PRINCE WILLIAM FOREST PARK

THE AFRICAN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

BY

ARVILLA PAYNE-JACKSON, Ph.D.

SUE ANN TAYLOR, Ph.D.

Department of the Interior
National Park Service
National Capital Area
June 2000

PRINCE WILLIAM FOREST PARK

THE AFRICAN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

By

Arvilla Payne-Jackson, Ph.D.
Howard University

Sue Ann Taylor, Ph.D.
Howard University

Department of the Interior
National Park Service
National Capital Region

June 2000

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page
List of Maps ---------- i
List Tables ---------- ii
List of Abbreviations ---------- iii
Time Line ---------- iv

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY ---------- v

PART ONE
INTRODUCTION ---------- 1
Purpose of the Research ---------- 3

PART TWO
METHODOLOGY ---------- 6
Selection of Participants ---------- 7
Conducting the Interviews ---------- 8
Transcriptions and Editing ---------- 9
Archival Records: Public and Private Documents ---------- 10
Data Analysis ---------- 11

PART THREE
HISTORICAL CONTEXT ---------- 12
A Brief History of Race Relations in Virginia ---------- 13
Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine ---------- 20
Prohibition: 1920-1933 ---------- 22
From Depression to Recovery: The New Deal 1933-1938-- 23
Civilian Conservation Corps in Prince William County ------- 25
The New Deal ---------- 26
The WPA and The Federal Writers' Project ---------- 27
The War Years: 1930-1945 ---------- 28

PART FOUR
COMMUNITY LIFE IN PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY: 1920-1945 -- 31
Black-White Relations in Prince William County---------- 31
Cabin Branch Community: Batestown/Hickory Ridge ------- 36
Making a Living ---------- 42
Bootlegging ---------- 65
Leisure Time and Holidays ---------- 70
Schools and Churches ---------- 75
Health and Well Being ---------- 89
Rites of Passage ---------- 93

PART FIVE
LAND ACQUISITION - PHASE ONE ---------- 100
Chopawamsic Recreational Demonstration Area Project ---- 100
Land Purchase: 1935-1939 ---------- 104

PART SIX
LAND ACQUISITION - PHASE TWO ---------- 123
The 1942-1943 Takeover ---------- 125
Resistance and Relocation ---------- 129

PART SEVEN
PRINCE WILLIAM FOREST PARK IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM ------- 134
Breaking the Legacy of Racism ---------- 134
Research Questions Revisited ---------- 136
Recommendations ---------- 144
Future Research ---------- 150

Appendix A: Interviewees ---------- 154
Appendix B: Protocol ---------- 156
Appendix C: National Park Service Land Acquisition---------- 163
Appendix D: Department of the Navy Land Acquisition ---------- 168
Appendix E: Breaking the Legacy of Racism ---------- 171

References ---------- 184

List of Illustrations

Map One - Displays property ownership in Hickory Ridge area by ethnicity at the time of purchase by the Department of the Interior, page 40.

Map Two - Highlights important places in Prince William Forest Park and surrounding communities in the 1930s, page 61.

List of Tables

Table One - Properties purchased by the Department of the Interior in the 1930s by ethnicity, acreage and price paid, page 116.

Table Two - Properties condemned by the Department of the Interior in the 1930s by ethnicity, acreage and price paid, page 116.

Table Three - Properties purchased and condemned by the Department of the Interior in the 1930s by ethnicity, acreage and price paid, page 116.

Table Four - Properties purchased by the Department of the Navy in the 1940s by ethnicity, acreage and price paid, page 132.

Table Five - Properties condemned by the Department of the Navy in the 1940s by ethnicity, acreage and price paid, page 133.

Table Six - Properties purchased and condemned by the Department of the Navy in the 1940s by ethnicity, acreage and price paid, page 133.

List of Abbreviations

Federal Agencies and Programs 1920-1945:

AAA	Agricultural Adjustment Administration
CCC	Civilian Conservation Corps
CWA	Civil Works Administration
ECW	Emergency Conservation Work
FERA	Federal Emergency Relief Administration
FSA	Farm Security Administration
FWP	Federal Writers' Project
NIRA	National Industrial Recovery Act
NRA	National Recovery Administration
OSS	Office of Strategic Services
PWA	Public Works Administration
RA	Farm Resettlement Administration
RDA	Recreational Demonstration Area
TVA	Tennessee Valley Administration
USO	United Service Organization
WPA	Works Progress Administration

Other Abbreviations Used in this Document:

GMP	General Management Plan
NPS	National Park Service
MBC	Marine Corps Base
NA	National Archives
PL	Public Law
PRWI	Prince William Forest Park
PWFP	Prince William Forest Park
RG	Record Group
USC	United States Codes
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
USDI	United States Department of the Interior

Time Line

1860	Virginia Census recorded 490,865 enslaved persons and 58,042 free blacks in Virginia
1861	Civil War began between the North and South
1863	Emancipation Proclamation signed by President Lincoln
1865	The Civil War ended
1865	Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is ratified abolishing slavery
1865	Presidential Reconstruction
1865	Black Codes enacted in Virginia
1865	Freedmen's Bureau established
1866	Civil Rights Act passed
1868	Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution granting full citizenship to formerly enslaved persons was ratified
1889	Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine opened
1890s	Jim Crow Laws replaced Black Codes and Reconstruction
1920	Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine closed
1920	Eighteenth Amendment passed; Prohibition began
1929	Stock market crash; Beginning of the Depression
1933	Franklin Delano Roosevelt took office
1933	The New Deal is introduced
1933	Legislation introduced to create the Emergency Work Conservation later known as the Civilian Conservation Corps
1933	Prohibition ended
1934	Legislation passed for creation of Recreational Demonstration Areas
1935	Purchase of land for the Chopawamsic Demonstration Area by the Department of the Interior began
1935	The Virginia Writers' Project began
1938	The New Deal ended
1939	Purchase of property for the Chopawamsic Demonstration Area ended
1939	World War II began
1941	Japanese Pearl Harbor, December 7th
1942	The United States Department of the Navy took the properties in Prince William, Fauquier and Stafford Counties to establish training grounds for the Office of Strategic Services
1945	World War II ended

Acknowledgments

Reconstructing the history of a community is a privilege that one is not often given. In this work, we attempt to tell the story of life in the Cabin Branch Community between 1920 and 1945. As so often happens we were a few years too late to record the memories of the oldest members of the community, as they had died a few years or months before we began our work. The story that follows is only the beginning and provides only a partial glimpse into the special bond that exists among the members of this community. The essence of the heart and soul of the people that have made this area "like no other place" cannot be captured in as short a time as we had. We only hope that we have been able to voice at least the spirit of the community in what follows.

We are deeply indebted to the many members of this community who gave so generously of their time to share their memories. We have tried to be faithful to their experiences in the telling of their stories. Special thanks to Deacon Walter Otis Kendall who read the first draft of our report and was willing to answer questions as they arose. We owe a great debt of gratitude to all of the individuals who patiently answered our questions: Jack and Estelle Williams, Larry Williams, Ora Glass, Ora Bates, Hilda Howard, Margaret Simmons, Doris Smith Penn, Juanita Porter Smith, Wilmer Porter, James and Rose Kendall, Charles Kendall, Harvey Watson, Hilda and Lee Lansing, William Kinzer, Evelyn Kershaw, Barbara Kirby, Joe Hebda, Ray Woolfenden, John Cline Alexander, and Mary Johnson.

We gratefully acknowledge the National Park Service and Howard University for negotiating the cooperative agreement that provided us with this opportunity. This research was also made possible with the support from the Faculty Research Program in the Social Sciences, Humanities, and Education at Howard University. The National Park Service officials and staff generously extended their assistance throughout this project. We owe our gratitude to Dr. Rebecca Joseph, Manager for the Northeast Region, Ethnography Program, for her insight into the importance of cultural history in understanding our National Parks and the sacrifices required of individuals and families to make these parks a reality. We also deeply appreciate the many hours of assistance given by Supervisory Park Ranger, Russell Whitlock for his continued patience and support throughout. We are especially grateful to Ranger Jacque Lavele who made available to us the National Park Service archives at Turkey Run Environmental Education Center. We appreciate the time she spent locating maps, photographs, public documents and other archival materials. We also recognize Chief Historian National Park Service, Gary Scott, Superintendent of Prince William Forest Park, Robert Hickman, Chief Ranger, Louis Wesselhoft, Park Ranger, Ben Nelson, Human Resource Officer, Sandra Wiggins, and Park employees, Junice Smith, Louis Smith, and Gary Boone for their contributions.

A special thanks to Marilyn Hochmuth, Curator of the Weems-Botts Museum and her staff and the staff of the Quantico Marine Corp Base Archives who made their records available to us.

This project was also partially funded through a Howard University Faculty Research Support Grant that made it possible for us to extend the period of involvement of students on the project. We are very grateful for this support. Of the students who worked on the project, a special thanks to Jobita Smith, Katricia Bennett, Jewell Washington, and Fayola Herod who spent many hours in archives, assisted with the interviews and transcribed the taped interviews. We also wish to thank Joy Dawson and Steve Henderson for their work in the early stages of the project.

We deeply appreciate those who have supported us throughout, our families for their patience and encouragement, our colleague, Lillian Gaskill, and friends Margaret Thomas and Patricia Parker who offered advice and assistance.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The National Park Service is mandated by legislation to manage and preserve natural and cultural resources for present and future generations in accordance with standards set forth in the *Director's Order #28: Cultural Resource Management* and *Management Policies.* This includes the analysis of ethnohistorical and ethnographic data about African Americans and other groups with traditional ties to specific park units. The data help in developing cultural awareness, identifying culturally sensitive issues, and recognizing significant resources with potential eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places.

Prince William Forest Park in northeastern Virginia is a site that was once home to Native Americans, Euro-American settlers, and African Americans. The settlements and cultural artifacts from past inhabitants have been destroyed over the years; yet, the remembered experiences of former residents form the basis for this Oral History Project.

In 1933, as part of the National Industrial Recovery Act, this land was one of 46 sites selected as part of park conservation programs. The inhabitants were displaced to create the Chopawamsic Recreational Development Area (RDA).

Between 1942 and 1943, the remaining residents were forced to relocate for the expansion of Quantico Marine Corps Base as a training site designated for use by the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during World War II. Following the War the land was returned to the National Park Service.

Purpose of the Oral History Project

The primary aim of the African American Oral History Project was the recreation of the history of African Americans residing on land that is now part of Prince William Forest Park. The goal of reconstructing the historical experiences of blacks entails creating a microhistory of ordinary people's lives by exploring the circumstances of daily living within the context of the larger society. It includes the examination of both public and private arenas with consideration of political and personal accounts of what transpired in a particular place and at a particular time. The project addressed the following questions:

1. What are the historical associations between families living within the current park boundaries between 1920-1940 and the land they inhabited?

2. What were the major features of social, economic, political, and spiritual life for those families during this period.

3. How did the families respond to the creation of the Chopawamsic Recreational Demonstration Area (RDA)

4. What cultural and/or natural resources linked to the pre-Chopawamsic RDA era are still valued and why?

Methodology

The collection of oral histories and the review of archival records and personal documents provided the major thrust of this ethnographic study of African American life and culture from the 1920s-1940s. As former residents were identified, this resulted in a snowball effect in which a total of 20 interviews lasting from one to three hours were conducted over a period of thirteen months. Archival materials and personal documents complemented the oral histories.

Content analysis was the primary method used in interpreting the data recorded from the interviews. The focus was on family life, subsistence activities, work and leisure, church, school, and gaining an understanding of the Cabin Branch Community consisting of Batestown and Hickory Ridge that no longer appear on any maps. The meaning this land held for them is brought to light through life stories that revealed the impact of the two distinct phases of displacement.

The conservation of the cultural history of any group requires a much fuller understanding of the historical, political, economic, and social factors that contribute to their life ways. To understand the rich cultural heritage of African Americans in Prince William Forest Park, it was essential that these variables be considered.

FINDINGS

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, four main Black communities, Baskerville, Batestown, Smoketown and Minnieville (Napisco) were located in the areas surrounding what was to become the Prince William Forest Park. Batestown and Hickory Ridge made up the Cabin Branch Community. Batestown was a free black community that developed after the Civil War, although there were free blacks in the area much earlier. Hickory Ridge was an extension of Batestown that became a mixed community with the development of the Pyrite Mine that brought in outsiders to work. African Americans inhabited about one third of the land selected for the Chopawamsic RDA and they were displaced along with white residents between 1935-1939.

The justification for taking this land offered by the Land Program Division of the Resettlement Administration was based on demographic and logistical considerations of its proximity to Washington, D.C. Further justification cited poor land quality and unprofitable farming as reasons.

The second phase of the takeover of the Park by the OSS for the training of personnel during WWII was far more demanding and inflexible than the land acquisition for the Chopawamsic Park Project in the middle 1930s.

Following is a summary of the answers to the Research Questions.

- Most residents depended on subsistence farming along with odd jobs to make a living. Land was invaluable to African Americans not only as an economic resource, but also as an extension of self and family.

- Historical associations were revealed as people recalled the location of a school, church, barn, store, or home. The physical structures have been demolished, but the memories remain.

- Activities revolved around the family, church, and the land. Families were very closely tied to their land, symbolically, spiritually, and economically. Many of the day-to-day tasks were shared by blacks and whites. The communal spirit helped them persevere through hard times. But community well-being was not immune from the discriminatory stance and social injustices that plagued the rest of the country during these years

- The church was the center of life and values in the community for meeting spiritual and social needs. The first mutual aid and benevolent societies began in churches.

- Social activities included enjoying music, games, and house parties. The best expressions of a cultural heritage are found in the interchanges between work and play.

- Perhaps the most revealing aspect of this research was that most people interviewed did not seem to be as aware of the Park takeover in the 1930s as they were of the land acquisition in the expansion of the Quantico Marine Corps Base for the OSS in the 1940s.

- The takeover of property in the 1930s to create the Chopawamsic RDA was gradual. Most families seemed to be given time to relocate, remaining on their properties for several years in some cases.

- The Park Superintendent made an effort to establish personal relationships with families in an effort to ease the transition.

- A few families reported that the takeover of their families' property was seen as a good thing. The money offered provided families with a way out and up.

- The opening of the CCC camps provided work opportunities for families and was not seen as negative.

- The strongest reaction of families was to the takeover of the Park by the Office of Strategic Services, 1942-1943. Resentment was voiced about the unrealistic time frame of two weeks given to families to clear the area. The most bitterness was expressed over unfair payments offered to families for their property and no money being offered for their actual homes, barns, stores, or other appurtenances and the long delay in receiving payment, up to several years in some cases.

- The Park and the OSS appeared to be perceived as one entity, "the government," and subsequently, the National Park Service was included as a target of their resentment.

- It is difficult to find any physical resources as all evidence of built structures in the environment during the pre-RDA era as the structure were demolished either by the Park as part of its move to create a nature reserve or by the OSS during World War II. Structures that had been present and used by the CCC are gone with the exception of some cabins in the camping areas. Original buildings converted for use by the OSS no longer exist. The few remaining vestiges of the tunnels at the mine and cemeteries that belonged to families are the only artifacts left.

- The baptismal site located where the north and south branches of Quantico Creek meet is one of the few natural resources that has significance for the cultural history of the community. Forty-two cemeteries have been located in the Park. Yet, there may well be others that are hidden by the overgrowth, or have no identifying markings left.

Recommendations

The following issues were identified and recommendations made.

Issue 1: Historic preservation and the conservation of a cultural heritage has been lost through the destruction of the built environment, the natural landscape, and cultural artifacts. It is impossible to conserve what has been destroyed. Families feel this loss.

Recommendations:

- Construct a cultural heritage trail that embraces the legacy of Native Americans, African Americans, and Euro-Americans. The construction of the trail should be designed in consultation with community members.

- Have permanent and rotating exhibits at the Visitors Center that provide an overview of the rich cultural heritage of what is now Prince William Forest Park.

- Establish a Board or Task Force for the purpose of securing funds for the procurement of artifacts from private collections for loans or permanent donation.

- Produce a new videotape on the history of Prince William Forest Park and surrounding communities that documents and captures the cultural diversity and the rich legacy of former residents from the pre-colonial period to the present.

Issue 2: Scheduling problems of camp grounds for reunions.

Recommendation:

- Park officials should review current policies for reserving campgrounds to determine if there are areas of inconsistencies and work with the community to arrange a mutually agreeable timeline for the reservation of campgrounds.

Issue 3: Most families resented that they were required to pay an entrance fee to visit what was originally their own home and property.

Recommendation:

- Park officials should re-examine their policy to waive entrance fees for all families with an established history within Park land.

Issue 4: According to the Cemetery Data File there are 42 cemeteries located within the Park. The over-growth has hidden and hindered access to grave sites for many of these locations.

Recommendations:

- The Park should approach families who are known to have family plots located within the Park and ascertain what the desires of the families are concerning the upkeep of those grave sites.

- If families want to maintain the upkeep of the cemeteries a mutually acceptable plan should be executed including establishing a Special Use Permit.

- The Park officials should consult officials from other parks that have already dealt with this issue, especially those parks with Native American populations that have sacred grounds as well as burial grounds located within park lands.

Issue 5: Several community members voiced deep concerned about mining shafts and water wells that were open in the Park at the time of these interviews. These propose a potential hazard to both people and animals.

Recommendations:

- Park officials should consult with community residents to determine where the open shafts and wells are and close them off.

- The Park has proposed a restoration of the Pyrite Mine. Park officials should make the public aware of the project.

Issue 6: Two residents expressed considerable bitterness that they could not have access to running water and sewer lines in their neighborhood.

Recommendation:

- Park personnel need to meet with community members to discuss this issue and resolve the question of who has jurisdiction over this area. It needs to be made clear what the federal government, the Environmental Protection Agency and the National Park Service policies mandate.

Issue 7: A recreational area called Carter's Day Camp, at one time located within the Park, had a baseball field and other facilities to accommodate social and community activities. Carter's Day Camp was closed and the facilities demolished as part of the renovation of the Park as a nature center.

Recommendation:

- Carter's Day Camp was perceived by local residents as a part of their community, and therefore, it was felt as a true loss of something valuable to the community. Park officials should select a recreational area, perhaps the same location where Carter's Day Camp was originally located, and reconstruct the site in order to provide an area in the Park that provides full recreational opportunities.

Issue 8: A range of attitudes from hostility and anger to ambiguity and disinterest toward the National Park Service surfaced during the interviews.

Recommendations:

- The National Park Service must establish an open dialogue with the community through a series of forums, workshops, or focus groups as the Park begins to develop its cultural heritage programs.

- Park officials should actively seek local residents as employees or volunteers to work on various Park projects and programs and to conduct research relating to the community.

- Prince William Forest Park staff should work with local churches and community groups to develop positive working relationships and open communication.

Issue 9: The diversity found in the community must be reflected in the Park administration in terms of policy decision-making and programmatic planning and services.

Recommendations:

- All decision-making bodies such as Commissions, Boards, and the National Park Service Administration that influence both natural and cultural resources and programs offered by the Park must reflect the diversity of the community.

- Park Officials must work with members of the community to insure the full participation of people of color in Park planning, activities and services.

- Park personnel including rangers and staff positions at all levels must reflect our nation's diverse population. The intentions of Federal guidelines and regulations for equality in employment must be met. Furthermore, all National Park Service employees must be competent to understand the significance of culturally distinctive points of view.

On Father's Day, June 20, 1999 a day of reconciliation was planned by the residents and pastors of the local community. The flyers that were circulated throughout the area called it, "Breaking the Legacy of Racism: Honoring the Displaced Families of Prince William Forest Park." The aim was to address the long-standing discontent that existed between the community and Prince William Forest Park. Through this day of repentance and prayer the community would come together in fellowship to address a wrong.

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Historic Sites Act of 1935 (49 U.S.C. 303) provided the directive for the protection and preservation of historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance. During the 1960s and 1970s Congress enacted various measures to protect America's natural and cultural resources. This included the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and amendments through 1992 (16 U.S.C. 470, et seq.). These federal laws established a program for the preservation of historic landmarks and places and the conservation of cultural resources (U.S. Department of the Interior (USDI) 1993). The Federal government's regulations and guidelines for historic preservation activities focused on three distinct areas: nature, the built environment, and community life and culture (USDI 1993).

The National Park Service (NPS) is mandated by legislation to manage cultural and natural resources for present and future generations in accordance with standards set forth in the *Director's Order #28: Cultural Resource Management* (NPS 1998). This includes the analysis of ethnohistorical and ethnographic data about Native Americans, African Americans and other groups with traditional ties to specific park units. The data help in developing cultural awareness, identifying culturally sensitive issues, and recognizing significant resources with potential eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places.

Prince William Forest Park is located 32 miles south of Washington, D.C. in northeastern Virginia. With more than 17,000 acres, it is the greatest expanse of

Piedmont deciduous forest in the National Park System and the largest park managed as a natural and recreational area in Metropolitan Washington. Facilities include a visitor's center, hiking trails, picnic areas, campgrounds, and the Turkey Run Environmental Education Center. The Quantico Marine Corps Base borders it to the south and west. The Quantico Creek watershed is an integral part of the park's ecosystem and social history (NPS 1997).

The site was once home to Native Americans, Euro-American settlers, and African Americans. Parker's (1985) *The Hinterland: An Overview of the Prehistory and History of Prince William Forest Park Virginia*, provides a remarkable introduction to the archaeological and cultural history of the area beginning with the earliest evidence of hunting-gathering Native Americans.

In 1607 Scottish immigrants settled in Virginia. Large tobacco plantations were established and the Port of Dumfries was built to accommodate a profitable shipping business. Intensive farming of tobacco and other crops left the soil depleted of nutrients and soil erosion led to the silting of the port by 1785 (Strickland 1986.xi).

In addition to farming, gristmills and sawmills operated in the area. A pyrite mine was opened in 1889 and employed 200 to 300 workers until it closed in 1920. Pyrite (known as "fools gold") was a source of sulfur used to make gunpowder during WWI. Following the close of the mines, residents supplemented their income in various ways including lumbering, cutting rail ties, and selling "moonshine" liquor.

The stock market crash of 1929 set into motion a chain of events that had a lasting effect on people throughout the country. In 1933 the Resettlement Administration under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act, acquired nearly 17,000 acres of land that became the Chopawamsic Recreational Demonstration Area and the first phase of dislocation of families took place. In 1942-43, the Secretary of the Navy acquired 4862 acres for use as training grounds for the Office of Strategic Services during WWII. The result was the second phase of dislocation of families.

Purpose of the Research

The primary aim of the African American Oral History Project was the recreation of the history of African Americans residing on land that is now part of Prince William Forest Park. In the early 1980s, following a study on the "status of intangible cultural resources," the term "cultural conservation" was adopted as a concept for addressing and organizing both public efforts concerned with community life and the protection of cultural heritage (Hufford 1994:3). This included the recommendation to utilize an ethnographic approach guided by the cultural concerns of those most affected. A grass-roots approach to identifying cultural resources was seen as crucial for any kind of meaningful conservation efforts.

The reconstruction and conservation of a cultural heritage should include an interdisciplinary approach utilizing the knowledge and skill of archaeologists, ethnographers, architects, historians and environmentalists as well as the people

who experienced a particular place. Low (1994:66) makes it perfectly clear that, "Certainly part of our mandate for preserving cultural resources is based on the notion that the environment is valued and encodes important elements of our biophysical, social and cultural history." Thus, the notion of place is crucial to our understanding of cultural conservation. Place, according to Low, "is not just a setting for behavior but an integral part of social interaction and cultural processes (1994:66; see also Franklin and Steiner 1992). It is with this in mind, that we focus on reconstructing the cultural experiences of African Americans in the place they once called home. Through archival records, public and personal documents, and the remembered experiences of family members, this rich cultural heritage can be disclosed.

The project addressed the following questions, which were originally proposed by the National Park Service:

1. What are the historical associations between families living within the current Park boundaries between 1920-1945 and the land they inhabited?

2. What were the major features of social, economic, political and spiritual life for those families during this period?

3. How did families respond to the creation of the Chopawamsic Recreational Demonstration Area (RDA) and why?

4. What cultural and/or natural resources linked to pre-Chopawamsic RDA era are still valued and why?

The answers to these questions provide a framework for understanding the life experiences of residents of the Cabin Branch community.

Following this brief introduction, the report is organized into the following parts. Part Two includes a detailed description of the methodology. Part Three begins with an overview of race relations in America and Virginia from the arrival of Africans in Jamestown in 1619 to the end of World War II. The chronology of major events, i.e., the Prohibition in the '20s, the Great Depression in the '30s, and World War II in the '40s are described in relation to the experiences of the people living here and provide a background for the narratives that follow. Part Four is a description of community life between 1920 and 1945. This is based primarily on the 20 oral histories collected between 1998 and 1999. Part Five details the dislocation of former residents as the Chopawamsic Recreational Demonstration Area that was constructed in the late 1930s. Part Six provides an overview of the second phase of forced relocation that occurred during World War II as the area was taken over by the Office of Strategic Services. Part Seven addresses Prince William Forest Park in the new millenium and the move to address long standing issues of racism and feelings of hostility that exist between the black and white members of the community, the National Park Service and the government. Finally, we return to the research questions with our findings, identifying the major issues, and offering recommendations.

PART TWO

METHODOLOGY

The collection of oral histories and the review of archival records and personal documents provided the major thrust of this ethnographic study of black life and culture from the 1920s-1940s. Oral history is a research technique for preserving knowledge of events and practices that are recounted by individual participants. It involves direct contact with people who can recall the lived experiences and tests the accuracy of their memories and that of others.

Since all history is interpretation, these dialogues construct different interpretations that lead to a fuller understanding of the past and present (Baum 1991; Hoopes 1979). Rather than complete histories, the aim of this project focused on life stories based on the lived experiences of individuals who resided on what is now Park land. Their stories serve to capture a cultural history that is at risk of being lost forever.

Three major drawbacks created a challenge in the collection of this data. First, so much time has passed that the material remains were destroyed long ago. Buildings, garden plots, and pastures were demolished to construct roads, bridges, and cabins in the new recreation area and later by the military. New forest growth now covers the farmland and adds to the abundant foliage that was already there. Little evidence exists to indicate that anything else ever stood in that place.

Second, time has claimed many former residents and their stories have been lost. We were frequently told of an individual, now deceased, who could have told

us so much. This leaves a very small number of the older generation who were adults at the time of the takeover by the Department of the Interior. Their grown children were able to shed some light on the past events from their recollections. However, records have been lost and the actual facts are often unknown to the children of these original residents.

Finally, the questions we were trying to answer about this rich cultural heritage are questions one is seldom asked. In fact, we were asking ordinary people to recall aspects of their lives that they may think mundane. Also, as outsiders, and especially, as outside researchers, we had to overcome certain distrust and gain enough rapport to enable us to gather the information to tell their story.

Selection of Participants

A newspaper advertisement was used to notify residents of the upcoming oral history project and requested the participation of people now living in the area. A list of names of former residents of Park land was obtained from staff members at Prince William Forest Park (henceforth, PWFP) who knew the families in the area. A Cemetery Data Base File previously compiled by the staff at PWFP was useful in identifying family links. To date 42 cemetery sites have been located within the Park (Jacque Lavele, personal communication June 16, 1998). Several preliminary interviews were conducted with Park personnel for the purpose of

orientation and background information. Orientation and training sessions were conducted for students who worked on the project.

Individuals were contacted to arrange a time for the interview in a place of their choice. This resulted in a network or snowball effect in which a total of 20 interviews were conducted with 24 people over a period of thirteen months. Five of the people interviewed were white and 19 were black (See Appendix A for the list of people interviewed and the corresponding tape numbers).[1] In this report, the term interview refers to one or more sessions with the same person or persons, in the case where a couple was present.

Interviews lasting up to three hours took place in the homes of former residents and family members or in a public place such as a church, restaurant, or office. With one exception, participants gave permission to tape record the interviews. All information was considered confidential and informed consent was obtained for all participants. Permission was obtained for copying and/or use of personal documents such as letters, photographs, and other memorabilia.

Conducting the Interviews

Baum (1991:6) says, "Oral history as an art, not an exact science." In conducting oral history sessions, the person asking the questions is learning at the same time, what questions to ask. Thus, the dialogic format was a creative process.

---

1 Appendix A lists only the interviews conducted with community members and does not include

The sessions were informal. Although an interview schedule had been prepared early in the project to serve as a guide to the interviewer, the sessions were not scripted (See Appendix B for the protocol and consent form). The intent was to allow the individual to tell the story as remembered. Therefore, questions were not ordered in a specific way. Probe questions were often necessary to prompt a memory. Questions appeared non-sequential in many cases. They either reflected the thought patterns of the person talking; or, were initiated by the interviewer to return to the topic at hand when the narrator strayed from the subject.

Another way of interpreting the memories is through some form of cognitive mapping. By cognitive mapping we refer to the mental imagery that people attach to the park area where they lived and the meaning that still holds for those who experienced life there. In other words, the attempt would be to draw a mental map of PWFP before it was the Park. Only a few participants were able to begin to see the Park as it once was. Further analysis of the data and additional time with the participants is necessary before any real attempt at cognitive mapping can begin.

Transcriptions and Editing

Research assistants transcribed the tapes. The transcriptions were reviewed, proofread, edited, corrected, edited again, and final drafts prepared. The final transcriptions have been edited to eliminate redundancy and superfluous phrases,

---

the interviews with Park staff, tapes 101, 102, and 112.

and to provide ease in reading without diminishing the integrity of the narration. The richness of language and the art of storytelling were immediately evident in some interviews and this has been retained in the transcripts. The original tapes have not been edited. These were submitted to PWFP along with this report.

Archival Records: Public and Private Documents

The location and identification of archival materials provided a major part of the study. Historical records were used from the collections: National Park Service, National Capital Region; Prince William Forest Park (PRWI) Archives at the Turkey Run Environmental Center, Prince William Forest Park; National Archives II; Library of Congress, Manuscript Division; Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University; Quantico Marine Corps Base Research Center, Archives Branch; Bull Run Library in Manassas, Virginia; Chinn Library in Dale City, Virginia; Weems-Botts Museum in Dumfries, Virginia; and the publications of the Prince William County Historical Commission. Both published and unpublished documents of historical relevance were identified and reviewed. Local census data, maps, church records, real estate transaction records, and photographs were helpful in reconstructing the cultural history of the area. Comparing plat maps from 1937-1939 with current maps was helpful as a means of orientation to the area prior to the development of the Park.

Data Analysis

Content analysis was the primary method used in interpreting the data recorded from the interviews. The focus was on subsistence activities, work and leisure, church, school, family, and the meaning of this place as told through life stories that revealed the impact of dislocation.

Early in the data collection process, it became evident that the oral history project, originally perceived as a short-term project of collecting life stories, needed to be expanded. The conservation of the cultural history of any group requires a much fuller understanding of the historical, political, economic, and social factors that contribute to their life ways. To understand the rich cultural heritage of African Americans in PWFP it was essential that these variables be considered. Thus, the methodology employed in collecting data was simply a beginning.

PART THREE

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Contextualization is a necessary step in the reconstruction of the cultural heritage of a group. The goal of reconstructing the historical experiences of blacks entails creating a microhistory of ordinary people's lives by exploring the circumstances of daily living within the context of the larger society. It includes the examination of both public and private arenas with consideration of political and personal accounts of what transpired in a particular place and at a particular time. It is what Ludtke (1995:3) calls " *Alltagsgeschichte*--the history of everyday life."

The focus of this oral history was the years between the 1920 and 1945. While the general situation of the country during these years was shared, in part, by all citizens, it is important to be cognizant of the way in which blacks experienced historical events in a particular place. One must account for racial discrepancies, within group diversity, regional variations, and rural-urban differences. Furthermore, the cultural history of blacks has been wrought with inconsistencies, omissions, dismissed as unimportant, deleted in the retelling, or simply lost over the years.

Much of the early history of Prince William County and the Chopawamsic Recreational Demonstration Area project have been documented previously (Lansing 1998; National Archives Record Group 79; Parker 1985; Paige 1985; Porter 1935; Prince William County Historical Commission 1982, 1990; Strickland 1986). Other sources on the early history provided an overview of conditions in

the country and especially the situation for black rural populations (cf., Hickey and Hickey 1987; Perdue, Barden, and Phillips 1976; *The Negro in Virginia* 1940). This section, based on archival data and published reports along with the oral histories that follow, may shed a different light on the history of ordinary people in extraordinary times. The years between 1920 and 1945 depict periods ranging from prosperity to depression to recovery on the national scene to be followed by World War II and a return to peace. Starting with the closing of the Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine, the Prohibition, the Great Depression and World War II, these major events had a profound influence on the daily lives of people in Prince William County, Virginia. All took place within the context of race relations.

A Brief History of Race Relations in Virginia[2]

Issues of race have always been a part of Virginia history. The social construction of race surfaced over consideration of how to deal with the early arrival of Africans on that first Dutch ship at Jamestown in 1619 (Bennett 1994; Smedley 1999). Between 1660 and 1705 Virginia developed a number of restrictive statues and regulations which defined the status of Africans including conditions of servitude, denial of the right to bear arms, restriction on land holdings, and a ban on interracial marriage and fornication (Smedley 1999).[3] The Virginia Law of 1619 became a model for the codes that were established for

2 "Negro", "Colored," "Black", and "African American" are used to reflect historical predominance.

3 In spite of the ban on interracial marriage, intermarriage was recorded in the Muschett family in

separating the races (see Henning 1810-23; Johnston 1970). The general attitudes of white superiority relegated Africans to second-class status even before slavery was a prominent institution and by the 1800s racist ideology had portrayed African Americans as mentally inferior, childlike, and sexually promiscuous (Feagin and Feagin 1993).

Parker (1985; Peters n.d.) describes the free black society in Prince William County between 1760-1861. By 1810, over 300 free blacks lived in the County. Just prior to 1800, legislation was enacted in 1806 "forbidding freed blacks from remaining in the state for more than one year after they had obtained their freedom" (Parker 1985:103). However, there is a long history, as evidenced in the census data, that free blacks did not necessarily leave the state. The legislation does indicate, however, that the growing black population had become an issue for whites.

The 1850 Census of Prince William County included name, age, sex, race, occupation, birthplace, and the value of land. It is the first time that black citizens were registered with a full name. Individuals were classified as white, black, and mulatto. Obviously the ban on miscegenation was ignored and had been since the first Africans arrived. Cases citing the law prohibiting the intermarriage of white women and Negro men are found throughout the Colonial period. This breach of law also created a need to define the issue of such a union and this became the source of much discussion and legal wrangling (Johnston 1970). Early evidence of

---

late 1700s early 1800s (PRWI Muschetts IIB).

the controversy surrounding this issue was a 1662 Black Law in Virginia that made it clear that children of an Englishman and a Negro woman would be born slave or free according to the status of the mother (Guild 1969).

By 1860, Virginia had 490,865 enslaved persons and 58,042 free Negroes and the Prince William County Census included an increase in numbers. Additional information was obtained which listed individuals "who were deaf, dumb, blind, insane, pauper, or convict" (Turner n.d). The name of the slave owner appeared on these roles along with the number of slaves manumitted by each owner. However, the name of the enslaved person was omitted although fugitive status was reported.

By 1861 the differences between the Union and the Confederacy erupted in the Civil War. Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation January 1, 1863. The Civil War ended with the surrender of General Lee at Appomatox in 1865. Slavery was abolished by the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1865. With freedom, the issues of race emerged again as the government was forced to deal with the post-war reality of emancipation and black suffrage. Slavery had established black-white relations. This new condition called for new measures for handling what was referred to as the "Negro question."

The Black Codes of 1865-1866 were enforced as a way of managing this unknown entity of freed blacks. These were restrictive codes that followed previously established patterns of prohibition in black-white interactions including

the formality of terms of address, giving deference to a white person in most situations, and unfair labor practices. Du Bois describes them in this way.

> The Black Codes were deliberately designed to take advantage of every misfortune of the Negro...[T]he Black Codes were an infamous piece of legislation (1965:167).

In order to assist in this transition from slavery to freedom, and as part of the Presidential Reconstruction (1865-67) under President Andrew Johnson, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, better known as the Freedmen's Bureau, was established in the War Department March 3, 1865 (U.S. Statutes at Large 1886: 13 Stat. 507). The aim was to supervise the relief and educational activities including the provision of food, clothing, housing, and medical care to freed slaves and white refugees. Du Bois (1965:538) described the situation as:

> A great deal of sickness, poverty and death among Negroes at this time and some crime...also much philanthropic effort, fraternal and insurance societies, attempts at theatrical exhibitions, and some inter-marriage between the races. Negro churches and schools were built and burned. A riot took place in Alexandria on Christmas day, 1865, in which two whites were injured and fourteen Negroes killed.

The military was responsible for administering the government policies in Southern towns, confiscating land, and maintaining order. Much of this land was returned to whites. Without land, many blacks were forced to enter into sharecropping agreements. A second phase of Reconstruction continued until 1877 (see Berry 1994; Du Bois 1965; Foner 1990).

The Civil Rights Act of 1866 supposedly granted full citizenship to black Americans. The act was to provide for ordinary civil rights for Negroes, but

restricted court testimony to those cases in which the Negro was personally involved. Strict vagrancy laws were enforced. This legislation was enacted with the Fourteenth Amendment passed by Congress in 1866. Black males were granted the right to vote by the Fifteenth Amendment in 1869. Other than that the Civil Rights Act was essentially dormant until the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s.

Jim Crow laws of the 1890s replaced the Black Codes and Reconstruction. Litwack calls this period the "Age of Jim Crow."

> The term 'Jim Crow' as a way of characterizing black people, had its origins in minstrelsy in the early nineteenth century. Thomas 'Daddy' Rice, a white minstrel, popularized the term. Using burned cork to blacken his face, attired in the ill-fitting, tattered garment of a beggar, and grinning broadly, Rice imitated the dancing, singing, and demeanor generally ascribed to Negro character. Calling it; 'Jump Jim Crow,' he based the number on a routine he had seem performed in 1828 by an elderly and crippled Louisville stableman belonging to a Mr. Crow (1999:xiv).

According to Smedley,

> All the precursors of Jim Crow laws, enacted toward the end of the century, were already in place in the sense that white manipulation of blacks was an everyday, ongoing affair, fulfilling the explicit mandate to keep the Negro in his decreed place (1999:218).

"Jim Crow " was popularized as a term that became associated with the system of segregation. Virginia and the other Southern states re-enforced this notion through legally sanctioned behavior and deeply embedded customs that lasted well into the twentieth century. In the 1900s Jim Crow laws imposed additional restrictions on the emerging elite black society and represented a setback in race relations (Graham 1999). City ordinances established "white only" or "colored only"

establishments, restrooms, waiting rooms, and drinking fountains through the South. The races were further separated by restrictive residential patterns.

Segregated residential patterns were sanctioned with distinct districts designated as "darktown" or "niggertown." In the late 1800s and early 1900s, four main black communities, Baskerville, Batestown, Smoketown and Minnieville (Napisco) were located in the areas surrounding what was to become Prince William Forest Park (Scheel 1992). By the mid-1890s Richmond was one of the cities that had racially exclusive areas (Litwack 1998). This trend was not limited to large city neighborhoods, but was common in small towns and rural communities.

Even though blacks and whites lived in close proximity in this area of Virginia, there were visible signs that reflected these sentiments. A 1937 map of Prince William County shows Niggertown Road near Kopp and Smoketown Road (also know as Highway 642). The same map identifies places of interest such as churches, schools, stores, mills, and Porter's Inn. The symbols used to locate churches and schools distinguish them by race. White churches and schools are shown by a white rectangle topped by a cross for a church or a flag for a school. Colored (the designation used on the map) institutions are marked in the same way except they are shaded black (Commonwealth of Virginia 1937). Niggertown Road has been removed from later maps and the racial designation for schools and churches omitted. Smoketown Road still exists and one can only speculate about the intent of the name.

Racial segregation and the creation of all black towns can be viewed from another perspective. These segregated communities provided a degree of self-sufficiency and a supportive network that may have been missing in other regions. Mutual aid and benevolent societies that were connected with a church in most black communities and fraternal organizations provided a network of support. Insurance companies were also seen as a means of providing some financial independence for blacks.

> The Negro insurance society is an old and well integrated part of
>
> Negro life, and an institution of great economic and social importance...Even before the Civil War such organizations had been established by free blacks (Powdermaker 1969:121).

The history of race relations in Virginia has undergone a number of changes. But one constant is explained by Woodward (1966:5) when he says,

> Each successive regime in the South had had its characteristic economic and industrial organization, its system of politics, and its social arrangements.

Berry (1994) reminds us that with all of these laws instituted by white men to control the behavior of blacks, free and enslaved, there has been resistance to the injustices inflicted upon black citizens. This resistance has always been a part of the history of African Americans in Virginia and throughout this country. Ever cognizant of the past, this brief overview sets the stage for understanding the experiences of blacks in Prince William County, Virginia between 1920 and 1945.

Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine

The following transactions record the history of the life of the Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine. On April 24, 1890 a deed was recorded in the Land Records Section of the Clerk's Office that initiated the acquisition of 53 acres of land by Louis Detrick from Arthur McInteer, in what was to become the Cabin Branch Mine. In 1889 the Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine, located on the north branch of Quantico Creek, opened under the ownership of the Cabin Branch Mining Company. On January 18, 1904, Peter Bradley sold a right-of-way from Quantico Creek to Possum Nose Point to Louis Detrick. A deed between Jack Thomas and the Cabin Branch Mining Company dated April 12, 1912 records the final land purchase of 33 acres for the mine. On December 15, 1915 the sale of a tract of land located next to the Cabin Branch Mine from Edwin Pierpoint to the American Chemical Company was completed. Four years later, on June 30, 1919, the Cabin Branch Mine was deeded over to the American Chemical Company. The final transaction on the sale of the mine was dated December 19, 1926 when the mine was sold to James Crosby (Chapman 1992).

The opening of the Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine in 1889 was the beginning of a major industry that was to become an economic mainstay for the Dumfries community for the next thirty years. The mine consisted of approximately 70 buildings including a company store, a blacksmith shop, carpenter shop, sawmill, hen house, ice house, and workers' quarters. Consistent with the times, black

workers lived in separate quarters from white workers. The mine employed between 200 and 300 men.

Pyrite, better known as "fools gold" has a high sulfur content which makes it valuable in the production of gunpowder, glass, soap, leather, fertilizer, and metal cleaning products. The outbreak of World War I made pyrite a material in high demand for the production of gunpowder. It was so important that men who worked in the mine were exempt from military duty (PRWI Archives n.d.).

The mine had three main shafts, two vertical and one inclined with the deepest shaft reported to be 2,400 feet deep. Crews worked the mine 24 hours a day in 12 hour shifts. Crews consisted of: a ***blaster***, who ignited the dynamite and supervised the other crew members; a ***driller***, who drilled the holes for the dynamite; a ***powderman***, who carried and placed the blasting power; various ***muckers***, who loaded ore into wagons; ***cart pushers***, who took the ore wagons to the surface; and ***timbermen***, who secured the shaft with wooden supports as the crew progressed (PWRI Archives n.d.).

Once the ore reached the surface, it was taken by narrow gauge railroad to ore bins and then hauled by skiff up to the mill's head frame. Once at the mill, the ore was crushed and separated by sieves into three sizes: lump (first grade ore requiring no sorting), spall (first grade ore broken and could pass through a two and a half inch ring) and fine ore (under three-eighths inch in size). Oversize ore went to a lump storage bin where miners' children were employed at 50 cents a day to sort the ore into piles by size. Once the ore was washed it was then loaded onto

the narrow gauge train, The Dewey, The Dinkey, or the Virginia Creeper, and hauled to Barrows Siding and the sulfur market (PRWI Archives n.d.; Mountjoy 1978).

In 1916, the American Agriculture Chemical Company took over ownership of the mine and continued to run it until 1920 when it was closed. The closing of the mine was due to several factors. First, sulfur was discovered in Spain and could be more cheaply obtained. Second, because of the new discoveries, companies were hesitant to establish long term contracts. Third, the miners went on strike, asking for a raise. The superintendent considered this to be an unreasonable request and his response was, "I'll let the shafts fill with water and frogs jump in before I'll reopen it [the mine]." This spelled the end of the mine and with its closure the 200 to 300 men employed at the mine were put out of work and the major industry that had supported the Dumfries area for thirty years came to an end. Other businesses in the area such as general stores and boarding houses that had profited from the mine also closed (PRWI Archives n.d.; Mountjoy, 1978).

Prohibition: 1920-1933

The Eighteenth Amendment began as a movement that stemmed from an article by Benjamin Rush in 1784 in which he enumerated the effects of spirits on the body and mind (Henderson 1934 cited in McClellan 1995). This movement

grew through the 19th century until Congress took action in 1919. Section 1 of the article states:

> After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territories subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited (Amendment XVIII, Constitution of the United States, ratified on January 16, 1919).

The Amendment was executed on January 29, 1920. For all the supporters of this Amendment, there were dissenters and those who found ways to bypass the legislation. Alcohol, in small quantities, could be used as sacramental wine, and for medicinal purposes. Homemade liquor was brewed, although not always consumable, even poisonous in some cases. Carrying a flask of home-brew or illegally imported liquor became popular and erecting stills for making "moonshine" became a lucrative business venture for blacks and whites in Prince William County.

From Depression to Recovery: The New Deal 1933-1938

The stock market crash in 1929 marked the beginning of the Great Depression. The failure of many banks brought the economy to a standstill and created a crisis of unprecedented unemployment. In 1933, the newly elected President Franklin Delano Roosevelt introduced his New Deal programs in an effort to relieve the hardship faced by Americans. President Roosevelt endorsed a number of new federal programs to reduce the unemployment and restore some of

the financial losses felt by farmers, manufacturers, and the general population. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) helped increase agricultural prices. Because of a high dependence on tobacco and cigarette manufacturing in some parts of the state, Virginians may not have been affected as much as growers in other parts of country who were dependent on cotton and wheat.

FDR's plans for emergency relief included public construction and resource conservation. The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) provided funds to develop the Tennessee River area. The National Recovery Administration (NRA) provided loans for the construction of public works (Hunter 1975). In 1933, Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes, in addition to his other duties, administered the Public Works Administration (PWA). Since the Park Service had a wish list for recreational and educational programs, the PWA provided funds for over 150 projects in national parks (USDI 1998:264). Conrad L. Wirth, a landscape architect, was appointed as the chief of State Park Planning at the National Park Service. He felt that "... parks should be considered in two categories: those set aside for "conservation," and those set aside "primarily for recreation." Wirth suggested that the types could be separated, joined, or form some kind of multi-use area (Wirth 1935 cited by Carr 1998:267).

Ira B. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, managed the New Deal conservation projects. He recognized this as a labor-intensive investment that would launch the President's plans for recovery. Early in 1933, Secretary Ickes drafted legislation to create the Emergency Work Conservation (ECW) program which became known as

the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) under the direction of Robert Fechner. The U.S. Army and the Department of Labor found a ready workforce in the unemployed youth across the nation and mobilized them for soil, water, and forest conservation projects on public lands. The Department of Labor selected and screened applicants and the War Department transported, fed, clothed, and housed the recruits in camps (USDI 1998). The Department of Agriculture and the Department of the Interior selected projects and supervised the work.

The area that is now Prince William Forest Park was selected as one of 46 sites for recreation demonstration projects nationwide. It would later be called the Chopawamsic Recreational Demonstration Area. The area was described as about 90 percent wooded. The land was considered submarginal and the poor soil made it unsuitable for agriculture. Yet, the majority of those residing there continued subsistence farming and growing some crops for local markets. William R. Hall was appointed manager of the Land Program. It was his responsibility to oversee the acquisition of property on the Joplin site. Options were taken and this first phase of displacement of families occurred between 1935 and 1939 (Strickland 1986; Parker 1985).

Civilian Conservation Corps in Prince William County

The first men of the CCC to arrive in Prince William Forest slept in tents until the barracks were built. The work involved clearing the land, building roads and bridges, latrines, bathhouses, erecting buildings for a mess hall, administration,

officer's quarters, school house, and service buildings. Then the work began on the cabins and the campgrounds that would be used by the public. Five cabins had been built by 1939. Two of these camps were designated for Colored use along with a separate entrance to keep blacks and whites in their own spaces (see National Archives, Record Group 79; Paige 1985; PRWI Archives; Strickland 1986; Russ Whitlock 1998, personal communication, June 23, 1998).

The CCC provided job training for over 2.5 million men between 1933 and 1942 when it ended. Black men were not enrolled in large numbers, even though the original Act of March 31, 1933 had a clause to ban discrimination. The clause stated: "That in employing citizens for the purposes of the Act, no discrimination shall be made on account of race, color, or creed" (Statues at Large XLVIII Pt.1: 22-23). Salmond (1969) indicates that this clause was not implemented. The clause was intended to protect the rights of the black citizen at the same time the administration felt a need to be aware of the social climate in which racial equality was not a factor. Camps for blacks and whites were separate in the South. In other areas where there were so few Negroes selected that a separate Negro camp was not established, blacks were attached to white camps. Even so, the CCC did create new opportunities for Negro enrollees.

The New Deal

In 1934, Harry L. Hopkins was appointed Director of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) which was established to provide economic relief for

the destitute and unemployed. His advisor and consultant of Negro Affairs for the Virginia Emergency Relief Administration was T. C. Walker, a former slave. Mr. Walker was a self-educated lawyer, Justice of the Peace, and member of the Gloucester County, Virginia County Board of Supervisors. He continued with the Works Progress Administration (WPA), established May 6, 1935 to replace FERA (*The Negro in Virginia* 1940). The WPA was renamed Works Projects Administration in July 1939.

Although FDR had been called the "Great White Father" and the "Emancipator" of blacks in the 1930s, gains made by blacks during the New Deal 1933-1938 must be evaluated by looking at the previous conditions and those that followed during and after World War II (Levine 1993; Sternsher 1969; Trotter 1996; Weaver 1935). Roosevelt did not consider the situation of black Americans separate from others in the country. It was most likely Eleanor Roosevelt who was responsible for the increase in the numbers of blacks receiving public relief. When she discovered the WPA paid lower wages to blacks than whites, she was instrumental in getting a hearing at the White House in 1935 which resulted in an executive order which barred discrimination in WPA projects (Goodwin 1994).

The WPA and The Federal Writers' Project

The Federal Writers' Project (FWP) provided work for black writers and artists. Part of the reason for the FWP was to provide employment for educated Negroes on relief and to collect and publish authentic material on Negro life since

Jamestown. The Virginia State Library in Richmond has 547 boxes of WPA materials. Sterling A. Brown, National Editor of Negro Affairs in the Washington office of the FWP, was instrumental in the success of this project. Formerly enslaved blacks were interviewed in Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and Virginia (Davidson 1953; FWP 1941).

As part of the Resettlement Administration-Farm and Security Administration Project, Dorothea Lange's (1996) famous photographs captured the images of the Depression. Long lines at soup kitchens, and perhaps the most famous, "A Migrant Mother" and other depictions were part of over six thousand photographs taken during this period. Natanson (1992) notes that only a small percentage of these portray the experiences of black Americans. The lack of visual representation of the black experience during the Depression and the years of the New Deal may allow citizens and scholars to simply ignore the social history of a group that was essentially invisible and through omission create a different interpretation of history.

The War Years: 1939-1945

By 1939 American attention had turned to Europe, as the threat of war seemed imminent. The threat became a reality after the December 7, 1941 bombing of Pearl Harbor. The military, although segregated, admitted Negroes, men and women, who participated in the war theaters of Europe and the Pacific (Lee 1994).

On the home front, women, both black and white, found employment on military bases and worked in factories converted to the war effort as exemplified by posters of "Rosie the Riveter." Women volunteered at the segregated United Service Organizations (U.S.O.) clubs, had their own victory gardens, and accepted the changes brought on by rationing, black outs, and finding themselves without their mate for as long as four years. The experiences of blacks in Prince William County were similar, men and women took on jobs vacated by whites. Many residents found jobs at the Quantico Marine Corps Base. Others did domestic work in private homes. Some men worked at the Navy Yard in Washington, DC.

In 1942, residents in this area of northeastern Virginia shared the harsh reality of a second phase of forced relocation as the military expanded their operations at Quantico. The Chopawamsic RDA was converted to a training site by the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). On October 6, 1942, the Marine Corps announced condemnation proceedings for 50,000 acres of land in Prince William, Stafford, and Fauquier Counties to expand the Marine Base at Quantico *(The Free Lance Star* 1942). All civilians residing on this property were displaced between the fall of 1942 and early spring of 1943. The first families had twenty days to evacuate the first 20,000 acres. By October 26, 1942, a school was closed to be converted to headquarters for the land acquisition process. Heavy rains caused flooding in the area. Many of the men were serving in the military and were not able to assist their families during the move. But, the move occurred as scheduled, even without the promised help from the military.

The Marine Corps referred to the land as the Guadalcanal Area due to the similarity in terrain to Guadalcanal in the Soloman Islands where a major battle of the Pacific Theater took place. The area was restricted and remained in the hands of the OSS until after the war in 1945 (Dunn n.d.; Smith n.d.; Powers 1943; MCB Quantico Public Works Collection 1944).

This brief overview of major events simply provides background for the oral narratives that follow. The way in which blacks and whites encountered these years between 1920 and 1945 is revealed in their stories.

PART FOUR

COMMUNITY LIFE IN PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY: 1920-1945

Black-White Relations in Prince William County: 1920-1945[4]

Segregation and discrimination were not unknown to Dumfries and the surrounding communities. Black Codes and Jim Crow laws kept blacks and whites separate (see, e.g., Smedley 1999; Woodward 1974).

> The town itself [Dumfries] was segregated, I believe, mainly because you had a few in there who, like all small southern towns, you have big fish in the little pond. And it sure is nice to be the big guy on the block. So that's what a lot of that stuff was. It just would go on and on and on (WF 50s).

In spite of the prevailing segregation of the time, race relations in the Cabin Branch Community, during the three decades under study, were generally described as good by both blacks and whites.

> We (blacks and whites) used to [socialize].... [W]e used to go to her house (a white neighbor) when I was a little boy. My mother and her used to make quilts. While we were doing that we'd be eating hot biscuits and butter and drinking milk, and [eating] peach preserves, strawberry preserves (BM 70s).

> We associated together, played ball together. I played baseball with whites.... We'd have mixed teams. I reckon we were the first through this community and wherever they had mixed teams. [We'd]... eat together, sleep together, my mother said they had slept together (BM 70s).

> [S]ometimes they would go fishing or hunting together....I don't think they went to too many parties together.... I never heard of any trouble at all. In fact it was better back then, so they say (BM 80s).

---

4 For reasons of confidentiality narratives are identified by race, gender and approximate age range. B = black, W = white, F = female, M = male, and 70s = between 70 and 79 years of age.

Frequent visiting, however, was not common, because families lived

> ... a little distance a part and different things, but they would try to get around at least once a week (BM 70s).

> They got along good. A white guy moved right by my daddy, and the only way he could get out was through my father's driveway. He came and asked my dad if it was all right, and my dad said, 'Anytime you want.' We never had any problems at all... (BM 80s).

> Blacks and whites used to help each other.

> [We] worked side-by-side and sweated side-by-side. I've been with them many times. Ate right in there with the others.... [T]hey had great long tables, longer than this room. They all had big dining rooms.... And I've seen blacks and whites sitting there eating together many times at harvest time (WM 80s).

> I've worked with them all my life and some of the great friends I have are black. Some of them I would do anything for and help in any way I could (WM 80s).

> Others rendered a slightly different picture,

> They (blacks) had their own churches and their own schools. No, they did not go to school together, and they did not worship together (WM 80s).

> Oh yeah. The Talliferro boy, many, many times he'd come to our house and I'd sit at the table like this and my daddy would set up there at the head of the table. James would get over on that end of the table with my daddy and eat like I don't know what, and he would play all, but we couldn't go to school together. We didn't sleep together. No (BM 80s).

Trouble in race relations was attributed, by some, to the "outsiders" who moved in to work at the Pyrite Mine around the turn of the century.

> [Blacks and whites]...hunted together, ate together, drank liquor together, married each other and had babies together. They would eat at each other's homes. You'd go any place. Go to

> church together, sing together, and picnic together. This place used to be the whole thing. The only trouble you had was those that move in. You understand? (BM 70s)

The "those" referred to were the outsiders who came from both the North and South.

> ...[W]hat happened was that after the mine came, you know how the people in small areas like here intermarry, but after the mine came, it drew a whole lot of people from all over the place. That's why you got all of them different names. It wasn't nothing, but the Bates and the Johnsons and the Williams and the Howards, that's all (BM 80s).

Others presented a more modified picture pointing out that there was no overt hostility between blacks and whites.

> Well-to-do black farmers would rent horses and plows to whites. But, blacks and whites did not socialize together, have dinner at each other's house, worship together or go to school together (BF 70s).

An underlying unspoken rule seemed to be that as long as everyone (i.e., blacks) stayed in his/her place, things were fine. An accident that occurred during the operation of the Pyrite Mine spoke to this rule. John Kendall, a black, was the operator of the Dinkey, the small train used to transport the pyrite from the mine to Possum Point.

> He pulled in down here, before you get to Possum Point. [He] pulled in there to load some tires one-day, and as he was coming out, *somebody had throwed a switch on him.* This train went down this culvert, and turned over, and they had to take hacksaws and blowtorches to cut him out. After that they wanted him to take a job somewhere in Tennessee, but he wouldn't take it. (BM 70s) [Italics ours]

One resident suggested that the accident could have been caused by either a white or a black who was jealous of the privileged position that Mr. Kendall held (BM 70s).

Not all blacks accepted second class citizenship and refused to play the submissive role.

> Ms. Betsy Tubbs was a proud black woman who did not play the subservient role. She knew that the household wasn't going to work if she wasn't there. So she didn't put up with a lot. The children behaved themselves (WF 50s).

Pranks were sometimes pulled to annoy blacks. Several of the blacks in the community used to chew snuff. When they did not have enough money to buy snuff, some would extract gray clay from a dirt bank as a substitute for the snuff.

> Some of the ornery old boys would come and mess that hole up because they would see them doing it (getting the clay to use as snuff) and then they would come and do it (even urinate) (WF 80s).

Blacks did not always sit by and take the Jim Crow laws and pranks as status quo. One such story was related about a segregated restaurant in Triangle.

> ...[T]hey had a little spot in the back if you wanted to go and get something to eat. You couldn't go to the front. You had to go to the back and order your sandwiches, and of course... you couldn't go to the bathroom. They had a little cut or something in there for you to go to the bathroom.... They had white only on the bathrooms and on the back they had colored up there and that's where you were supposed to go (BF 70s).
>
> I went to that place down in Triangle one night and I ordered a couple of hamburgers, and he told me that,
>
> 'You'll have to wait for these on the outside, you can't wait for them in here.'

So I said, 'Ok.'

And I went on back to the car when it hit me. I said,

'What did he say that for? Ain't that something?'

So I went back and I said,

'Hey partner, give me seven more hamburgers.'

'Oh, ok.'

And he went off and fixed up all them hamburgers and I seen him come to the door with the big bag and I pulled off (BM 70s).

Another story related in an interview told of the time Dr. Benjamin Phillips bought a big theater in Triangle for blacks because there was no place for blacks to go.

Dr. Phillips named it Howard Theater[5]. Whites could come to the theater but they had to sit upstairs. In protest, whites would not support the theater because of the seating arrangements and blacks did not make enough money to sustain the theater on their own. In an effort to keep the theater open, he changed the seating arrangement, seating blacks in the balcony. Then blacks would not support the theater and it ended up closing. Dr. Phillips hung an effigy of himself from the upstairs window as a form of protest and at first people thought he had hung himself (BM 80s).

The segregation of the Park with a separate entrance and campsites for whites and a separate entrance and campsites for blacks showed the prevalence of racial discrimination at the time the Park was developed. The same discriminatory

5 Casper Howard was a black man who owned a lot of property in Triangle.

attitude continued up until recent times according to the view of one white resident.

> They (former residents) said they thought the Park was going to keep it (cemeteries) clean, but I never did hear anything where they said they were going to keep it clean. I know I tried to get them to clean my grandmother's and all them off, and they said if they did that, then the Coloreds would want theirs cleaned off, and that's the way it is. It would cost some kind of money to keep all them graves back in the woods clean now, even get to them (WM 70s).

Cabin Branch Community: Batestown/Hickory Ridge

Located along the Cabin Branch River, Batestown and Hickory Ridge made up the Cabin Branch Community. Batestown was a free black community that developed after the Civil War, although there were free blacks in the area prior to that time[6]. Hickory Ridge was an extension of Batestown that became a mixed community with the development of the Pyrite Mine that brought in outsiders to work. Batestown and Hickory Ridge are no longer on any maps.

Families in Prince William County in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s identified places by the owner of a particular piece of land, e.g., Holloway's Hill, by some natural feature, e.g., Oak Ridge where oak trees grew, or by where a particular river crossed a person's property, e.g., Garrison's Run.

> This is named Williams Road because it's different brothers that bought property and it was owned by all the Williams (BF 60s).

---

6 See Parker 1985; Posey letter in Part Five.

Property lines were often marked using geographical markers such as rocks or trees which sometimes made boundary identification difficult as trees died and rocks could be dislodged or moved.

> That's what a lot of them did, move the stone and claimed the land. A big tree, there used to be a big tree between our place and the [neighbors]. It's a great big oak about that big, and I think it's 'bout ten different lines like a slice of pie going up it. That was a line tree (BM 80s).

> ...[W]here the church is sitting.... You go down there. It's like when you go down a hill. The house would be down there. That's what they called "the bottom." It's anywhere a house is sitting down, and you have to go down a hill to it (BF 60).

Dirt roads and paths cut through the woods and fields of the Cabin Branch Community and took people wherever they had to go. Families walked, got on their horses or rode in their wagons to visit each other, run errands, or go to church.

> There was a lot of vacant land...but it was not vacant in the sense of people abandoning the land, but rather that it was not planted. There was lots of space between houses.... They were few and far apart.... People could raise their animals, raise their food, it was how they lived (BM 70s).

In 1850 there were 550 free blacks in Prince William County who were either descended from a free mother or emancipated by will or deed (PRWI Archives: African American History Time Line; Froncek 1985:170). Among those free blacks was Betsy Bates. She was born around 1795[7], was the first of the Bates in the Cabin Branch area and is considered the matriarch of the Bates family.

---

[7] Different census reports give different birth dates for Betsy Bates.

The Bates family settled the Cabin Branch Farm in the late 1800s, and the surrounding area later became known as Batestown.

How the Bates family originally acquired the Cabin Branch farm is unclear. General indications are that she, like formerly enslaved people and/or freeborns, either received or purchased land from a plantation owner (*Potomac News* (2/25/93) LaSonde; Little Union Baptist Church1980, 1988).

One distant relative noted that,

> ...land was donated by their [Bates'] master. They [the Bates] were slaves and you know some of them [owners] did give the slaves land along with their freedom.... I think that's how most of them [got it], because they didn't have anything. The people around in that era or the older people were slaves (BF 70s).

Mary, Mason, Robert and William Bates were subsequent heads of families before the Civil War. All were free blacks (PRWI Archives: Muschetts IIB; Scheel 1992).

The difficulty in piecing together how the African-American families in the Batestown/Hickory Ridge areas originally obtained their land is due in part to the extensive loss of records during the Civil War. A search of archival records and interviews with families revealed that land was passed down in a number of ways. Some families received land through their owners when they were set free by will or deed or after emancipation. Some purchased land; for example, a descendant of one of the local families, Mary Chinn's mother, who was born in 1794, purchased 500 acres. Still others acquired land as a result of intermarriage as in the case of the Muschett family (PRWI Archives: Muschetts IIB).

Barbara Kirby, discussing her research on the Chapman Plantation noted that:

> Some of that land was given basically for services rendered. Someone, who had worked for him [Chapman] for a long period of time, ... he [would] let them, in some cases, purchase property for a reasonable price.... Some of the plantation owners would give to a particularly older person.... when someone reached say 65. There was a woman that wasn't able to work any longer. And in his will, he allowed her five acres of land, and then gave her the use of cutting wood.... She could cut all of the wood that she needed.... provided she didn't make waste.

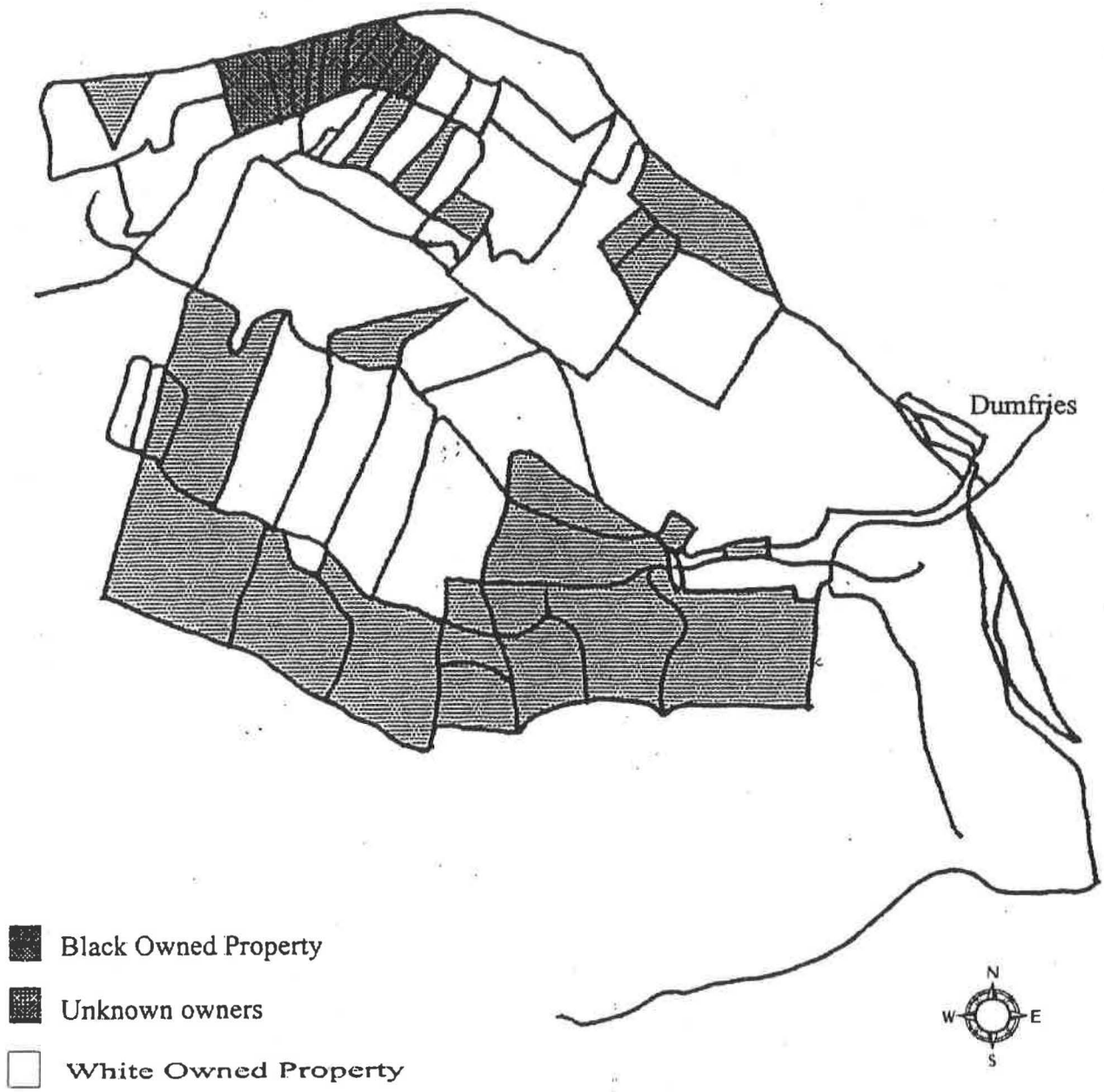
Hickory Ridge appears to be an expansion of Batestown and yet a separate community that resulted from families buying additional property over time. Hickory Ridge, perhaps given this name because hickory trees grew along the ridge, was described as being

> ...made up of different people's farms and different peoples' land. It wasn't no recreational areas or nothing like that (BM 70s).

When the pyrite mine opened in the late 1800s along part of what is now called Mine Road, Hickory Ridge drew even more families (both black and white), including outsiders to the community. It was described by the families interviewed as a mixed community with perhaps a slightly larger black population than white. Map One shows the distribution of white owned and black owned property

MAP ONE

HICKORY RIDGE - PROPERTY OWNERSHIP BY ETHNIC GROUP



in the Hickory Ridge area as determined from the land acquisition records in the archives of the National Park Service.[8]

While the mine was in operation Hickory Ridge was a thriving area with approximately 300 people working at the mine. The closing of the mine and the beginning of the Chopawamsic RDA spelled the end of the Hickory Ridge community as local businesses and general stores closed and families moved.

Homesteads during the '20s and 30's commonly consisted of the main house that had a kitchen, dining room, three or four bedrooms, a back porch for dining in the summer time and a summer kitchen separate from the house. Each farm usually had a small barn, or stable, chicken coop, and a garden. Farms also had corn houses and pigpens.

> It was just a corn house. Just a house built to put your corn in when they shucked the corn.... They'd have eight or ten wagon loads of corn piled up in the corner there. It was a building made with 2 x 4s usually, so air could get to the corn so it will dry it out.... [I]t was flat. Most of them had heavy rat wire in the bottom of it so the rats couldn't get in there and eat the corn up (BM 80s).

> They would just build a little pigpen down there. Most of them, if they had a stream running through there, they'd have the pigpen going to the branch. That way they didn't have to worry about watering the hogs. The hogs would get in there and make the worse mess you'd ever saw in your life (BM 80s).

---

8 The land ownership was based on information gathered in interviews, historical documents and the land ownership records. In some instances it was difficult to determine whether or not a family was black or white as the ethnicity was reported as white in one instance and black or mulatto in another. This map is, therefore, an attempted reconstruction.

Water was drawn directly from the streams or wells, as indoor plumbing was not to become available until the '50s. Kerosene lamps lit the homes, as electricity was not available either.

> The Cabin Branch Community was an isolated, yet self-contained, community prior to World War II. People felt safe. None of the farms in the area were very big. Most tracts were 75 acres or less.... (BM 70s).
>
> We used to carry lanterns. They had meetings during the week, you know, revival. And we were going up the hill and something over in the bushes rattled, and Mama says,
>
> 'I don't know who you are over there, but I tell you that you had better come out of there, because by the time I get my gun and shoot over there, you'll be glad to come out.'
>
> My brother says,
>
> 'Mama, you know you ain't got no gun. You belong to church...'
>
> It was some nice times because you weren't afraid to go anyplace. You didn't have to worry about locking no doors or nothing (BF 60s).

Making a Living

Prior to the Pyrite Mine closing in the early 1920s many of the men in the Cabin Branch Community worked at the mine while the women took care of everything else. While most of the black miners held lower positions, John Kendall was the operator of the train called "The Dinkey" that was used to transport coal to Possum Point near Quantico. People in the community, however, were able to take advantage of this transportation.

> He [John Kendall] wasn't on the main line, because there was no colored on the main line then. He drove from down here [the mine] to Possum Point. He carried passengers. He just hauled anything down there at once (BM 80s).

Work at the mine was hard and unhealthy as was related to one community member by Dewitt Bates.

> ...His father was one of those that worked in the mines and of course it was hard work. They would go in there and stay for...he couldn't recall whether it was days or months because he was so young. He remembered his dad going away, staying for a long time, and finally coming back. And then, he could see him coming from the distance and he would see him covered with the soot and the grime and all. And it just seemed like he was gone forever, and then he'd come back home (BF 50s).

If a father went to work in the mines then people in the community knew this and would give a helping hand to families who were down and out. They looked after each other.

> Everybody was really blessed and not really deprived.... They were a self-contained community. They were pretty proud of...the fact that they pulled together and they could make it together. They realized that they had something that everybody didn't have (BF 40s).

When the mine closed, people looked for work in different places.

> It did away with a lot of jobs when the mine closed... A lot of them had to seek employment in other places. And going after that, there wasn't a lot of work. The government started something called the WPA, and a lot of people worked for the WPA.... [If] they didn't find a job, they just had to make their living off the land. And they would go different places. If they were working on the roads or something [they would go] somewhere.... anywhere, that they could. Wherever there was work going on they would go there... and try to get a job (BM 70s).

A few pursued work in mines in Pennsylvania.

> After the mine closed down in 1919 or 1920, ...that put a lot of people out of work too. A lot of people left here and went to Pennsylvania to the coal mines and things. Worked up there during the week and come home on weekends. My daddy worked up there for quite a while (BM 70s).

Others gained employment working for the railroad, e.g., as track walkers. A few jobs such as janitors, chauffeurs, ambulance drivers, track welders, and carpenters became available at Marine Corps Base in Quantico, the Navy Yard in Washington, D.C., or Fort Belvoir, Virginia (See Parker 1985 for details).

In the 1930s and 1940s men found work at the District of Columbia's Rendering Plant located in Cherry Hill, Virginia near Cockpit Point. Garbage was brought from the District in boxcars.

> Well, at that time, everything from D.C. was just shipped to Cherry Hill. Dead horses, anything. It was just shipped to Cherry Hill. What my daddy used to do was get down in this boxcar with this hyster, and take it upstairs in a big building that they had, and spread it on the floor. Then they had men up there that would load it in tanks, and press it down, and get the grease out of it. It made grease. That's what Cherry Hill was. The majority of the people from around here, then, worked at Cherry Hill (BM-80s).

Occasionally, items of interest could be salvaged and brought home. In addition, farmers used the refuse for fertilizer.

Men also found opportunities as contract workers on roads, woodcutters (for pulpwood and railroad ties), wheel wrights (making wheels for coaches, carriages, and buckboards), saddle makers,[9] and blacksmiths.

> Some worked at Quantico. A few may have worked at Fort Belvoir. Some on the railroad. During that time there was a little contract job going on here and there. You go and dig a ditch for somebody. Something like that. Did odd jobs... [My father] wasn't no big farmer, because he worked around different places, odd jobs. He was kind of a halfway carpenter too. He did little odd jobs and he'd go and help people out. Had two mules, one named Fannie and one named Mae (BM 70s).

The Porter brothers became automobile mechanics and opened Porter's Garage located on Mine Road. The Porters and Graysons were two families mentioned as being skilled well diggers. There were also people in the community who practiced water witching to locate underground sources of water.

> Back in 1939, I was contracting for building houses and I entered into a contract on back of Pender off of the Number One Highway. And I needed a well dug. So I had this black man who was a carpenter's helper and he told me about this man Luke Grayson, who lived on Mine Road. I didn't know anything about Mine Road at the time. I was from Alexandria. So I got word to Luke Grayson and he came and he and his brother entered into a contract with me to dig a well. The two boys were in their early '20s. Luke Grayson was the man that they called the 'Bottom Man.' He was the man that went down the hole and excavated. His brother hauled the soil up in a bucket and dumped it and then sent the bucket back again (WM 80s).

---

[9] Tanneries were located near large tracts of sumac.

Most people maintained small truck gardens as another source of income. Some farmers would travel as far away as the old street markets in Washington as well as alongside the road.

> Within five miles, there were people that had a small truck gardens, and they would harvest the vegetables and come around and they'd hock it through the street. You could hear them hollering (WM 80s).

Most families maintained small gardens. Men with wagons and horses hired out to haul wood, tires, and other items for neighbors. A few enterprising farmers cut up tires.

> They cut tires up there years ago, for a quarter a piece, they put them on the wagon, and carried them to Quantico. They got a quarter a piece for them and they would dump the tires there and go into Cherry Hill. There was a garbage factory there from Washington; they would get a load of garbage down there and carry it back to the farm (for fertilizer) (WM 70s).

The practice of share cropping also existed in which a family living on a piece of land was required to give the owner a portion of the crops in payment for living on the property. When not busy on the farm or outside work, men would go hunting for rabbits, squirrels, possums, wild turkeys, and raccoons to supplement the food supply.

> My father is a wild life. You open the pot top up when we were young and you might have had a coon, anything laid up in there with feet, teeth, whatever, and to this day, if he can find it he still cooks it. Muskrat. Everybody says, 'You ate a what?' I said, 'Muskrat.' I remember going frogging with him. He took me frogging. That was an experience, but anyway, fishing, turtles, you name it. We ate a lot of seafood here because we were right off of the Potomac so we used to have all kinds of seafood, all kinds of fish and crabs and stuff (BF 60s).

Raccoon skins would be cleaned and sold to businesses such as Montgomery Wards, who used the skins to make hats. A few men in the community raised and bred "coon" dogs, paying up to a thousand dollars for a good one and traveling as far as North Carolina in search of "new blood."

> I was a coon hunter when I was young. My daddy used to have coon dogs. He expected me to go with him. When I was about 11 years old, he would say, 'I'm going hunting tonight Jim, I want you to clean my lamp.' He had an old lamp, and a shade on it. I had to clean that up. He also had night dogs, we would go through the woods at night, and those dogs would hit something, a tree, and there would be a coon, and possums too. When I got a little edge on me, I started buying dogs, and I loved it. I would lay in the bed at night now, and dream about coon hunting.
>
> The way I used to do it [train dogs] was to get a coon, and bring it here [the house] and put it in a pen. I would build a little place for him. Once in a while, I would take him out and let the dogs smell him, and fool with him, like that. I would put him up a tree and let the dogs bark at him, and that's the way I used to start mine off. Most of the good ones I used to get, I used to buy, and I paid a thousand dollars for a dog.
>
> I sold about two or three hundred dollars worth of coon hide...I think Montgomery Wards, a lot of big stores used to buy them. Of course, a lot of people don't use fur now, but at that time you would get a good price. I think the highest coon hide I've sold, I think I got about $8.00 for it. But if you got 25 or 30 hanging up, the way I used to have, you'd get good money. I used to catch them and put them on this big thing and let them dry out good (BM 80s).

Selling fox pelts was another way to earn money. Dewitt Bates in an interview with William Kinzer (1994) told the following story.

> Used to be a man around here by the name of William Henry Miller. He was a fox hunting man! He kept a bunch of dogs all the time. And he'd come up here and get an old fox going back

> in these woods, and those dogs would run for miles and miles. My brother was a great hunter. One morning when I was getting up, he's been out hunting. Came back with a fox, and picked the fox up and put him on his back.... They'd sell the hides. They'd make coats out of them. They'd give you all kind of money for them and that time would be worth it.

Fishing was yet another way of earning some additional money as well as supplying food for the family.

> When I was coming up, we used to go out in the woods and cut a little branch off the tree, which was kind of small, tie a line on the end of it. We used to get a line and sink and hook on it, and we would throw it in the river, and the fish would bite it. Sometimes, it would be a long pole, whatever pole we could find.... Sometimes we didn't have a pole. We'd take a knife or something, and cut a hole in the wood. Later on bamboo poles came out, and we just used them. We would catch catfish and perches, minnows that's the most we would catch. Minnows were small things, but you could catch a good size perch, or catfish. We would catch little minnow, because sometimes the tide would be low, and you couldn't get your line out too far, and that would be the only thing you could catch (BM 80s).

Poles were made by cutting a branch off of a tree, tying a line on the pole with a cork and hook. Bait would be either three-inch fish worms dug from the soil, or in the summer, lightening bugs. Catfish, perch, bass and minnows were the main kind of fish caught. The larger fish could usually be sold for four or five cents a piece.

Another money-making venture was "bee hunting." John Taylor provides a detailed description of this process in an interview with McBride (1984).

> Another hobby was hunting bees; he (Taylor's father) liked to visit other farms on Sunday and as he always walked he carried with him a small bottle of honey...he...would put a dab on the bushes along the road. Upon his return if there were any bees

on his bait he would then...course the bees. He would observe the bees sucking on his honey bait and when the bees would get his [sic] fill, you watch the bee closely and as soon as he gets up he makes a bee line for his hollow tree where he has his home, so to speak.

So all other farmers did this same thing. Each farmer had his own mark and when he found a bee tree he would cut his mark into that tree and this might not be on your own land, it could be on anyone's land. So then you would get permission to cut this tree from the owner. Then on a Sunday...eight to ten of us would go and cut down the tree. Naturally the tree in most cases was hollow and would split open and the bees would start flying everywhere. We used what was called a bee smoker to dampen the wrath of the bees to be able to get near them and we would take out the honey that we could get.

We carried cans with us and then we always carried along a prepared bee gum which we set down right where the bees were and when they settled down they would gather in a bunch, in a pod like, and once they get the queen to go into the gum they would all go in there with it. So after dark my father would go back, stop up the hole, bring them back and put them with the other bees on the rack. We kept about thirty stands of bees. Usually something would get in there and kill them, but in the spring they would swarm again and we would get new stands of bees and refill them. So we kept about thirty stands. Each of these hives of bees would produce twenty-four pounds of honey per year. Sometimes double that. It depended on how much foliage and our crops - corn - was available for them to feed on. This honey we sold in the store and on Saturdays in the summer when we would go to Triangle, Dumfries, and Quantico selling vegetables, honey, was a good seller and it sold for about twenty-five cents a box.

Mountjoy, that had the Post Office and store had beehives. That was the only one around here because up further in Prince William, the Woolfendens, they had beehives.... [They'd] give it away. "Oh, you want some honey?" And they'd give you some honey. It was a very close knit neighborhood, you know (BM 80s).

Additional money was earned by collecting bounty on the heads and beaks of hawks and crows that were considered to be pests. Barbara Kirby related how she found out about this source of income while researching files.

> .... There was a period of time, in the '20s and '30s that the County of Stafford offered a bounty on hawk heads because the hawks were carrying off small chickens.... And so people would have chickens and babies and put them out in there and the hawks would come out and BAM! Now, they have no chicks left. So they gave them a bounty of $.50 a scalp. So what they did was they just took the beak and the strip and when they took it to the Board of Supervisors and said, 'Here's three hawk scalps and they would get $1.50.'

She related her conversation with Mr. Bridwell:

> 'Mr. Bridwell, I look down, and I'm seeing four hawk scalps, five hawk scalps, seven hawks scalps, twenty-one.' I say, 'What did he do? Sit out there all day?'
>
> He said, 'No ma'am, that's how my daddy pays taxes.'
>
> I said, 'What?'
>
> He said, 'Haven't you ever heard of baiting the post? They just put a little corn up there on the highest post and here comes this hawk, wham!! He's gone. Then another one comes in and he's gone... [T]hey come down to grab the corn off of the post or whatever they can bait it with.... And then you shoot it....'

Between 1920 and the early 1940s the roads in the Cabin Branch Community, Dumfries and Triangle were, for the most part, not paved. Paved roads came with the military. Consequently, the poor road conditions, especially after a rain, created another source of income for local farmers.

> Well, the wagons didn't get stuck too much, but the cars. I've seen cars go along and the front axles would be scraping the ground, and it would be piled up like a road scraper. Then

you'd sit on the road until somebody came along. There was always three or four people coming along. Then they would reach up and pick the car up, set a wrench and put them over... and then you'd go about your business. Somebody come along with a horse or mule or something and hook him on to it and pull you on out of there. Number One highway had that at one time. It was a place down below Quantico at Chopawamsic Creek. They had to go down there and the car would get stuck, and some of the men would go there with horses and wagons and take the front wheels of the wagons so that they would have something to hook the horses to. Then they would put a chain on the back of the front wheel and hook it to the car and pull them out. They were making five to ten dollars.

And Old Man Casper Howard owned all the land in Triangle once. They told him to come on and go down. He had two great big pretty horses. Come on and go down and make yourself some easy money. He went down there and pulled the man out and the man told him, 'OK, unhook me.' He unhooked him. He said, 'All right, ten dollars.' And he said, 'Ten dollars, hell! I ain't giving you no ten dollars.' Old man turned around and went back home and said if he's got to go down there and [then] take that stuff and don't get nothing... (BM 80s).

He did not again take up that job.

One community resident was more enterprising. He didn't wait for the rain.

People used to talk about the old times when cars would get stuck in the mud and Clayton Liming would have to bring his team down and pull the cars out. His wife told me, 'Please don't let him fool you. I'll tell you how they got stuck in the mud. He worked all night long hauling water with the wagon and team to dump in these ruts. That's the way we got married. We didn't have any spending money. We had money to get married because of the money he made from pulling cars out of the mud (WF 80s).

Women often participated in quilting bees and sewing clubs together. Crocheting was more common than knitting. Craft items were made for home use or as wedding gifts. They made the clothing for their families.

> They did their own clothes too. Most of them couldn't afford to buy clothes. Most of them made their own clothes (BF 70s).
>
> I didn't have a pair of bought underwear 'til I was in my teens. You see, [we'd] go to the store and get these little sacks that the flour come in.... Put it in lye and stuff and bleach all the colors out. And my mother used to make my underwear out of that (BM 70s).
>
> I'll tell you the truth. The women came along back there, they had something to go through. Most of them had large families. Back there in my time, it was hardly a family that didn't have 10 and 12 children. They had large families and they had to stay home and farm. You'd see them out there and they'd be carrying these babies and working the fields and all that, but they made it. Most of them lived to be pretty old...A lot of the time they (the children) would go in the field with them, and as soon as they got large enough to pull an ear of corn they were doing the same thing. I know I did. I used to go right out there in the field with my brothers and shuck corn, cut corn. Anything. Help to do the housework too (BF 70s).

When women worked off of the farm they usually worked as domestics or child care providers for other families in the community and a few became teachers. After people were displaced in the 30s from their land, women went to work at the Quantico Marine Base, usually doing domestic work or childcare for the officers' wives.

> ...[M]ost of the time the women went to Quantico and got jobs working doing day work, domestic work.... We cleaned the houses. I was working on base with the officers. That was 'maiding,' you know. As they would move, I would go in there and clean the houses and wash the windows and do that clean up for the next family. [A] lot of them didn't have transportation. They couldn't get to work. The only place that was open to them that they could work was Quantico. They had to get up and make some extra money, not that they got that much. At that time food and everything was cheap. You could make $10.00... (BF 70s).

> See we had this Marine Corps Base down here and they used to do a lot of work off of the base there. My mother used to meet some people there and used to bring laundry out and she would do the laundry home here for 'em and get it all ready and they would come pick it [up] (BM 70s).

> I had a big sink tub. I carried it to the well to draw water and fill it half full and get them to help me bring it in, set it on the stove and get it hot. And I had to do that about twice a week, more than that sometimes (BF 90s).

The economic system within the community did not revolve around money. It was based on a system of simple barter and a handshake was as good as a man's word. Families were not commercial farmers but subsisted on the land. Neighbors looked out for each other.

> Aunt Mary (Porter Byrd), she would have this big garden, but she didn't have any kids or anything. She just raised the kids, the nieces and nephews, and she would just give the food away.... And can, you know, even make can food, and they would give that away too... But, like with Aunt Mary, she would have some of everything. She really just gave food away to people that didn't have anything...she would just give it. She raised chickens, and you didn't have to buy eggs (BF 60s; BF 50s).

Everyone had a horse or two, a few hogs, chickens, and one or two cows. Small vegetable gardens provided the necessary food. The surrounding trees provided the needed energy source to keep warm in the winter and keep the cooking stoves stoked.

> I can remember garden vegetables. Well most everybody had their own little garden. Well, my Dad had a pretty good size garden, because Mom would always can the vegetables. We never worried in the wintertime... Dad would always have at least two hogs, I know. We never had cows. The man down

> the street had cows. We'd go get milk from him. He'd always have about two hogs, and then he had like a lot of chickens and we would have like the smokehouse (BF 60s).

Pig slaughtering was a cooperative venture.

> Then the neighbors would come and do yours (pigs) this time, and then you would go to neighbors and help them with theirs.... They helped each other, yeah. [They slaughtered them] in a barrel (BF 60s; BF 50s).

> Uncle Charlie Reid did pigs. He did a lot of farm work. He could build a chicken house. He was the community handyman. If anybody needed anything he was there.... In my day, it was families that did their own. We always had pigs. Most people had pigs and chickens. Always had cows, or a cow that you can milk. Uncle Charlie Reid, which was a black gentleman, always killed and butchered the pigs. We always had two pigs.... Families got together for butchering sessions too.... Yeah, mama's sisters would come and help too because they made the lard, they made the sausage, they made soaps, they made scrapple (WF 80s; WM 80s).

Hunting and fishing supplemented the meat supply.

> [Men hunted] for... rabbits and squirrels most of the time, and night hunting. They'd hunt for coons and possums. They'd get together. You didn't know blacks from whites when it came to hunting season.... Night-hunting season is much longer than for rabbits and squirrels. Usually start around the 15th of November and run until the first or the 15th of January.... [A]ll of them [started] in November.... Night hunting would go [to] like the 15th of February.... Didn't anybody do any deer hunting around here then. It you could see a deer when I was coming up, and you'd have seen something. Never seen a deer around here (BM 80s).

Families who farmed knew that the only way to survive was to grow and can their own food.

> We had a big field of corn, because he (dad) raised enough corn to feed the horses and the pigs during the winter. And

> potatoes, sweet potatoes, peas, tomatoes, lettuce, cabbage. We never did fool much with pumpkins.... My brother and I would have to pick berries during the summer and my mother would can them so that we would have berries during the winter. And we had two big cherry trees. We'd pick cherries. My mom would can cherries so we'd have cherries all winter. So they really didn't have a lot of time. I guess church was the biggest recreation for the older people... My dad had his job and he raised a lot of stuff in the garden. So he would come straight from work and got to the garden and weed and all that stuff (BF 60s).

Many families had more than one garden site (father's and mother's) and grew a wide variety of foods, e.g., potatoes, corn, sweet potatoes, peas, tomatoes, lettuce, cabbage, squash, cucumbers, zucchini, green peppers, beans, watermelons. Wild berries and grapes and fruits such as peaches, apples, and plums were picked in the summer.

> We would go pick berries, blueberries, and strawberries and whatever was wild. We'd have to go and get up real early before the sun got up, get back home, pick them off, then you were free for the rest of the day.... If you got up early, then you went to bed (BF60s).

Women made pickles, relishes, jellies, preserves, and homemade meats. Cabbages, potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables were either stored in pantries (private rooms) or cellars in "keels" (wooden barrels), or buried in sawdust in dug out basements. Hams and meats were smoked and cured. To cure a ham, a gash would be cut to the bone and salt put in the gash and then rubbed on the outside of the ham until it sweat. Milk, butter, cottage cheese, cranberries, and wine, among other things, were kept ice cold by lowering them in a bucket down into the well.

"Chicken" grapes were reported to make the best wine. Grapes or apples were crushed in presses and the juice was left to ferment into wine or vinegar.

> She still makes wine for us every year. We give it to friends for Christmas and everything. She's known for wine. Usually grape wine. We usually have a grape vine and she usually makes grape wine (BF 40s).

> Everything used to taste good - real cow's milk, butter, and cheese. The wife used to gather the eggs, and make butter from the milk. The men used to hunt for deer and still do. Turkeys and rabbits each had their season. Turkey eggs were used to make cakes (WM 80s).

> ...[T]he wife was the one that gathered the eggs and she was the one that made the butter and everything.....[M]any times I've stood up, churned that butter, and got that milk out of it. It looked real good.... Can't find no real butter [now]....Cream on the jar after it set a while. It was rich.... Shake that cream and stuff up.... It was so good that we just loved it even after the butter. The buttermilk was so good. We used to put cornbread in there and eat that buttermilk. Even after it soured. None of that stuff taste like nothing no more.... We used to go out there as children and there were so many turkeys around, and we'd look for the eggs. We'd find nests of eggs.... Great big eggs and my mother used to make cakes out of them. Delicious cakes (BF 70s; BM 70s).

Day would start with a hearty breakfast and then it was off to work the gardens and fields. If a family had cows, they were milked before breakfast.

> [You] get up in the morning and the first thing you did was have breakfast....[I]f you come up this morning and going to have some breakfast, they'd go and knock the chicken in the head and have him fried and on the table for breakfast. Fried chicken, hot biscuits, and stuff like that (BM 80s).

After the farm chores, pulpwood (for making paper) and railroad ties were cut and loaded on the wagons and taken to the local general or country store where they would be sold or traded for needed items that could not be produced on the farm, such as needles and thread, harnesses, saddles, etc. While the produce from the farm was used primarily to feed the families, a few days a week some farmers would go to Quantico to sell chickens, butter, eggs and vegetables. If a farmer had an extra pig or cow, it might be sold, or the farmer might kill it and go throughout the community selling to other families. In the fall, cider was added to the items offered for sale.

> Then daddy or the big children would have to go milk the cows before breakfast, go feed the horses and cows, chickens, hogs, and then come in. This time of year (summer) they would go into the gardens and the fields and if you made a little money you'd go out cutting pulpwood and railroad ties.... My uncle... would go every Thursday and Friday to Quantico. He'd have his own wagon loaded down with vegetables, eggs, and butter, chicken, vegetables out of the garden.... Sometimes he would sell everything. Most times he would sell everything, and in the fall, when they would start making cider, he would make cider today and carry it down and sell it tomorrow (BM 80s).

One community member summed life in the '20s, '30s, and 40s:

> ...Life was very simple. It was just a very simple life, it was just country living. That's all you could say. There was no joints, no clubs, anything like that. People just worked and came home and worked and that's it. Everybody tried to take care of their own place. You know most of them would work on public jobs somewhere. Then they would come home and try to farm their land that they had. They didn't have time to do a lot of other stuff (BM 70s).

Harvest time was a community activity that both blacks and whites participated in. There were no combines to thresh the wheat so it was cut by hand using a cradle. A crew of farmers working together could clear five acres of land in about an hour.

> [Izzie Bates] ...was a great man for cutting the wheat with a cradle. You have to cut the wheat with your hand. You ever see that when they cut the wheat like that? Well, he was a great man, and he was good. He'd always get about ten cent an hour more than anybody else because he was out there leading them. You've got to keep up with Uncle Izzie. And the boss would be glad to give him an extra dime (BM 80s).

> Wherever the workers were working at lunchtime, that farmer was responsible for providing the meal. After a good meal with meats, potatoes, vegetables, hot biscuits, cornbread, etc. and a short rest, the group would return to work (WF 80s).

Corn shucking time was another community activity. Corn would be piled high and the corn shuckers would work together until finished, sometimes as late as 1:00 a.m. in the morning. Workers were given a big dinner and upon finishing the work they would drink up and go home.

> The only thing they had around here was corn shuckers. Yeah, my granddaddy made a barrel of cider and then people would come to shuck corn. Then before they leave, they would crack up a fight. That's how he got his corn shucked. Everybody go into the corn shuck. Like they did when you go out into the fields and they had to see who could shuck the most, but he didn't give them nothing but an old big keg of hard cider (BM 80s).

> And corn time they used to pull the corn ears off of the stalk and haul it up and put it in a great big pile, and we'd (blacks and whites together) have corn-shucking time. They'd go shuck

corn, and usually that would be at night. They'd shuck until 12:00 or 1:00, and they'd drink up all the wine they could find if they had any. Then they'd go home (BM 80s).

General stores were another social hub in the community. People would come to the store not only to shop but also to get the latest news, socialize, play cards.

> The people would gather at this store nearly every evening from say six o'clock 'til about nine o'clock and talk over what's going on and what they did during that day, and this is how the news got around from one farm to another. So it was great to keep track of what was going on (McBride 1984).

Mary and John Thomas owned a grocery store right across from Little Union Baptist Church through the 1920s, but it closed after the mine closed.

> John and Mary Thomas would take a couple of wagons and they would go all the way up to the riverfront in Alexandria to purchase the supplies for John their general store. And their general store had everything in it that you could imagine. Whatever you could imagine needing, they sold it in the general store. So it was in the true sense of the word, a general store. They just sold everything from food supplies to tools, books, clothes, fashions, stockings, you know. Whatever you needed they sold (BM 40s).

Educated members in the community were called on to help with reading and writing letters.

> Community members would ask Granny Mary, as she was called, to write letters that they needed for various reasons (BM 40s).

> Henry Early, ...he and his dad were well-educated people. The people right around Batestown, and around this area did not get that much education. Mr. Early, well, if anybody needed help reading a letter, Mr. Early would go and help them out (BM 80s).

The Brawners had a store located in Dumfries at the same time that the Thomas store was operating.

> Mountjoy was a little country store where McDonald's is in Triangle now. But you had to go to Manassas to buy your groceries, shop, whatever (BF 60s).

Other well-known family run stores during the thirties included the Taylor, Liming, Able, Nash, Kendall, Speake, King, Crow and Jackson stores. These operated during the period between 1920 and 1945. Map Two shows the Park area in the late '30s and the location of some of the stores, mills and important landmarks.[10] Also marked on the map are the CCC campsites and several sites in the Park.

William Crow, who later became the option-taker for the Chopawamsic RDA, had an interesting reputation in the community.

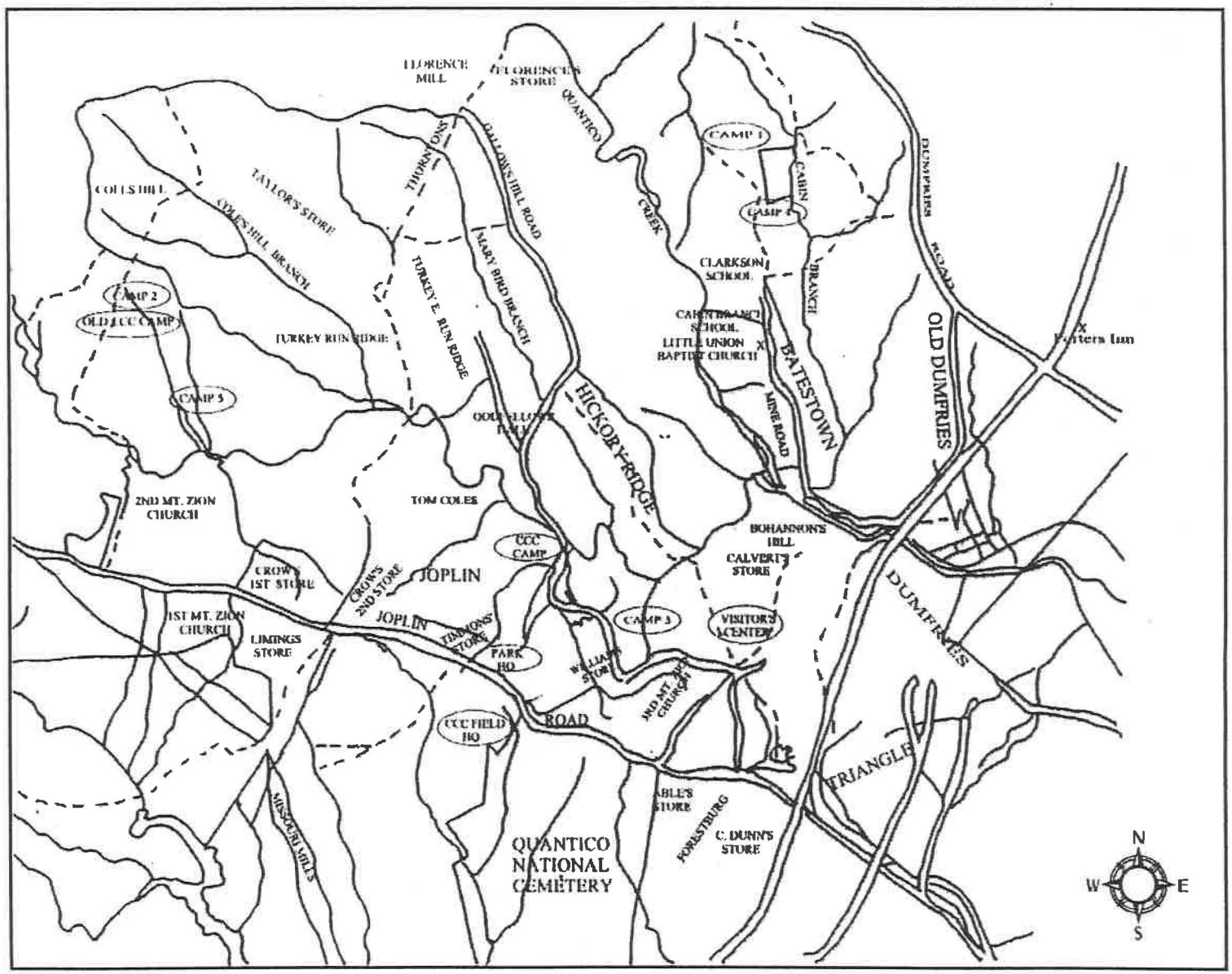
> William Crow, ... he come from Joplin, Missouri. His name was Cheshire. And he settled down in Stafford. They robbed a train, a guy told me, and all of them got off in Quantico except him. He got off at Stafford. My uncle said when he come to Joplin, he come there on an old grey horse, and a wagon and he built a little store up there on the right side. Later on, he built this great big store, and he adopted about six kids. His name was Cheshire, and he changed his name to Crow, William Crow (WM 70s).

Sawmills and gristmills provided employment for some men in the community. Sawmills were set up whenever timber was being cut down. For example, John Kendall was reported to have had a sawmill on his place

---

10 This map is based on a map found in the PRWI Archives but no identification was found to indicate who drew the map.

MAP TWO
CHOPAWAMSIC RECREATIONAL AREA: LATE 1930s



> Everybody knew everybody, and when the wintertime come we'd haul up loads of wood and pile it up on the yard. Mr. Walter Woolfenden would come around with a gasoline engine and a saw and saw it up for you. And I'd help you and you'd help Ms. Taylor and we'd go on through like that. Nobody paid any money except pay the man with the machine. Everybody else was free. The same thing we didn't have no combine in thrashing when we cut the wheat. Haul it up in his thrashing machine and come around 12:00, whoever those people have to fix the dinner for the whole gang.... (BM 80s).

Gristmills would grind up wheat, corn and oats for farmers to feed their animals or for use at home.

> [Farmers]...had to bring it there to be ground. When you carried a bag of corn down there and you wanted to ground it into meal, you didn't pay anything for getting it done. You have a bushel, he would take out a gallon of the corn and you'd be a gallon of corn short and that would pay you for the grinding. They called it toll. A gallon of corn would make a good deal of meal. [Wheat] same thing. You have a certain amount, say, 10 pounds out of 50 pounds. Any sort of ration like that. A lot of people used to go there and get corn out of the toll bin to plant because they can get some of everybody's corn. Somebody had good producing corn, they'd go and get that (BM 80s).

Mills were a place where people could congregate.

> ... [I]f you know the certain places and times when other people would be there, you found out whether or not prices would be going up or down, who was sick, who needed help, the whole thing. It was a community gathering spot.... (WF 50s).

Mills as meeting places passed out of existence as stores began to carry flour.

> You had in that period of time [30s], you still had the big ones (mills) down here in Fredericksburg. And those were huge. So as they get bigger, then the price goes down. So they were bagging it and selling it by that time (WF 50s).

"Drummers" or salesmen who passed through the community, were fixed parts of the local economy. One of the best known was the "Old Watkins Man" who drove around in his old car and sold everything from liniments, salves, rubbing alcohol, rheumatism medicine, and hair grease, to seasonings, extracts, flavorings, and Black Draught (a laxative). "Old Watkins Man" covered a wide territory including North Carolina and knew many families. One of the most engaging stories collected was about the Watkins Man.

> Used to be the Watkins Man who went door-to-door. He had everything and came often enough to know people in the community. He was probably white because he traveled from state to state. He has a story told about him. There was one family who he kept saying looked just like this family in North Carolina, they looked alike, and talked alike, and had the same mannerisms. He kept at this for so long that finally the family here told him to ask the family there if they had had a dog named, say "Blue." It turned out that the family in Batestown was related to the family in North Carolina - a brother and sister had been separated during slavery. There is a picture of the two of them meeting when they were about 90 and 100. This was the Porter family (BF 50s).

Ice brought some relief in the hot summer months and it was needed to keep food cold. Originally, whoever helped collect the ice in the winter could get some in the summer. In later years, ice was delivered by the ice man and kept in ice boxes.

> Mountjoy had his store, and there was a big millpond over there. And in the wintertime they would take a two-horse wagon and drive it. The ice was so thick that you could take a two-horse wagon and drive it up there, and bore a hole through the ice, and take a saw and put it in there and saw the ice out. I've seen him get blocks of ice there 30 inches or more square, and carried and put it out there in the ground. There was a

> layer of sawdust from the sawmills and the wagon would haul ice. They didn't have refrigerators. If you want ice cream or you want lemonade, you go down there and get a chunk of ice and didn't have to pay anything (BM 80s).

In the early days, Hezekiah Bates (Uncle Izzie) fished the Quantico.

> Old Man Bates used to fish in the Quantico. That's the only time you'd get fish was in the spring when they start to spawn. Old Man Bates would fish, and I've seen him sell fish for a penny a piece. One dollar, one hundred fish... and a great big rock fish for a quarter.... They'd just cut them and clean them and put them in salt and throw a layer of salt on the fish and the salt would dissolve in the dampness of the fish. So you'd almost have to dig them out sometimes (BM 80s).

Local fishermen brought fish through the community.

> [The fishermen] catch the fish on the river and sell them for little or nothing. By the time you give him a drink or whatever, you'd get them for nothing (BF 60s).

In later years, Mr. Dent would come up from Cherry Hill and go through the community about once a week selling fish.

The insurance man was yet another figure in the community. Policies cost about 10 cents a month. Other salesmen who came to the community in later years included the Snyder bread man, the milk man, and the newspaper delivery man for the *Washington Post* and *The Grit.*

> ... [T]here were several companies ... that came in. JC Penny's started a wagon delivering clothes. They had wagons coming by, selling clothes, and things like that. Although, on the farm, we made most of the clothes (WM 80s).

Bootlegging

One of the most profitable businesses in the Dumfries, Triangle, Joplin area was making "moonshine." In the isolated areas of rural Virginia, stills were easily obscured and moonshine became a reasonable substitute for "good" liquor. Bootlegging was a profitable business venture until caught. Prohibition had made informers of neighbors, grafters and bootleggers of otherwise honest men and filled jails with people who were not criminals (Darrow 1924 cited in McClellan 1994).

> The severity of the Depression experienced there made the temptation even greater, although the poor generally did not have the money to buy the sugar needed to make a lot of whiskey. The maxim that it takes money to make money was true even in making moonshine (Weems-Botts Museum Collection, n.d.).

The Prince William Court House records indicate that homemade stills were plentiful.

> I had one (moonshiner) in the farmer's town, and he said, 'Well... I'll tell you what. Sometimes we have a real good crop of corn, and you got to do one thing. You can feed the animals, you can cook it yourself, or sell it, or you can squeeze it. Sometimes if we had a really good crop, we did a lot of squeezing' (WF 50s).

The making of moonshine was learned from family members. The best kind of mash to use, the amount of yeast needed, how much sugar to add were the key to making good quality moonshine. To make moonshine,

> You take a 52 gallon barrel and put 45 pounds of rye in it, and 50 pounds of sugar, warm the water, and put eight Fleishmans Yeast cakes in it. Let it sit for four or five days, cover it up,

and it's ready to run. You put it in a kettle, then it's got a cap on it. It's got a coil, that comes out of that, and when it gets up steam, the water condenses. It starts coming out. The first you run is real strong. On that there 50 pounds of sugar, you make about 10 jars (WM 70s).

Several families were well-known for bootlegging.

Jim Watson... was in that thing right good one time.... [He] made whisky from the end of WWI until the beginning of WWII and never did get caught. But he had people that did get caught and went to jail for him and he took care of the families while they were gone.... (BM 80s).

The Mountjoy boys, most all of them had a big oil burner sitting, dug back in the bank, and they would come in there and you'd hear that thing roaring like I don't know what. It would be going BROOOOOOOOOOOO.... The prohibition officers and the government would call Manassas. They couldn't come down without letting Manassas know they were coming, and Manassas would call it in. They had a sign of shooting a 30-30 rifle, and if they shot that thing three times, look out, they were coming. They let them know. So they (the Mountjoys) left a sign there saying, moved in such and such a date, moved out such and such a date. So many gallons of whisky and so much profit, and they'd get in there and there's nothing left but the skeleton of where they had been.... (BM 80s)

And if you lived around there you could go in there and all you'd have to do is take yourself a half gallon jar and they'd give you a half jar of whisky, but don't sell it. If they caught you selling it, you'd take it and get it from them and then sell it, man they wouldn't give you no more. One old man was trying to hustle it to Quantico, but they cut him out (BM 80s).

Locals were not the only ones to benefit financially from the moonshine business. Outsiders or "gangsters" also came to the area to set up business.

They used to find people that wasn't even from this area, because I know my father did that. With his farm being so large he had a very keen ear, he used to listen, and he said, 'I hear noises, and somebody is on my property.' He'd get on his

> horse and ride too. I know one incident he found this great big still down there, and boy they was hauling out liquor by the truckloads. They came out of Pittsburgh somewhere out there. They came down and found all this land and I guess they figured that it was nobody living there, so they set up this big still. Well, he didn't do anything with them. He just told them that they were on his land and that they had to move out.... I think they gave him a whole barrel full [of liquor]. But they moved out. You could hear the trucks moving out after that. He said them rascals had been there for some time, he'd been hearing those noises....
>
> People found out that land wasn't being used, and they were a good way from somebody's house, they came in from outer states and set up the stills, and hauling them away by the truckloads.... [The game wardens] used to ride all in the woods looking for stills, and when they found a still they would take a sledge hammer and bust the kegs... and you could smell it for miles and miles (BF 70s).
>
> One community member summed it up as follows.
>
> Well, at one time...we had bar rooms, then they did away with them and the country went dry, and then it was moonshine on every creek (WM 80s).

At least a half a dozen stills operated in the Park area. An unlawful operation could be spotted by the revenue officer by the smoke from the fire, lit near a little run, far from any houses. Hunters wandering through might come upon a still unexpectedly. If they said nothing and kept going, no harm would come to them. To interfere with a bootlegger, however, was to encounter real danger.

> The law officer's daughter who remembers the bullet hole in the family car after her father helped raid a still; the politician who remembers being told by a local leader, 'I will support you, but stay out of my district;' and the Hickory Ridge resident who

> remembers a neighbor badly beaten, because his moonshine sales were cutting into the business of a competitor... (Weems-Botts Museum Collection, n.d.).

Black and whites worked together in the moonshine business. Blacks were considered to have been the "masters" at the preparation of the moonshine.

> They [blacks and whites] all made moonshine. They all run when they [the law] came around. It seems as if they always got a tip when the sheriff was coming.... Sheriff Curly came in with sticks and went down into the outhouses and everything else, hunting for whisky. He never did find it, but that's the way they did.... [T]hey did bootleg, 'cuz that's where the money came from. So they bootlegged (WM 80s).

Bigger dealers in the area would take care of the families of runners who were sentenced to jail for selling or making the moonshine. Corruption was alleged to have run all the way up to the top. If it were learned that a government raid was planned, calls were made and rifle shots rang out as warning that a raid was imminent. Some were caught but bribery was rampant.

> Oh yes, nearly everybody gets caught sooner or later. I sold a pint to an ABC man one time, and these lawyers said, 'Give me one hundred dollars and I'll get you out.' So I gave them a hundred dollars, and that was it. I never even went to court (WM 70s).

> Another time I saw the ABC man, Sheriff, that's what they called them then, it's a little grocery store down there, and I live about one hundred yards from it. I was going to Triangle to get a tire fixed. In the meantime I saw him over there, and I backed up to the house, and went in. Mama raised the window on that side, about that much out of the jar, she give it to me. I went down the hill and hid it. I came back in the front door, and grabbed the guitar. 'We're going to search your space!' 'Go on and search it.' I said. Well, all the law was out in the backyard, they found two gallons out by the hog pen. Whose property was that on? Was it on Polly Watson's or was it on Rueben

> Ables? Don't know! Survey. It hadn't been surveyed. So then they got the warrant from my mother, and that was it, they threw it out. And I gave Dave Ease, I don't know, $7500. He says, 'John Cares wants a little more.' 'How much?' ' $45.' That was the High Sheriff. I paid him off. They are not going to put you in jail (WM 70s).

Bootlegging also had its negative side. While there was profit in the selling of the liquor there was the problem of drinking.

> Another thing that was a big factor to people who lived in the Park, there was always plenty of moonshine liquor available and most men drank to some extent, some to the point of self-destruction. They also sold liquor in order to make money. Their best customers were said to be people living in Triangle, Quantico, Quantico Marine Base and the sorry part of this, they were said to be their own second best customers. That's what put the hurting on them (McBride 1985).

> ...[Y]ou had the Marine Corps and they would think it was, because they wasn't making a lot of money, and you need a drink, that's where they would come get it (BM 80s).

At one point, the Major General Commander at Quantico, Smedley Butler, made an official complaint about the corruption of the marines at Quantico who socialized with the prostitutes in town and bought liquor from the bootleggers (Quantico archives). One might conjecture that one reason the government chose Prince William County for the Chopawamsic RDA was because of the highly profitable bootleg industry.

Franklin D. Roosevelt announced the end of prohibition with the repeal of the eighteenth article on December 5, 1933. The moonshine business was eventually virtually eliminated when the Office of Strategic Services took over the Park area in 1942.

Leisure Time and Holidays

Telling favorite stories was a pass time. One of Deacon Dewitt Bates' favorite stories was a story about a horse.

> A man stole his owner's horse to go out to a party down in Dumfries. It was prestigious to arrive at a party on a horse. And the idea was to go to the party and bring the horse back before the owner woke up the next day, but the horse died. He came out of the party and the horse was dead. So they had to try to get the horse back up. And I think what happened was the horse had passed out, but they were able to revive the horse enough to get it back up to the choral, and then it collapsed again. And when the owner woke up, he came out the next day and was like, "My horse is dead, what happened?" (Kinzer 1994)

> People enjoyed getting on the back of the wagon and going places...to church and to visit people. Lot's of time they would pack a lunch (BF 50s).

Daytime outdoor activities included softball, pitching horsehoes, horseback riding and swimming in the swimming holes.

> ...[T]here was Garrison Run back down in the Park.... We had a swimming hole down there. And then we had a swimming hole over on Mine Road. The creek runs up side that (BM 70s).

> I remember this little lady would... she was the neighborhood Pied Piper. She'd gather up all the kids and take them over and let you play in the water. All the ones that could swim...[I]t was just water and there was this little special place that was just kind of conducive to swimming (BF 60s).

Families enjoyed playing dominoes, Po-Ke-No, Bid Whist, checkers, listening to music on a battery radio, playing music (banjos, fiddles, etc.), square dancing, playing hide-n-go-seek, and shooting marbles.

> We'd shoot marbles, we'd play hopscotch, play ball, pitch horseshoes. Of course, Sunday was always spent at church. And [we'd] go visit Grandma on Sundays. Things like that (BF 60s).
>
> [We'd] leap from house to house, and cook, and they also used to play cards – well some of them. We used to play, what's that game we used to play all the time? We used to love that. Set up all night long and played that. With the pennies...? Po-Ke-No. Yeah, we used to love them things like that. And tell jokes and laugh and there was no place to go (BF 70s).
>
> You play dominoes and checkers. Cards, no. You better not let no church folks catch you playing no cards. My God, MM-Hmmm. A lot of them got turned out of church for dancing too (BM 80s).

Homes were usually one to one and a half miles from each other making it difficult for children to get together to play. Occasionally, children's playtime was solitaire.

> I was sort of by myself. I had to play by myself most of the time. And there wasn't a lot to do. I used to walk around in the field. I like to fool with dogs. I had a little old dog and I would take him out, and walk around in the fields and find rabbits and birds and things like that. I tried to get the little dog to run rabbits and that's about it. Get out and ride, and take a tennis ball, throw it up against the house and knock the white wash off my house. My mother, she'd get at me about that (BM 70s).

Mischief was a part of playtime as well.

> Those Mountjoy boys... they were much older than I and my brother. Old Man Mountjoy would not let anybody go in the watermelon patch until after it was what they called "laying it by," when the watermelon started to get ripe. Wasn't nobody allowed in there but Howard. When his daddy would go to bed at night, Howard would go in there and put them (watermelons) down in the dam and let them get cold. Then we'd go down there on Saturday evening or Sunday. We'd swim and eat

watermelon, and I ate so much watermelon. They had a whole bunch of chocolate drops. You know old-time chocolate drops with the cream in them? They had a bucket of more than a half a bushel. Twenty-five pounds of those chocolates, and they stole the whole bucket and put it down there and [I] ate so much chocolate, and so much watermelon until I was sick as a dog. And my mother poured castor oil in me (BM 80s).

In the wintertime there was ice skating on Gibson Mill Dam.

...[W]e used to ice skate in the winter time out there. They built big fires and ice skated. The blacks and the whites. It was a copper dam. The timbers that shorn up the dam itself were mostly chestnut, and the couplers were mostly 8x8 ft. and these were continuous all the way across the stream, and the couplers were filled with stone (WF 80s; WM 80s).

Occasionally children could hitch a sled ride on the back of a car.

She'd take the children. All the people would take their sleds and hang on to one sled and she'd have about a dozen sleds pulling them all around these streets. Then we could get up on top of the hill, which was 234 then, which is Duke Street now, but it was 234. And go from the top all the way down to the bridge that was Number 1 Highway. Someone would be down there at the crossroads, where Number 1 came, and made a turn to go across the bridge. It didn't go straight through there to stop the traffic.... [T]hey'd stop and maybe it was one or two cars until we came through on the sleds (WF 80s).

Holiday times were special occasions.

Mr. And Mrs. Gratts, a Jewish couple in Quantico, owned a little variety store.

That's what it was called, a Five and Ten Cent Store. They were Jewish, the Gratts. And she had a family that lived down there and he (Mr. Gratts) played Santa Claus for her. She would dress him up in a Santa Claus suit. He came by and would pick me up, not here, but at my home over there, and I'd go up with him, up at Hickory Ridge, and he would stop at all

> the homes, and carry Christmas. This was her way of doing...[for] black and white. And they looked forward for him. She had a great big old Packard car (WF 80s).

Once a year, families went to Manassas on Labor Day to attend the horse races. This was a community adventure.

> All of us would get in the car and go up there. And they come from all over the place (BM 80s).

The first carnival came to town around 1920 - a merry-go-round. Kids purchased six tickets for a quarter. Visiting big tent shows with comedians on stage were another form of entertainment (Nelson 1984).

In communities across the nation, Saturday night was party night for black Americans. In the 1930s and 1940s juke joints were jumpin', the beer and whiskey were flowing and men and women put on their dancing shoes for a night of relief from the long work week. Although a long way from the Harlem Renaissance and the excitement that accompanied the era of big bands and swing in the concert halls and nightclubs of the city, the people of Prince William County had their fun. Families would get together on Saturday evenings for games and music. House parties were customary.

> A neighbor would come down every Saturday night to listen to my father (Robert Bates) play the banjo (Kinzer 1994)

> ....For fun people partied at each other's houses. They would gather together. Deacon Bates played the harmonica. Different ones would get to singing and a lot of them played the harmonica. They would have...hoe-downs...they would sing and dance (BM 40s).

> [Uncle Izzie]... was an old man. He played music, and when they had the square dances, he would call figures. That was his job, calling the figures (BM 80s).

Even passing hobos joined in on the entertaining. Deacon Dewitt Bates talked about a hobo who played his harmonica to "make the dogs chase the fox."

> He could blow a harmonica. Whoee! Make your hair stand on your head. He come in there and my mother would say, 'Oh, you got to play my piece before you leave.' And boy, he'd get to playing those hymns for her. He's know what she wanted [to hear] (Kinzer, 1994).

Saturday nights also found people partying in an area called "Blood Fields," up behind the Washington-Reid School on Route 234.

> Somebody gave it that name because there were so many fights going on up there.... [fights were about] women and whisky. Somebody said something about me and I want to get that straightened out and we'll fight about it (BM 80s).

> There were lots of parties up there and fights and I heard lots of people got killed.... They had knife fights in those days. They also used to have bars up at the end of Mine Road. And they would go into town occasionally (BM 40s).

Juke joints or "beer gardens" got started around the time of WWII. "Whenever my brothers went to war, that's when that stuff started out (BF 60s) .

> They had one out here on Route One. They called that Porter's Inn. There was a Chinns' up in Batestown (BM 80s).

> Porter's Inn came by then in the late 30s, and opened up a place. And they had a beer garden and blacks would go in there and get a glass of beer and drink it and go in there and eat. Porter's Inn really had things going. It was right down

there from where Skips' Junkyard is. They had a big place there:... When he first came in there and he found out that there wasn't no place for the blacks at all and he opened up to them. Blacks and whites together (BM 80s).

Schools and Churches

Schools

Foner (1990:44) discloses the high value placed on education by blacks.

> Throughout the South, blacks in 1865 and 1866 raised money to purchase, build schoolhouses, and pay teachers' salaries. Some communities voluntarily taxed themselves; in other black schools charged tuition, while allowing a number of the poorest families to enroll their children free of charge. Black artisans donated their labor to construct schoolhouses, and black families offered room and board to teacher to supplement their salaries. By 1870, blacks had expended over $1 million on education, a fact that long remained a point of collective pride.

Prior to 1870, Prince William County was divided into six school districts with a Board of Commissioners heading each district. In 1870 the Board of Commissioners was replaced by a District School Board.

Dumfries was one of the six districts. Six of the seventeen schools in the Dumfries school district were for black children. These included Cabin Branch (1889-1950), Neabsco (1901-1939), Quantico Colored (1910 - 1939), Mt. Zion (1925-1928), Hickory Ridge (1933-1943), and Washington-Reid (1950-present).

Schools were named after local landmarks, geographical features, people, and churches. Some schools such as Cabin Branch actually had two names. The other name for the Cabin Branch was Clarkson School.

In 1935 twenty-nine children were enrolled in a school set up in Oddfellows Hall in the Hickory Ridge area in order to accommodate the

> ...urgent need for a school in a small community where the children could not conveniently get to any school. [The community] was somewhat cut off from the Cabin Branch Community by two broad runs (Haydon 1935:106-107).

> The school that I went to most of my life was up the road from my house. There was an old building up there they call the Oddfellows Hall. And, that's the school I went to.... It was a one-room school... It was all the kids in the neighborhood everywhere around there.... About 25-30 kids, something like that (BM 70s).

> .... [M]y aunt (Annie Williams) was the first grade teacher there (BF 60s).

Also among the schools were a few "mystery school houses." Dumfries had four such mystery schools - Mount Pleasant (which was found on a 1901 map but not in any listing of County schools), Greenwood School (referred to once in the County School Board minutes of 1883), Round Top School (also referred to in the County School Board minutes in 1883) and finally Wakefield School (which was recorded in a County Deed Book of 1885) (Phinney 1993).

The importance of education to the black families was evident in the fact that children who attended the early black schools walked up to 14 miles just to attend school even though, in some cases, white schools were located right across the street from some of the children's homes.

> When I come along, you couldn't go to school, I had so far to walk.... I had to walk from Hickory Ridge over here to this school (Cabin Branch). About that time, the teacher would

have me in the woods cutting wood, filling the old woodbin up and all that stuff (BM 80s).

All of these white schools around here, but we had to go to Manassas to school. Right here in Dumfries, a school was there. It's still there. We had to go to Manassas. Ride a cold bus, with the heater up in the front of it. We get up to Lake Jackson, we had to get off of the bus, go across the bridge because it would only hold but so many people. Big as that corner of that bar was over there, that's about how big the bridge was. The ones that wanted to stay on there could have stayed on there, but most of us got off.... The bus driver would let the bad kids stay on. He said that if the bus went down they would go down with that bus.... Then when we get up to the school we would get in an ice cold school with radiators, and we had to sit on top of them to get warm after coming nineteen, eighteen miles. And then by the time you got warm, it was time to go home. They didn't learn too much (BF 60s; BF 40s).

Schools were set up either in churches (e.g., Mt. Zion) or in small houses or cabins (e.g., Cabin Branch).

During that time, sometimes we went to school at churches. They'd open up a church and have school there. We ain't have no school for us to go to. And we had to go to the nearest one to us. And our parents had to support us. We ain't get a lot of support from the County.... [It was a] one room school. And I guess we had 'bout sixty or seventy children in one room in different grades. During that time I had a little something called a primer.... They ain't have no high schools. The only high school we had was Manassas Industrial High School which is called Jennie Dean now. And then they had another in Fredericksburg called Mayfield.... You had to pay to go there just like you pay to go to college now. We didn't have no [free] high schools (BM 70s).

Teachers in the black schools did not always have a high school diploma. Two exceptions to this were Mr. John Alexander and Mrs. Mary Porter. Racial inequity existed between black and white schools. Teachers were paid less, funds

were short and supplies for blacks were in poor condition and hard to find. In addition, the school year was shorter (in some cases five months) due to the harvesting seasons and classrooms were small and crowded with as many as 30 children from first grade through seventh grade in a small classroom and one teacher. Teaching materials and books were either made or donated to schools by patrons or donated from white schools that no longer need them. Teachers frequently wrote letters to the School Board requesting books, paper, chalk and other supplies.

> We never had no electric heat or gas heat or anything like that in the school (BM 70s).
>
> ...[Boys] had to cut wood and things. We had a wood stove to keep the school warm (BM 70s).
>
> Both teachers and students were responsible for the maintenance of the school property.
>
> The girls had to wash the windows and do all of the work around there. Clean the floor, all household stuff (BM 70s).
>
> A typical day in the school
>
> .... [Y]ou always did the Lord's Prayer and we did the pledge. You had your basic things back then I guess... your reading, your writing, math, of course. Then, maybe for a period in the afternoon you had a little while where you would sing some songs because then you didn't have music teachers... Then you had recess everyday because you didn't have P.E. So this was a chance to go outside right after lunch and play.... She (the teacher) would work with one class and the other classes would have desk work, as we say now (BF 60s).
>
> The teacher would start talking and we'd get our little book, and paper, and pencils out and try to learn something or write down something that she said. Our letters or ABC's or something....

> Wasn't much that she could teach. Not with 100 kids or more. She couldn't teach you nothing. That's the reason we didn't learn nothing hardly (BM 70s).

Christmas plays were the highlight of the year. Unmarried teachers boarded with families in the community. The local schools went up to the seventh grade.

The Cabin Branch school eventually moved to Route 234 and was renamed Washington-Reid. This newer school had three rooms.

> The first room was first, second and third grade. The second room was fourth [and] fifth, [and] sixth and seventh in the third room. (BF 60s).

If children pursued education further they had to go to the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth founded in 1893 and later renamed the Jennie Dean Industrial School. The founder, Jennie Dean, was born a slave in Catharpin.

> The school opened in 1894 as a private institution, teaching such trades as wood working, shoe repair, blacksmithing, wheel wrighting, household arts, laundry and dry cleaning. It also held normal-school classes to train teachers, and included a working farm that provided training in farm operations as well as food for the students and staff (*Potomac News*: 7/31/91).

> There wasn't really a school for you to go any higher than maybe sixth, seventh grade other than Jenny Dean. [It] was one of those schools that you could go a bit higher. You could graduate from high school at Jenny Dean. Only thing... is... [It was] in the western part of the County. So the kids actually stayed over in housing. They come from all over to go to that area. [It was] a boarding house school. [Families paid] something like two dollars a month...You had a lot of money if you could send your kids to school there to stay (BF 50s).

Churches

Church was the focal point of people's lives. Mt. Zion Church and Little Union Baptist Church were two of the early churches in the Cabin Branch Community. Church services were held once a month in the early years of the century and later twice a month because ministers made the rounds among several communities.

Prior to the establishment of Little Union Baptist Church families in the Cabin Branch Community traveled long distances to attend church. They went to the Neabsco Baptist Church in the Neabsco District of Prince William or a Baptist church just over the line in Stafford County. Mary Bates Thomas, matriarch of the Cabin Branch Community, and her husband, John Thomas, recognizing the need for a church in their own community, donated land in Batestown for the building of the church. "It [Little Union] has got a stone, right up on top with the Bates name in it" (BM 80s). The deed, recorded at the Manassas Court House on September 9, 1901, lists Daniel Reid, Buck Griffin and Tazwell Bates as the trustees.

> We had a little church up the road. My grandfather, Dan Reid, Buck Griffin, and I forgot the other man (Tazwell Bates)...was a trustee of the church up Mine Road. And I think the lady.... Mary Bates Thomas, she gave the land...for the church (BF 60s).

The property was given for the exclusive use of establishing the New School Baptist Church. The listing of "New School" on a deed may have referred to modification of the theological practices of a congregation (orthodox versus new practices).

> But the reasons were simply because of the way that the church operated. You have, if you go down into Fredericksburg, you'll notice that they talk about Shiloh Old School. That's the Old School Baptist.... It was called the Old School Baptist, and that's all around. Then you have the new one, which may have, for instance, some of them didn't like a lot of wall hangings or anything like that. They thought that if you went to church you were supposed to be listening to the minister. And they didn't want all this gobbledee on the side of the wall....[T]hat's how it's referred to. It's submitted on the deeds here too.... As new and old. Sometimes the name was listed with it and sometimes it wasn't (WF 50s).

In 1903, the church took on the name of Little Union Baptist Church. No one seems to know the origin of the name Little Union, as early church records were lost in a house fire.

The original church was made of wood and had a pop-bellied stove as its source of heat in the winter.

> The first one I joined, that was the old church, it didn't have a heater or a stove, there was an outside toilet and everything, when I joined (BM 80s).

> I used to be part of the Gospel Chorus, until my voice left me, and then I couldn't sing; but I used to be a part of that. They had Deacons and Deaconess, ushers and I think that was all we had at the old church (BF 80s).

The first congregation consisted of a few devoted families. Deacons came early and opened the church, gathered wood to start a fire and cleared the building of any snakes. The itinerant ministers who first served the church came on an infrequent basis. Reverend Horace Crutcher, Reverend Henry Jackson, Reverend Anthony Lane, Reverend William Stokes, and Reverend Peter Carter were the ministers who served the church during the time period of this report.

The church was not without its times of conflict.

> Dan Reid, one of the founding members...helped build the original Little Union. His name was on the deed. He took the church over one time. He locked it up! He didn't let anyone in there. My uncle [Dewitt Bates] and a couple of others went to Manassas to see about it. The head man up there told them to go back there and tell him, 'He better open that church up, or else I'm going to come down there and put him in jail.' So he opened it. Uncle Dan Reid was running the whole thing, because he married Aunt Mary's daughter and he was going to take over everything. He called himself Mayor (Kinzer 1994).

Just as every church had it conflicts it also had its special stories. One recounted about Little Union was about the town drunk.

> The town drunk was always on the side of the road. And instead of being on the side of the road, he decided to come to church. He was converted. He prayed that the Lord would help him to put his daughter through school.... He got a job with the government and the year after she graduated he lost his job. People couldn't believe he even had a job (BF 50s).

One cannot talk about church without recognizing the choral groups. Little Union was well known for its Men's Chorus and Gospel Group. Dewitt Bates' cousin and another lady developed a singing group. They were invited to sing in different states as far away as Pennsylvania as well as in area churches.

According to the church history, Mount Zion Baptist Church was first established in 1867 to praise God through thanksgiving and gratitude for the end of the Civil War. The property was deeded to the church from Mr. and Mrs. George Washington. The site chosen by the church was located in the Rock Hill Magisterial District of Stafford County, Virginia and cost the Church ten dollars ($10.00). Itinerant ministers were supported through the members' barter system.

In order to accommodate the demands of farming, most services were held at night.

This church too had its conflicts. In 1873 the first church building was burned, as a result, it was believed, of disagreement among differing factions in the church over the location of the original church. As a result, the membership split.

> You know how folks do. Bust their tongue and teeth sometimes. Everybody want to be the boss. That's the best way I can put it (BM 80s).

Mount Zion was renamed First Mount Zion by court decision. A frame building was set up to replace the original building and was used for many years by the congregation. Reverend Jacob Byrd of Alexandria, the minister of the original Mount Zion, now called First Mount Zion, remained with the original church. Mount Zion Church was established as a separate church.

First Mount Zion Church was to fall victim to the Department of the Navy takeover in 1942. The church was given $2,025 for the property. Five years later, the congregation once again decided to reestablish the church. Reverend Oscar Jackson took the call to serve as pastor and construction of the church began and was completed in 1949 (Weems-Botts Museum Collection: Mt. Zion).

> He (Rev. Jackson) lived in Washington for years, and he came back and forth down there. He built the old part of the [Route] 234 church of First Mt. Zion. He built that and stayed down there as soon as he got enough to get a roof over his head, enough to stay there all the week, and go home, and then come back Sunday morning and preach. And my name is the only living person in the cornerstone. Everybody else's name that's on the cornerstone is dead (BM 80s).

Church Activities

Sunday services were all day events. Families came from miles around. They packed lunches and ate together after service. Everyone shared with each other and everyone watched each other's children. During the warm weather families ate outside of the church under a big old tree.

> They would come together. Our company had church, and during the summer they had what was called 'all day meetings.' Well, when that day came, they'd have a regular carnival. Everybody would bring things.... Everybody tried to sell something (crochet, quilts, handicrafts).... They would sell ice cream and stuff like that...chicken salad. There was always somebody on the hustle side.... They [had] these little squishy birds. Someone would have some of them for the kids to make money....They fixed dinner, and you'd go over to this church like Occoquan. It was about six miles apart, the churches were. And that's where you call that big meeting day. They'd fix lunch just like we'd do if I'd invite you. That's the way they pay them back (BM 80s).

> Not very much (activities) except revival every summer, and in the Fall they'd have revival. And Christmastime usually they would have a program and a Christmas tree. Everybody would exchange presents. Once in a while they would have a little festival, they would call it, and try to get a little money... like a bake sale or dinner. Most of the time, dinner (BM 80s).

> Values in the old days were different. Elders were respected.

> The elderly ... were where everything focused. The elderly were the ones in the church that kind of led everything. It was because of them and their wisdom that everything was going the way it was. Children, even though they were always there, they didn't have a leadership role. Children were supposed to be seen and not heard (BF 50s).

Everyone was at church on Sunday. They had prayer meetings and visitations. Visitations were times when members greeted newcomers or visited the sick.

> Visitation is when they would either come out and greet newcomers who came in, or to visit people who were sick. Maybe somebody who wasn't feeling well or recuperating. Maybe it was a mother that had a new baby that needed some help. But visitation was somewhat social, but really was a part of the church just to check on the people (WF 50s).

Other church activities included homecoming and revivals. These were two activities that community members looked forward to.

> Well, there was always a gang when the revival was coming on and the homecoming. And people would come from everywhere. They would get in their horse and wagons and a half a day getting there, and most everyone would make it home for that Sunday that was living in Baltimore, Washington, or Richmond. Quite a few people from our way went to New Jersey and they had all tried to come home for Homecoming day they were there (BM 80s).

> ...[H]omecoming back in them days...one Sunday they would have it. First Mt. Zion always has the first Sunday in July. Neabsco was the second Sunday... Little Union was the third Sunday in September. Mt. Zion was the second Sunday.... Little Union, Mt. Zion, and Star of Bethlehem was in September. The other churches, Neabsco and 234 (Mt Zion) was in August (BF 60s).

> ...Sunday school would have a program where the kids would recite recitations, sing songs... Sometimes we would have a talent show. Then twice a year, well once a year, we would have homecoming... Homecoming is like when people have moved away, they would all come back and everybody would bring dinner so they could eat (BF 60s).

> Homecoming services are a reunion type of affair when people come from long distances to celebrate a reunion. A revival follows the Homecoming every night for a week after the homecoming. The Revival is meant to fire up everyone (BF 50s).

Although homecomings and revivals were a time for celebration there were always the spoilers.

> This was at revivals and homecomings. Some of them were there for church and some of them were there for a good time and to meet the relatives and kinfolk... And some of them was there to fight.... They get in that woods and play...Three Card Molly, poker, shoot craps and everything...and then they'd come up in there and raise the devil (BM 70s; BF 70s).

> And they would have these, what you call it? Used to call 'em Red Card Molly Men. Come around in the woods... Gambling folks (BF 60s).

> Years ago at Homecoming at Dumfries and Little Union, you would know just as sure as Sunday was coming that there was going to be a fight before the day was gone.... Yes sir. They'd go to start to fight like you don't know what. And the wives and women would be crying and hollering and separated them. They'd be fighting like they going to be killing somebody.... Just the devil in them, I reckon (BM 80s).

Benevolence and Mutual Aid Societies

Men belonged to the Oddfellows, one of the oldest black men's rganizations, ike the Masons.

> They held meetings and helped the poor and different people around in the community.... If someone needed food or things like that, they would donate money and things, clothing and something (BM 70s).

The Oddfellows Hall was rented out for social gatherings, dances and old time parties. Oddfellows Hall was also used as a school in the late 1930s (see

discussion on schools). If someone needed money or help of any kind, the church would come to the aid of the person or family. People in the congregation would say,

> Ok, this is what happened in the community, and this person needs some money, and we're having a special collection for this, or we're having a special chicken dinner for this particular benefit. So everybody would get together and bring the food and sell chicken dinner and whatever (BF 50s).

In addition to the churches proper, two women's organizations sponsored by the churches came to the aid of families in times of need. The "Tent Sisters," was started by a group of Christian women many years ago. The women worked for the betterment of the community. They helped the sick and each other when needed and at the time of death. They collected annual dues and raised money through bake sales, dinners, etc. They gave special parties for families in the community at Christmas and Thanksgiving.

> Ms. Violet Early was one of the Tent sisters for a long time. Mary Byrd, and Laura Porter and Gladys Bates, Alberta Howard were Tent Sisters... They had their little meetings and then they would have little parties and dinners to raise a little money. If you got sick they would give you two or three dollars. They gave little donations. They would go see about and help you or see if there is anything they could be doing for you (BM 80s).

"The House of Ruth" was another women's organization that came from the "Shepherd's Daughters of Bethlehem" and also served the community. The Eastern Star and the Women's Auxiliary of the American Legion were other service organizations to which people in the community belonged.

Even though the community was a close knit community and everyone looked out after each other there were some who needed help beyond what family members or the community was able to offer. Help was available to them at the Poor House, although no one wanted to end up in the Poor House. A white female in her 50s explained that the Poor House actually started with the Anglican Church (see also Dettingen Parish Records 1976).

> It actually started with the Anglican Church. And then in 1780s they just established the church. Then it went in, the church took care of everything. Then after that period of time they had the County take over. Then as the County took over, they had, since the church had been taking care of either paupers or people who were 80 years old with no family, then they started the Poor House which would have been in most cases people who were older members of the community who could no longer work. They maybe could do things like collecting eggs, but couldn't go out and run a farm. So they went to what was called the Poor Farm. You might also find a mother whose husband had deserted her, and she had no other family around. So it was really people who were really in bad shape. However, the Poor Farm itself, was a working farm. And generally what they did, women could sew, they could also clean and cook and do all kinds of things. But they actually worked the farm. And then the County also gave them extra money (WF 50s).

Harvey Watson's grandmother's sister and her husband, Bob and Lizzie Wade, ran the Poor House.

> It [Poor House] was a big home, a real nice place. The County put people in there and took care of them, paid for it.... I don't know how much medical care they got back in them days. You got a doctor and he had a wagon and a horse.... It's just like right now. If you got no place to go, you'd go to a Poor House or something like that.... And when they died, about a couple

> yards down the hill, they buried them, and it's a lot a graves up there, right there at the bottom of the hill. There isn't a tombstone on any of them.... The Park Service tore it down or whatever (BM 70s).

Health and Well Being

The health care of the community rested in the hands of local midwives and resident doctors. The earliest reported resident doctor was a black doctor, Dr. Chas. McNutt (age 104), listed in the 1850 census (BM 70s). Midwives not only delivered the children but also assisted families in the times of illness. They had a rich knowledge of the local flora and fauna from which they prepared their medicines.

Hilda Lansing's mother, wife of Dr. David Cline, wrote out a brief history of the tenure of doctors in the area, a summary of which follows (Schumate, n.d.). Medical care in the community from the late 1800s into the early 1900s was provided by Dr. Leary, who operated out of Occoquan, and two resident doctors, Dr. Caton, who had an office at Main and Duke Streets, and Dr. Hornbaker, who had an office on Old Mine Road near what is now Interstate 95. Dr. Hornbaker worked from an office in his home and was on 24 hour call. He got around in his horse and buggy and carried saddle bags. Drs. Caton and Hornbaker left the area between 1901 and 1905 respectively.

The brief history continues,

> In the spring of 1905, a Dr. Wine of Brentsville called Dr. David Cline [Hilda Lansing's father], a classmate, asking him to come

help him in his fast growing practice in Prince William County. Dr. Cline rode horse back with saddlebags from Wardenville, West Virginia to Brentsville. When he arrived, Dr. Wine said, 'Dave, there is a good opening in Dumfries because both doctors have gone.' So on March 5, 1904 [sic] he opened his office on Main Street in Dumfries. His first patient was a man with a fever of 106, malaria and chills. Next was a delivery, a baby girl born to a family who had a general store in Dumfries. His first $10 (Schumate n.d.).

Dr. Cline had studied dentistry to help in his medical education, he practiced medicine and dentistry in West Virginia. [He] pulled teeth, made upper and lower plates and filled glasses. He came to Virginia fully equipped for all types and soon found it was all needed. He made his own pharmaceuticals as well.

And when you read that letter that my mother wrote, you'll see that the Kendall man used to take Daddy on the little Dinky car out to his patients. And then after that would stop, Daddy would have to go to Quantico. I'd take him to Quantico a lot of times and they'd come down in one of the hand cars and get in at Quantico at the place there and take him back up the track to whoever was sick up there. It was several houses, but you couldn't get into it through bad weather and stuff like that. They needed the doctor so (WF 80s).

After the mine closed, he rode horseback or used his buggy to reach patients. He even used a hand-powered flat car on the RF&P railroad to reach patients in Cherry Hill. Dr. Cline's wife made clothes for newborn children and he often carried goods with him on his visits.

Dr. Cline had a horse. He rode the horse from Dumfries to Belle Fare and delivered me and went to bed, and Daddy put the horse in the barn. Daddy got up the next morning and cooked the old man a breakfast and fed his horse and he got on his horse and went on back home. He said when I was born he got me straightened out, he pulled [out] his watch and said, "Five minutes too late to be born Abraham Lincoln." But I loved Dr. Cline. Anytime I'd see him I'd make it my business for him to

> see me because I knew I had a quarter coming. He'd give me money every time he'd see me. That wasn't everybody, of course, but when I'd go down there and see him he's say, "Come here, namesake." Believe it or not he was the doctor, he was the dentist, he was the postmaster, and he was the Chevrolet dealer. All at the same time (BM 80s).

At the turn of the century, malaria was a major health problem due to mosquitoes that bred in the swamp area surrounding the community. When the Marines came into Quantico, they sprayed the swamps, and new medicine developed to treat malaria was available. In 1912 the town was hit with a siege of smallpox. In 1918, 1919, and 1920 flu decimated the locals. Dr. Cline found that those who stayed in bed, took the medicine, and used only liquids for food usually came through their illness. Activity, it was believed, brought on pneumonia and death.

> In the late 1920s, Dr. Cline was seriously injured in a car accident on an icy road. He continued to work from his home in a more limited capacity but died a few years later. Dr. Benjamin F. Phillips came into town before Dr. Cline died and Dr. Cline turned over his medical supplies and instruments to him. One doctor learned about the community and the pride of the older people.
>
> Doctors' fees, like other services, were sometimes negotiable.
>
> Maybe they give them a couple of dollars. Sometimes they did it for free. Just to be a good neighbor. When my boy was born, he'll be 67 years old on the 23rd of this month. When he was born, Dr. Phillips was the doctor then.
>
> I said, 'Doc, how much do I owe you?

'Oh, I don't know. Give me half of what you got.'

I said, 'I ain't got nothing.'

'Well, give me $25.00' (BM 80).

Dr. Phillips and later, Dr. Ferlazzo, lived in Dumfries from the 1930s through the 1940s. The new doctors learned about the pride of the community and its elders.

> Dr. Benjamin Phillips, mama went there one time, when she was sick, she went to see him, and he said, 'Fannie, how old are you?' I believe Mama was about 80 then. 'My God, Fanny, your good enough to die anyway.' What did he say that for? She didn't cuss him, but if she didn't bawl him out. He never forgot that either (BM 80s).

While the doctors were available to treat the sick, the elders in the community frequently relied on the old home remedies and herbs they could gather from the woods to treat their illnesses.

> Mama and them knew what to use for ringworms and whatever. They always knew how to take care of [us].... I think all of the elder ones knew all of the herbs and things that weren't good for you. Things that they growed that wasn't good (BF 60s).

As reported by one resident, "We always knew someone who knew the old home remedies." He told the story of one time when he was sick.

> ...[W]hen he was a boy, he and another kid had severe cases of pneumonia. The doctor came and after examining them said that both would die by morning. His dad was good at home remedies and said, "No way." He went out into the garden and got some onions. He covered him with raw onions and wrapped him up. The next morning they took the poultice off and the onions were all cooked, but the pneumonia was broken.

> The other boy whose family did not do the treatment, died (BM 70s).

> People lived longer because they used home remedies. This modern medicine does nothing but kill people. The Bible says people will live for 70 years and then go into the box. When my dad came up, people lived to be 103 or 104, and were still getting around. Home remedies worked. You always live long if you eat plenty of salt to preserve the body (BM 60s).

Among the common remedies were the spring and fall tonics of castor oil for children to purge their systems. Adults used Milk of Magnesia or Epsom Salts for high blood pressure, laxatives and cuts. Kerosene and meal were used to make poultices. Eggshell linings were used to draw out boils and sties. Octagon soap, made from lye, was used for ringworm.

Rites of Passage

The importance of family and kinship were evident in the stories related about important life events. Families tended to be large, with women having eight to nine, or more, children. One person explained that children born out-of-wedlock were referred to as "off-brands."

> If your mother and father wasn't married, then they didn't recognize the father. They would give you a maiden name when the child was born (BF60s).

Names for children were chosen in several ways (Gutman 1976). Some names were chosen from the Bible. Others were chosen from

> Books mostly. Books and other relatives. My mother's brother's name was Harold. Harold is some name she got out of a book.... Oh yeah, a lot of people.... You either named them after a president or ex-president (BM 80s).

> One person told how his brother named him.

> He asked Mama, 'Let me name the baby.' And she said, 'What are you going to name him?' He said, "I'm going to name him after the doctor, and I'm' going to name him after Daddy.' And she said, 'O.K., that's all right then...' (BM 80s).

In addition to family names, most everyone in the community also had a nickname.

> All of us had nicknames.... Booty, Frog, Snooky, Sonny, Mouse, NiNi, Spring Chicken, Baya, ... Pretty Girl. Would nobody know me. My uncle called one time and I said, 'Hello, this is Alma.' And he said, 'I think I have the wrong number.' And I'm like, 'Uncle Joe, this is Alma.' And he said, 'I don't know any Alma.' And I said, 'Pretty Girl.' And he said, 'You know, I never knew your name.' And it tripped me out (BF 60s).

> The baby boy was named George and they called him Sonny, and when he went to school the teacher kept calling him George, and he never would answer. And the teacher told Mama that George doesn't answer, and that they need to take him and have his hearing checked. She come to find out that we called him Sonny-Boy. So she said, 'Oh.' So sometimes she say, 'Sonny come to the board and do something,' and he'd come up (BF 60s).

Birth

The midwives who practiced during that time were considered to be almost "doctors" in their own right. They went into the woods and gathered plants and barks to make up their medicines. During the '20s and '30s, Mary Bates Thomas was one of the main midwives in the area.

> She administered strange medications that proved remarkably effective; and, as a midwife, she delivered a major percentage of the babies born during that era, especially those whose parents could not afford the services of a doctor (Little Union Baptist Church 1980).
>
> When they (men) got the jobs, they almost all of them went away at the same time. But what was left if anybody got sick was some relative was around or a friend would get you to a doctor or get the doctor to you.... Mary Byrd Porter...was a midwife...all of the people around Dumfries knew her work habits. She had some good work habits. Anybody that gets sick and needs somebody, Mary Byrd would go and stay with them until they got well at least (BM 80s).
>
> Ms. Thomas ...delivered babies, and Ms. Annie Williams delivered babies, so they were like the doctors in the area. And people would go and stay with you for a while, and take care of you 'til you got well. And so, that left your family [alone], unless there was an older daughter to kind of take over (BF 50s).

Mrs. Annie Williams became a midwife in the 1930s and worked with Drs. Phillips and Ferlazzo. Ms. Annie Williams had been a patient of Dr. Cline's when she was a young toddler.

> It was a black family.... [S]he heated water on top of an old cook stove, and she set the tub of boiling hot water on the floor and this little baby, toddler, fell down in it. I can still picture that every time when I go close to that road. I drove a car when I was ten and a half years old. So I would drive Daddy around to these different places. We went in there and I remember the flies were so bad that Daddy bought cheese cloth and put the chairs together and draped cheesecloth over it to keep the flies away from the baby that had been burnt so severely.
>
> I was delivering meals to a black lady down here, which was Annie Williams.... I'd stop and talk and I was telling about this girl and she was the girl.... She was one of the ones that lived back up in there. She was a Kendall. She was like a midwife here (WF 80s).

Baptisms

Baptisms were reportedly done only once or twice a year, usually in the fall when it was cooler and the snakes were less likely to be out. Around the turn of the century, some baptisms took place in the Potomac River until it became too polluted. In the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s baptisms took place on the Cabin Branch Creek where the curve is at Old Mine Farm.

> To get up on Hickory Ridge, we used to have to cross, we used to call them runs, 'cause sometimes that water got high, and we couldn't get out, if there was a big rain. That's where they used to baptize people (BM 80s).
>
> When you went to church, you joined the church, and then they would set aside Sunday to have your baptism in the morning (BF 60s).
>
> Families would walk.... They would wait for everybody to get there and then probably one of the deacons would sing a song and somebody would read scripture and have a prayer and the minister would have each one come in. He would always wear something white... You had to be dressed in your white and you tied your heads up, waded out in that ice cold water. The muddy water. Found a clear spot if you could. And they baptized [you] (BF 60s).
>
> [After], you would go home and change clothes, and then you would go to church.... Some of the people didn't live as close, and I think a lot of the people would go there [Sister Irene's] and just change clothes.... [B]aptizing was around 9:00-9:30 back then when they baptized in the [river] (BF 60s).

All would then go to church to celebrate. After the Office of Strategic Services began using the park area, baptisms were moved downstream from Ms. Emma Lindsay's house.

Marriage

According to one woman, church weddings did not appear to be a common occurrence,

> ...because you know people went to a Justice of the Peace (in Manassas) and just got married here....And then sometimes they could just get the minister of the church to come in an marry 'em. But they didn't have a wedding ceremony or anything like that.... But we happened to have a nice wedding...

One specific type of fundraiser was called the "Tom Thumb Wedding" at which a mock marriage of young children was performed. Money raised at these events was used to buy school books for children. On one occasion, the Tom Thumb Wedding actually resulted in a real wedding.

> [T]hese ladies, they were members of the Mount Hope Baptist Church in Stafford. And, they asked me [if we could] participate in.... a Tom Thumb Wedding. I said, 'No, we can't do that 'cause we planning on getting married'.... on this particular date. 'Oh, well that would be just fine!' she said. 'The church will be all decorated and all, we would have the wedding first,' you know, the Tom Thumb wedding first and then the real wedding would come in after this. See the minister and everything were gonna be there.... They went on and had the church decorated. It was beautiful with all these flowers and all the little children all dressed. The Tom Thumb wedding came off first and then it was all finished. [We] went in after it was all over and we had the real wedding. It turned out real good. In fact, it was nice. Course they had food and the whole thing. Everybody loved food and there was so many people they couldn't get in the church. People were peeking in the windows (BF 70s).

Death

When someone in the community died, women left their families and went to stay with the bereaved family. They cooked, cleaned, and took care of anything that needed to be done. Sometimes the body was in the house and community people would come in and visit.

> When a person died, people would again come to the aid of the family by having someone stay with the family... Most of the time, people would stay up all night. People constantly coming in, bringing food. You always bring food.... The reason you do that is so that the bereaved family doesn't have to fix food....
>
> [T]hey (the bodies) stayed in the house?... [They laid them out] on the cooling board (ironing board).... The body was kept for a week. They would go to the icehouse to get the ice to help preserve the body.... Women would prepare the body.... They laid them out [in a coffin] and then what they would also do was call the kids in. Kids would come in to touch the dead person, because if you touched them, you would no longer be afraid of dead people. So they would and they'd put the wreath on the door and the works. And then they'd actually have the burial....
>
> Ames is the funeral home that most black people use. And he's over in Manassas. He could tell you a whole lot because he's got a whole lot of history. He knows all of the families. He's been in the area a long time (BF 50s).
>
> The funerals, everybody would chip in and help to dig the grave. Most of them would donate a little money to help pay the undertaker (BM 70s).

If the funeral service did not take place in the home, the coffin was carried to church in a horse and wagon where the funeral service was performed. The body was usually buried in a family plot close by the home.

Just about like they do now. [They'd] commit the body to the earth in that service. My grandmother, they had the undertaker. They came up from Fredericksburg to Garrisonville, embalmed her and everything at the house out on Route 3. They had the funeral right at the house. The preacher came there and they had the funeral at the house (BM 80s).

My uncle died. He died September 30th in 1917.... That was Monday morning. Oscar Jackson's father and Old Man ... Howard came over to the house and brought him downstairs, and put him downstairs where the dining room was and shaved him and that was the 30th of September. My Uncle Charlie, Daddy's brother, went up to the Old Tolson man's and got a casket. They came back that evening and laid him out in the casket. The next day they carried him down to Garrisonville and buried him. They didn't have no embalming then. He died Sunday and they buried him Tuesday. They buried him right away (BM 80s).

On rare occasions death was cheated.

Back when I come along, if you died, the doctor would come in and pronounce you dead. But they tell me in the old times, they didn't know whether you were in a trance, in a coma or dead. They would put a mirror in front of your face to see whether you were breathing.

One man, I'll never forget, they thought he was dead. They laid him all out for dead, and they put the mirror on his face and didn't no vapor or anything come up. His name was Dick Davis.... They laid him out. They had the funeral and whatever. They were getting ready to cover him up, and all of a sudden you heard someone say, "Christ! Dick ain't dead yet!" It was really true. And he lived a long time after that (BF 60s).

PART FIVE

LAND ACQUISITION - PHASE ONE

Chopawamsic Recreational Demonstration Area Project

The 1935 *U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service: Project Plan for the Recreational Area Demonstration Under the Land Program: Chopawamsic Area Report* (USDI 1935) presented a justification for the takeover of the land in the Chopawamsic area on several fronts.

First, demographic and logistical reasons were given:

(1) Three-quarters of a million people lived within 35 miles of the selected area and one million people lived within 50 miles of the area.

(2) First class bus service was available to within two miles of the area.

(3) The area was a main drainage area for Quantico and Chopawamsic Creeks (USDI 1935:1).

Second, economic depression, land quality, and unprofitable farming were cited as justifications. The overall picture painted of the economic state revealed that there were about 150 families in the area, approximately one fourth of that number was black. Of the 150 families about 40 were steadily employed, 70 had part-time employment, and the other 40 had "irregular, inconsequential, or no employment or cash income..."(USDI: 1935:11). It was also reported that in the previous 15 years, 30 or more farms had been abandoned, that three farmer storekeepers had acquired tracts of land from small farm owners as settlement for

accounts, and that five storekeepers had gone out of business since 1925 (USDI: 1935:13).

The land in the Hickory Ridge area was described in the grimmest of terms.

> Spoil banks, shafts, stray bits of mine equipment and habitations of hangers-on to former subsistence plots form a picture of defacement of the earth's surface westerly of Dumfries, where remains a part of a stranded rural industrial group, engaged for about a third of a century, up to 1919, in mining pyrite and conveying it by narrow gauge railroad to scows on the Potomac (USDI: 1935:8).

According to the Project Plan farming "in the problem area" was not utilized in a profitable manner. The products grown, corn, wheat, potatoes, green vegetables, oats and hay, were described as crops of small dollar value. Dairy farming, which was practiced in nearby Manassas, was not found in this area (USDI: 1935:11). Tax delinquency was reported to be at an average rate of 22% from 1929 through 1933 (USDI: 1935:13).

The bleak description painted of the living conditions and economic state were further emphasized (USDI 1935:11-12).

> ...family hardships and sufferings are not made public; that the heads of most of the families of early American descent, bear their wants and privations through to exhaustion. It seemed hard to understand how living requirements were met by those of little or no income and explanation was sought.... On one side there are family assets; a farm with little or no serviceable equipment, poor soil, cut-over woods area, perhaps a horse of old age, a hog or two, rarely a cow or an automobile. On the other side are requirements for food, shelter, clothing, education and recreation. Inter-farm employment has ceased on competitively-unproductive soils; exhaustion of timber resources has curtailed part-time saw mill employment; opportunity to

> labor by day on state roads or for private enterprise at Manassas or Quantico is not offered as in former years. Public relief generally is not called on.
>
> The farm is worked and produces practical sustenance of life, without any extras, and perhaps without all that is necessary; the dwelling depreciates except for application of labor without material; taxes become delinquent; clothing is obtained through credit at country stores or by inter-family borrowing (credits necessarily have been limited); medical attention for serious illness comes through dispatch of help by neighbors; school books are passed along by older children of other families or furnished by the county. There are no facilities for adult recreation and children play in their simple unguided way. (USDI: 1935:11-12)

The Plan included proposals for providing several types of employment rehabilitation opportunities to displaced families, specifically (USDI 1935: 14):

(1) [R]eestablishment of water-power grist and chop mill operation,

(2) [E]stablishment of small hand manufacturing unit for constructing oddly designed pieces of small furniture from the wood of laurel;

(3) [T]emporary establishment of saw mills to cut and saw timber as desired to be cleared from lands under purchase or others, for use in cabins or other camp construction;

(4) [P]ortable cut-off saw;

(5) Farms - under expert direction - to furnish food supply to organized groups using recreational area and to supply kitchens of Quantico, a nearby market;

(6) Immediate or early construction of first class tennis courts, to be operated on a fee basis and made serviceable to the public, particularly to the large number of Quantico residents; and

(7) Cleanup and restoration of two areas were proposed: a mill that was located in "a beautiful stream section of rapids and falls," and the waste area around the abandoned pyrite mine.

As generous as these sounded, these were not fulfilled and only added to the disillusionment and lack of trust on the part of the families affected by the takeover.

The justification for the displacement of families from the Chopawamsic RDA site exemplifies the conflict between the government's view of prosperity in terms of large-scale agricultural goals and prosperity as measured by small-scale subsistence farmers. The government's preliminary report also seems to make some erroneous assumptions about the life style of the residents that is in disagreement with what the people in the community actually experienced. In particular, the picture of the employment status and opportunities was understated, the quality of the land and the importance of subsistence farming was misunderstood. Even something as basic as the availability of doctors and medical help was inaccurate. Doctors Cline, Phillips and Ferlazzo served the community continuously throughout the time period under study yet the report said there were no doctors, only one nurse was allegedly available and residents had to go to Fredericksburg to the hospital.

The language in the government reports also seemed to reflect the invisibility of the black population. Comments were referred primarily to the white population, e.g., "...early American descent."

As already discussed above, black and white family members who lived in the Batestown/Hickory Ridge area painted a rather different picture of life. Family

members stated that they survived quite successfully for several generations on the land and the government justification was not valid.

The description of the property and the negative terms used to describe the families and life in the area were discussed by one individual:

> ...[T]he people didn't consider themselves poor. They had enough to eat. They had a place to stay. They were able to do the things that all other families did. It was tough going, but when the government took over the land, it's amazing that you see in all these areas, they will send down a social worker from Washington, D.C., 22, 24 year old, fresh out of college, who says, "It's sub-marginal land and that they can't.... And I'm, thinking, four generations of people lived on there. How can you be sub-marginal. But see, that's the verbiage that they are going to use. This type of individual would know little about life on a small subsistence farm (WF50s).

The way information was reported also easily distorted the picture. For example, were the delinquent taxes due on property that people lived on or on already abandoned properties? The attitude that clothes needed to be bought from a store in order for families to be self-sufficient reflected the world view of the time that anything homemade was somehow inferior. The lack of "facilities" for recreation implied that more traditional forms of recreation such as fishing, hunting, and playing horseshoes, were somehow unimportant and did not count.

Land Purchase: 1935-1939

The government takeover appeared to be a very methodical, although a somewhat slow moving plan. The plan was initiated in 1935 when the first

options were placed. The process was a gradual one, taking several years, in some cases, for families to actually vacate the optioned property.

The depressed economic situation and the alleged lack of rehabilitation of the lands were given as justification for the low prices offered.

> The Chopawamsic Project Area is illustrative in high degree of rural economic exhaustion. Its population has failed not only in the past, to provide sufficient income from lands it owns, for a fair standard of living, but it is faced with a present and future offering no hope of self-rehabilitation from its lands only, and no opportunity to liquidate its assets of poor land and run down habitations unless aid is forthcoming from a program of land adjustment, wherein capital value based on other uses of land can be realized (USDI, 1935:60).

One hundred and fifteen of the tracts were reported to be vacant and approximately 90% of all the land was in timber. Twenty-seven of the tracts had families living on them, several tracts had more than one family on each tract (USDA 1937:2). Residents gave a different view of the reported vacant property.

> Yes there was [vacant land].... [P]eople probably raised part of the land and they had one house on it, and there was a lot of space in between it and somebody else's land. That's probably why, because they wasn't close together like they build them now.... A lot of people had wooded land and they sell timber.... They used to sell ties and pulpwood.... That's how they partially made their living off of all their land that they had.... Not too many houses. You might find a house every mile and a half or something like that, but they were all full (BM 70s; BF 70s).

Based on the above description of the lands and the hopeless picture painted of the state of the land and the lack of success of the farmers, the project officers made the following recommendation concerning the worth of the land.

> Prices at which the lands can be obtained under present offers are considered irrefutably fair, and probably could not be duplicated if present offers are not accepted. They are low for an initial investment biding to make high returns in social and economic benefits with modifications that detailed surveys will dictate all proposed developments will be practical and economical (USDI, 1935:61).

Residents felt that the prices were not fair and that the government literally stole the property.

> I didn't see where any of them (prices) was fair, looking at them and going over them.... And look at them: condemned, condemned, condemned. They go down the line, and almost everything where the Prince William Forest Park is, was condemned. I think that some of the people saw it coming and they worked out a purchase price with the government (WM 80s).

The actual purchase of the property was to begin in 1935. However, several of the families interviewed reported that there was a group of lawyers or business people who went around prior to the government approaching the community and bought up property. One resident claimed that during the early years of the Depression there was a group of people who bought up property and "surrounded" the community in Hickory Ridge.

> When this thing first started, we had a group of people, ...and they went around to all these older people who owned this land through here and informed them that the government was going to take their land. And they was kinda leading and they bought it up. My granddaddy, he was kinda stubborn and they came to him three or four times and he wouldn't sell. And they was informing people that if they didn't sell the government was gonna take it anyway. And they would do better by selling because they would get more for it, because if the government

took it, they'd get less money. The people who went around were people picked from the community - muck-a-dee-mucks.... And a lot of people sold and some didn't. They didn't get a fair price for it anyway... (BM 70s).

Well I tell you. Let me see. I'm a start at Hickory Ridge first. That was all, maybe a few whites, one or two white people there. Mostly, it was black in there. And at that time, they had these supervisors like they have now. Like a bunch of the men came in. That's what my brother told me yesterday, but I thought the Park came in and bought 'em out. But these men, like lawyers, or whatever.... they came in and bought the land for little or nothing. And then they made out from then. The Park bought it from them. Well you all can understand that (BF 60s).

According to the *Land Summary Report* (henceforth USDA) of 1937, Mr. William Crow, reported to be a native of Prince William County was the first option-taker[11] or land acquisition agent for the project and gave information to the project officer on the background and social status of families. And indeed, the first options for the land were taken in August 1934, the year prior to the proposed starting date of 1935.

Prices offered to black families were generally lower than what was offered to whites. Correspondence concerning black landowners reflected the arrogance and racist attitudes of the government personnel. Some families appeared to be targeted.

[11] According to the one resident, Mr. Crow came originally from Missouri. The option-taker was the person who came in and looked at a piece of property and then offered the family an option on it, telling the family what he was willing to pay.

One of the early examples was Mr. Lloyd Johnson who refused to accept the payment offered. On October 22, 1935, William Hall, Project Manager, wrote a letter to the Third Regional Office concerning Mr. Johnson's refusal (PRWI Archives).

> *During the week ending Oct. 12 Mr. A. G. Shaw, Special Attorney to the Department of Justice, was in our Area making payments to optioners. Among those was Lloyd Johnson, Colored. Mr. Shaw tried four times, and Project Manager Hall with Mr. Shaw once, to effect payment to Johnson. Mr. Shaw was very much put out over the way Johnson behaved. He would not even talk about the matter at all.*
>
> *Mr. Shaw went back to Washington determined to initiate condemnation proceedings immediately and make an example out of this man to prevent recurrence of such a situation. What the result of this plan will be we are not able to predict.*
>
> *Two or three days later we had Mr. Crow to call on Johnson and attempt once more to "bring him around", with no results. Johnson owes two claims against his land, one being to a local garage, the other to a mortgager.*
>
> *We are reporting this incident merely to advise you of the facts.*
>
> *Very truly yours,*

Five months later, the following correspondence was sent on March 12, 1936, by Mr. William Hall, the Project Manager, concerning Mr. Zeal Williams, a black who owned property in the acquisition area (PRWI Archives).

> *The land offered by Zeal Williams (single) lies in the east central part of the Chopawamsic Area. This is a colored ownership and one of several which it is highly desirable to obtain for the Government, to insure solid ownership and complete control in this section. It is felt that when one or two colored ownerships are settled and paid for, all of the remaining small home site ownerships may be obtained at a reasonable price. Present indications are favorable for final acquisition of all small colored holdings along the Ridge Road, several of which are not shown on the present property map.*

We recommend immediate acceptance of the Williams tract as it will help to block in the area and establish a precedent for other colored owners to follow suit in offering their land to the Government.

Respectfully submitted,

Families, in general, resisted selling their land for many reasons. The land had been in the family for many generations and provided a basic livelihood. Land has always been important to blacks. For many people of color, the idea of parting with land that families had held for generations was unthinkable.

> Families did not have a lot of cash. Property that was passed down from one generation to the next is what had value (WF 50s).

Deeds were not always recorded because of the lack of money. As noted by one person,

> ...People here were very careful with any cash money that they had. There wasn't lots of it. So for that reason, if indeed, granddad and grandmother lived on a piece of property and the oldest son decided to live there, then he may live and die on that piece of property, and his son would take it over. They saw no reason to go to the courthouse and change that because they had to pay money to have the deed changed and it wasn't an important item to them. They knew where they lived. They knew whose land it was. Now the problem came maybe three generations later. One of the grandsons had to sell part of the property for taxes. Well, the name of the property is still in the great-grandfather's name. So he has to go now and prove that he is a descendant of that original owner (WF 50s).
>
> The inability to show ownership meant for some that they lost everything.
>
> Well, it was sad, I thought, because people had been living there for years and years. They didn't have any clear deeds.... They didn't have any. They were families that moved in with each other and took care of each other, and then the old people

> would die, and they didn't keep records of anything. Well, they (the option takers) were coming in and taking the land from them, and sometimes they couldn't get paid because they had to have a clear deed for them to get paid for it. And then, didn't it take years, if they ever did get all of it. And of course, they didn't pay them too much for the land. You think about what they had to pay for land now. And they had to go and find a place to live.

To make things even worse, the government only offered money for the land at very low prices. The amount offered was for the land only and not the houses or other buildings on the property (barns, stores, etc.) or improvements made to their property. The money offered was often inadequate to purchase another place of comparable value. If a family resisted or refused to accept the low price offered, they were threatened with condemnation of their property (See Appendix C for the listing of families whose property was purchased and condemned in the 1930s, the amount of acreage sold per family and the price offered).

Mrs. Annie Williams owned a 20-acre farm with her husband on Hickory Ridge. According to an interview with her (Evans 1988:13):

> The Government took over the land on Hickory Ridge in the 1930s so quickly that people hardly had any time to think where to go. The price was arbitrarily decided upon. Mrs. Williams feels the whole proceeding was very unfair. Among the special features of her own property was a fish pond covered with lilies and fruit trees, bearing for the first time. There was also a grape arbor in good condition. The house had six rooms and a porch, all new. She had just bought striped awnings for the windows. She got $2,000 for the whole of her holdings. She felt the land and orchard alone were worth $1,000. Many neighbors got much less, but they had the choice of accepting what was offered or nothing.... She feels the Government experiment in changing land use was too hard on the people in the area selected. It was almost as bad as just

> taking the land.... One family took the matter to court but they lost. After that the other families recognized the futility of contesting the Government action and accepted the payment offered and moved.

The Nashes were one family that challenged the takeover which was unusual and the government was swift to respond (WF 50s).

> *The government is not willing to pay $800 for 2 3/4 acres of land. The purpose of the land program is to buy a quantity of the land at low prices, and the purchase of the type referred to would have brought our average prices per acre to higher levels than we would approve for this project.*

Henry Early was another to protest. He took the government to court but lost. After that, the black families felt it was useless to protest. He had the most formal education (college) in the black community. If Mr. Early could not defeat the government, what chance did they have?

> Back in that time, you couldn't fight nothing around here...because they only had about one or two lawyers in Manassas, Virginia. If there was something they didn't want to take the case for, they didn't do it. So you didn't have nobody to fight for you (BF 70s).

Perhaps one of the most blatant examples of the federal officials attitude towards blacks comes to light in the case of Dora R. Popel who took her sister's situation to Eleanor Roosevelt in hopes of keeping the property.

The Chopawamsic RDA staff reported that Mr. Crow, the option taker, had called on a family recently and that they had reduced the price they were asking for their property from $5,000 to $2,500.00. They further noted that,

Mrs. Dora Reynolds Popel is a young Negro woman who has studied in Washington and according to the old saying, you know, 'A little knowledge is a dangerous thing.' She is trying to impress her family and the Park Service with the idea that her place is worth three times as much as any other land in the vicinity.

The correspondence and the following letters were read into the tape recorder verbatim from the files Barbara Kirby. This comment was made in answer to the letter that Mrs. Reynolds had sent to Mrs. Roosevelt pleading her family's case.

My Dear Mrs. Roosevelt.

I am writing you in the interest of my family whose home lies within the area now being purchased for a federal resettlement and recreation project near Dumfries, Virginia. I should have addressed this letter to the President, but I feel that since he receives so many hundreds of letters daily, there is more of a chance of my letter coming to your attention than to his. For more than a year, federal agencies have been trying to buy our 75 acre place. They have offered the sum ranging from $1500-2500. They tell such conflicting tales and offer such varied sums that my people are bewildered. Then to, the agents have not failed to remind them that the government can condemn the land and take it for their purposes.

My mother and sister do not wish to sell, but if they must, they feel that they should be given enough to establish another home and to have something left for an income. For in selling the place, they will not only be giving up their home, but in part, their livelihood. Each year my mother sells pies and pulpwood in order to add to the meager income. She is over 60 and has been a widow for over 23 years. Nominally, the place of which I write belongs to an elder sister who has been a cripple since her birth. Our great uncle willed the place to her as a guarantee that she would always be cared for.

There is on our place, ruins of a very old building which I have heard was a tavern in colonial times. It makes sense that it

could have been used as a road in their area. The people working on that project claimed to restore some of the ancient glory of Dumfries. I feel that these ruins make the place more desirable. We have no papers which show that it is that old.

As early as 1839, my great-great uncle McGee was a free man in good standing with the good merchants of Dumfries and owned this land and house. My people feel that because I'm here in Washington, I can find out from headquarters whether they have to sell their home. The first agent said that we might keep the house and land long enough for a garden, but the later agents have not been in accord with this. I do not know what to do. I am young, and it doesn't make any difference to me where I live, but I must help the others if I can. I shall greatly appreciate anything that you can do to help me. If you will permit me to call on you, I feel that I can explain the situation more clearly than I have written.

Very gratefully yours,

The government response was as follows:

We have investigated the matter through the Richmond Office and learned that a Chopawamsic Project representative offered these owners the sum of $1,800.00 for their 76 acres, an average price of $23.00 an acre. The average price per acre for acceptance in this project is $11.18. The lowest price with which these owners have indicated they are willing to accept is $2,500.00 which would make the average price $32.00 per acre. In view of the extreme disparity of the price demanded by the owners in the average price of the other and in the vicinity, the project office is pursuing a policy of indifference to this matter at present in the belief that the tract may eventually be obtained at a reasonable price....

Another person who resisted and was unhappy with the slow pace of compensation was Mrs. Betsy Tubbs. Mrs. Tubbs apparently knew many people in town and although illiterate was described as being a "sharp cookie." The government correspondence on her stated:

Mrs. Tubbs is very much at odds with the government with their delay in payment and has notified the office she intends to place a sawmill on her property on September 15th, next. We do not believe that she will sign a new option based on our certified acreage. She is very high strung, has an incorrigible temper, and is difficult to approach. She has sent word indirectly that she does not care to see or to talk to anyone connected with the government from the surveyors to the President.

At the bottom of the correspondence they advise that she be paid as soon as possible.

> They [blacks] felt that they were at the bottom of the heap. They knew that basically they were going to have to take whatever they got. There were a few, as I say, Dan and Henrietta Nash and the Coles had a daughter, Dora, or niece, who was educated and lived in Washington, D.C. Unless they had something like this, they just kind of said, 'Hey.' They don't have the money to hire an attorney and a couple of them, even white families that hired an attorney didn't get anything for it. They got a little bit more, but by the time that they paid the attorney, it was the same thing anyway (BM 70s).

Not all families resisted. A few considered the sale of their land a blessing that gave them a chance for a new beginning.

> I guess they felt pretty good, ... because they didn't know. Everything was in a tight spot... and you need the money so, I guess the money kinda excited them a little bit... Then after, they were told they didn't have no choice. Some of them didn't like it too much, but they were told they didn't have no choice, in a way of speaking (BM 70s).

Another family member observed:

> My understanding too, when they first got wind of it, that this was going to happen, I think most of them got the feeling if they didn't sell it, they [the Government] were gonna take it... So they just figured, well you know, if we can get a little something for it rather than for the government and the

> Park...See they were told that the government and the Park would do anything...if they really wanted something, they could take it.... So I guess they figured if we can get a little something for it, we will do this, rather than to have them take it and get nothing or practically nothing for it. This is the feeling, talking to and visiting, the feeling that I got (BF 70s).

And still another person observed:

> People were upset. Nobody wanted to be put out of their homes, nobody wanted to leave their land. It was a hard pill to swallow. It was nothing they could do. They had no choice (BM 70s).

Table One shows the average number of acres purchased from black and white families in the 1930s takeover by the U.S. Department of the Interior, and the average amount of money each family received. Table Two shows the average number of acres of condemned acres belonging to black and white families taken by the government and the average amount of money each family received. Table Three shows the average acreage for the total number of condemned and purchased properties by ethnicity and the average price paid per family.

Appendix C, as noted above, contains the list of families by ethnicity from which the figures in Tables One, Two and Three were derived. The list was reconstructed from discussions with community members, interviews and archival records. In some cases, such as with the Davis families and the Reid families it was not always clear as to which family was white and which was black, as the same members of a family were identified as white by one person and mulatto by another. In a few instances there may be a misclassification of a family's ethnicity but the differences would not greatly affect the averages.

TABLE ONE

LAND PURCHASED IN THE 1930s BY THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Ethnicity/# of Families	Average # of Acres Purchased	Average # Dollars Paid/Family
Black (19)	46.44	$ 766.03
White (72)	129.77	$1490.80

The average number of dollars paid per family was approximately two times greater for white families than black families.

TABLE TWO

LAND CONDEMNED IN THE 1930s BY THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Ethnicity/# of Families	Average # of Acres Condemned	Average # Dollars Paid/Family
Black (11)	25.24	$ 545.63
White (37)	94.52	$1683.45

The average amount of money received by white families, $1604.89, was three times greater than what black families received $545.63. White families whose property was condemned, on the average, received more money than those whose property was sold out right. The same did not hold true for the black families.

TABLE THREE

CONDEMNED PLUS PURCHASED PROPERTY IN THE 1930s BY THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Ethnicity/# of Families	Average # of Acres Purchased + Condemned	Average # Dollars/Family Purchased + Condemned
Black (30)	36.67	$685.22
White (119)	117.80	$1556.20

The overall difference between the amount of money paid to white families for the combined purchased and condemned property was a little more than twice what the black families received. The discrepancies in the averages between what whites and blacks were compensated reflects the general pattern of racial injustice.

Land Summary Report

By the end of the second year the following information was recorded in the *Basic Report: Land Use Summary Report* (USDA 1937) on the progress of the project. Once again the area was described in the worst of terms in order to justify the Government's actions. Joplin, Triangle, and Old Dumfries were described as little "backwater" towns and Dumfries was depicted as a thriving wealthy city reduced to a small town with a "decadent culture and a decadent economy" (USDA 1937:1).

In addition, residents were depicted as irresponsible. After the mine closed

> ...the populace turned to ruthlessly cutting the timber in the vicinity and marketing it. In addition to the lumber industry the people built up a large traffic in selling 'moonshine' liquor. They made this liquor under cover of the forests and did a profitable business during the prohibition era. Soon, however, both of these occupations were worn out, and the people turned to farming. The farming wore such that finally the land became valueless for farming. At present, even on the large areas only a small plot can be planted. The clay soil is rocky and barren, and the inhabitants [work] in terms of "garden spots," rather than acreage, for a part of every acre is untillable (USDA 1937:1).

The report neglected to disclose that many of the families only had garden plots because they worked outside of the area (Quantico, Navy Yard, Cherry Hill,

etc.) or did contract work or truck farming. Later in the report a slightly different picture is drawn, that contradicts some of the earlier observations made in the report. This is done in part perhaps, to justify the lack of assistance extended to families.

> Unlike the mountain area of southwest Virginia, persons in this area have not been farmers, but engaged in industrial occupations all their lives. They have not been isolated, but have access to school and churches due to the better roads and nearness to small communities or original towns. The people deserve to make their own plans for change, and for the most part are capable of doing so. At present there is work in nearby towns for all who can work. About 8 months a year there is work at Quantico, the Marine Base at $2 ... a day. Some heads of families have recently left WDA work in the park to work at Quantico (USDA 1937:2).

The report also stated that,

> There were many tenants in this area renting from persons who owned large tracts. Therefore, the sale of the land has not upset their living or economic condition as it would have, had they owned their individual tract (USDA 1937:1).

The interviews conducted with families have not borne out this statement. People did not "rent" out their property, per se, but rather families would work the land in a form of share cropping.

> "It wasn't really rented out. They would just let the people work it and keep it up. They didn't' get no money for it" (BF 70s).

They would give to the owners a small portion of whatever they grew. The statement that the sale did not affect these families simply because they did not own the land is about as absurd as one can get.

The progress of the land acquisition was summarized:

> By May 22, 1937, fourteen of the 30 families residing on land that had been optioned or purchased had moved off the property without financial aid. Fifteen still had to be moved off. Only one of these families required financial aid and one family was being allowed to remain on the land for an unspecified period of time [USDA 1937:1]
>
> A total of 142 tracts were purchased for a total area of 14,000 acres. The land was described as being sub-marginal due to long years of exploitation and extravagant use. Of the 142 tracts originally optioned, 96 were already paid for and the other options had been approved and were expected to be paid in the near future (USDA 1937:1).

Several families interviewed noted that the records published on the land purchases were inaccurate and in some cases property taken was not even listed.

> And I'm showing you the actual facts. These are facts, what they paid the people. And each piece of property, the size of the property and everything else. And it's not all here. Just like I've gone over this thing a dozen times. There're about a dozen Ables on it. The Quantico cemetery is not on here. My grandfather's farm is not on here. Granddad Bales is not on here.... There's missing pieces. They give me part of it, but they do not give me the whole picture. Why haven't they given me the total picture? She said, when I went down and got this portion and some of the other portions that I have, they said, "We don't have it." That was the answer I got. I'm going back because that answer is not satisfactory (WM80s).

A similar situation was found in reference to the names of families listed as having sold their property. Annie Williams was one of the first blacks targeted for purchase, yet neither her name, nor that of her husbands, appears anywhere in the *Land Use Summary Report*.

Development of the park area steadily moved forward. Some roads had been completed, boys and girls' camps were completed and occupied by 1936, and the camp for mothers was to be ready by the summer of 1937. Three CCC camps were already set up in area (Strickland 1986; Parker 1985).

The Project Plan called for the preservation of the natural beauty, native flowers and bird life in the area. Reforestation, sanitation, prevention of stream pond pollution, obliteration of unsightly buildings and other defacing objects, construction of shelters, bridges, trails, dams and roads, landscaping and recreational improvement were central to the final product (USDA 1937:2).

Resettlement

A total of 126 persons made up the 30 families that had already either sold or optioned their land. Six of the families were black and 24 were white. The average age of the family household head was 48.5 with the youngest being between 31-35, and the oldest over 70. Two of the people were veterans. The average education of the heads of the families was fourth grade. One was illiterate and one had a college degree.

The following occupations held by family heads were: truck driver, fireman, carpenter, school teacher, laborer, construction worker, stone mason, and truck gardeners. Twenty-one of the heads of families were reared on farms as were 18 wives (USDA 1937:3).

School facilities were described as inadequate. The only school listed was a school for whites - one two-room grammar school. White children were required to

ride a bus to Occoquan to attend high school. Nothing appeared in the report concerning schools for blacks.

Of the 15 families that had moved, six bought other farms in the vicinity, two moved to other property they already owned, two moved to Maryland, four rented places outside of the park area or moved to a place unknown to the Park Service Office (USDA1937:4).

For the 15 families remaining on their property, Mr. William Hall had given from 18 months to two years to continue living on the property unless ordered otherwise from Washington. Three reasons given for this delay in vacating property were:

(1) Mr. Hall felt that a subsistence homestead community was needed nearby;

(2) Families were being compensated "for the long period they waited to be paid for their land;" and

(3) Mr. Hall felt that while the area was under development, families remaining on their land would provide protection to the property. If development were to interfere with the living quarters of a family they were to be permitted to move to another location in area if desired (USDA 1937:7).

The report also noted that there were 40 families in the Chopawamsic area who lived adjacent to the park area whose properties were optioned but never purchased. Some of the families did not care to sell, others were offered an option

on their land but it was not completed for one reason or another. In some cases, owners demanded too much for their land and the option lapsed. In other cases the Park had purchased to its limit before option could be bought, and therefore, the option was allowed to lapse.

According to the report, none of optioned residents qualified for Rural Rehabilitation Program or Rural Resettlement Funds because they were not nor had they ever been full-time farmers. The only assistance from the government came in the form of help in locating housing for a few families. Most families made their own plans.

According to the Superintendent of Public Welfare - Mrs. Lewis - ten of the families on optioned land had no record of receiving public relief while 20 had received either direct or work relief funds. Average total annual cash income per household was $5354 (USDA 1937). Additional cash income minus relief is unknown.

People resettled on the perimeters of the Park for several reasons. First, and foremost, this was home. Second, they had family in the area and this was and is still a very supportive and close-knit community. If a person has a need the community (most of whom are related in one way or another) will help. Third, the amount of money given to the families was too little to allow anyone to genuinely consider relocating anywhere else. People stayed in the area because,

> They didn't have anywhere else to go. It was the best that they'd ever seen. I don't want to go no place. I've never seen an area like this (BM 80s).

PART SIX

LAND ACQUISITION: PHASE TWO

The second phase of displacement from in Prince William, Fauquier, and Stafford Counties involved the acquisition of land south of Route 619 by the Department of the Navy under a Special Use Permit for the expansion of the Quantico Marine Corps Base in 1943. Following the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, a massive military build-up was undertaken as the United States entered World War II. Recognizing the need for a strong intelligence force, in June, 1942, President Roosevelt established the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), a forerunner to the Central Intelligence Agency. This property, in such close proximity to Washington, DC, was an ideal spot for this expansion.

There is some question over the authorization to issue a Special Use Permit.

> The authority for use by the Marine Corps of this park area is shrouded in mystery. No one can put their hands upon the exact authority. The Park Superintendent, Ira B. Lykes (now First Lieutenant, U.S. Marine Corps) advised the Post Quartermaster that his Chicago office had given him verbal permission for the Marines to operate in the Park Area provided proper protection was given to the watershed. There seems to be no written agreement as to the method of use, but the word had percolated to Quantico that the Department of the Interior had no objection to its use for training purposes, but will not place any agreement in writing (MCB Quantico Public Works Collections 4/3, 1944:6-7).

News of the take-over reached the community through newspaper headlines which claimed "50,000 Acres For Quantico" (*The Free Lance Star*, October 6, 1942, p.1) and "50,000 Additional Acres to Make Quantico Marine Base Larger

than Washington" (*Times-Herald*, Washington, DC, October 7, 1942). According to this document,

> New maneuver area of the Marine Barracks, Quantico, Virginia and designated as the Guadalcanal Area, was acquired on October 5, 1942, pursuant to the Second War Powers Act, Public Law 507, 77th Congress, Approved March 27, 1942, by a Petition for the Condemnation of certain lands situated in Fauquier, Prince William, and Stafford Counties, Virginia, filed and granted in the District Court of the U.S. for Eastern District of Virginia, Alexander Division.

But this acquisition was not the first encounter between the government and the public. There had been a long history of conflict between the Park, the community, and the Department of the Navy. The Marine Corps Base was established in 1917 on land in Quantico, Virginia to train some 30,000 men in trench warfare as the United States entered the war in Europe (Smith 1979). In the years between the end of World War I and the beginning of World War II additional land was acquired in the Quantico area for expanding the Base. As military operations moved closer to areas of private property, this created a conflict between Quantico and neighboring farmers, which began in the 1930s.

Mr. Earnest L. Perry complained that the rifle ranges used by the Marines was a danger to people working on his farm as well as to his livestock. He claimed that one of his cows had been killed by one of their stray bullets. He negotiated with the Marines for several years to buy his property, which they eventually did in 1940 (Smith 1979).

Families interviewed also noted that the military training was encroaching on their land even before the takeover in 1942. They [the Marines] knocked down fences and trampled crops.

> They started training and they mashed down fences and everything else. They let the cattle out and trampled down gardens. They did all of that... (WM 80s).

> My daddy had a cornfield, and they (the Marines) were up there training once. And they went in the cornfield and pulled a bushel or more off. Then they had corn cobs all around where they had roasted the corn (BM 80s).

The 1942-1943 Takeover

Between August of 1942 and March of 1943, the Department of the Navy acquired an additional 50,000 acres of land. The abrupt, forced evacuation of the remaining residents on Park land, the controversial handling of the land acquisition, and delayed compensation were sources of contention for a number of years (Smith 1979; Strickland 1986).

> Even if they purchased it, they didn't pay enough for it, for people to relocate. And they had to relocate entirely and they gave them only two weeks do to it.... I do know several people who would not get out, and they pulled the bulldozers right up to the homes and forced them out. They had no money to move. This one here, his 142.5 acres [for] $233.00. Condemned... Here's one, 9.27 acres, that's almost 10 acres, $74.00....How did they have money enough to move? ... There's no way in the world a farmer could, even with his friends helping him, get a wagon and move out his furniture, and find a place to live in two weeks time. That's impossible.... And if they didn't condemn it, they paid way below market prices (WM 80s).

The government divided up the land to be acquired into 10 units. The Chopawamsic unit was in the first group of six that was required to vacate their homes by October 26, 1942. The others were required to vacate by December 5, 1942 (MCB Quantico Public Works Collection 4/3, 1944:2).

This second phase of the takeover of the Park by the U.S. Department of the Navy for the training of personnel for during WWII, was far more demanding and inflexible than the land acquisition by the National Park Service in the middle 1930s. Families were given as few as two weeks to evacuate their homes and lands.

Property appraisals were made by Fish and Wildlife Services of Department of Interior from Chicago, Illinois. Their survey of this 50,000-acre track identified three hundred dwellings, twelve stores, seen churches, eight formal graveyards, four schools, three filling stations, and one restaurant. In addition, people were promised "immediate and full compensation" (Smith 1979). However,

> The government didn't want the house so they paid for the land. They didn't pay for houses. So if you had a house on it, you got the same price as somebody that just had the land. There was never any kind of a survey done (WF 50s).

The government did not pay for the houses but they used the lumber to build barracks for the Marines and other buildings to be used during training.

> ...The government came in and said, 'We're taking you land. You can't do anything to it. You can't cut any timber. You can't plant any gardens. You still have to pay taxes. We'll get around to paying you whenever.' When the government took over, that case was not officially closed until 1962. So we're talking twenty years (WF 50s).

The clearest picture of what happened during this time can be learned from materials gathered on events in Stafford County where the largest number of families were effected.

In an article entitled "Stafford Evacuation" by Elizabeth Russell Powers (1943) written for the files of Virginia's War History and also printed in *The Free Lance Star*, May 8, 1943, she describes how families were informed of the pending evacuation. Sixty families in Stafford gathered after notices were posted for evacuation of the area.

The following are the reasons the military gave for the need of the property.

> ...the situation made the swift action necessary; that trained reenforcement [sic] were urgently needed in the Solomon, especially on Guadalcanal; that beleive [sic] it or not, the terrain of their peaceful country-side was almost identical with that of the Guadalcanal; that the area was sparsely settled, infertile and had little future from farming or any other economic point of view; that the Government would pay fairly and promptly for the properties; that Marine Corps trucks and men would, where necessary, help with moving and possibly with getting crops in from the fields; that the graves would be moved at Government expense and treated with care and respect; finally, that to lose your home was not to lose your life, and that many had and would lose thier [sic] lives in the war for those at home.

Powers then described the two main groups of families in the area. The first group was described as a small group of English descendants, who made a fairly good living and

> While contributing substantially to the political and economic county life, had known a compact social life of their own, in which tournaments, baseball, square dancing, picnics, church

> socials and neighborhood gatherins [sic] of many kinds, not forgetting the country store debates had played a part (Powers 1943:1)

The second group was described as being composed of those who either owned or rented small houses that were located primarily along main roads. They were laborers, truck drivers, and mechanics, and had "garden patches" and maybe small poultry flocks.

> All each family had to do in twenty days was to locate, rent or buy a house, harvest a considerable amount of hay and corn, move livestock of various kinds, pack up and move, to be out of range of guns scheduled to start firing on the twenty-first day. The first week saw torrential rains, climaxing in a near cloudburst which turned into seas of mud and wash out bridges right and left. There was also a serious shortage of trucks. Faced with all this, the colective [sic] effort must have been immense. While no "blood" was spilled, the "tears, toil and sweat" were certainly there. For on October 27 the barns were empty, the fields silent and no smoke curled from chimneys, seldom before cold (Powers 1943:2).
>
> The families suffered.
>
> First, the refusal of the Navy Department to extend the time limit even one week to allow for the terrible weather. In their haste, some made unfortunate purchases and they feel a little more time might have prevented mistakes.
>
> Second, the failure of Marine Corps truck and men to assist with the actual moving.
>
> Third, the fact that up to today - March 6, 1943, exactly five months since the moving notices were posted up, not one dollar has been paid to the owners - this in spite of the assurances of prompt payment.
>
> Fourth, the alleged disregard of promises made about moving graves.... The stories told by reliable witnesses of their failure to remove all, or sometimes any, of the contents of the graves,

> and the failure of the new cemeteries to measure up to the promised standards.... (Powers 1943:2-3)

Families from Stafford were interviewed and their comments reflect the general sentiment of the community about the takeover (*The Freelance Star 1993*):

> Some training had already started taking place, and there were troops all over the area.
>
> In addition, the Marines had already started training before some of the folks found new homes. ' They were firing guns in our front yards before we moved out.'
>
> They took the land in increments so people got their hopes raised and they thought, 'Maybe they'll just go on and leave us alone.' But they kept taking more and more....
>
> With such short notice, many of the farmers had to leave crops standing in fields and pigs and chickens in the pens.[12] (*The Free Lance Star 1993)*

Others commented on the war and compared their state of affairs to what was happening in Germany.

> Here all the sons were over there fighting ... the same element that we were experiencing here. They ran us out and that's the same thing Hitler did there. It was like a double jeopardy for us (*The Free Lance Star 1993).*

Resistance and Relocation

Resistance was often met with intimidation.

> When the military came in during World War II they put up barbed wire fences, and of course, remembering prior to that, the people survived by being able to hunt. This was a very

12 Hogs were actually left to run wild because the owners couldn't round them up.

> fertile hunting ground.... They then proceeded to systematically kick the people off the land.
>
> They first offered to buy people out, but...the money that was being offered for the land was nothing. It wasn't even enough to buy a house somewhere else. So basically, the people were just being kicked off the land. It's not like they were being given these big sums of money.... One of the last people to leave Hickory Ridge stood out in front of her cabin with a rifle, and they would actually come and fire guns into her cabin to scare her off. And she would come and stand outside with her rifle and cuss them out, and tell them where to go....
>
> What is sad about that whole period in the Park's history is that they did nothing to preserve the evidence that there had been a community there. It's almost like a civilization being destroyed (BF 50s).

The general consensus of the families interviewed was that people had no legal recourse. There were no alternatives. So they just gathered up their belongings and left.

The Department of Agriculture and the County Agent at Fredericksburg claimed to have aided in the removal of property and owners and provided assistance to families in search for new farm lands. However, neither of these appeared to happen.

The War Location Administration, a section of the War Production Board, claimed to have aided in securing building materials for the new homes of those who had moved. Local banks in Quantico, Manassas, and Fredericksburg offered to make loans against accepted options (Powers 1943) confirms the hardship placed on the inhabitants of Park land.

> Lack of ready cash and a scarcity of small places to rent nearby were the chief difficulties connected with their moving.
>
> Relocation was a problem, because as soon as the seizure of the property became known, surrounding property values sky-rocketed.
>
> A difficult as the relocation was...people remember the loss of social structure even more. Seven churches were land used for the base, and along with them, graveyards and family cemeteries from several generations.

While getting a loan from the bank may have been a means by which the white families could begin the process of resettlement, it was not quite so easy for blacks families.

> They (banks) would give you something, but they wouldn't treat you, a black person, like they white person. I could go there and maybe want $50,000 and they wouldn't let me have but $15,000. But a white [could] go there with the same qualifications as I have, they would let him have twice that much (BM 70s).

Table Four shows the average number of acres purchased from black and white families during the 1940s takeover of the land and the average amount of money each family received. Table Five provides the average number of acres of condemned properties of black and white families taken by the Department of the Navy and the average amount of money paid to each family. Table Six gives the average number of purchased and condemned properties taken by the Department of the Navy and the average payment families received by ethnicity. (See Appendix D for the listing of families whose property was purchased and condemned in the 1940s, the amount of acreage sold per family and the price offered).

TABLE FOUR

PURCHASED LAND IN THE 1940s BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY

Ethnicity/# of Families	Average # of Acres Purchased	Average # Dollars Paid/Family
Black (7)	10.91	$ 939.29
White (10)	55.08	$2156.50

The 1940s takeover reveals that the average amount of money received by black families was $939.29. The average payment received by white families was $1723.44 or approximately twice what black families received.

TABLE FIVE

LAND CONDEMNED IN THE 1940s BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY

Ethnicity/# of Families	Average # of Acres Condemned	Average # Dollars Paid/Family
Black (15)	14.76	$ 853.33
White (12)	25.08	$1155.00

Black families received an average of $850.00 for their land. White families received $1152.00 on the average. Twice as many black families had their property condemned than purchased. The number of white families whose properties were purchased was almost equal to the number whose properties were condemned.

TABLE SIX

CONDEMNED AND PURCHASED LAND IN THE 1940s BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY

Ethnicity/# of Families	Average # of Acres Purchased	Average # Dollars Paid/Family
Black (22)	13.54	$ 880.68
White (22)	38.7	$1610.23

The same discriminatory practice that occurred in the '30s, of paying whites more for their property than blacks, was continued in the 1940s, with only a slight lessening of the gap between the two groups.

The years between 1920 and 1945 can be characterized as a time of both continuity and marked change for African Americans. Change accompanied the dramatic shifts experienced by the entire country from the Great Depression to World War II. Continuity was found in the complex interactions between blacks and whites that were a reflections of the cooperative, peaceful community described by some former residents, and at other times represented the American double standard of racial injustice and discriminatory practices. But as we approach the new millennium the past grievances are still present but attempts are being made to address the issues.

PART SEVEN

PRINCE WILLIAM FOREST PARK IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

Breaking the Legacy of Racism

On Father's Day, June 20, 1999 a day of reconciliation was planned by the residents and pastors of the local community. Flyers circulated throughout the area called it, "Breaking the Legacy of Racism: Honoring the Displaced Families of Prince William Forest Park." The event was sponsored by The Eastern Prince William Ministerial Association with the aim of addressing the discontent that existed within the community caused by the displacement of families during the construction of Prince William Forest Park. Through this day of repentance and prayer the community would come together in fellowship to address a wrong that had engulfed the community for too long.

According to the overview in the program, the day focused on two major issues. First, the primary cause of the consternation was the way in which the Federal government obtained the land and displaced residents to develop the Park. Second, the racism reflected in the design of Prince William Forest Park had never been addressed. (See Appendix E: Breaking the Legacy of Racism Program 1999:1).

It was raining, but the event would go on as scheduled even though the following Sunday was advertised as a rain date. We arrived about 5:00 p.m.. The entrance to Williams Field was a dirt road with a sign identifying it as Williams Lane. Police directed us to the parking area at the edge of the clearing. A welcome

sign indicated a check-in point where volunteers sat at a table protected from the rain by a plastic tent. We were given name tags and a program and joined the crowd of about 200 people, mostly white, huddled under umbrellas in groups of two or three. Although the chairs were wet, twenty people or more sat facing the stage. Robert Hickman, Park Superintendent, Kay Richardson, Assistant Superintendent, and Geoffry Liffert, Park Ranger were present. Among the former residents, John Taylor (of the Taylor Farm), who turned eighty in May was there. John Alexander, age 87 drove from south of Charlottesville to attend.

The program began with the invocation, a statement of purpose, and scripture readings by the clergy representing various denominations. The audience stood for a call-and-response dramatization so familiar in African American religious rituals. As the leader called for the recognition of the hurt, the pain, the bitterness caused by the government, and the inherent racism in the act of displacement and construction of the Park, the audience responded with acknowledgement.

Representatives of the displaced families symbolically tore pages from a pad on stage with the words *RACISM, HATE, BITTERNESS, UNFORGIVENESS, GUILT, AND RESENTMENT.* As each page was ripped away the people chanted, "We need to cut out racism... hatred...bitterness...unforgiveness ... guilt...and resentment." The leader asked, "It is time to forgive. How many times?" The people responded, "Seventy times Seven." They were asked and forgave those who had wronged the inhabitants of this land so long ago. They called for reconciliation and offered a blessing for the natural beauty of the Park. Following

the singing of the National Anthem and the Negro National Anthem the program closed and the crowd proceeded to a fellowship dinner at the pavilion in the Park.

As we left the event, we could not help but wonder if the acknowledgement of the hurt and the spirit of forgiveness expressed so eloquently would have an effect on the future relationships between the Park and the community.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

When we began this oral history project we were asked to address four questions. What follows is a summary based on our general observations, review of archival and personal documents, and interviews with former residents of what is now Prince William Forest Park.

Question 1: What were the historical associations between families living within current Park boundaries between 1920 and 1940 and the land they inhabited?

The African American families who lived within the Park boundaries between the 1920s and 1940s either acquired their land through direct purchase, inheritance, or as part of the legendary transfer of "40 acres and a mule" that occurred as a result of emancipation when formerly enslaved people were given property by previous plantation owners. Historical associations are related to the sense of place that was evident in conversations about community life in Batestown and Hickory Ridge. The Bates family who either inherited or bought the Cabin Branch Farm founded Batestown, a free black community prior to

emancipation. As children grew up and married they either purchased or inherited plots of land in order to establish their own homes near Batestown resulting in a lasting identification with place and a strong sense of community.

Hickory Ridge developed, in part, as a result of this expansion. The more rapid development of Hickory Ridge occurred with the opening of the Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine in 1889. The job possibilities attracted blacks and whites in the local communities as well as outsiders. While the mine was in operation, Hickory Ridge was a thriving mixed community.

The mine closed in 1920 leaving a sense of discontinuity that influenced decisions people made about employment and relocation. Some families, black and white, left the area. Others remained either because of a tie to the land or by virtue of the fact there were no other feasible options. The ruins of a mill and the underground shafts are all that remain. Mine Road led to the five-acre site and this two-lane roadway is a reminder of the past. Former residents who still live along Mine Road have little connection to the mine accept through the stories they tell. The National Park Service has undertaken a major restoration project at the Pyrite Mine to preserve what remains of this important site.

In 1933, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) occupied the area surrounding the mine, using some of the structures but destroying most, as they began the task of the constructing the Chopawamsic Recreational Demonstration Area (RDA) . Former residents remember these years as part of President Roosevelt's national recovery plan. From one perspective, these efforts brought

jobs to the area even though the majority of the CCC youth were from other regions of the country. This benefit in no way replaces the devastating impact felt by residents displaced from their homeland to create a park.

Between 1942 and 1943, the remaining residents on Park land were forced to move as the Department of the Navy acquired additional land for the expansion of a training site for Quantico Marine Corps Base. The Office of Strategic Services occupied Park land until 1946. Between the two phases of land acquisition, people living today have a vivid memory of the latter occupation by the military.

Land was invaluable to African Americans from the 1920s to the 1940s. Most residents depended on subsistence farming along with other odd jobs to make a living. But the loss of personal property and the demolition of the built structures are only part of the injury inflicted. Land was invaluable not just in a commercial sense, but as an extension of self and family. Often the historical associations connected to this land can be revealed by a form of cognitive mapping as people recall the location of; a store; the original site of a church; the spot in the creek where baptisms occurred; a trail used as a shortcut; or the gravesite of a relative. These associations have been lost to some degree and only a few people can identify locations that had meaning to them. But the memories remain for those who experienced this habitat before it was a park.

Question 2: What were the major features of social, economic, political and spiritual life for these families during this period?

The Batestown/Hickory Ridge section of Prince William County made up the Cabin Branch Community. Families were closely tied to their land--symbolically, spiritually, economically, and politically. The community, physically isolated from larger towns and the nation's capitol, was self-contained. People had relatively little knowledge of national or international affairs as there was no electricity, only dirt roads, few families received a newspaper, and battery operated radios were used sparingly. Country and general stores not only provided necessary supplies but also served as a meeting place for the exchange of information. One or two literate members of the community took care of written correspondence for their neighbors.

Many of the day-to-day tasks were shared by blacks and whites in a communal spirit that may have been missing in other locales in the nation. Blacks and whites worked side-by-side, hunted and fished together, harvested together, and even joined with one another for some social engagements in their leisure time. It was this communal spirit that helped them persevere through rough times even the Depression. If someone were in need the extended family and neighbors would come to help, both black and white. A common refrain was that "there is no community like this one anywhere else."

Even so, this serene atmosphere of community well being was not without problems. The same practices of discrimination and segregation found in other

areas of the country were present among these residents of Prince William County. The sentiments were sometimes expressed in the terms of address or the refusal to serve an African American. Civil unrest may not have surfaced, but the sense of social injustice was indeed a part of the experience of living here.

The church was the center of life and values for families who made up this community. The moral values were grounded in religious teachings. All major life course events took place in the church. Baptisms with immersion took place where the north and south branches of Quantico Creek intersected. The church provided a forum for the nurturance of the community both spiritually and socially.

Sunday was the main day for community gatherings and going to church was an all day affair. Homecomings and revivals were times when family members who had left the community returned for reunions. Church suppers and summer picnics were social events. The first mutual aid and benevolent societies were found in churches. The rich experiences of African Americans can be told through the recorded church histories.

Social life beyond the church activities was primarily spontaneous and included such activities as informal hoe-downs, card games such as Po-Ke-No and Bid Whist, dominoes, pitching horseshoes, and baseball Saturday night was the time for fun. House parties took the place of beer halls or juke joints since few existed in this area. Often the best expressions of a cultural heritage are found in these interchanges between work and play.

Question 3: How did these families respond to the creation of the Chopawamsic RDA and why?

The takeover of property in the 1930s to create the Chopawamsic RDA was gradual. Most families seemed to be given time to relocate, remaining on their properties for several years in some cases. The Park Superintendent made an effort to establish personal relationships with families in an effort to ease the transition. The major complaint of families about this time period was that the government underpaid families for their properties making it difficult to relocate.

A few families reported that the takeover of their families' property was seen as a good thing. The money offered provided families with a way out and up. The opening of the CCC camps provided work opportunities for families and was not seen as negative.

Interviews revealed that the strongest reaction of families was to the takeover of the Park by the Office of Strategic Services, 1942-1943. Resentment was voiced about the unrealistic time frame of two weeks given to families to clear the area. When inclement weather hindered the process, no extension was granted to families to facilitate the move. The most bitterness was expressed over unfair payments offered to families for their property and no money being offered for their actual homes, barns, stores, or other appurtenances. Another complaint stemmed from the long period of time involved in receiving payment, up to several years in some cases.

Many families resented the fact that the military began training exercises in the area prior to families moving. Gardens were trampled and fences were knocked down allowing animals to run wild.

Rent and purchase prices for property sky-rocketed as a result of the takeover making it difficult for families to find places to relocate. Promised government help for relocation and job training were not forthcoming. This intensified the level of frustration of the residents.

Perhaps the most revealing aspect of this research was that most people interviewed did not seem to be as aware of the Park takeover in the 1930s as they were of the land acquisition in the expansion of the Quantico Marine Corps Base for the OSS in the 1940s. Most of the anger and bitterness was directed toward the latter. However, the Park and the OSS appeared to be perceived as one entity, "the government," and subsequently, the National Park Service was included as a target of their resentment.

Question 4: What cultural and/or natural resources linked to the pre-RDA era are still valued and why?

It is difficult to find any physical resources as all evidence of built form in the environment during the pre-RDA era was demolished either by the Park as part of its move to create a nature reserve or by the OSS during World War II. Structures that had been present and used by the CCC are gone with the exception of some cabins in the camping areas. Original buildings converted for use by the OSS no

longer exist. The few remaining vestiges of the tunnels at the mine and cemeteries that belonged to families are the only artifacts left.

The baptismal site located where the north and south branches of Quantico Creek meet is one of the few natural resources that has significance for the cultural history of the community. Forty-two cemeteries have been located in the Park. Yet, there may well be others that are hidden by the overgrowth, or have no identifying markings left.

Local and regional museums and libraries have accumulated a collection of archival materials, objects, government documents, and other print and photographic documentation of the people who lived on Park land. But private, often ignored collections can be found in the attics and storage places and on the walls of people who lived in the community surrounding the Park. Personal documents, letters, ledgers of purchases from country stores, photographs, and other material objects aided our understanding of the African American experience in Prince William Forest Park. It was and remains their story and from these former residents we know there is still much to learn.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations that follow are based on observations and interviews with former Park residents, current members of the community, National Park Service staff and administrators, and consideration of previous recommendations and the *General Management Plan: Prince William Forest Park* (USDI1999). The recommendations given below are not prioritized but reflect themes that emerged from the interviews. The overall issue was communication. Other concerns centered on administrative policies and responses and reactions to residents' sense of loss.

Issue 1: Historic preservation and the conservation of a cultural heritage has been lost through the destruction of the built environment, the natural landscape, and cultural artifacts. It is impossible to conserve what has been destroyed. Families feel this loss.

Recommendation:

Construct a cultural heritage trail that embraces the legacy of Native Americans, African Americans, and Euro-Americans. The construction of the trail should be designed in consultation with community members. Perhaps the most appropriate place to begin would be to contact the ministers and deacon boards of local churches to seek their participation. Park marquis could be set up to designate specific spots that were important in the life of the community (e.g., location of stores, mills, churches, schools, homes, baptismal pools).

Recommendation:

Have permanent and rotating exhibits at the Visitors Center that provide an overview of the rich cultural heritage of what is now Prince William Forest Park.

Recommendation:

Establish a Board or Task Force for the purpose of securing funds for the procurement of artifacts from private collections for loans or permanent donation.

Recommendation:

Produce a new videotape on the history of Prince William Forest Park and surrounding communities that documents and captures the cultural diversity and the rich legacy of former residents from pre-colonial period to the present.

The specific concerns of the community members are reflected in the remaining issues that appear to revolve around communication between residents and Park officials.

Issue 2: Scheduling problems of camp grounds for reunions. Several families mentioned that when they tried to reserve campground locations for reunions six months in advance they were told to come back a month or two before the date. When they complied with this request and returned a or two months before the planned event nothing was available.

Recommendation:

We would recommend that the Park officials review current policies for reserving campgrounds to determine if there are areas of inconsistencies. Again, the officials should work with the community to arrange a mutually agreeable timeline for the reservation of campgrounds. The Park might want to consider

allowing families with established historical roots in the Park to reserve campground locations for family reunions up to a year in advance.

Issue 3: Most families resented that they were required to pay an entrance fee to visit what was originally their own home and property.

Recommendation:

We would recommend that the Park officials re-examine their policy. Although senior citizens have free access to the Park, younger members of the family, especially those who are concerned about the cemeteries, resent the fee. Officials might consider waiving entrance fees for all families with an established history within Park land.

Issue 4: According to the Cemetery Data File there are 42 cemeteries located within the Park. The over-growth has hidden and hindered access to grave sites for many of these locations. Both black and white families were angry that there appeared to be no attempt to remedy the situation. A complicating factor is that options were not taken on all cemeteries and the plots are still owned by families.

Recommendation:

The Park could approach families who are known to have family plots located within the Park and ascertain what the desires of the families are concerning the upkeep of those grave sites. If families want to maintain the upkeep of the cemeteries a mutually acceptable plan should be executed.

Recommendation:

The Park officials should consult officials from other parks that have already dealt with this issue, especially those parks with Native American populations that have sacred grounds as well as burial grounds located within a park.

Recommendation:

Park officials could extend a Special Use Permit to those families who wish to take care of their family cemeteries and work directly with the families to establish the limits of use.

Issue 5: Several community members voiced deep concerned about mining shafts and water wells that were open in the Park at the time of these interviews. These propose a potential hazard to both people and animals.

Recommendation:

The current Director of the National Park Service, Robert Stanton, has made the reduction of accidents in national parks a top priority. Park officials should consult with community residents to determine where the open shafts and wells are and close them off.

Recommendation:

The Park has proposed a restoration of the Pyrite Mine. Park officials should make the public aware of the project.

Issue 6: Two residents expressed considerable bitterness that they could not have access to running water and sewer lines in their neighborhood. It was stated that if the Park were not there the community would have had these amenities a long time ago.

Recommendation:

Park personnel need to meet with community members to discuss this issue and resolve the question of who has jurisdiction over this area. It needs to be made clear what the federal government, the Environmental Protection Agency and the National Park Service policies mandate.

Issue 7: Several years ago the Park had a recreational area called Carter's Day Camp that had a baseball field and other facilities to accommodate social and community activities. Carter's Day Camp was closed and the facilities demolished as part of the renovation of the Park as a nature center. The loss of this recreational area and its facilities was mentioned by several residents.

Recommendation:

Carter's Day Camp was perceived by local residents as a part of their community, and therefore, it was felt as a true loss of something valuable to the community. While there is another local park located further out on Route One it is not seen as being a part of the community in the same way as Carter's Day Camp. Park officials should select a recreational area, perhaps the same location where Carter's Day Camp was originally located, and reconstruct the site in order to provide an area in the Park that provides full recreational opportunities.

Issue 8: A range of attitudes from hostility and anger to ambiguity and disinterest toward the National Park Service surfaced during the interviews. Even though most people recognize it was the "government" that was responsible, they associate the National Park Service with the OSS take-over of land and therefore blame the NPS for their loss. The anger is subsequently directed at Prince William Forest Park officials.

Recommendation:

The National Park Service must establish an open dialogue with the community. This could be done through a series of forums, workshops, or focus groups as the Park begins to develop its cultural heritage programs.

Recommendation:

Park officials should actively seek local residents as employees or volunteers to work on various Park projects and programs and to conduct research relating to the community.

Recommendation:

Prince William Forest Park staff should work with local churches and community groups to develop positive working relationships and open communication.

Issue 9: The diversity found in the community must be reflected in the Park administration in terms of policy decision-making and programmatic planning and services.

Recommendation:

All decision-making bodies such as Commissions, Boards, and the National Park Service Administration must reflect the diversity of the community. African Americans must be among those who make policy decisions that influence both natural and cultural resources and programs offered by the Park.

Recommendation:

Park Officials must work with members of the community to insure the full participation of people of color in Park planning, activities and services.

Recommendation:

Park personnel including rangers and staff positions at all levels must reflect our nation's diverse population. The intentions of Federal guidelines and regulations for equality in employment must be met. Furthermore, all National Park Service employees must be competent to understand the significance of culturally distinctive points of view.

FUTURE RESEARCH

While we were able to gather some stories, we are cognizant of the fact that people in small close-knit communities, such as the one surrounding the Park, are seldom as open as one would hope. Among African Americans, one simply does not tell all to a stranger. It became obvious during interviews that people were suspicious of the motives of the National Park Service as many felt this might be a preamble to further land acquisition. We were, perhaps, perceived by some as "testing the water" for the Park Service, just as in the 1930s a group of people were reported to have gone through the community encouraging families to sell early. With that in mind, we are confident that we did begin to reveal part of the African American experience in Prince William Forest Park.

The effort required to do this kind of research was underestimated in terms of time, travel, and funding. What was originally proposed as a short-term research

project became a long-term extensive study. In order to put the oral histories in a proper context, extensive hours of background research at libraries, archives, museums, and church and local history resources were required. It was often difficult to coordinate time schedules to set up interviews. Many people work on weekends or get home late during the week.

Twenty interviews were conducted with former residents, nineteen of which were tape-recorded. Each interview lasted from one to three hours. This required a tremendous amount of time to transcribe and edit. It takes approximately three to four hours to transcribe one hour of a tape-recorded interview. Then it requires additional time to proofread, edit and correct errors, proofread and edit again before a final copy is printed. Due to the tedious nature of transcription, the work is usually done only a few hours at a time. It was necessary to secure additional funding from the Howard University Faculty Research Support Grant to pay students to assist with the transcriptions.

Future research can only be enhanced by further ethnographic studies and oral histories that bring to light the rich cultural diversity of Prince William Forest Park. More time is needed to explore the diaries, letters, attics, and other artifacts of the private domains. Additional archival work through investigation of public documents may shed even more light on the experience of people whose stories are at risk of being lost. Future research should include a prompt completion of the oral interviews with these older members of the community.

A multi-disciplinary research project with a focus on the construction of a cultural heritage trail that includes the Native American, Colonial and African American histories is strongly recommended. Members of the team should include an archaeologist, cultural anthropologist, historian, landscape architect, environmental psychologist, and local key consultants from both the black and white communities as the history cannot be reconstructed with only half the story being told.

From a broader perspective, legislation mandates the preservation of natural and cultural resources for present and future generations. This specifically addresses the preservation of artifacts, the identification of sites that may be eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places, and the conservation of the cultural heritage of all people with ties to our nation's parks.

Through this oral history project we were privileged to share the collected memories of people in a particular place and point in time. The importance of place in the lives of individuals cannot be overlooked. The meaning each place holds in their memories and the way in which the place was experienced in their daily lives is part of the history of the National Park Service.

The cultural history of former Native Americans, Euro-Americans and African Americans with ties to national parks should be told through archaeological, ethnographic and oral history research. In doing so, the National Park Service must continue to fund research that focuses on the richness of the cultural diversity represented by these populations. The research must go beyond mere recognition

of national, racial, ethnic, gender and class distinctions to encompass a true understanding of the rich cultural heritage of people long ignored but never to be forgotten.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEWEES	TAPE NUMBERS
Jack and Estelle Williams	PWP 103A/B
Larry Williams	PWP 104 A/B
Joseph Hebda	PWP 105 A/B; PWP 106
William Kinzer	PWP 107 A/B; PWP 108 A
Ora Glass and Ora Bates	PWP 109 A/B
Evelyn Kershaw	PWP 110 A/B; PWP 111 A
Juanita Porter Smith and Doris Smith Penn	PWP 113 A/B; PWP 114 A
Margaret Simmons and Hilda Howard	PWP 115 A/B
Barbara Kirby	PWP 116 A/B; PWP 117 A/B
Ray Woolfenden	PWP 118 A/B; PWP 119 A
James and Rose Kendall	PWP 120 A/B
Charles Kendall	PWP 121 A/B
Wilmer Porter	PWP 122 A/B
Walter Otis Kendall	NO TAPE
Hilda and Lee Lansing	PWP 123 A/B; 124 A/B
Evelyn Kershaw	PWP 125 A/B; 126 A
Harvey Watson	PWP 127 A/B
Jack and Estelle Williams	PWP 128 A/B; PWP 129 A/B
Mary Johnson	PWP 130 A/B
John Alexander	PWP 131 A/B; PWP 132 A

APPENDIX B

Prince William Forest Park: African American Oral History Project
Interview Schedule/Consent Form

APPENDIX B

Prince William Forest Park: African American Oral History Project
Interview Schedule/Consent Form

Date:
Location:
Interviewee(s):
Interviewer(s):
Tape ID

Personal Data:

1. Name:
2. Place of Residence:
3. How long lived at current address?
4. Where did s/he live before?
5. What is your occupation?
6. Are you currently working? Retired?
7. Did you ever work at Prince William Forest Park? When? What kind of work?

Questions about family:

8. Did your parents grow up around here? Where did they come from?
9. What kind of work did your family do? If farming, did they do other kinds of work outside the home.
10. What did your grandparents do?
11. Did members of your family own, rent, or hold land in Prince William Forest Park?
12. If yes, Who originally owned/held the land? What years would that be?

Questions about land use:

13. How much land did they have?
14. How was the land used? What was a typical day like?
15. What crops were grown? Were any of these crops sold?
16. Did your family raise any animals? What kinds? Were any animals sold?
17. When did your family sell/give up their land? What can you tell me about that?

Questions about land acquisition:

18. We heard that in the '30s some people came through before the government to try to buy land? Do you know who they were? Do you know any who sold their property to them?

19. What kind of help was your family offered to help with relocating? Where did your family relocate?
20. Land was also taken during 1942-43 for military use. Did you or your family have land taken then? Tell me what you remember about what actually took place.
21. Were you living on the property at that time?
22. Do you know how much money you or your family was given for the land?
23. Where did you relocate? Did you receive any assistance?
24. How did your family get started again?
25. Can you describe the importance of the land to your and your family?
26. Do you have family members buried in a cemetery in the Park?
27. Are there any places in the Park that have special meaning to you? If yes, can you describe the place?
28. How often do you visit PWFP?
29. What are your feelings about the Park?

Questions about the individual's own experience with the land

30. Did you ever live there? What years was that?
31. Tell me what you remember about the area?
32. Ask questions about schools, shops, churches, use of the park, buildings, etc.
33. Thinking back to those years, what would you say the land meant to your family?
34. Did the land have any special meaning to you then? And now?

Now let's go back in time to the years between the 1920s and 1940s. I would like to learn as much as possible about what life was like here. Please share what you know about that time period.

35. Where did people get the land? Originally? Buy it? Inherited? Given? Rented? If rented, who was the landlord?
36. Do you know if any of the land came from the Chapman or Graham plantations?
37. Did any of the land come from the "40 acres and a mule" land distribution at the time of emancipation?
38. Batestown is one of the oldest free black communities - do you know anything about when it was established or how it became established as a free town?
39. In the 30s, the government decided to make this area into a park. Did any of your family lose property during that time? Did people give up the land willingly? Was their land condemned? How did they feel about losing their land? Did you ever hear of a Mr. Hall or Mr. Lyle? What role did they in the land purchase?

40. Where did people go when their land was taken? If they stayed in the area, why did they stay?
41. During WWII the OSS took over the park and turned it into a training area for spies. Families who were still in the park were moved out? How did families feel about this displacement?
42. We have been told that several people resisted the move. Do you know how they resisted?

Questions about the Cabin Branch Community:

43. Did Hickory Ridge come into being after Batestown? Do you know why that area developed?
44. Were the people who lived in Hickory Ridge mostly from around here or did they come from other places? Were the families in Hickory Ridge mainly black or was it more of an even mix between blacks and whites?
45. Why did Hickory Ridge disappear?
46. Why did Batestown survive?
47. What families come from the Hickory Ridge area?
48. Did they own large farms in Hickory Ridge or smaller plots of land with houses?

Questions about Community Activities:

Churches

49. What churches did people go to in the area? When were they first established?
50. What is the relationship between Mount Zion and First Mount Zion Church? and with Little Union Baptist Church?
51. It appears that different members of families go to different churches, Little Union Baptist, Mount Zion, and First Mount Zion? What influences choice?
52. What are the church activities? Revival? Homecoming? Baptism? (where and when) Social activities?
53. How often was church held?
54. When Little Union was first established it was called the New School? Then after the church was built it was called Little Union? Do you know what the name means? Does the name have anything to do with the Civil War, or the uniting of families?
55. Where were baptisms held before the park and OSS? Where were they held after the OSS placed the park off limits?

Schools

56. Where did children go to school in the old days? Cabin Branch, Oddfellows Hall, etc. What grade did you complete?
57. How did you get to school? How many rooms did the school have? What was a typical day like?

58. Were the schools also used to hold church services? Were other social activities held? Box Socials, Saddie Hawkins Day, etc.

Cemeteries

59. When someone died, what would be done to help the family? Where were family members buried? Does your family have cemetaries in the park? Do you still bury family in the Park? Who keeps up the gravesites?

Making a living

60. How did people make a living in the early part of the century? Did they make a living mainly from farming? Did they supplement work by working in the mine, sawmill, railroad, etc.
61. What did farmers grow? vegetables, rye, wheat, etc.
62. Did they sell food at the market?
63. How did people make a living after the mine closed down? Quantico, government, teaching?
64. How did people make a living during the depression? CCC, DPW, WPD, WPA; moonshine
65. What was a regular day like for kids? parents?
66. What did people do for fun? Juke Joints? Dominoes, Po-ke-No, horseshoes, hunting, fishing, etc.
67. If the father worked at the mine or sawmill who would help the family?
68. What other kinds of work did women do during the 1920-1940s. Men? What kind of chores did children do?
69. Who were the Watkins man, fish man, ice man, milkman, blacksmith, mechanic, woodworkers, seamstresses, quilters, musicians, moonshiners, etc.

Health

70. When people were sick who could they go to for help? midwives, herbalists, talk out fire, talk off warts, blood stopers, local doctors, root doctors
71. Were there social organizations people could join: Oddfellows, Masons, Eastern Star, etc.

Families/Sites

72. There seem to be several prominent family names in this area. What can you tell me about the: Bates, Thomases, Kendalls, Porters, Johnsons, Williams, Chinns, Reids, Highs, Gaines, Davis, Byrd, Early, Coles
73. Can you tell us anything about the following places?
Mary Bird Branch, Orenda Road, Mine Road, Joplin, Oak Ridge, Blood Fields, Missouri Mills, Oddfellows Hall, Poor House, Porter's Inn, Pyrite Mine (

CONSENT FOR INVESTIGATIVE PROCEDURES
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20059

1. I understand that the following interview is needed for the project entitled: Prince William Forest Park: African American Oral History Project.

2. Explanation

A. The goals of the project are to collect oral histories from surviving residents of the pre-recreational demonstration area now called Prince William Forest Park in order to determine potential areas or resources within the park that have significant historical associations and distinctive cultural beliefs, values and practices of significance to the African American community that need to be preserved.

B. The process for accomplishing these goals is to conduct a tape recorded interview in order to obtain the most complete information possible and to collect for duplication whatever photographs, letters or other materials that would be of significance to reconstructing the history at the time.

C. All tapes and other materials associated with this interview will be kept by the National Park Service and will not be used in any way that could bring harm to you or any member of your family.

D. There is only minimal risk to the interviewer in terms of time needed to conduct the interview which may last about one to two hours.

E. The benefits of participating in this project is that the information will help toward defining policy to prevent other displacements of peoples from their lands and also to preserve important cultural and historical information critical to preserving the historical integrity of the African American community.

3. Subject's Statement of Understanding

A. The Howard University and the National Park Service will have access to the records of this project.

B. I am free to withdraw this consent and discontinue participation at any time, and may review a transcription of the interview prior to its use.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
APPROVAL EXPIRES 6/30/99
JUL - 1 1998
IRB

C. I have the choice to allow or not allow the interview to be taped. My choice is indicated as follows:

___ I will allow this interview to be taped.

___ I will not allow this interview to be taped.

D. I have the choice to review or not review a transcription of the tape. My choice is indicated as follows:

___ I wish to review a transcription of the tape

___ I do not wish to review a transcription of the tape.

E. The interviewer, _____ may be contacted at telephone (202) 806-6854 in the event I have any questions regarding my participation in this project. If I have questions at any time that I want to discuss with someone other than the interviewer, I am free to call the Executive Secretary. Howard University Institutional Review Board at 202-806-7818. Payment for long distance calls will be the responsibility of the interviewee _____ _____.

4. I acknowledge that I have received a personal copy of this consent form.

_____

Interviewee's/Guardians' Signature Date

_____

Interviewer's Signature Date

_____

Witness's Signature Date

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
JUL - 1 1998
IRB
APPROVAL EXPIRES 6/30/99

APPENDIX C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
LAND ACQUISITON

APPENDIX C[13]

THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR LAND ACQUISITION

PURCHASED PROPERTY: 1930s

Black Families	Plat #	Acreage	Amount Paid
Howard, H.	13	58.02	$ 232.80
Grayson, S.	31	58.91	$ 353.46
Williams, K.	35	63.00	$ 714.00
Davis, E.	36	22.25	$ 133.50
Bates, E.	37	39.49	$ 197.45
Johnson, L.	49	77.80	$ 486.25
Tubbs, B.	50	110.58	$3500.00
Reid, D.	51	33.71	$ 337.08
Tuell, F.	67	32.72	$ 375.00
Williams, L	68	4.34	$ 26.03
Davis, H.	73	148.40	$1784.00
Early, H.	74	100.00	$2000.00
Jones, W.	82	53.57	$1000.00
Jones, L.	84	28.06	$1200.00
Howard, M.	84	5.97	$ 300.00
Tuell, N.	94	8.07	$1000.00
Davis, A.	95	29.56	$ 500.00
Sims, I.	112	5.54	$ 65.00
Jackson, O.	138	2.45	$ 350.00
TOTAL:		**882.44**	**$14,544.57**

N = 19 families

13 Appendix A contains the list of families by ethnicity from which the figures in Tables One and Two were derived. The list was reconstructed from discussions with community members, interviews and archival records. In some cases, such as with the Davis families and the Reid families it was not always clear as to which family was white and which was black, as the same members of a family were identified as white by one person and mulatto by another. In a few instances there may be a misclassification of a family's ethnicity but the differences would not greatly affect the averages.

CONDEMNED PROPERTY: 1930s

Black Families	Plat#	Acreage	Price Paid
Williams, R.	23	42.63	$ 233.15
Grayson,	31	58.91	$ 353.46
Grayson, D.	48	48.76	$ 292.56
Thomas, W.	101	18.85	$ 282.75
Smith, G.	103	18.53	$ 400.00
King, M.	105	5.32	$ 190.00
Williams, Z.	132	5.78	$ 700.00
Jackson, O.	137	2.45	$ 350.00
Nash, D.	145	1.28	$ 800.00
Davis, W.	146	66.35	$2000.00
Davis, H.	147	8.82	$ 400.00
TOTAL:		**277.68**	**$6001.92**

N = 11 families

PURCHASED PROPERTY: 1930s

White Families	Plat #	Acreage	Amount Paid
Wallace, G.	1	306.61	$ 1533.05
Liming, W.	2	156.35	$ 727.03
Liming, W.	3	41.00	$ 82.00
Weil, G.	4a	63.05	$ 476.25
Lion, T.	5	166.00	$ 913.00
Lundstad, R.	6	100.00	$ 250.00
Embrey, A.	7	734.38	$ 4406.28
Clark, J.	8	536.25	$ 2145.00
Davis, T.P.	9	45.04	$ 225.20
Young, E.	10	107.70	$ 538.50
Didlike, M.	11	45.88	$ 458.50
Florence, J	12	320.75	$ 3207.50
Lipscomb, P.	14	99.00	$ 594.00
Amidon, J.	15	80.55	$ 483.30
Waite, R.	17	71.21	$ 427.26
Ratcliffe, G.	20	123.69	$ 865.83
Ratcliffe, G.	21	110.00	$ 440.00
Brown and Hoof	22	322.55	$ 1935.30
Nelson, J.	24	29.55	$ 256.00
McInteer, E.	26	108.00	$ 864.00
Scott, E.	27	43.15	$ 215.75
Wallace, G	28	312.59	$ 2500.72
Miller, A.	29	24.96	$ 140.00
Q. and A. Carney	30	121.07	$ 1000.00
Walker, C.	33	10.41	$ 62.46
Abel, W.	34	33.75	$ 262.00
Baca, J.	38	115.78	$ 1037.00

Wocera, A.	39	77.59	$ 620.72
Cato, E.	40	111.48	$ 891.84
Cato, E.	41	96.03	$ 2100.00
Brawner, L.	43	36.00	$ 288.00
Liming, J.	44	34.25	$ 205.50
Watson, J.	46	149.95	$ 1124.63
Cooper, F.	47	14.14	$ 84.84
Burke, J.	52	83.14	$ 1250.00
Payne, W.	53	259.75	$ 8000.00
Tolson, J.	54	196.16	$ 1569.28
Murray, M.	55	107.39	$ 1300.00
Riley, D.	56	200.00	$ 2000.00
Ginn, N.	57	55.00	$ 440.00
Davis, D.	58	89.12	$ 1500.00
Slingerland, E.	59	66.08	$ 429.53
Abel, N.	60	25.20	$ 300.00
Esterbrook, E.	63	379.90	$ 3770.00
Miklas , J.	64	159.56	$ 1200.00
Briggs, S.	65	66.23	$ 531.15
Ratcliffe, G.	66	250.08	$ 2500.80
Uram, H.	71	70.65	$ 700.00
Watson, N.	75	44.98	$ 1000.00
Taliaferro, J.	77	103.52	$ 2000.00
Carter, D.	78	417.59	$10000.00
Liming, W.	79	41.00	$ 225.00
Luckett, A.	80	25.07	$ 180.00
Carter, L.	83	156.31	$ 3500.00
Embrey, W.	85	148.56	$ 1100.00
Wedding, L.	88	43.27	$ 550.00
Florence, J.	89	80.88	$ 1400.00
Ferguson, Z.	90	73.16	$ 2700.00
Clarke, A	91	108.00	$ 1080.00
Hook, J.	96	577.28	$ 6000.00
Tapscott, K.	97	58.85	$ 470.80
Klatt, W.	99	10.83	$ 108.30
Briggs, S.	100	75.00	$ 1125.00
Murphy, J.	102	59.15	$ 443.63
Poland, L.	106	154.98	$ 3500.00
Embrey, M.	109	30.82	$ 308.20
Merrill, L.	110	64.41	$ 1400.00
Brawner, L.	111	83.77	$ 3800.00
Ratcliffe, G.	119	39.66	$ 700.00
Griffin, L.	122	4.86	$ 75.00
Merrill, L.	123	148.30	$ 6500.00
Woolfenden, B.	128	185.11	$ 3700.00
TOTAL:		**9343.68**	**$107,338.15**
N = 72 families			

CONDEMNED PROPERTY: 1930s

White Families	Plat#	Acreage	Price Paid
Boswell, T.	16	190.28	$1141.68
Didlake & Lion	18	150.32	$1240.00
Morgan, F.	19	190.28	$1141.68
Leachman, W.	25	25.27	$ 125.85
Liming, J.	32	21.79	$ 108.95
Gasdek, P.	42	101.68	$1008.40
Binus, C.	45	77.70	$ 600.00
Mountjoy, C.	61	123.73	$1250.00
Mountjoy, C.	62	189.95	$1519.00
Carney, J.	72	9.27	$ 74.16
Stall, E.	76	129.50	$ 906.64
Luckett, A.	81	12.81	$ 35.00
Durneah, M.	87	48.76	$1000.00
Carter, D.	93	72.00	$ 504.00
Carter, V.	98	56.58	$ 282.75
Briggs , E.	104	118.84	$2000.00
Money, G.	107	51.10	$2100.00
Money, G.	108	2.08	$ 50.00
People's National Bank	113	114.94	$1000.00
Woodyard, R.	115	89.56	$2500.00
Jelinek, B.	117	93.76	$ 937.60
Jelinek, B.	118	81.82	$ 818.20
Duvall, R.	125	23.85	$ 500.00
Miller, C.	127	184.80	$4500.00
Liming, A.	129	21.57	$1500.00
Briggs, F.	130	167.33	$4700.00
Miller, R.	131	6.04	$ 600.00
Money, G.	133	.60	$ 500.00
Money, G.	134	3.74	$ 200.00
Bigelow, S.	136	72.57	$1350.00
Carter, E.	139	208.57	$6000.00
Tolson, W.	140	96.05	$3500.00
Lunsford, R.	141	70.14	$1200.00
Robinson, R.	142	40.21	$3000.00
Oertly, D.	143	264.85	$3000.00
Cato, J.	148	292.82	$8394.00
Amidon, J.	149	92.24	$3000.00
TOTAL:		**3497.40**	**$62,287.91**
N = 37 families			

APPENDIX D

THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY LAND ACQUISITION

APPENDIX D[14]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY LAND ACQUISITION

PURCHASED PROPERTY: 1940s

Black Families	Plat #	Acreage	Amount Paid
Kendall, W	204	0.22	$ 250.00
Gaines, H	205	4.50	$ 815.00
Oddfellows Hall	212	0.33	$ 750.00
Williams, H.	216	3.44	$ 150.00
Martin, H.	219	10.90	$1610.00
Kendall, A.	226	18.97	$2000.00
Bates, M	229	38.00	$1000.00
TOTAL:		**76.36**	**$6575.00**
N = 7 families			

CONDEMNED PROPERTY: 1940s

Black Families	Plat #	Acreage	Amount Paid
Reid, J	203	74.50	$4200.00
Nash, A.	206	01.00	$ 400.00
Henderson, N.	207	00.688	$ 100.00
Clark, J.	208	25.00	$1050.00
Henderson, P.	209	00.724	$ 100.00
Henderson, C.	211	00.598	$ 100.00
Tuell, J	214	6.00	$ 800.00
Williams, A.	215	3.00	$ 500.00
Byrd, C.	217	22.50	$1500.00
Kendall, W.	220	9.50	$ 200.00
Davis, J.	221	7.75	$1025.00
Davis, A.	222	21.00	$ 450.00
Davis, J.	225	14.60	$ 250.00
Williams, A.	227	28.56	$1100.00
Bates, Q.	228	6.00	$1025.00
TOTAL:		**221.42**	**$12,800.00**
N = 15 families			

14 Appendix B contains the list of families by ethnicity from which the figures in Tables Three and Four were derived. The list was reconstructed from discussions with community members, interviews and archival records. In some cases, such as with the Davis families and the Reid families it was not always clear as to which family was white and which was black, as the same members of a family were identified as white by one person and mulatto by another. In a few instances there may be a misclassification of a family's ethnicity but the differences would not greatly affect the averages.

PURCHASED PROPERTY: 1940s

White Families	Plat #	Acreage	Amount Paid
Taylor, R.	200	8.00	$2790.00
Norman, G.	201	103.00	$4300.00
Waite, N.	202	54.50	$1400.00
Keyer, B.	210	.79	$ 100.00
Watson, N.	224	10.00	$ 800.00
Taylor, J	230	10.00	$ 600.00
Miller, H.	236	183.00	$4425.00
Matheson, G.	246	1.50	$ 125.00
Timmons, H.	255	30.00	$1200.00
Liming, W.	256	140.00	$5915.00
TOTAL:		**550.79**	**$21565.00**

N = 10 families

CONDEMNED PROPERTY: 1940s

White Families	Plat #	Acreage	Amount Paid
Taylor, V.	213	100.0	$4180.00
Logan, H.	218	22.5	$1500.00
Garden, F.	223	47.0	$1155.00
Doyle, R.	235	2.0	$ 500.00
Liming, F.	242	33.0	$1400.00
Abel, J.	251	10.0	$1100.00
William, K.	252	5.0	$ 800.00
Doyle, R.	253	5.0	$ 300.00
Cornwell, W.	257	2.0	$ 100.00
Keys, A.	263	42.5	$ 935.00
Keys, A.	264	26.0	$ 715.00
Murphy, J	265	6.0	$ 350.00
TOTAL:		**301.0**	**$13,860.00**

N = 12 families

today's observance as honored guests. As we seek forgiveness during this event, we believe that God will bring about greater reconciliation between the races and between citizens and their government.

An Explanation of Corporate or "Identificational" Repentance

We are directed in Scripture to repent not only our personal sins, but also the sins of our people, past and present. We read, for example:

> Leviticus 26:40-42: "But if they will confess their sins *and the sins of their fathers* [emphasis added]...I will remember my covenant...and I will remember the land."
>
> Jeremiah 3:25: "Let us lie down in our shame, and let our disgrace cover us. We have sinned against the LORD our God, both we and our fathers; from our youth till this day we have not obeyed the LORD our God."
>
> Nehemiah 1:6: "Let your ear be attentive and your eyes open to hear the prayer your servant is praying before you day and night for your servants, the people of Israel. I confess the sins we Israelites, including myself and my father's house, have committed against you."
>
> Daniel 9:4-5: "I prayed to the LORD my God and confessed: 'O LORD, the great and awesome God, who keeps his covenant of love with all who love him and obey his commands, we have sinned and done wrong. We have been wicked and have rebelled; we have turned away from your commands and laws.'"
>
> Isaiah 59:12: "For our offenses are many in your sight, and our sins testify against us. Our offenses are ever with us, and we acknowledge our iniquities."

This repentance on behalf of our people is often called "Identificational Repentance." Identificational Repentance is identifying with your own group (for example, your family, community, nation, race or ethnic group or tribe, sex, profession, church, denomination, or even the entire Body of Christ), then repenting of your group's sin, both to God and to those your group has hurt or to their representatives.

During today's ceremony, representative leaders from our community will engage in identificational repentance by repenting of the sins associated with the establishment of the Park. By this confession of sin and seeking of forgiveness, we believe that the Lord will pour out His healing upon those who have borne these hurts for so many years and lead us all into greater unity and freedom to do the work of the Kingdom of God in Prince William County.

Breaking the Legacy of Racism: Honoring the Displaced Families of Prince William Forest Park

Program at five o'clock in the afternoon

Invocation	The Rev. John R. Peyton *Reconciliation Community Church*
Statement of Purpose	The Rev. John A. M. Guernsey *All Saints' Episcopal Church*
Scripture: 2 Chronicles 7:14-15	The Rev. Aubrey Sanders *Community Baptist Church*
"America the Beautiful"	The Rev. Rob Seagears *Christ Chapel*

O beautiful for spacious skies, for amber waves of grain,
For purple mountain majesties above the fruited plain!
America! America! God shed his grace on thee,
And crown thy good with brotherhood from sea to shining sea.

O beautiful for heroes proved in liberating strife,
Who more than self their country loved, and mercy more than life!
America! America! God mend thine every flaw,
Confirm thy soul in self control, thy liberty in law.

O beautiful for patriot dream that sees beyond the years,
Thine alabaster cities gleam, undimmed by human tears!
America! America! God shed his grace on thee,
And crown thy good with brotherhood from sea to shining sea.

Words: Katherine Lee Bates (1859-1929), alt.

Scripture: 2 Corinthians 5:17-20	The Rev. Tony L. Hall *Christ Worship Center*
Prayer	Mrs. Lillian Gaskill *Covenant Presbyterian Church* *Prince William County Historical Commission*
Statement of Repentance	The Rev. Lyle Dukes *Harvest Full Gospel Church* *Co-President, Eastern Prince William Ministerial Association*
Reading of Letters of Support	Mrs. Heather Adams *All Saints' Episcopal Church*

The People's Response

The Rev. Dick Delap
Open Heart Community Church

The Rev. Rob Hrabak
Christ Worship Center

The Rev. David Hunter
Tribe of Judah Church of God in Christ

Leader: As citizens of the United States, do we acknowledge the hurt caused by our government in creating Prince William Forest Park?

People: We acknowledge it.

Leader: Do we acknowledge the pain experienced by the families who were displaced to make way for the Park?

People: We acknowledge it.

Leader: Do we acknowledge the racism of separate entrances and segregated campgrounds that were a part of this Park?

People: We acknowledge it.

Leader: Do we want to be free of this legacy of bitterness and division?

People: We want to be free.

Leader: Then we need to act.

As the following sentences are spoken, representatives of the displaced families symbolically tear pages bearing each word.

Leader: We need to cut out racism.

People: Yes!

Leader: We need to cut out hatred.

People: Yes!

Leader: We need to cut out bitterness.

People: Yes!

Leader: We need to cut out unforgiveness.

People: Yes!

Leader: We need to cut out guilt.

People: Yes!

Leader: We need to cut out resentment.

People: Yes!

Leader: It is time to forgive. How many times?

People: Seventy times seven.

Leader: Do we forgive, in the name of the reconciling Spirit of God, the government officials who were responsible for any harsh or unjust treatment of the residents of this area?

People: We forgive them.

Leader: Do we forgive, in the name of the reconciling Spirit of God, those who were in any way involved in forcing families from their land or making less-than-fair payment for their property?

People: We forgive them.

Leader: Do we forgive the members of the courts who ruled against these families, leaving their life savings depleted and their hopes shattered?

People: We forgive them.

Leader: Do we forgive those who insisted upon racial segregation in this Park in spite of the federal policy of openness to all?

People: We forgive them.

Leader: Do we ask God to heal our wounds and our memories, and to take out of our hearts any trace of bitterness or unforgiveness?

People: We ask Him.

Leader: Therefore on this day we choose to be instruments of reconciliation by your grace, Lord God. As we have forgiven and released all offenses against us and our families, and as we have asked for forgiveness of our own sins, we call upon you, Gracious Lord, to pour out your mercy and love upon us and our community. Bless and heal the land of this beautiful Park. Bless the National Park Service and all who care for this place. Bless all who visit here, that it may be a haven of renewal and peace.

People: The old things have passed away. God is making all things new. Thanks be to God!

"Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing"

Lift ev'ry voice and sing till earth and heaven ring,
ring with the harmonies of liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise high as the list'ning skies,
let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us;
sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us;
facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
let us march on till victory is won.

Words: James Weldon Johnson (1871-1938). Copyright by Edward B. Marks Music Corporation. Used by permission. CCLI #365744

Benediction and Blessing of the Food — The Rev. Alfred Jones
Mount Zion Baptist Church

You are most cordially invited to share in the fellowship dinner
immediately following the ceremony.
We ask that the Honorees lead the line through the buffet
and be seated at the reserved tables.
Young children should be accompanied by an adult.
We encourage you to meet someone new
and enjoy this opportunity to build relationships in our community.

The Eastern Prince William Ministerial Association wishes to extend its thanks to all those who have helped make today's event a reality, including:

Superintendent Robert Hickman and the superb staff of Prince William Forest Park for their advice, support and hospitality.

Boy Scouts of Troop 964 (First United Presbyterian Church of Dale City) and Troop 1354 (Covenant Presbyterian Church).

Dumfries-Triangle Fire Department for providing the first aid station.

Ames Funeral Home.

Curtis 1000 and Lake Lithograph for printing the program.

The Planning Committee

Heather Adams
Vince Blasco
Gary Boros
Jay Chevalier
Ron Davis
The Rev. Dick Delap
Lillian Gaskill
Leigh Gillette
The Rev. Derek Grier
The Rev. John Guernsey
The Rev. Rob Hrabak
The Rev. David Hunter
Lisa Hunter
George Liffert
Sherri Owens
The Rev. John Peyton
Carol Powell
Jay Rarick
The Rev. Aubrey Sanders
Gail Scott
Margaret Whiting
The Rev. Bob Yarbrough

June 15, 1999

COMMENDATION

WHEREAS, Prince William Forest Park is a National Park located in Prince William County, Virginia; and

WHEREAS, Prince William Forest Park was created in the 1930's by the United States Government through the National Park Service, an action which necessitated the relocation of at least 150 families who were living in that portion of Prince William County; and

WHEREAS, the process of acquiring the land was, in some instances, unnecessarily harsh and insensitive, and the Federal government's payment for the land was, in many cases, below assessed value; and

WHEREAS, the Park was designed with segregated campgrounds with separate, non-connecting entrances for blacks and whites, with whites entering the Park off Joplin Road, while blacks entered off Route 234; and

WHEREAS, the Eastern Prince William Ministerial Association has organized a special event entitled "Breaking the Legacy of Racism: Honoring the Displaced Families of Prince William Forest Park," to be held June 20, 1999 in order to address through repentance, prayer and fellowship the hurts caused by the displacement of families and by the racism inherent in the design of the Park;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Prince William Board of County Supervisors does hereby send its warmest greetings to these honored families and to all who gather for this important reconciliation service, and does hereby express its sorrow over any injustice and racism associated with the creation of the Park;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Prince William Board of County Supervisors does hereby commend the Eastern Prince William Ministerial Association for its work to foster healing and reconciliation in our community.

BOARD OF COUNTY SUPERVISORS

Kathleen K. Seefeldt

KATHLEEN K. SEEFELDT
Chairman

JOHN W. WARNER
VIRGINIA

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

June 11, 1999

Eastern Prince William Ministerial Association
c/o The Rev. John A.M. Guernsey
All Saints' Episcopal Church
5290 Saratoga Lane
Woodbridge, VA 22193

Dear Friends,

Thank you for extending me an invitation to your reconciliation event to be held on June 20, 1999. Events of this nature are a wonderful opportunity to gather for prayer, repentance and fellowship. Unfortunately, due to scheduling conflicts I will be unable to attend.

I commend you and the others in the Eastern Prince William Ministerial Association for the tremendous contributions you make to the community. Your efforts are essential in your region for the healing of wounds caused by racial tensions fostered long ago.

I look forward to future opportunities to meet with your members. I extend to you my best wishes for success in all your future endeavors and in this event.

Sincerely,

John Warner

NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

FRANK R. WOLF
TENTH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

June 20, 1999

Dear Friends:

I am writing to congratulate you on this event, Breaking the Legacy of Racism: Honoring the Displaced Families of Prince William Forest Park.

Efforts to bring reconciliation and healing can ease years of pain and anguish. Recognizing that harm has been caused can be accompanied by a renewed commitment to equality and dignity for all men and women.

I applaud today's effort to heal old wounds and create a spirit of reconciliation. I wish each of you well today and always. Thank you and God bless.

Sincerely,

Frank R. Wolf

Congratulations to you on your good work to bring about reconciliation. God Bless.

THOMAS M. DAVIS
11TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM
CHAIRMAN,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
SUBCOMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT, INFORMATION AND TECHNOLOGY
SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE CENSUS

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE
(ON LEAVE)

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515–4611

224 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225–1492

DISTRICT OFFICES:
7018 EVERGREEN COURT
ANNANDALE, VA 22003
(703) 916–9810

730 ELDEN STREET, SECOND FLOOR
HERNDON, VA 20170
(703) 437–1726

13554 MINNIEVILLE ROAD
WOODBRIDGE, VA 22192
(703) 590–4599

June 9, 1999

A Message From Congressman Tom Davis

Dear Friends:

It is my pleasure to address you today, while you gather on this important occasion, to honor the displaced families of Prince William Forest Park.

It has saddened me to learn of the history of the Park, both the wounds caused by the Federal government agencies forcing citizens, with regrettable harshness and insensitivity, to leave their homes and those arising from the racially segregated pattern of the Park's design.

As your Congressman, I deeply sympathize with you and I hope that this commemoration will serve to further the healing of these decades-old offenses.

I wish I could be here in person to join in this historic day, and I commend you for the actions you are taking. Please, keep me informed of continuing efforts to further genuine community among us.

Best wishes to all,

Tom Davis

Tom Davis
Member of Congress

TMD:jhs

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

Displaced Families Honor Roll

Name	Acres
1. G. B. Wallace	300
2. W. W. Liming	156
3. W. W. Liming	41
4. G. F. Weir	53
5. B. F. Liming	159
B. F. Liming	6
6. R. E. Lunsford	100
7. A.. W. Embrey Jr	532
A.. W. Embrey Jr	201
8. J. E. Clark	414
J. E. Clark	61
J. E. Clark	39
9. T. R. Davis	45
10. E. M. Young	107
11. M. H. Didlake	45
12. J. B. Florence	320
13. H. H. Howard	58
14. L. Lipscomb	99
15. J. B. Amidon	80
16. T. Boswell	64
17. R. Waite	51
R. Waite	20
18. Didlake & Lion	150
19. F. B. Morgan	190
20. A.. R. Speake	
E. C. Waters	
G. R. Ratcliffe	123
21. G. R. Ratcliffe	57
G. R. Ratcliffe	53
22. Brown & Hoof	241
Brown & Hoof	81
23. R. A. Williams	42
24. J. E. Nelson	29
25. Wm. Leachman	25
26. E. N. Mcinteer	108
27. E. G. Scott	43
28. G. B. Wallace	312
29. A.. Miller	25
30. Q. & B. Carney	121
31. S. Grayson	58
32. J. W. Liming	21
33. C. H. Walker	10
34. W. T. Abel	33
35. K. Williams	63
36. E. Davis	22
37. E. Bates	39
38. J. Baca	115
39. A. Wecera	77
40. E. P. Cato	111
41. E. P. Cato	96
42. P. Gasdek	101
43. L. & I. Brawner	36
44. J. W. Liming	34
45. C. D. Binns	77
46. J. Watson	150
47. F. & A.. Cooper	14
48. D. D. Grayson	48
49. L. Johnson	77
50. B. Tubbs	110
51. D. Reid	33
52. J. H. Burke	83
53. W. W. Payne	200
54. J. J. Tolson	132
J. J. Tolson	61
J. J. Tolson	2
55. M. M. Murray	107
56. D. E. Ri( )ey	200
57. N. G( )nn	57
58. D. M. Davis	89
59. F. O. Slingerland	66
60. N. Abel	12
N. Abel	12
61. C. Mountjoy	96
C. Mountjoy	16
62. C. Mountjoy	190
63. E. E. Easterbrook	189
E. E. Easterbrook	87
E. E. Easterbrook	102
64. J. & K. Miklas	159
65. S. Briggs	66
66. G. R. Ratcliffe	220
67. F. Tuell	32
68. L. Williams	4
69. I. B. Barnes	184
70. I. B. Barnes	69
71. H. Uram	64
72. J. Carney	9
73. H. Davis	148
74. H. Early	99
75. N. Watson	45
76. E. Stoll	129
77. D. Taliaferro	103
78. D. H. Carter	410
79. W. W. Liming	41
80. A & F Luckett	25
81. M. Luckett	12
82. W. A. Jones	53
83. L. A. Carter	156
84. M. E. Howard	6
85. W. S. Embrey	148
86. L. Jones	28
87. M. Durniak	48
88. L. Wedding	43
89. J. L. Florence	80
90. Z. L. Ferguson	73
100. E. M. Briggs	75
101. N. Thomas	18
102. J. J. Murphy	59
103. G. Smith	18
104. E., M. Briggs	118
105. E. King	5
106. L. M. Poland	155
107. G. Money	51
108. G. Money	2
109. V. Embury	32
110. L. V. Merrill	64
111. L. C. Brawner	83
112. ( ) Simms	5
113. C. A. Sinclair	114
114. E. King	20
115. R. V. Woodard	38
116. G. W. Tabscott	119
117. B. J. Belenek	93
118. B. J. Belenek	81
119. G. R. Ratcliffe	39
120. Dan Reid	3
121. W. W. Mainhall	17
122. L. & G. Griffin	4
123. L. F. Merrill	148
124. K. Reid	198
125. R. E. Duvall	23
126. R. Doyle	9
127. J. F. Miller	184
128. B.F. Woolfenden	183
129. A. F. Liming	21
130. F. E. Briggs	167

131. R. Miller	6
132. Z. Williams	5
133. G. Money	6
134. G. Money	3
135. L. G. Tolson	133
136. S. Bigelow	72
137. H. C. Abel	250
138. D. D. Jackson	2
139. E. W. Carter	208
140. W. W. Tolson	96
141. R. E. Lunsford	70
142. R. Robinson	40
143. D. H. Oertley	264
144. No Name	
145. Dan Nash	1
146. W. F. Davis	66
147. H. Davis	8
148. J. L. Cato	292
149. J. & M. Amidon	92
150. M. Reynolds	76
151. C. Byrd	35
152. W. Keys	20
153. E. Dewitt	77
154. J. C. Tapscott	112
155. H. Miller	100
156. Z. Williams	35
157. W. W. Liming	162
158. E. Bates	37
159. R. A. Taylor	10
160. N. Watson	10
161. N. Waite	54
162. E. Williams	13
163. J. Reid	60
164. Wm. Kendall	35
165. R. Williams	7
166. D. Doyle	7
167. W. Roles	20
168. J. Alexander	19
169. W. Kendall	20
170. W. G. Abel	100
171. B. Abel	100
172. A.. Ouzalet	212
173. No Name	
174. G. Norman	100
175. S. Arrington	26
176. R. Thomas	13
177. E. M. Briggs	33
178. J. R. King	47
179. No Name	
180. M. Merrill	31
181. A.. Feydelian	9
182. M. Gaba	60
183. W. Greenwood	40
184. T. Johnson	19
185. C. Abel	200
186. M. Durniak	75
187. H. Early	Illegible
188. L. Holmes	17
189. R. Taylor	100
190. M. M. Carney	16
191. A. Cole	5
192. C. D. Davis	15
193. E. Slingerland	10
194. E. Storke	10
195. E. P. Cato	126
196. Pierson	70
197. L. Mills	40

Source: National Park Service

REFERENCES

African American Time Line
n.d. Manuscript on file at the PRWI Archives

Baum, Willa K.
1991 Transcribing and Editing Oral History. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History.

Bennett, Lerone, Jr.
1993 [1969] Before the Mayflower: A History of Black America. 6th Edition. New York: Penguin Books.

Berry, Mary Frances
1994 [1971] Black Resistance/White Law: A History of Constitutional Racism in America. New York: Penguin Books. Originally published by Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Braeman, John, Robert H. Bremmer, and David Brody, eds.
1975 The New Deal. The State and Local Levels. Vol. Two. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Carr, Ethan
1998 Wilderness by Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Chapman, Carlton T.
1992 Memorandum for Record: Cabin Branch Mine. On file at Prince William Forest Park Archives.

Commonwealth of Virginia
1937 Map of Prince William County Showing Primary and Secondary Highways. Department of Highways. Division of Surveys and Plans. Richmond, VA, June 1, 1932 Revised July 1, 1937

Copeland, Libby
1999 From Farmland to Parkland: The Legacy of a Painful Conversion. Washington Post, Sunday, June 20, 1999, page 1.

Darrow, Clarence
1924 Attorney Clarence Darrow, debating a supporter of Prohibition. In Jim R. McClellan. Changing Interpretations of America's Past. Vol. 2. The Civil War Through the 20th Century. Pp.223-224. Guilford, CT: The Duskin Group.

Davidson, Katherine H.
1953 Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Federal Writers' Project. Work Projects Administration, 1935-44, National Archive Publication No. 54-2, Washington, DC.

Dettingen Parish Records
1976 Records of the Dettingen Parish, Prince William County, Virginia. Dumfries, VA: Historic Dumfries, Inc.

Du Bois, W. E. B.
1965 [1935] Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880. Cleveland: Meridian Books, The World Publishing Company. Originally published by Harcourt, Brace and Company.

Dunn, Agnes
1993 The History of the Acquisition of The Guadalcanal Area of the Quantico Marine Base. Manuscript. MCB Quantico Public Works 50,000 Acres, Guadalcanal Area Files, Quantico, VA: Marine Corps Research Center, Archives Branch.

Evans, D'Anne
1888 Asbstract of an Interwiew with Annie Williams, July. 1989 Prince William County: A Pictorial History. Norfolk, VA: Donning Company.

Feagin, Joe R. and Clairece Booker Feagin
1993 Racial and Ethnic Relations. 4th Edition. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Federal Writers' Project
1941 Prince William: The Story of It's People and It's Places. Work Projects Administration. Richmond, VA: Whittet and Shepperdson. Reprint. Manassas, VA: The Bethleham Good Housekeeping Club,1961.

Foner, Eric
1990 A Short History of Reconstruction 1863-1877. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.

Franklin, Wayne and Michael Steiner, eds.
1992 Mapping American Culture. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.

Froncek, Thomas, ed.
1985 City of Washington. Illustrated History by the Junior League of Washington.

Goodwin, Doris Kearns
1994 No Ordinary Time: Franklin & Eleanor Roosevelt. The Home Front in World War II. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Graham, Lawrence Otis
1999 Our Kind of People: Inside America's Black Upper Class. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.

Guild, June Purcell
1969 Black Laws of Virginia. New York: Negro Press. Reprint 1936.

Gutman, Herbert G.
1976 The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom: 1750-1925. New York: Vintage Books.

Harrison, Fairfax
1987 Landmarks of Old Prince Williams: A Study of Origins in Northern Virginia. Vols. I and II. 2nd Reprint Edition. The Prince William County Historical Commission. Baltimore: Gateway Press, Inc. Original 1924, Richmond.

Hayden, Dolores
1996 The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Haydon, Richard C.
1935 An Administrative Survey of the Public Schools of Prince William County, Virginia. Master's Thesis, University of Virginia.

Henderson, Yandell
1934 A New Deal in Liquor: A Plea for Dilution. New York: Doubleday.

Henning, William W.
1823 Statutes at Large: Being a Compilation of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619. Published Pursuant to in Act of the General Assembly of Virginia. Passed on the Fifth Day of February, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eight. Richmond, 1810-23.

Hickey, Jo Ann and Anthony Andrew Hickey
1987 Black Farmers in Virginia, 1930-1978: An Analysis of the Social Organization of Agriculture. Rural Sociology 52(1):75-88.

Hill, Edwin G.
1990 In the Shadow of the Mountain: The Spirit of the CCC. Pullman, WA: Washington State University.

Hoopes, James
1979 Oral History: An Introduction for Students. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Hufford, Mary, ed.
1994 Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Hunter, Robert
1975 Virginia and the New Deal. In The New Deal. The State and Local Levels. Vol.2. John R. Braeman, Robert H. Bremmer and David Brody, eds. Pp. 108-133. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Johnston, James Hugo
1970 Race Relations in Virginia and Miscegenation in the South 1776-1860. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press.

Kinzer, William
1994 Interview with DeWitt Bates.

Lange, Dorothea with Robert Coles, Contributor
1996 Photographs of a Lifetime. Gordonsville, VA: Aperture Foundation, Inc.

Lansing, Lee C.
1998 Historic Dumfries VA. 1749. Third Printing. Prince William County Historical Commission.

LaSonde, Chris
1993 Looking Back at Batestown. Potomac News, February 25, C2:2.

Lee, Ulysses
1994 The Employment of Negro Troops. US Army and World War II. Washington, DC: Center of Military History, United States Army. First Printed 1963, Levine, Lawrence W.

1993 The Unpredictable Past: Explorations in American Cultural History. New York: Oxford University Press.

Little Union Baptist Church
1980 77th Anniversary of Little Union Baptist Church: A History. Dumfries,VA. Black History File, Weems-Botts Museum

1998 Ninety-five Years of Effectual Fervent Prayer. Programme. Dumfries, VA.

Litwack, Leon F.
1999 Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the age of Jim Crow. New York: Vintage Books.

Low, Setha M.
1994 Cultural Conservation of Place. In Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage. Mary Hufford, ed. Pp.66-77. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Ludtke, Alf, ed. Trans. William Templer
1995 The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

MCB Quantico Public Works Collection
50,000 Acres, Guadalcanal Area. Box 4, Folder 3. History of Acquisition. Quantico, VA: Archives Brand, Marine Corp Research Center.

McBride, Trudy
1984 Interview with John Woodrow Taylor, December 4.

1985 Interview with John Woodrow Taylor, April 10.

McClellan, Jim R.
1994 Changing Interpretations of America's Past. Vol. II: The Civil War Through the 20th Century. Guilford, CT: The Duskin Publishing Group, Inc.

McGee, Leo and Robert Boone
1977 Black Rural Land Decline in the South. The Black Scholar 8(7):8-11.

Mountjoy, A. L.
1978 The Cabin Branch Mine. Address presented at a meeting of Historic Dumfries, Virginia. Dumfries Town Hall, November 2. Manuscript on file at Weems-Botts Museum.

Natanson, Nicholas
1992 The Black Image in the New Deal: The Politics of FSA Photography. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

National Archives, Record Group 79
Records of the National Park Service. Records of the Branch of the Branch of Recreation, Land Planning, and State Cooperation, State Park file 1933-1947, Records Concerning Recreational Demonstration Areas, RDA Program Files.

National Park Service
1997 Prince William Forest Park. Brochure. U.S. Department of the Interior. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

National Park Service
1997 Prince William Forest Park. Brochure. U.S. Department of the Interior. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Nelson, Tom
n.d. Interview with DeWitt Bates.

Paige, John C.
1985 The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.

Parker, Patricia L.
1985 The Hinterland: An Overview of the Prehistory and History of Prince William Forest Park, Virginia. Occasional Report #1. Regional Archeology Program, National Capital Region, Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.

Perdue, Charles L, Thomas E. Barden and Robert K. Phillips, eds.
1976 Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

Peters, Joan W.
n.d. Prince William County free Negro Families 1810, 1840, 1860: A Source Book for African American Family History Research. Part 2, Broad Run, VA: Albermarle Research.

Phinney, Lucy Walsh
1993 Yesterday's Schools: Public Elementary Education in Prince William County, Virginia 1869-1969. R.E.F. Typesetting and Publishing, Inc.

Porter, Charles W.
1935 Prince William Forest Park (Formerly Chopawamsic Park) Manuscript. Prince William Forest Park Files.

Powers, Elizabeth Russell
1943 Stafford Evacuation. Paper written for the Files of Virginia's War History. Reprinted in The Free Lance Star, May 8, 1943.

Powdermaker, Hortense
1969 After Freedom: A Cultural Study of the Deep South. New York: Atheneum. Reprint. The Viking Press, 1939.

Prince William County Historical Commission
1982 Prince William: A Past to Preserve. Prince William County Historical Commission.

1990 Home Place: Prince William County. A Series of Articles from the Potomac News,1986. Reprint. Woodbridge, VA: Minute Man Press.

Salmond, John A.
1965 The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Negro. Journal of American History 52:75-88.

Scheel, Eugene
Crossroads and Corners: A Tour of the Villages and Post Offices of Prince William County, Virginia, Past and Present. A Companion Book to the 1992 Historical Map of Prince William County. Publication of Historic Prince William, Inc.

Shumate, Annie Keys Cline
n.d. Notes on Doctors in Prince William County. Manuscript from the files of Hilda Lansing.

Smedley, Audrey
1999 Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview. Second Edition. Boulder: Westview Press.

Smith, Gibson Bell
1979 Quantico and Her Neighbors. Controversies Over Land Use, 1933-46. Speech presented at the Quantico MCDEC, March 5, 1979.

Sternsher, Bernard, ed.
1969 The Negro in Depression and War: Prelude to Revolution, 1930-1945. Chicago: Quadrangle Books.

Strickland, Susan Cary
1986 Prince William Forest Park: An Administrative History. Washington: History Division National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior.

The Eastern Prince William Ministerial Association
1999 Breaking the Legacy of Racism: Honoring the Displaced.

The Negro in Virginia
1940 The Negro in Virginia. Record Group 69. New York: Hasting House. Reprint ed. New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969.

Turner, David
n.d. About the 1860 Census. Manassas, VA: Manuscript. On file at Weems-Botts Museum.

Trotter, Joe William, Jr.
1996 From a Raw Deal to a New Deal? African Americans 1929-1945. New York: Oxford University Press.

U.S. Bureau of the Census
Prince William County 1810 Census.

Prince William County 1850 Census. Winston L. Carter, Assistant Marshall Census Taker, Roll #97. Excerpt from Barbara Kirby files.

Virginia 1870 Census. Prince William County Index. Bountiful, UT: Precision Indexing.

U.S. Department of Agriculture
1937.R4-13-CA; File 6532-LP-VA-6 Resettlement Administration, Raleigh, NC; Joplin, VA -Reg IV. Land Use Summary Report. W.R. Hall, Project Manager, C.B. Faris, Assistant Regional Director. Report prepared by Ellen R. Harper. Basic Report: RA-GEN 125, RA-GEN 37.

U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service
1935 National Park Service: Project Plan for the Recreational Area Demonstration Under the Land Program. Chopawamsic Area Report. Washington, DC.

1993 Federal Historic Preservation Laws.
National Park Service, Cultural Resources Program. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

1998 Director's Order #28: Cultural Resource Management. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior.

Watkins, T. H.
1995 The Great Depression: America in the 1930s. Boston: Little Brown & Company.

Weaver, Robert C.
1935 The New Deal and the Negro: A Look at Facts. Opportunity Journal of Negro Life. 13(7):200.

Wilson, Theodore Branter
1965 The Black Codes of the South. Birmingham: University of Alabama Press.

Wirth, Conrad L.
1935 Parks and Their Uses. In American Planning and Civic Annual. Harlean James, ed. Washington, DC: American Civic and Planning Association.

Woodward, C. Vann
1974 [1955] The Strange Career of Jim Crow. 3rd rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS AND PERSONAL DOCUMENTS CONSULTED

Newspapers

The Free Lance Star
Potomac News
Times Herald
Washington Star
Washington Post

Manuscripts and Personal Documents

- Celebrating the 125th Anniversary of First Mt. Zion Baptist Church

- Prince William Forest Park Archives
  Muschett -IIb File
  Muschett will
  Charles Reid Interview
  Annie Williams Interview (Audiotape)

- Weems-Botts Museum Collection
  Prince William Forest Park Folder
  Black History File
    - Family Files: Bates-Davis; Bates-Porter; Kendall-Reid
    - Marriage Certificate - Bates
    - Oral History Transcript -DeWitt Bates
    - Wilmer Porter-Norfolk, VA. "Man of Unity: Dumfries in Vangard or - Racial Harmony," by Patrick Lackey, *Pilot Newspaper*, p.A1/A8, June 7, 1988.
    - Reid Folder
    - Annie Williams File
    - Cabin Branch Mine Folder
    - Memorandum for Record: Subject: Cabin Branch Mine, September 4, 1992.
    - Dumfries File

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS AND PERSONAL DOCUMENTS

Joseph Hebda
Walter Otis Kendall
Evelyn Kershaw
Barbara Kirby
William Kinzer
Hilda and Lee Lansing
Juanita Porter-Smith
Margaret Simmons
Doris Smith-Penn
Jack and Estelle Williams
Harvey Watson
Ray Woolfenden

ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS

Bull Run Library, Manassas, VA

Chinn Library, Dale City, VA

Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, African-American History and Culture, Madison Building, Washington, DC

Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Founder's Library, Washington, DC

National Archives and Records Administration (Archives II), College Park, MD

National Park Service, National Capital Region, Washington, DC

National Park Service, Prince William Forest Park Archives, Triangle, VA

Quantico Marine Corps Research Center, Archives Branch, Marine Corps University, Quantico, VA