria's white residents would have been watching in the Old Town Theater. Whether the audience was white or black, depictions of African Americans like Muse's Whitey were designed to reassure a white audience that the docile, kind Tom was always in the background to do their labor without being noticed, just as the African Americans living in The Fort would continue to labor without recognition.

Generations later, the white audience is also the targeted audience at Alexandria's historic sites including Fort Ward Park and Museum, where the labor of The Fort community remains unnoticed and in the background of the celebrated Civil War site. Through the interpretation, or lack thereof, of historical and archaeological sites like Fort Ward and The Fort community, we are imitating the treatment of African Americans depicted in the music and movies of the early 20th century.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I explored how the sensory experiences of interacting with popular culture can be used to interpret the artifacts recovered from The Fort community. By exploring the senses related to dress, childhood, food, consumption, music, cinema, and, most importantly memory, insight into what it was like to live in The Fort community can be gained, particularly in regards to how the identity of community members affected their experiences.

Race and racism played the most significant role in the experience of living within The Fort community. It was all encompassing, that experiencing racism became a sense for community members. The sense of racism can be understood as a chronic feeling of restriction and exclusion that fluctuates in strength, but never disappears. Interacting with racism, breathing it in and out, and adapting to it or resisting it marked all of the actions of The Fort and Seminary community members.

Racism affected community members' purchasing. Because racial segregation limited the kind of employment they could undertake, the stores they shopped in, and the quality of product sold to them, community members adapted their purchasing to deal with these economic restrictions. One way they did this was by producing their own food or other goods. Another way was through consumer choice. Community members chose to buy brand name health and beauty products that could be used in a variety of ways, so the quality of the product was guaranteed and the cost was minimized.

Racism also affected how gender roles were interpreted in The Fort. Because of the economic and social restrictions that came from racial segregation, community members adapted the values, such as the cult of domesticity and feminine beauty, expressed in popular culture to meet the community's needs. Because of this, women worked outside of the home, while still adopting feminine dress and grooming. Men cooked, baked, and wore fashionable clothing. Children also modified these gender roles, by preferring to play with a unisex toy.

Ideas about cleanliness and hygiene were also adapted to meet community needs through the lived experience of racism. For community members maintaining a

clean and hygienic community was important. However, their ability to do this was limited to purchasing cleaning supplies, maintaining their privies, and dumping or burning trash in community designated areas. Although these tactics did adhere to city regulations adopted in the 1950s, the race-based economic restrictions imposed on community members limited their ability to comply with these laws.

Community members also found a way to see themselves in popular culture that either portrayed African Americans as stereotypes or ignored their contribution all together. Listening to music and watching movies in which African Americans were restricted to the background, but absolutely essential for the production of the piece, served as a reminder of the nearly invisible importance of The Fort in Alexandria. Community members embraced their contributions to their city, just as they embraced the contributions of other African Americans to the music, movies, and television of the period.

While the individual identity of community members affected their sensory experiences of living in The Fort, they all shared the sensation of racism. More than any other sense proposed in this paper, dress, childhood, food memory, advertisement, music, and cinema, the sense of racism is the most important. Because, of this the material items and memories of community members must be examined in reference to racism and particularly how it was infused in popular culture.

Chapter 7: Burials and the Sense of Responsibility

The most important and contentious issue in the recent historical and archaeological work at Fort Ward Park is centered on the identification and preservation of burials The Fort and Seminary community residents. For The Descendant Society locating all of the burials of their ancestors was the top priority for the archaeological excavation and historical research. For city officials locating burial areas was important for park planning and meeting community needs. Both the Descendant Society and city officials operate through a sense of responsibility that is shaped by their connections to the community, professional duty, and personal experiences.

In this chapter, I will examine the archaeological work done to locate The Fort burials and the conflicts related to this work. First, I will discuss how responsibility can be viewed as a sense and provide a brief background on how it affects members of the Descendant Society and city officials. Then, I will describe the process of locating burials in Fort Ward Park. Finally, I will discuss how the different senses of responsibility have shaped the conflicts that have arisen between Descendant Society members and city officials in their efforts to locate, identify, preserve, and commemorate the final resting places of The Fort and Seminary community members.

Sense of Responsibility

Feeling is used in both scholarly work and popular culture to describe the concept of responsibility (Bernstein 1994; Brotherston 1929; Jonas 1984). The use of the word feeling in association with responsibility carries with it the connotation of physical sensation, a metaphor that appears regularly in popular speech through sayings like “I feel responsible” or that a responsibility “weighs on me.” This can also manifest in the physical body. Stress, related to responsibility, is associated with serious physical and mental health conditions (Lantz et. al. 2005). Therefore the feeling of responsibility can be seen as a sense because it filters an individual’s interaction with their environment emotionally, mentally, and physically.

H.M. Kallen (1942) recognizes the deep connection between responsibility, self, and the body. He suggests that responsibility is a name for “the things for whose growth and security you feel yourself answerable. In a certain sense they are you” (Kallen 1942: 360). However, like any other sense, responsibility is the action that filters a person’s interaction with their environment, which includes other people. For Kallen (1942: 351) “responsibility comes to event whenever at least two persons react to each other.” However, Hans Jonas (1984) and Richard Bernstein (1994) recognize that people can also be responsible for places, objects, and their preservation. This type of responsibility falls within Jonas’ (1984) concept of “responsibility for the future” (Bernstein 1994: 841).

Jonas (1984: 93) argues that responsibility for the future “is a function of power and knowledge.” Likewise, I suggest, responsibility for the past, in particular how it is preserved, remembered, and interpreted, is also a function of power and

knowledge. Reasonability for the stewardship of both the future and past is undertaken by professionals and the public at large. Although responsibility as a subject in and of itself is regularly studied by theologians, philosophers, and psychologists, responsibility for the past falls under the purview of historians and archaeologists (Kallen 1942; de Baets 2004; Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) 2015; Register of Professional Archaeologists (RPA) 2015).

Responsibility for the past, in its most direct form is manifested in responsibility for the dead. Historian Antoon de Baets (2004: 132 and 138) argues that the living “have definable core responsibilities” to the dead, because “the dead are defenseless and vulnerable, and arouse the need for protection.” For de Baets (2004: 136) the “foundation for the responsibilities of the living” lies in the respect shown to the dead. He argues that “the dead deserve respect because they possess dignity. Respect...is the form under which this dignity appears...Posthumous dignity is an appeal to respect the past humanity of the dead” (de Baets 2004: 136).

Although the focus of this chapter is on the burials of passed members of The Fort and Seminary communities, responsibility to the dead goes beyond their bodily remains. According to de Baets (2004: 138)

Many traces of human beings who died survive-in their dead bodies...but also in the objects, projects, and works on which they left their mark. The dead are also present in the resemblance of their children and in memories that capture the mind of surviving families, friends, and perhaps, of wider circles.

De Baets’ (2004) understanding of the remains of the dead fits well with the archaeological and oral history work conducted at Fort Ward Park, which extended

beyond locating human remains to uncovering the archaeological materials and memories of life in The Fort community.

However, responsibility for and to the dead at Fort Ward Park has been affected by the different senses of reasonability members of the Descendant Society, city officials, and their contracted experts feel for them. The responsibilities of city officials and contracted professionals are outlined in statements of professional ethics and laws. For members of the Descendant Society responsibility for the dead at Fort Ward comes from their roles as family and friends of the dead as well as the traditions of African American burial practices.

Responsibility of City Officials.

All professional societies include a code of ethics under which they expect their members to practice. Archaeology is no exception. For the work at Fort Ward Park the ethics statements of Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) and the Code of Conduct for the Register of Professional Archaeologists (RPA) will be used as a guideline for understanding these responsibilities. These guides were selected because employees of Alexandria Archaeology and their archaeological contractors are members of these organizations.

The Society for Historical Archaeology outlines the professional responsibilities of historical archaeologists in its Ethics Statement (SHA 2015). Likewise, members of the Register of Professional Archaeologists agree to abide by a Code of Conduct that dictates archaeologists' "Responsibility to the Public," "Responsibility to Colleagues, Employees, and Students," and "Responsibility to Employers and Client" (RPA 2015). Two passages from these guides to professional

responsibility are particularly important in regards to the burials at Fort Ward Park and the associated conflicts with members of the Descendant Society. Principle 5 of the SHA Ethics Statement (2015) states that “Members of the Society for Historical Archaeology have a duty to their professional activities to respect the dignity and human rights of others.” De Baets (2004: 131) echoes this responsibility for historians, writing “The rights of the subjects studied by historians determine the latter’s system of professional ethics.” However, both these statements stress the professional’s responsibility to the living, as the dead do not possess human rights (de Baets 2004).

Likewise, the RPA Code of Conduct (2015) states that “an archaeologist shall be sensitive to, and respect the legitimate concerns of, groups whose culture histories are the subjects of archaeological investigations.” What this passage does not include are definitions of sensitivity and respect, what actions may be deemed sensitive/insensitive or respectful/disrespectful, nor what makes a concern “legitimate.” As described later in this chapter, these categories become murky when applied.

Responsibilities of the Descendant Society.

The responsibilities of members of the Descendant Society come from their personal relationships with the dead as well as their cultural traditions. The Descendant Society’s efforts to have the burials of their community members located, marked, and protected is the latest manifestation of the community’s sense of responsibility toward their dead. For decades, community members tended to the

burial grounds, adorned the graves with flowers, and mourned over those they had lost (Bradby 2014; Douglas 1992; Wanzer 2014).

The sense of responsibility rooted in the connection to passed family members is at the core of the efforts of the Descendant Society and other African American groups working throughout the country to preserve their cemeteries. Burg (2008) emphasizes the feelings of responsibility held by members of the African American community for the Locust Grove African American Cemetery in Shippensburg, Pennsylvania. He cites the numerous drafts that were created for the historic site marker for the cemetery as an example of the heavy responsibility felt by African American community members. “Because the marker would become the official public interpretation of the cemetery’s significance, great care was given to the wording that appeared on the sign” (Burg 2008: 78).

The community and familial efforts to commemorate and preserve the final resting places of loved ones is rooted in cultural history and traditions. For African American communities, the rich tradition of burial practices comes from the combination of African and Euro American practices reinterpreted through the African American experience. Because of this, a distinctive set of characteristics and patterns can be seen in African American cemeteries and burial grounds.

African identity and beliefs have been found in African American cemeteries. For example, King (2010) connected the mortuary practices, burial organization, and material items located within the African American cemetery in New Philadelphia, Illinois, to similar practices in Africa, specifically among the BaKongo. The cemetery’s location near water, west facing burials, trees and other plants, and the

presence of sea shells, glass shards, and broken ceramics are examples of this connection (King 2010). Some of these practices can also be seen in Fort Ward Park. The majority of The Fort community burials are located near a stream running along the east side of the park and hundreds of glass fragments and dozens of white ceramics were recovered from the Old Graveyard and Jackson Cemetery.

African American cemeteries have also been influenced by the values, beliefs, and practices of white America. Bridget Heneghan (2003) describes how a definition of whiteness was built and expressed through the material goods, including grave markers, used and desired during the antebellum period. For white Americans the desire for white marble grave markers reflected cultural values of purity and morality that are associated with whiteness (Heneghan 2003). The use of white grave markers in African American cemeteries, including the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery, reflects the community's adoption of these practices, if not the ideology behind them.

African Americans adapted both African and Euroamerican burial practices, materiality, and cemetery use to create their own cemetery culture. One way African Americans did this was by incorporating deceased members of the family into their daily lives by hosting community events like family reunions in cemeteries and churchyards (Gundaker 2001). This makes cemeteries a necessary component of African American communities. Gundaker (2001: 53) argues that "one's *rights* to inhabit and exert influence on the interpersonal, political, and practical activities that affect that homeplace" are dependent on "living close to the burial places of elders and kin."

Members of the Descendant Society follow these traditions. Many members continue to live within a few miles of The Fort cemeteries. Likewise, descendants host community events and family reunions in the cemeteries in Fort Ward Park (Smith 1994). For example, on June 2, 2012, the Descendant Society, along with Oakland Baptist Church, and the City of Alexandria held an event at Fort Ward Park called “We’re Still Here.” During this celebration, Descendant Society members laid flowers on The Fort graves, prayed in memory of those who had passed, and toured attendees through the cemeteries and other sites related to The Fort community. Although events like this are open to the general public to learn about The Fort community, their primary purpose is to serve as a homecoming and memorial for descendants and former residents.

Identifying Burials at Fort Ward

Locating burials associated with The Fort community was the impetus for the archaeological excavations in Fort Ward that began in 2010. Potential burial areas were identified through oral history interviews with Descendant Society members, analysis of land records, a pedestrian survey, ground penetrating radar survey, and archaeological excavation. From this work 43 graves spread across four cemeteries: the Old Graveyard, Adams Burial Site, Amanda Clark Burial Site, and Jackson Cemetery, were identified within the park boundaries (Figure 8). Several other burial areas were also identified and explored, but could not be confirmed archaeologically as containing graves. In addition, many members of The Fort and Seminary communities were buried in the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery, which is surrounded by Fort Ward Park on three sides.



Figure 11. Potential and Confirmed Burial Areas after Ottery Group Excavations (Courtesy of The Ottery Group, Inc.)

These different burial locations reflect two acceptable types of burial during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Cemeteries like the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery and the adjacent Old Graveyard, are formal cemeteries, which are generally associated with religious institutions, but can also be operated by other community groups such as fraternal or benevolent organizations or governmental entities. The other burial areas are considered informal cemeteries and would have been located on private, family land. Both of these types of burials would have been common for people living outside of major urban areas during the 19th and 20th centuries. “I can remember when my mother grew up, there were people buried on the farm property with grave stones...It was cheaper and closer to the family, (who) didn’t have cars” (Johnson 2009).

Memories, like the one shared by Mrs. Johnson, recorded in oral history interviews with descendants and former residents of The Fort were the primary source of information about the location of burial areas, the identities of the people who were buried in the area of Fort Ward Park, and how the graves were marked and cared for. Although, several descendant society members discuss the community burials in their oral history interviews, Sgt. Young’s (1996, 2009) interviews have been used as one of the main sources for burial location because they were conducted while he walked the land of the park.

Community members identified several burial areas in and around Fort Ward Park. Sgt. Young (1996, 2009), Mrs. McKnight (1994), and Mr. Bradby (2014) all mention the Adams Burial Site, which is located along the border of the Young and Adams properties (Bradby 2014; E. McKnight 1994; Young 1996, 2009). Mrs.

McKnight (1994) also discusses the Jackson Cemetery, located on the Jackson property, near the northwest bastion of Fort Ward. However, distinctions between burial areas within park, and even between the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery and the park burial areas are rarely made. The feeling that comes across in the interviews was that all the burials areas in The Fort were treated as a unit, connected by the community, although spatially separate.

Sgt. Young's (2009) description of additional burials, not associated with the four named cemeteries, has been a driving force behind much of the archaeological excavation and eventual conflict between the Descendant Society and city officials. In talking about these additional burials that surrounded his house, Sgt. Young (2009) recalls,

There was people buried around, but not in that cemetery (Adams Burial Site)...All over the yard. There you can find some graves anywhere... Yeah, there was one...one or two in my yard, and then the rest of them in the back of the yard...I had a couple of graves in the front yard. I don't know who they were.

During that same interview, Sgt. Young points out other areas where he remembers grave markers that are no longer standing. As he walks through the area of the park between his home, the Old Graveyard, and Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery, Sgt. Young (2009) remembers,

Look, there's graves all over here!...Oh, there's plenty of graves here, 18 and 17...and all that kind of carryin' on...on a...little short graves. Uh huh... They looked something like that, in the ground? Half of 'em covered up, or laid down, all kinds of ways...

He goes on to describe what it was like as you walked toward Oakland Baptist Cemetery. "It was all woods then, you know, but you could stumble all over the

graves. Amen...you had to watch out, 'cause you'd stumble over them if it was dark” (Young 2009).

Oral histories have also been used to identify individuals who are buried in The Fort cemeteries. Recording the identities of the people buried at The Fort is one of the main goals of the Descendant Society, particularly in their efforts to conduct oral histories on their own. Table 7 gives a list of individuals and their burial locations that were identified in oral histories with The Fort and Seminary community members and descendants.

Oral history interviews have also been essential in identifying how the graves were marked. According to Mrs. McKnight (1994) “No, there weren't any stones over there (Jackson Cemetery).” Mr. Bradby (2014) remembers that stone markers were used for burials in The Fort, in the area of the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery, but he does not remember them having names on them. Likewise, Mrs. Belk (1994) recalls “I don't think Charles (Casey) had a headstone. I don't know too much about my grandfather. The Crones should have a headstone. I remember them having one up there (in OBC Cemetery), I believe.” Joseph Moraski (2009), who grew up near The Fort during 1950s, but was not a part of the community, remembered “wooden headstones...encapsulated in what looked like was galvanized metal—tin you might call it” along the ravine in The Fort.

Table 7. Names of Individuals Buried in and around Fort Ward according to Oral History Interviews

Name	Burial Location	Oral History Reference
Clara Adams	Fort Ward Park, Maintenance Yard, Edge of Adams and Young Properties	Young (1996, 2009); E. McKnight (1994); Bradby (2014)
Robert Adams	Fort Ward Park, Maintenance Yard, Edge of Adams and Young Properties	Young (1996, 2009); E. McKnight (1994)
Julia Roy Adams		Bradby (2014)
Kate Adams	Jackson Cemetery	Bradby (2014); E. McKnight (1994)
Bea Adams		Bradby (2014)
Carla Adams Summers		Bradby (2014)
Jenny Roy		Bradby (2014)
Louise Hall	Luther Hall's Property, Howard Street across from Fort Ward Park	Smith (1994)
Margaret (Maggie) Hall	Luther Hall's Property, Howard Street across from Fort Ward Park	Smith (1994)
Vincent Hall	Luther Hall's Property, Howard Street across from Fort Ward Park	Smith (1994)
Elijah Hall	Luther Hall's Property, Howard Street across from Fort Ward Park	Smith (1994)
(Child) Hall	Luther Hall's Property, Howard Street across from Fort Ward Park	Smith (1994)
Ann Mandy/Mandy /Amanda Clark	Amanda Clark Property, Maintenance Yard, Fort Ward Park	E. McKnight (1994)
Unknown Blackburn		E. McKnight (1994)
Clarence Gray		E. McKnight (1994)
(Boy) Anderson	Jackson Cemetery, Fort Ward Park	E. McKnight (1994)
Daniel Simms		Johnson (2009)
Alice Wanzer Simms		Johnson (2009)
Morris Johnson		Johnson (2009)
Anna Simmons		Johnson (2009)
Simmons Walter		Johnson (2009)
Brother of Mary Crozet Wood Johnson		Johnson (2009)
Virginia Fitzhugh	Old Graveyard, Fort Ward Park	Douglas (1992)
Wesley Casey		Belk (1994)
Charles Casey		Belk (1994)
Crones Family	Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery	Belk (1994)
(Man) Peters	Across from Wanzer House near Seminary School	Wanzer (2014)

Several descendants also describe visiting and tending to the graves of family members and other community members. Holidays and personal anniversaries were a particularly important time to visit the grave sites. Recently, members of the

Descendant Society gathered on Clara Adam's birthday at her grave to offer prayer and lay flowers at the burial areas throughout the park. Annual commemorations of the dead have been held by community members for generations. Describing his family's tradition of tending to relatives graves, Laurence Bradby (2014) said,

As I grew up, my uncle used to tell us all about this and we knowed about the graves and we were youngsters, because he would always take us up to the Graveyard on Memorial weekend, weekend. On Memorial Day we would put flowers on the graves.

Tending to the graves was a responsibility taken on by the entire community, not just the immediate relatives of the deceased. For example, members of Oakland Baptist Church organized regular cemetery cleanups (Wanzer 2014).

Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery

Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery is almost completely encompassed by Fort Ward Park. Today it is surrounded by a locked chain link fence that separates it from the park, including the adjacent Old Graveyard.

In 1939, following the death of his wife Florence McKnight Javins, Samuel Javins conveyed her property to Oakland Baptist Church for use as a cemetery. The adjacent property to the north, which had been owned by Florence's sister Bernie (McKnight) Terrell and her husband James William Terrell, was also transferred to Oakland Baptist Church for use as cemetery. However, by the time Oakland Baptist Church took ownership of these lots, several members of The Fort community were already buried on the property, including Bernie and James (Moon 2014).

Old Graveyard

The Old Graveyard is located just outside of the northern edge of the Maintenance Yard and just to the south of the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery. At the time of the first excavation conducted by the Ottery Group, it was bounded by the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery fence to the north, the Maintenance Yard fence to the east, and a park access road to the south. For the 2011 drainage project, the access road was removed and was not replaced. Today, a temporary barrier prevents park visitors from walking across the Old Graveyard.

Because the Old Graveyard lies adjacent to the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery, I believe that it was always considered by community members as part of Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery or vice versa. The connection between these two cemeteries comes through in the oral history interviews. For example, Edmonia Smith McKnight (1994) did not recall the fence that currently divides the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery from the Old Graveyard being there during the occupation of The Fort community. Likewise, when she was asked about who was buried in Fort Ward near Oakland Baptist Church, she says

A lot of Charles's (McKnight) family buried up there like the...I guess they're still up there right now. The Blackburn...there's a lady by the name of Ann Mandy Clark. Mandy Clark. She had a son by the name of Clarence Gray... I don't know how anymore but she was a McKnight... Yes. There was Aunt Clara. She was buried right behind the church because somebody told Charles not long ago that they have a pit around her grave. And I think her husband's back in there somewhere (McKnight 1994).

In this description, Mrs. McKnight does not distinguish between the Adams Burial Site, the Amanda Clark Burial Site, the Old Graveyard, and the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery.

Evidence of the connection between these cemeteries is more complicated in the land records. In 1927, Amanda (McKnight) Clark sold a portion of her 3-acre property, which included almost the entire area that today is designated as the Old Graveyard to the Diocesan Missionary Society of Virginia, an Episcopalian organization that was also responsible for converting the Fort School to St. Cyprian's Church. At the time of this sale, individuals, including Virginia Fitzhugh (d. 1918) would have already been buried in the Old Graveyard. This land sale reflects the transition from an informal community burial area to a formal, church associated cemetery.

Archaeologically, the orientation of the headstones in Oakland Baptist Church do not align with the orientation of the grave shafts uncovered in the Old Graveyard (Lardner/Klein 2014). However, excavations have not occurred within the Church cemetery, therefore it is possible that there are unmarked graves that follow the same orientation as those in the Old Graveyard.

Just as in the Old Graveyard, individuals were buried in the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery property prior to a McKnight/Shorts siblings selling it to the church. Therefore, the sale of these properties to religious institutions, despite their different denominations, reflects the importance of both churches to the community and family's desire to have these cemeteries maintained as community burial grounds.

Excavations in the Old Graveyard were conducted during all three phases of work. The goal of these excavations was to identify the locations of unmarked burials and determine if there were burials associated with the few remaining markers. The

markers in the Old Graveyard include one headstone and one footstone that remain in situ and a headstone base and broken headstone that are no longer in their original locations. Through archaeological excavation 17 burials were identified in the Old Graveyard. Of these, two can be identified by their association with the in situ grave markers. A grave shaft aligned with the headstone of Virginia Fitzhugh and one aligned with broken W.E. Javins footstone, are certainly the burials of the individuals memorialized by the markers.

As a child attending the Fort School, Elizabeth Douglas (1992) remembers visiting the grave of Virginia Fitzhugh during her lunch break.

Virginia. Well, I'll tell you we were going to school up there and we would take our lunch. Time for lunch, we would go down there. We would set there and we would cry. I would cry over and cry over. I wondered why the Lord, if she was so faithful, why did the Lord put her down in that hole down in there and put dirt on her? But we, at the time, being small, we did not realize that she wasn't there. It was only the old house she used to live in was there. But I says, "Poor thing! Why did the Lord have to put her down in the hole and throw dirt on her if she was a good and faithful servant?" But then, after I grew older, I got up in one morning thinking, I says, "Now, she's not there. That's just the house that she live in." And that is true, she's not there (Douglas 1992).

All but one of the graves found in the Old Graveyard were north of the park access road. However, after the road was removed, a burial was uncovered. Unlike the other burials identified at Fort Ward Park, the grave shaft for this burial was completely absent. It appears as if the shaft, top of the coffin, human remains, and a portion of the bottom of the coffin had been grated away during the construction of the park access road. The remaining bottom portion of the wooded coffin extended just to the south from the road.

This discovery was disturbing for several reasons. First, it is not known what happened to the remains or the rest of the coffin. Second, there were no burials found underneath the road itself. This suggests that there were likely other burials removed as part of the road construction. Perhaps these now missing burials were some of the many that Sgt. Young (2009) remembered in his oral history interviews.

Also uncovered during the drainage construction process was a dog burial. This dog burial was just to the west of the coffin remains and also located along the southern edge of the access road. Because the entire animal was uncovered, it appears to have been placed after the construction of the park access road and associated with the park occupation of the property. The intrusion of a dog burial into the sacred burial grounds of The Fort and Seminary community, shows a lack of respect given to the community and their cemeteries.

Although the majority of the Old Graveyard was excavated, it is likely that there are more burials in this area. However, 100% excavation of the Old Graveyard could not be undertaken because of a city policy that limits how close to trees archaeologists can excavate (Fesler, Bromberg, and Cressey 2012). This policy, which is designed to protect park trees and their root mats, is problematic for cemetery excavation because of the importance and abundance of trees and other foliage in cemeteries (King 2010).

Adams Burial Site

A lone headstone, near the center of the Maintenance Yard, marked the burial of Clara Adams. Despite the presence of a head stone, there was some speculation that it did not mark the location of human remains. However, in 2010 archaeologists

uncovered two burial shafts, one in line with the marker and another just to the north. At the time it was suggested that these represented the graves of Clara and her husband Robert Adams.

This interpretation was based on information gathered from the oral history interviews about the location of Clara and Robert Adams burials (Bradby 2014; E. McKnight 1994; Young 1996, 2009). Sgt. Young's description of Robert Adams' burial indicates that there was no headstone or marker for his grave, even before the land became a park. He recalls, "Her (Clara Adams) husband was buried there...He was there a long time. He died before I even moved there. I didn't even know he was there until they told me" (Young 1996).

In 2012, Alexandria Archaeology reopened and expanded the excavation unit in front of Clara Adams' headstone. During this excavation two additional burials were found in line with those of Clara and Robert Adams (Fesler, Bromberg, Cressey 2012). However, it remains unclear who is buried in these graves.

Amanda Clark Burial Site

Amanda (McKnight) Clark, half-sister of Clara Adams, owned three acres of property, a portion of which was adjacent to the Adams property. In her will, Amanda Clark describes her desire to be buried on the edge of her property (Fesler, Bromberg, and Cressey 2012). During the 2010 excavations, archaeologists unsuccessfully attempted to locate this burial. However, in 2012 Alexandria Archaeology reopened and expanded the excavation units and were able to locate two burials in the area described in Amanda Clark's will (Moon 2014). One of these being the grave of Amanda Clark and the other individual remains unidentified.

The location of the Amanda Clark burial is on the portion of her property that she sold to the Diocesan Mission Society six years before her passing in 1933 (Moon 2014). Although this land was no longer her property, her burial there, near St. Cyprian's Church and the grave of Robert Adams would have been appropriate as both a family cemetery and religious cemetery.

Jackson Cemetery

The Jackson Cemetery is located on the west side of Fort Ward Park, just south of the Northwest bastion of Fort Ward. The cemetery extends across a portion of the fort's glacis, making this area a blend of 19th and 20th century resources. Similar to the Old Graveyard, the excavation goal here was to identify burials. Unlike either the Old Graveyard or the Adams Burial Site, there were no grave markers in this area. However, the Jackson Cemetery appears as a burial area on several historic maps as well as several deeds, including the sale of the property in the 1920s for the development of the Eagle Crest Subdivision (Fesler, Bromberg, Cressey 2012; Moon 2014).

During the excavations conducted by the Ottery Group, four burials were identified. Alexandria Archaeology returned to this area to define the boundaries of the cemetery and locate additional burials. During their excavations, 16 additional burials were uncovered, bringing the total graves identified in the Jackson Cemetery to 20 (Fesler, Bromberg, Cressey 2012).

Other Possible Burial Areas Excavated

Mechanical trenches and hand dug test units were excavated in four other areas of Fort Ward Park that contained possible burial locations. These areas were selected for excavation because they were indicated as possible burials in oral history interviews, in historical documents, or because of their association with a fraternal organization (Young 2009; Moraski 2009). These areas are the Robert McKnight home site (Good Samaritan Lot), the Amanda Clark Lot (south of Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery), areas north and west of the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery (including the Arthur McKnight, Cassius McKnight, and Edward Robinson lots), and the Hogan/Craven Lots (Fesler, Bromberg, and Cressey 2012).

In 1887, John Miller sold a small parcel of his land to the Trustees of St. Mathew's Lodge, #220 Independent Order of Good Samaritans and Daughters of Samaria (Moon 2014). This lot is located along Braddock Road and adjacent to the lot he later sold to Robert McKnight. The Good Samaritans were a fraternal organization that supported African American families after the death of a loved one. Several members of The Fort community were members of the Good Samaritans and are listed on the deed, including Burr Shorts, Searles McKnight, and James Jackson (Moon 2014). Moon (2014) suggests that this lot may have been used or intended to be used by the Good Samaritans as a cemetery, because of the organization's mission to support the burial needs of community members

Oral history interviews indicated that graves were present to the north, west, and south of Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery, including on the Amanda Clarke Lot. As discussed earlier, Sgt. Young (2009) described in detail the numerous graves he

remembered near his home. Likewise, Mr. Moraski (2009) also described graves in the same area along the ravine. He recalls, “These graves were definitely in the forest and they were on the forest side of the gate...on the side of the ravine...you could go up the ravine, and right about where the ravine stopped” was where nearly half a dozen graves were. In addition, there are historical documents that also suggest that there are graves in the areas around the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery and Old Graveyard. According to Moon (2014: 230) “Armistead Boothe asked about the status of some graves in 1968 in a letter related to the Robinson and McKnight condemnation proceeding to find their heirs, and these areas remain possible burial places.”

Although all of these areas have potential to be burial sites, no evidence of graves were identified archaeologically (Fesler, Bromberg, and Cressey 2012). In the final summary of these excavations produced by Alexandria Archaeology summarized their findings by writing:

No evidence of graves was found in any of these four areas, but the possibility remains that graves could be present in untested places, which will continue to be marked on resource maps as Grave Investigation Areas (Fesler, Bromberg, and Cressey 2012: 5).

Conflicts

Locating and identifying burials of The Fort and Seminary community members has been the most contentious issue between the Descendant Society and city officials. Differing senses of responsibility are at the heart of this conflict.

According to Kallen (1942: 351)

We may observe manifestations of responsibility in any situation consisting of the processes of conflict and co-operation among human beings. Regularly in

such situations, individuals or groups take, reject, impose, deny, or share “responsibility.”

Kallen’s (1942) description accurately describes the situation between the Descendant Society and city officials, which has been marred by miscommunication, mistrust, differing values and senses of responsibility. Descendants often felt lied to by city officials about the city’s motivations and goals of the archaeological work at Fort Ward Park. This translated into conflicts over archaeological methods and interpretation, park use, and commemoration.

At the root of these feelings of mistrust is a history of dislocation. Phillips (2000) states, “dislocation can have complex and grave consequences” and this is certainly the case for the relationship between the Descendant Society and city officials. As discussed throughout this dissertation, the dislocation of The Fort community to create Fort Ward Park, members of the Seminary and Macedonia (Mudtown) communities to build T.C. Williams High School, and Urban Renewal efforts in downtown Alexandria remain a point of contention.

As the work at Fort Ward has progressed through the years, the relationship between the Descendant Society and city officials has become increasingly estranged. This can be seen in the records of public meetings, a blog called “The Fort Ward Observer” maintained by Glenn Eugster,⁷ the press, and personal communication

⁷Eugster serves on the boards of several community groups relating to Fort Ward including The Descendant Society, Advisory Group, and History Work Group. Although an active member in the Descendant Society, Eugster is not a descendant of either The Fort or Seminary communities. Originally, Eugster became interested in Fort Ward Park because his home backs up to the park. However, after learning about The Fort community, he became one of the descendant community’s biggest advocates. Although Eugster is not a descendant and is not African American, sees his involvement with the Descendant Society as an opportunity to correct the past injustices imposed by governments. As a former government employee, he is working to right both his and the wrongs of others.

between Descendant Society members and city officials. For example in an email to the Fort Ward Advisory Council members Chuck Ziegler and Ellen Stanton (C. Ziegler and E. Stanton to Fort Ward Advisory Council Members, email, 23 November 2013) wrote, “The lack of civility in evidence at the end of the Ft. Ward Park and Museum Advisory Group meeting on November 13 (2013) must not go unremarked, because it threatens to undo the good work and accomplishments of the group thus far.” Unfortunately, the strained relationship between these groups has resulted in the two sides no longer able to agree on terms that would fund future work relating to The Fort community.

Eugster (2013b) sums up the conflict between the Descendant Society and city officials by writing,

After countless hours of meetings, hundreds of public written comments, dozens of newspaper, magazine, radio and television stories, years of study by City of Alexandria agencies and an advisory group, the city’s approach to protecting and maintaining family grave areas within Fort Ward Park has not changed. Identified and documented family grave areas continue to be unmarked and poorly maintained despite the pleas and urgings of the descendant family members of those buried in the park, as well as leaders of the Fort Ward History Work Group and the Fort Ward Park and Museum Advisory Group.

However, it is important to note that not all members of the Descendant Society feel at such odds with the city, contractors, and volunteers working to uncover the history of The Fort community. However, each Descendant Society member that I interviewed or regularly spoke with shared feelings of disappointment in regards to the city’s handling of The Fort burials. In my interview with Gerald Wanzer (2014) he praises the work of the professional and volunteer historians and archaeologists who have been able to “paint a picture” of what The Fort was like

during the early years, yet he still feels as though “they (the city) don’t want to bring out the history of Fort Ward” and “The city don’t give a damn other than what happened during the damn Civil War.”

The Removal of Graves.

At the heart of the conflict between descendant community members and city officials is the perceived disregard, disrespect, and mistreatment of the community and their burials. The primary source of these feelings is the displacement of The Fort families to create the park (as well as displacement of Seminary families and other African American families by the city for other development projects). After The Fort families were removed from their land, all remains of their community were erased from the landscape. Homes were burned and demolished, headstones were removed, and some burials were moved as well.

Descendant Society members believe that the city has ignored the presence of African American burials on this property since the initial creation of the park (Summers 2014). During the development of the park, the city’s desire to remove the burials in the Jackson Cemetery was evident in their correspondence. City Manager, E.G. Heatwole, inquired about the possibility of moving these graves in a letter to the City Attorney, V. Floyd Williams, because they were not associated with the Civil War occupation of the site (Moon 2014). He also, questioned whether or not any bodies were still there, indicating there may have already been efforts to remove the burials.

Several community members recall the removal of graves during the mid-20th century. Mrs. Johnson (2009) recalls, “People removed them (burials in Fort Ward)

“respectfully.” We have several outside the school old family places there are even behind us that the city was supposed to remove them” (Johnson 2009). Likewise, Mrs. McKnight remembers the removal of bodies from the Jackson Cemetery, “But when they started to building Fort Ward, they exhumed...All the bodies out...Yes. I don’t know where. Because I’m, you know, still inquisitive. I just got to know everything! I say, “Now how do you know, I know there were bodies up there” (E. McKnight 1994).

It is more likely that grave markers were removed, but the burials themselves remain in the park, at least in the Jackson Cemetery because no archaeological evidence of grave removal was uncovered. Mrs. Douglas recalls being told by a city official that the grave markers removed from the Jackson Cemetery were either thrown away or sold (Moon 2014). Stories of city employees being told to remove grave markers from all of Alexandria’s parks during the 20th century have long been whispered among city residents, but thus far have been unrecognized by city officials, despite efforts of the Descendant Society to bring this information to light. For example, in a letter to the Fort Ward Park and Museum Advisory Council, Glenn Eugster (G. Eugster to Fort Ward Park and Museum Advisory Council [Advisory Council], letter, 7 May 2014, received via email) writes,

This ravine (located due north of the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery) has been identified as an area where there are graves. The ravine was filled with park debris as part of a Fort Ward Park Master Plan and implementation project in 1979. At that time, Recreation Department staff, some of who still work for the city, were directed to remove gravestones and markers from parklands. City leaders have been unwilling to discuss where those markers and stones were taken and community leaders believe that they may have been discarded in the ravine. These points were raised with Transportation & Environmental Services and Office of Historic Alexandria leaders when

Daniel Imig from T & ES brought this same stream stabilization proposal to the Advisory Group on November 11, 2010.

Archaeological Methods.

None of the members of Descendant Society are trained archaeologists. However, as residents of Alexandria they have been exposed to public archaeology for nearly 35 years. They have observed firsthand the ability of archaeologists to locate lost burials, as they did at Freedmen's Cemetery, and to change the narrative of Alexandria's past. Unfortunately, this does not translate into an understanding of archaeological methods. Because of this and a general mistrust of city officials conflicts quickly arose.

Despite the public aspects of this project, descendants did not fully understand why certain archaeological methods were used and what types of information can be gained through archaeological research. At community meetings, Descendant Society members have questioned why all of the burials have not been located and why money and time was spent to uncover the archaeological remains of The Fort community buildings rather than solely focusing on identifying burial locations. They feel as though they were lied to, because there are no current plans to continue excavations at Fort Ward. They believed that the archaeologists would not stop digging until every burial within the park was located.

In 2009, city archaeologists determined that using remote sensing would be the best way to locate the maximum number of burials in the shortest amount of time. This is common practice among archaeologists working on burial sites and GPR has been used successfully on many archeological sites to locate unmarked burials (Johnson 2006). When the GPR survey was conducted in 2009, I was not involved

with the archaeology at Fort Ward Park nor with the Descendant Society nevertheless, yet it became a regular topic of conversation between Descendant Society members and me. As an archaeologist, who has worked on several different GPR surveys, including ones that were done to locate unmarked burials, I did my best to interpret the results of the survey to Descendant Society members.

Members of the Descendant Society remain unconvinced that the GPR survey was done because it was the best initial archaeological step in locating unmarked burials. Instead, comments by city archaeologists that indicated that the survey was done primarily to test the method and the utility of using GPR to locate burials in Alexandria, made descendants feel as those archaeologists did not care as much about finding burials as they did about experimenting with a new technology (Personal Communication Adrienne T. Washington). Descendant Society members have claimed that they were told that the GPR survey was not “the best way” to locate unmarked graves and that it was used as a way to “test” the equipment (Descendant Society Meeting January 25, 2014).

Similar misunderstanding arose during the excavations. Descendant Society members believed that the sole purpose of archaeological excavations at the park should be to locate community burials. In addition, they want every burial located archaeologically and 100% excavation of all the areas identified in the oral histories as containing burials.

Community leaders learned yesterday that the City of Alexandria isn't recommending any money in the proposed Fiscal Year 2014 budget to search for the remaining graves within Fort Ward Park. That news is surprising and most disappointing given the City's legal and moral responsibility to find all of the people that were buried in the park, not just the obvious ones. It appears that the Fort Ward Park & Museum Advisory Group, the Office of Historic

Alexandria, City Manager, Mayor and Council have turned their heads away from those buried in the park and their descendants living within and nearby Alexandria. This decision, which is contrary to what leaders have said during the last six years of discussions, begs the question, why did the City Manager, Mayor and Council members decide to stop the search for graves? (Eugster 2013a).

In addition, Descendant Society members and city officials differed on the importance of excavating areas of the park that were not potential burial grounds. Initially, some descendants were not interested in archaeological excavations that were unrelated to locating burials, because they did not think they could learn anything from the archaeology about their community that they did not already know (Personal Communication Adrienne T. Washington). Other descendants were amazed by the information that archaeologists and historians were able to uncover, particularly about the earliest years of the community (Wanzer 2014). However, city archaeologists developed a multi-phased archaeological plan that would not only identify unmarked burials, but would locate buildings and features related to The Fort, collect artifacts from throughout the park, and identify cultural areas within the park associated not only with The Fort community, but also the Native American and Civil War occupations of the site.

During the first phase of archaeological excavation, two shovel test pit (STP) surveys were conducted to identify artifact concentrations relating to community buildings, primarily the Shorts/Stewart/Randall home site and the School/Church/Young site. During the third phase, a complete STP survey of the entire park was conducted to identify artifact concentrations associated with other community buildings as well as the Native American and Civil War occupations. However, some

members of the Descendant Society thought the goal of the full STP survey was to identify burials in all areas of the park (Personal Communication Adrienne T. Washington and Frances Terrell). Upon realizing that these surveys were not intended to locate burials, they were angry that funds that they believe were designated for finding burials were used to do unrelated archaeology.

Neither the city archaeologists, nor their contractors, ever intended to locate every unmarked grave archaeologically. Instead, their goal was to identify burial areas. Individual graves were identified within the burial areas, but the entire areas were not excavated, leaving the possibility that additional graves could be found in the future. In addition, archaeologists suggested that these areas be subject to archaeological investigation prior to any future ground disturbance activity in order to locate any additional burials and to prevent damage to them (Lardner/Klein 2014).

Although, they were extensively tested, areas that were identified through oral histories as potentially containing burials, but where none were found, were also not excavated completely. Like in the archaeologically verified burial areas, the potential for finding burials in these areas was noted and archaeological excavation was suggested for any future ground disturbance (Lardner/Klein 2014).

Eventually, community members began to value the archaeological work done to uncover community buildings and daily life. On a site visit during the third phase of excavation, city archaeologist Garret Fesler showed the community members the unearthed foundation of the Ashby house. In describing the foundation, he pointed out that it was substantial and of high quality. For community members, this recognition by a city employee that their homes were well constructed was a

confirmation of their long held beliefs and a repudiation of the city's condemnation of the houses 50 years earlier (A. Washington to L. Mallamo, letter, 9 November 2013, received via email).

Care, Preservation, and Management of the Graves and Park.

Water runoff, erosion, pedestrian traffic, and negligence have caused damage to the burials and grave markers. In part to address these issues, a water drainage management plan and a park management plan have been created for the City of Alexandria for Fort Ward Park. The drainage report was designed to be a compliment to *The Fort Ward Park and Museum Area Management Plan* (2014). Because both of these plans involved intensive study, public meetings, and several review drafts the process of completing them was slow. This left Descendant Society members feeling as though “the city is dragging their feet” in their efforts to protect The Fort graves. The time taken to complete these plans and their content have been points of contention between the Descendant Society and city officials.

In March 2014, the *Fort Ward Park Drainage Master Plan* (URS 2014) was presented to the public for comment and review. Prior to the completion of the report, representatives from URS, the contracting company preparing the report, attended two Fort Ward Park and Museum Advisory Group meetings. During these meetings, stakeholders, including members of the Descendant Society were able to voice their concerns, the foremost being “the restoration effort necessary to correct the drainage and erosion issues in the cemetery and Marlboro Estate neighborhood” (URS 2014).

URS (2014) recommends constructing two berms to divert storm water from Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery and the Old Graveyard and to stabilize the stream

that runs north/south along the bottom of the ravine, ending just to the west of Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery. This will prevent flowing water and sediment from eroding the cemetery soil and grave markers and keep water from collecting in burial depressions (URS 2014). However, both the timing of the report and its recommendations faced criticism by members of the Descendant Society.

Although the report comes five years after community members first raised their concerns about the damage caused by poor drainage in the park, Eugster (G. Eugster to Advisory Council, letter, 7 May 2014, received via email) suggests placing the drainage project “on hold until the Maintenance Yard restoration and research on archaeology, history and culture has been completed,” citing the need to completely locate all the burials before any permanent construction projects are undertaken. Likewise, Eugster (G. Eugster to Advisory Council, letter, 7 May 2014, received via email) voices concern that the construction of berms and the stream stabilization fill will permanently cover graves that have not yet been located.

In 2014, Lardner/Klein Landscape Architects, P.C. were contracted by the City of Alexandria to write a management plan for Fort Ward Park. This plan serves as a guiding document for the Fort Ward Park decision makers. It gives consideration to the goals, needs, and issues relating to the park’s varied resources and makes recommendations for how to address these concerns (Lardner/Klein 2014). It was built upon the *Recommendations for the Management of Fort Ward Historical Park* prepared by the Stakeholders Advisory Group in 2011, and the needs and goals of the City. Both of these documents are available to the public at <http://www.alexandriava.gov/recreation/info/default.aspx?id=29638>.

Members of the Descendant Society were involved in the creation of this plan at nearly every stage, including the initial recommendation, document review, and approval, primarily through their service on the Advisory Group. Their influence can be seen in the goals and suggested activities in the plan. For example, the report proposes to “Protect burial sites from unintentional recreational use” by adding “signs to the perimeter of burial sites” and installing an “enclosure system” (Lardner/Klein 2014: I-30). This reflects descendants concerns about disrespect and mistreatment of their sacred burial grounds by uninformed park visitors.

However, many Descendant Society members continue to have concerns about the implementation of the plan and the attitude of city officials and city hired contractors towards their community. Following the public meetings with Lardner/Klein and the approval of the management plan, Eugster (2014b) wrote a blog post titled “Fort Ward Park: Loved to Death or Mis-managed?” The title directly refers to the comment he attributes to Elisabeth Lardner of Lardner/Klein Landscape Architects, P.C. that Fort Ward Park has been “loved to death.” In response to this he writes, “Slogans such as “the park has been loved to death” and “everyone has to learn to live together” leave those of us attending the last public meeting with a feeling that the city is going to do what it wants to do no matter what community leaders have to say” (Eugster 2014b).

Distribution of Information and Media Involvement.

For many members of the Descendant Society, they feel as though they are the last to know when decisions are made by city officials about work relating to The Fort community. On several occasions, Descendant Society members have learned

about these decisions through the media or through mass emails announcing the public presentation of work. For many Descendant Society members, there is an expectation that they should be the first to know information relating to their community and its history.

In the September 16, 2012, post of *The Fort Ward Observer*, Glenn Eugster (2012) writes,

Fort Ward's lost graves have received considerable media attention lately as City of Alexandria officials defend their unilateral-decision to end the recent search for additional graves in Fort Ward Historic Park. Lance Mallamo, Director of the Office of Historic Alexandria and the voice of historic preservation at Fort Ward, offered reporters various reasons for why the work has been abruptly ended. Most troubling is that the City's press release with news of the decision was shared with the media rather than the members of the Fort Ward Park & Museum Advisory Group, Fort Ward History Work Group, and the descendants of those buried in the park.

He goes on to say,

The City's recent action demonstrated a lack of commitment to the leadership groups the City Council created to guide and assist future decisions at the park. It is also disrespectful to the families with graves at Fort Ward. City officials made time to publicize their decision to numerous media outlets but couldn't take any time to contact those Alexandria resident's most directly connected to the park and the City's work (Eugster 2012).

A similar disagreement arose around the planned release of Dr. Krystyn Moon's (2014) report on the history of The Fort community *Finding The Fort: A History of an Africa American Neighborhood in Northern Virginia, 1860s-1960s*. For members of the Descendant Society, they first learned about the contract with Dr. Moon and her research into their families and community after receiving a group email announcing the planned public presentation of the report. In a letter to the

Director of Historic Alexandria, Descendant Society President Adrienne T.

Washington writes,

This is in response to your unexpected and troubling announcement of October 31, 2013 that there will be a public presentation on November 16, 2013 of a “draft report” on the history of the African American community and the descendants of the Ft. Ward “The Fort”. We, those descendants, are asking that this premature news conference be postponed and the inappropriate venue of Lloyd House, which once housed enslaved people, be changed until the leadership of the African American Descendants Society and the Seminary Civic Association are properly briefed and given an opportunity to review the unauthorized document before it is released to the press and the general public, in accordance with past agreements and practices between these primary stakeholders and the City of Alexandria, primarily the Office of Historic Alexandria (A. Washington to L. Mallamo, letter, 9 November 2013, received via email).

Ms. Washington goes on to declare that the “ultimate dismissal and disrespect” of the community can be summed up by the fact that former residents and descendants of The Fort would have to reserve a seat 24 hours in advance of the report presentation in order to guarantee a place in the audience.

Because of the outcry of the Descendant Society and other community members, the public presentation of Dr. Moon’s report was delayed until descendants received a copy of the report and were able to comment on it. However, the results of this conflict can still be felt. In a blog post titled “Who is Krystyn Moon?” Eugster (2014a) writes,

Last year, under the cover of darkness, Lance Mallamo, Director of the Office of Historic Alexandria entered into a contract with Krystyn Moon of the University of Mary Washington to do a study of the Fort Ward African American Community. Mr. Mallamo and Ms. Moon didn't attempt to work with the Fort Ward and Seminary African American Descendants Society, Inc. and as a result this recent City of Alexandria effort further erodes the trust between the African American community and the public agency serving them.

The Descendant Society has also used the media to share their stories, further their efforts to locate The Fort burials, and get the attention of the City Council and the general public. In an article in *The Washington Informer*, Descendant Society President Adrienne T. Washington is quoted as saying, “They really don’t know where all the graves are. They know about the ones they have already found, but there are more. We still don’t have resolution over not putting picnic tables over our ancestors’ graves. Our ancestors are just as important as trees, dog parks and playgrounds” (Summers 2014).

Conclusions

In order to be responsible, philosopher Dana Kay Nelkin (2009: 152) argues that “on the particular occasion in question, one must be able to do the (or a) right thing for the right (or some good) reasons.” In the case of the burials at Fort Ward Park, both the Descendant Society and city officials acted within their senses of responsibility to do the right things for the right reasons. However, often both the actions and the reasons were perceived by the other side as completely wrong.

For city officials, following the standards of professional ethics and conduct, was a sufficient way to act responsibility to both the Descendant Society and the burials themselves. Restrained by city policies, funds available, and time, city officials acted with good archaeological intentions. Their sense of responsibility was guided by “an appeal to rational capacities or powers” based in the best practices designated by their fellow archaeologists (Nelkin 2009: 151).

However, the Descendant Society did not want city officials to act merely as responsible archaeologists, but with emotion and empathy for fellow community

members who felt disregarded, disrespected, and forgotten. For some descendants, the city is “to blame. They’re ashamed. But they don’t want to come out and say it” (Wanzer 2014). Because of the pain associated with the displacement of their community and the destruction of their sacred burial sites for which they blame the city, descendants adopted a sense of responsibility that was anchored in “holding responsible, making demands, and responding with reactive attitudes such as resentment and indignation” to the city that had wronged them for generations (Nelkin 2015: 358). Descendant Society President Adrienne T. Washington (November 9, 2013) explains the demands and feelings of the society that would hold the city responsible. She writes,

Here is another example of how bad things continue to be done “to us” and not “with us” or “for us” for more than a half century at “The Fort.” The city confiscated our land; the city refuses to locate ALL of the lost graves in the park as it proceeds with a future management plan; the city fails to stop the storm water runoff that continues to compromise our ancestors’ church cemetery, and the final insult comes as the city has broken its verbal and written covenant to work in partnership with Fort Ward descendants to “tell our story,” not theirs (A. Washington to L. Mallamo, letter, 9 November 2013, received via email).

With any conflict, there is a desire for resolution. Descendants have laid out demands which they believe would fulfill both their sense of responsibility to their dead and the city’s responsibility for past injustices. These requests include 100% excavation, a formal apology from the city, and full incorporation into the park’s interpretation in the museum, park grounds, and literature (Bradby 2014; Wanzer 2014).

Efforts have been made by the city to resolve this conflict. Although they have not always been successful in lessening the conflict, and, have on occasion,

intensified the conflict through their actions. Archaeological excavations, storm water management and park management plans, and the historical report were done to help meet the requests of the Descendant Society, but resulted in some of the most intense conflicts and confrontations between members of the Descendant Society and city officials. Recently, the city proposed hiring a contractor to conduct oral histories of Descendant Society members, but an agreement on the terms of the contract between the city and the Descendant Society could not be reached.⁸ However, both Descendant Society members and city officials agree that the creation and installation of signs in Fort Ward Park that tell the story of The Fort community has been a major accomplishment (Wanzer 2014). The signs and an accompanying brochure have brought The Fort community back as features of the park landscape and in the story of Alexandria's past. These signs are a permanent marker of both groups taking responsibility for the dead at Fort Ward Park.

⁸ I was the contractor selected by the Descendant Society and city to conduct the oral history interviews.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

When I set out to write this dissertation, my goal was to create a document about The Fort community that actively engaged the descendants and former residents in its production. Working with descendants and other stakeholder groups has recently become the standard in historical archaeology and in particular African American archaeology (Agbe-Davies 2010; Battle-Baptiste 2011; McDavid 1997; Watkins, Pyburn and Cressey 2000). However, many of the projects that propose working with stakeholder groups do not meet the standards of civic engagement. For me, conducting civically-engaged archaeology should be the standard not the exception. Because of this, I set out to make my work an example of civically-engaged archaeology.

“Civic engagement means building communities by creating or reinforcing relationships between people and promoting a healthy dialogue about, and active participation in, civic life” (Little and Amdur-Clark 2008). In order for my work to meet this definition of civic engagement, I needed to make a long-term commitment to both the archaeology and to the stakeholders, including the Descendant Society and Alexandria Archaeology, involved in the work at Fort Ward Park. I also needed to use my knowledge and training as an archaeologist to help facilitate communication between these groups. Although I was often met with resistance, my efforts to build relationships with members of the stakeholder groups have helped keep the work going.

Along the way, I began to question my place in uncovering and interpreting the history of The Fort community. I wondered what I could bring to this project that the other researchers, descendants, volunteers, and stakeholders could not. I discovered my contribution to this work through the combination of civic engagement and sensory archaeology.

As a historical archaeologist, I have been trained in how to understand and interpret material culture, historic documents, and other sources of information. However, not all archaeologists interpret these things in the same way. By utilizing a sensory approach I was able to develop an understanding of The Fort community and how it fit within the larger story of America that is different than the ones produced in the technically written archaeological and historical reports created by and for the OHA and Alexandria Archaeology (Appler 2009; Fesler 2012a; Fesler 2012b; Fesler, Bromberg, and Cressey 2012; Franz 2011a; Franz 2011b; Moon 2014; Ottery Group, Inc. 2011).

Understanding The Fort Community through Civic Engagement and Sensory Archaeology

Combining civically-engaged and sensory archaeology revealed a story of The Fort community that is understood through the senses of memory, race, place, community, and responsibility. Each of these senses rely on a unique combination of experiences understood through the physical senses and cultural perspectives. These experiences affect how The Fort is preserved and interpreted on the land of Fort Ward Park and in the historical narrative of Alexandria.

The sense of memory is deeply intertwined with materiality (Hamilakis 2014; Tilley 2006). For archaeologists making connections between the artifacts they uncover and the memories of the people or descendants of the people who used these items allows for a level of understanding that cannot be achieved otherwise. At The Fort, utilizing the combination of memories, artifacts, and popular culture allowed me to see the collection of Milk of Magnesia bottles as a reflection of a desire to buy multi-use products rather than evidence of a poor diet. Likewise, by using community memories, the boundaries of The Fort were expanded beyond the modern park borders, allowing for a community story that incorporated the experiences of African Americans living throughout the area.

Like memory, race and racism can be understood through sensory terms. Smith's (2006) argument for the importance of applying a multisensory approach to understanding the history of race in the United States holds true for examining The Fort's past. More importantly, the sense of racism affected nearly every aspect of life in The Fort community. As a sense, racism can be described as a feeling of restriction and exclusion, coupled with the threat of violence. For members of The Fort and Seminary communities, racism affected their ability to shop, work, go to school, and conform to cultural ideas of gender and hygiene. Racism also influence the final days of The Fort community, as city officials used threats of eminent domain to remove residents from their property and erase their presence from the landscape of Fort Ward. This history of racism continues to impact the relationships between members of the Descendant Society and city officials as they work to preserve and interpret The Fort.

The shared experience of racism and history of slavery are defining factors for African American communities. This certainly holds true for The Fort community. However The Fort community members' ability to succeed in the face of race based segregation, forms the basis of their sense of community, which is anchored in their family-like relationships and communal sharing of resources. The Fort's sense of community was manifested in the institutions created by its members, including Oakland Baptist Church, St. Cyprian's Church, and The Fort School, and the continuation of relationships between former residents and descendants.

Many communities, like The Fort, are connected through a shared location. This connection to the places members of a community live, work, use and remember, manifests as a sense of place (Morgan, Morgan, and Berrett 2006). Although, sense of place is experienced by everyone who visits Fort Ward Park. For members of the Descendant Society, their sense of place is anchored in the memories of The Fort, its visual absence on the landscape, and deep history of the community. Their efforts to reintroduce The Fort community to the landscape of Fort Ward Park through interpretive signs and sharing their story also changes the sense of place for the regular park visitor.

This work to bring The Fort community back to Fort Ward is done through a sense of responsibility. The sense of responsibility is a critical component of conducting civically-engaged archaeology (Little and Shackel 2014). However, differing senses of responsibility have caused conflict and misunderstandings between the stakeholder groups working to tell the story of The Fort and manage Fort Ward Park. Although the primary issues of conflict has been over the identification

and preservation of burials, each group's sense of responsibility has caused them to continue to work toward a resolution.

Civic Engagement at the Defenses of Washington

While writing this dissertation, I began to explore the possibility of applying a civically-engaged archaeology to several other forts in the Defenses of Washington. In these early stages of work, I have focused on three NPS fort parks, Fort Mahan, Fort Chaplin, and Fort Dupont, along the eastern edge of Washington, DC.

There are several differences between these forts and Fort Ward. All three forts were much smaller in size than Fort Ward. Fort Chaplin was armed, but never occupied during the war (Cooling and Owen 2010). And the communities surrounding Forts Mahan, Chaplin, and Dupont grew around the earthworks and the boundaries of the park, rather than on top of them.

The surrounding neighborhoods and communities are also different from Alexandria in their racial makeup and income level. The neighborhoods surrounding Forts Mahan, Chaplin, and Dupont are predominately African American and lower income than those around Fort Ward. These differences are an asset for comparative work between Fort Ward and the other Defenses of Washington, because if the work at Fort Ward can be successfully modeled at Forts Mahan, Chaplin, and Dupont then it will likely be fruitful at the other Defenses of Washington parks.

As a method, civic engagement is designed to be adaptable to the specific needs of the community, although the principles can be applied universally (Little and Shackel 2014). Because there is no direct equivalent to the Descendant Society in the communities surrounding Forts Mahan, Chaplin, and Dupont, the first step was to

locate people who are descendants and have family memories of the earliest African American settlers around these forts.

Beginning in fall 2012, NPS in partnership with American University conducted an ethnographic survey of African Americans who have family memories and histories related to the Defenses of Washington. The goal of this project is to “document the local history of African American “contraband” communities— established during or after the Civil War (1861-1877) and associated with eight Civil War Defense sites in Washington, DC” (National Park Service 2014). Locating the descendants of the between 10,000 and 20,000 contraband that came to DC during and immediately following the war was a major challenge of this project (Boyle 2014). However, identifying the descendants and recording their stories is an important first step in applying civic engagement to the Defenses of Washington sites.

At the same time, NPS wanted to create a program that reached out to community members living around Forts Mahan, Chaplin, and Dupont, who did not necessarily have a historical connection to the forts, but interacted with them as part of the landscape of their neighborhoods. To meet this need, the Urban Archaeology Corps (UAC) was created. In the development of the UAC, six objectives for the program were established, the first of which is “exploring archaeology as a tool of civic engagement for urban youth” (Wallover 2013: 3). Through my involvement with the UAC I was able to begin developing a civically-engaged archaeological program comparable with my work at Fort Ward.

The UAC is a summer youth employment program created by NPS in partnership with Groundwork USA. The UAC employs youth ranging in age between 15 and 25 to learn the methods of archaeological and historical research, conduct research and archaeological excavations, engage with the community about their discoveries, and create informative videos. The UAC research and videos focused on Forts Mahan, Chaplin, and Dupont and many of the UAC participants lived in the neighborhoods surrounding these parks.

As the UAC project archaeologist, I have helped create the program and manage the day-to-day activities of the group. In this position I have been able to shape this program as an act of civic engagement that treats the participants as stakeholders, while also training them how to do civically-engaged archaeological work.

There are several sets of goals for the UAC including the goals of the NPS Washington Office, goals of National Capital Parks- East (NACE) as the park that houses the UAC, my goals as the project archaeologist, and the goals we established for the participants. For the Washington Office, the goals of the UAC are long term and broad in scope. These are to help create a more racially and ethnically diverse NPS workforce, to create a more diverse interpretation of the cultural resources within the parks, and to make sure the next generation of tax payers, voters, and hopefully park attendees values and become stewards of the National Parks.

For the host park, in this case National Capital East, NACE, the goals are a mix of trying to meet immediate and long term needs. These include creating meaningful employment opportunities for the youth employed in their parks,

conducting the required archaeology needed to comply with Section 106, creating interpretive materials relating to the archaeological resources in the parks, informing the communities surrounding the NACE parks not only about the resources within the parks but even the parks' existence, establishing better relationships with the communities surrounding the parks, and learning what improvements young people would like to see within the parks.

The UAC was created in partnership with Groundwork Anacostia River/DC, a chapter of Groundwork USA. Groundwork's goals as an organization dovetail nicely with this program. These goals include increasing outdoor experiences and appreciation for youth, providing opportunities for young people to connect with NPS, and conducting projects to benefit the surrounding communities and community green spaces. The majority of youth that work with Groundwork do so through their Green Team program and as volunteers. Green Teams provide part-time employment and volunteer opportunities for young people working in the outdoors to improve their environment. Partnering with NPS through the UAC allows Groundwork to employ more youth and provide different types of employment opportunities to their Green Team members and volunteers.

NPS and Groundwork officials created goals for the UAC participants. During the course of the program, each participant completes some sort of interpretive product relating to the parks in which we have worked. Primarily these have been in the form of short videos uploaded to npsNACE YouTube channel (<https://www.youtube.com/user/npsNACE>). However, participants have also made a variety of brochures, flyers, kids' activity pages and coloring sheets, and even an

artifact display case. We asked the participants to keep three goals in mind while they worked on these products. These were to tell the public that the NACE parks exist, to inform the public about the resources within these parks, and to speak to the Park Service about improvements they would like to see within these parks.

In addition, the participants each came in with their own goals for the summer. For the majority, making money was the primary goal. Many of the participants were financially responsible for their own food, clothes, books, and other needs, while others were expected to use their money not only to support themselves but also their families. Bringing home a hefty paycheck was an important goal for all the participants. In the three years of the UAC, none of the participants came into the program with the goal of working for NPS on a long-term basis, few were interested in studying archaeology, anthropology, or history in college, and most had never considered a career in any of these fields. The majority of participants did not come into the UAC with the goal of this being a catalyst into their future career plans. For most it was a job with more appeal than working in fast food.

My goal as the project archaeologist is to make sure that this program meets the goals of the NPS Washington Office and the local park, Groundwork, and the participants. My aim is to teach the participants a different way of thinking about their community, their history, and how they fit into the world around them, rather than to train them to become professional archaeologists. I am also responsible for making sure that all the participants make it through the summer safe, generally happy, and to have a greater appreciation and knowledge of the parks in their area. In

order to meet the goals of everyone involved in the UAC, I adopted a civic engagement approach to how the UAC was run and the work the UAC undertook.

The UAC meets the qualifications of a civically-engaged program as outlined by Little (2007), Little and Amdur-Clark (2008), and Little and Shackel (2014). At the core of the UAC is the effort to build relationships, among the participants, between the participants and NPS, between NPS and Groundwork, and between all three organizations and the communities surrounding Forts Mahan, Chaplin, and Dupont. Going into its fourth summer, the UAC has developed into a long-term program that incorporates all seven civic engagement activities listed in Little and Shackel (2014).

Civic Engagement Activity: Learning from Others, Self, and Environment to Develop Informed Perspectives on Social Issues.

Of all the activities associated with a civically-engaged program, learn from others, self, and the environment encompasses the UAC the best. Learning for UAC participants took on many forms including guest speakers, workshops, site visits, historical research, archaeological excavations, and group discussions. Through these activities, the participants were trained in historical archaeology and other related fields. More importantly, these activities encouraged the participants to consider how the past affects the social issues they encountered on a daily basis, including racism, gentrification, gender and sexual discrimination, environmental preservation, and economic disparities.

In the end of program evaluation for 2014, one participant described what he or she learned by participating in the UAC by saying,

I have learned a lot. First and foremost I have learned that there are many archeologists like ones who dig up trash ones who go underwater to find artifacts and ones who do it on land. I have also learned what it is to have a job and how to do public service announcements. I have learned how to be an archeologist and how to make movies as well. This program has taught me about the D.C. riots and about the history of forts as well. I now know what a water trap is and that people such as myself and the rest of the archeologist crew can make a difference in the community by doing things as simple as recycling. I have learned how to do oral history projects as well. I have finally learned through my experience in the UAC (that) I have the knowledge to make sure other people know about the NPS and the opportunities that come with it (Mills 2014: 10).

All of these learning activities and discussions were centered on the history, archaeology, and preservation of Forts Mahan, Chaplin, and Dupont. The UAC's work and learning at these parks inspired them to think about their communities in a different way. In a post program survey, participants were asked to explain why preserving these parks was important. One participant responded by saying,

Especially being from a metropolitan area like DC where gentrification, construction, and constantly changing landscapes are very prevalent. Unfortunately, green spaces are not as common so it's very important to protect unaltered green spaces, parks or wilderness (Mills 2014: 6).

Civic Engagement Activity: Recognizing and Appreciating Human Diversity and Commonality.

Recognizing the diversity and similarities amongst UAC participants as well as within the communities surrounding the Defenses of Washington Parks was essential to making the UAC successful. Efforts to meet this goal were formalized through the inclusion of a NPS Allies for Inclusion and Digital Story Telling workshops. These workshops opened the group up to share with each other. Deep discussions about the participants' backgrounds, families, cultures, and values came

out. These workshops helped create a comfortable and safe environment for the participants to share throughout the summer. The conversations became incredibly important for the group to understand each other, but also provided an opportunity for us to talk about important issues, primarily race, but also gender, identity, social organization, and evolutionary history.

Participants applied their appreciation of diversity to their work at the Defenses of Washington parks. They worked to incorporate a more diverse history of these parks and surrounding communities, including the possibility of contraband coming to the forts as a path to freedom during the Civil War, in their videos and other interpretive products. “One participant stated that *she could see differences in perspectives of historic events that took place on park property and that she would be more interested in the park if she could see several perspectives displayed at once*” (Wallover 2013: 14). Participants expressed their desire to increase the diversity of interpretation to NPS officials and the community at large.

Civic Engagement Activity: Behaving, and Working through Controversy, with Civility.

The age range of participants created some unique program challenges and controversies within the group. The younger participants had little to no prior work experience. They were not accustomed to having to notifying someone if they were not going to be at work or were going to be late. They were not used to having to be responsible for bringing their own lunch. Occasionally, the lack of professionalism escalated to the level of participants using inappropriate and abusive language. On these rare occasions, other participants intervened to let a participant know if he or

she was acting inappropriately or offensively. The college-age participants often took the lead in resolving these situations. For these older participants, who were not used to being around high school students, their patience was often tested, but they took on the responsibility of guiding the younger participants about how to act in the work place. Despite these conflicts, each year the UAC participants came together to create their interpretive products and develop lasting relationships.

Civic Engagement Activity: Participating Actively in Public Life, Public Problem Solving, and Community Service.

Each summer, the UAC participated in several service projects during the course of the program. During summer 2014, the UAC took part in projects to help other NPS parks, archaeologists in the Washington, DC area, and Groundwork. These service activities included improving hiking trails, cleaning out litter traps, collecting litter from the parks, revitalizing a community garden, and clearing a vacant lot.

Each of these activities were connected to developing an archaeological understanding of the forts and the communities in which they were working. For example, the participants conducted systematic litter collections along the trails and playing fields in Fort Mahan Park. As a basic service project, this trash collection cleaned up the most used areas of the park, making it more inviting to visitors and improving the natural environment. After applying an archaeological analysis to the objects collected participants were able to develop a better understanding of the park's visitors: who they were, which parts of the park they used, when they used the park, and what activities visitors participated in at the park. This information was then

shared with NPS officials to help them rethink their approach to litter management, interpretation, use, and law enforcement in Fort Mahan Park.

Civic Engagement Activity: Assuming Leadership and Membership Roles in Organizations.

A few of the participants have used the UAC to spring board for leadership roles and careers in NPS and Groundwork. Sarneshea Evans, a participant during the 2013, is a RTCA Community Assistance Fellow at the National Park Service. Sarneshea's work with the UAC has been an important part of her new position. The video she made during the 2013 UAC was adapted and used for recruiting oral history participants into African American Civil War Descendants Study undertaken by NPS and American University.

Likewise, Dominique Skinner, a participant during 2012 UAC, is now the Program Coordinator for Groundwork Anacostia/DC. In this position, Dominique has been able to take the information and skills she learned as part of the UAC and apply them to other Groundwork programs. Through Groundwork, she has lead trash clean-ups, tree plantings, and equipment installation at Fort Mahan and Fort Chaplin Park, during which she was able to incorporate the historical and archaeological information she learned as part of the UAC.

Civic Engagement Activity: Developing Empathy, Ethics, Values, and Sense of Social Responsibility.

UAC participants developed a sense of responsibility that incorporated the values of historical and environmental preservation and stewardship and knowledge of the past.

In general, participants' valuing knowledge of the past had increased from the beginning to the end of the program. According to Figure 12, in the front end evaluation only 75% of participants had expressed that this knowledge was extremely or very important. The summative evaluation recorded that 100% of participants now valued knowledge of historic people and events as extremely or very important. As one participant said during his video field book, he did not realize "how much [he] had taken for granted the history of the area". He elaborated further that "it's important to preserve it, protect it and educate people around the area about our history in the DC/Maryland area (Wallover 2013).

The sense of responsibility they developed extended into their relationships with their families. One participant wrote about the UAC "I've been trying to like find a way to get money to help my dad ...so I can provide for myself, and now that I have my own money, I can buy my own food, buy my own clothes, and my father just saved up enough money to get a new car!" (Mills 2014).

Civic Engagement Activity: Promoting social justice locally and globally.

Several of the videos created by the UAC participants promote issues of social justice. During summer 2012, Jennell Green created a video that focused on the problem of neglect that had "taken the shine" out of her neighborhood. Jennell grew up just over a mile away from Forts Mahan, Chaplin, and Dupont. For her, bringing attention to these parks was also a way to bring attention to her community.

The greatest impact of the UAC has been on the communities immediately surrounding the fort parks. However, all of the videos created by the UAC have been placed on YouTube and can be viewed by anyone in the world with access to the internet. This means that the stories, memories, and causes promoted in these videos have a global reach.

Sensory Archaeology at the Defenses of Washington

UAC conducted a limited amount of archaeological excavation at the Defenses of Washington parks. A small shovel test pit survey of Fort Mahan and Fort Chaplin parks was conducted in 2013. The UAC collected, cleaned, and documented artifacts pulled from a historic well during a looting episode at Fort Mahan Park in 2012 (Figure 8.). Although, the collection of artifacts is small and comes from only a small portion of these sites, they begin to form sense-scape of Fort Mahan, Fort Chaplin, and the surrounding African American communities.

All of the artifacts identified during this preliminary work date to the early and mid-20th century and each can be analyzed utilizing sensory archaeology to create an interpretation of the past. Many of these items, including glass bottles, animal bones, and ceramics reflect the interpretations made of similar artifacts discussed in this dissertation. However, for these conclusions, I would like to focus on how my observations of UAC members' experience interacting with these items reveals another contribution of sensory archaeology, which is the ability to make the past and experience in the present.



Figure 12. UAC Participant Tatiana Bogans Collects Artifacts from a Looted Well in Fort Mahan Park

Of all the artifacts collected during this work, the one that bridged the physical senses, memories, and materiality the most were the pop-tops pulled from the top layers of soil in the STPs in Fort Mahan Park. The shiny, sharp edged, and strange shape caught the eyes and skin of several of the UAC participants. Initially, the participants simply pulled them from the screen and asked what they were, expecting a one or two word answer. Instead, they were treated to stories and memories of Jim Rosenstock, an NPS ranger helping with the excavation, about what it was like to open a can using a pop-top and drink from it when he was a teenager. When they looked to me for similar stories, I instead serenaded them with Jimmy Buffet's

“Margaritaville,” emphasizing the lines “I blew out my flip flop, stepped on a pop top, cut my heel, had to cruise on back home” (Buffet 1977).

Although, the pop tops were recovered from a modern fill layer and not kept for future analysis, their discovery epitomizes the potential for sensory archaeology conducted through civic engagement at the Defenses of Washington. Without any intention, the physical senses, sense of memory, interaction with popular culture, and materiality came together to create an immersive experience connecting the UAC with their community’s past.

Although, the discovery of a pop-top by a group of teenagers may not seem like a strong case for the adoption of civically-engaged sensory archaeology, I believe that antidotes like this along with the my findings during my work with The Fort community at Fort Ward Park and scholarly support of sensory archaeologists like Yannis Hamilakis (2014) and civically-engaged archaeologists like Paul Shackel and Barbara Little (2014), make a strong case for the benefits of utilizing a combination of these approaches. For me, conducting civically-engaged sensory archaeology allows archaeologists to not only create a nuanced and layered understanding of the past, but also how it is remembered, understood, interpreted, and valued.

The Fort and the UAC Come Together

During the 2012 and 2013 UAC programs, I brought the participants to Fort Ward to meet with members of the Descendant Society and city archaeologists and to tour the museum, excavations, cemeteries, earthworks, and Fort community signs. These visits to Fort Ward allowed for the UAC and Descendant Society members to

discuss their experiences trying to tell the history of African Americans at the Defenses of Washington.

For the UAC participants, the pristine conditions of Fort Ward Park stood in stark contrast to the parks they worked in, particularly Forts Mahan and Chaplin. More importantly the extensive archaeological work and deep involvement of the Descendant Society showed them the potential of conducting civically-engaged work. Many of the participants came away from their Fort Ward visit inspired and slightly jealous of the work that has been done at Fort Ward. With all the conflicts and confrontations between the Descendant Society and city officials, the awe of the UAC participants served as an excellent reminder of what has been accomplished in regards to uncovering and telling the story of The Fort community. Although there is still more work to do to recover the memories, burials, and archaeological information of The Fort community, the inspiration and jealousy that the UAC participants felt when visiting Fort Ward Park is an indicator of the ability of civically-engaged sensory archaeology to tell the story of the past.

Epilogue

In Chapter 1 I asked, what is the best way to interpret The Fort community and similar African American communities related to the Defenses of Washington? Throughout this dissertation, I have attempted to answer this question by utilizing a sensory, civically-engaged approach to my archaeological research. At present, my work has shown how taking this approach can result in a different understanding of the past. Although, I do not believe that I have proven that this is the best or only way for conducting archaeological research at these sites, I have created a framework that could be enhanced through the work of other archaeologists willing to engage with their senses and the communities with which they work.

Sensory archaeology has great potential for creating a different understanding of The Fort and other African American communities associated with the Defenses of Washington. Using sensory archaeology forced me to rethink how I look at artifacts, by shifting my focus from the object itself to the experience of interacting with it. Sensory archaeology places the understanding of the past in the intermediate area between person and thing, where the senses serve as filters between the two. In this study, I expanded the idea of senses beyond the physical (sight, sound, smell, touch, and taste), to include cultural phenomena (memory, race, place, community, popular culture, and responsibility) that similarly serve as filters between people and the material objects they use on a daily basis.

At times, the physical and cultural senses came together to create a different and richer understanding of the artifacts recovered, such as in my examination of

vinyl records, girdle fasteners, and Milk of Magnesia bottles. At other times, nothing new seemed to be learned from using this approach. However, I believe that this reflects my inexperience with this approach and the difficulty of training myself to consider all of the physical and cultural senses when examining artifacts, rather than a failure of sensory archaeology. For me, the potential of sensory archaeology demonstrated in this study warrants further application in the archaeology of African American communities associated with the Defenses of Washington and throughout historical archaeology.

Despite the uneven success of utilizing sensory archaeology to create a richer understanding of The Fort, my efforts of conducting civically-engaged work can be seen throughout this dissertation. However, I did not truly appreciate the success of my civic engagement until the oral defense of this dissertation, when two members of the Descendant Society chose to attend. Unknown to me, this was the first time members of the communities studied by the doctoral students in my department attended a dissertation defense. Through their presence and their tearful and overwhelmingly kind comments, the community members expressed their support and appreciation for the work I have done with and for them. This, more than anything I could write here, shows the importance of conducting civically-engaged archaeology.

Following my oral defense, one committee member said to me, “your dissertation was written for the community” rather than for my fellow archaeologists. For him, this was not necessarily a compliment, as he worried that I had not written a document that would be widely adopted by my archaeological colleagues as a model

for a new approach to historical archaeology. But for me, this was a testament of the success of my civically-engaged approach, an approach I am committed to using throughout my career and I hope I inspire other archaeologists to do the same.

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