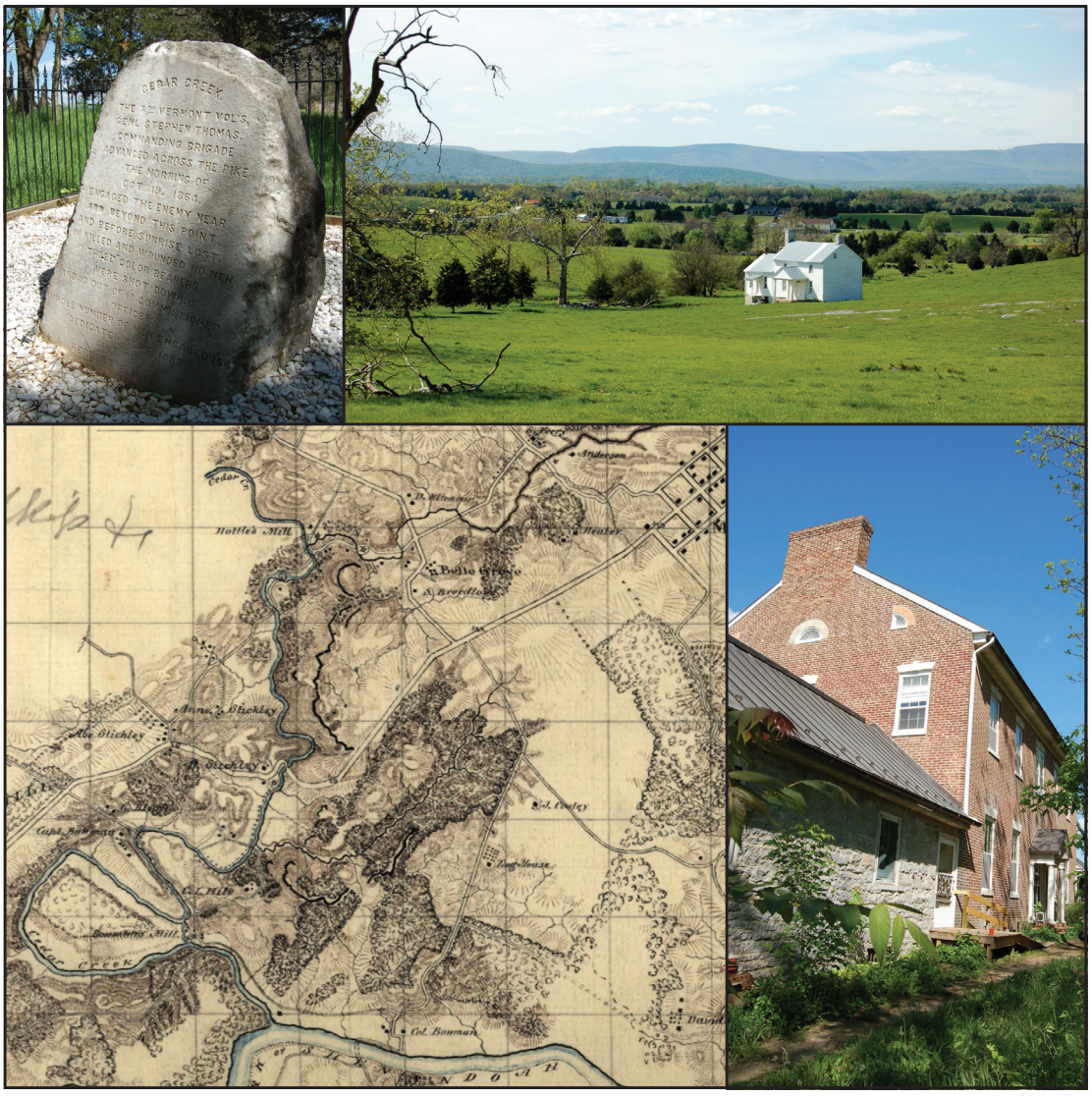
Historic Resource Context Study Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park in Frederick, Shenandoah, and Warren Counties, Virginia



Prepared for:

Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, National Park Service

Prepared by:

William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research

Historic Resource Context Study Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park in Frederick, Shenandoah, and Warren Counties, Virginia

WMCAR Project No. 11-25

Prepared for:

Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park
National Park Service
P. O. Box 700
Middletown, Virginia 22645
(540) 869-3051

Prepared by:

William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research
The College of William and Mary
P.O. Box 8795
Williamsburg, Virginia 23187-8795
(757) 221-2580

Authors:

David W. Lewes
William H. Moore

Project Director:

Joe B. Jones

December 20, 2013

Management Summary

In 2012, the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research (WMCAR) conducted a historic resource study of the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park (CEBE/the Park), located in the Virginia counties of Frederick, Shenandoah, and Warren. The WMCAR completed this study under an agreement between the College and the National Park Service (NPS) through the Chesapeake Watershed Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit (CW CESU).

The study provides historical context for updating the 1969 National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) nomination of Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove as a National Historic Landmark (NHL) and for Park management decisions regarding cultural resources, land-use planning, and other Park efforts. The existing NHL nomination focuses on the architectural significance of the Belle Grove mansion and makes only cursory mention of the October 19, 1864 battle, a watershed in the Civil War that ended Confederate control of the Shenandoah Valley and likely made re-election of Abraham Lincoln possible less than three weeks later.

The current study augments the thematic scope of the NHL not only by expanding on the context for the battle, but also by developing a contextual framework around three other broad themes related to the battlefield as a cultural landscape.

Chronologically, the first theme in this study explores prehistoric settlement on the landscape until the period of primarily European occupation began in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The second theme traces the evolution of the study area as an open-country neighborhood with strong kinship connections, from early European settlement through the eve of the battle. The third theme is the Civil War and the Battle of Cedar Creek. The final theme is the battlefield's emergence as a site of commemoration beginning in the 1880s and continuing with the Park's ongoing landscape preservation.

Prior to the current study, historical context was developed in conjunction with several studies prepared for CEBE, including cultural resource management projects associated with various undertakings, an overview and assessment of cultural resources, an ethnographic overview and assessment, a cultural landscape inventory, and a historic structures report for the Bowman-Hite farm. In addition, consultants have prepared historical contexts for National Register nominations of selected individual properties within the Park such as Long Meadow, Mount Pleasant, and Fort Bowman, for example.

The historical context presented in this report draws on secondary sources, including recent scholarship on the four themes, as well as selected primary sources. The introduction includes summary tables and maps identifying archaeological, architectural, and cultural landscape historic resources identified within the Park, as well as the large Cedar Creek Battlefield core area and study area. These include resources that have been officially recorded in the Virginia Department of Historic Resources' cultural resource database and resources identified in a 2006 overview and assessment study of CEBE but not officially recorded. It also includes features identified by NPS historian David Lowe in his 1991 survey of the battlefield study area. In addition to key historic maps and photographs, the report contains photographs of selected resources, visited with Park staff in April 2012, showing their current condition as a baseline.

Contents

Management Summary ii
Figures iii
Tables vi

1: Project Background 1
Introduction 1
Description of the Study Area 3
Cultural Resources within CEBE and the Cedar Creek Battlefield 4
Chapter 1 Endnotes 22

2: Geographic and Environmental Setting 25
Chapter 2 Endnotes 31

3: Cultural and Historical Contexts 33
Prehistoric Settlement 33
Paleoindian Stage (before ca. 8000 BC) 33
Archaic Stage (8000–1200 BC) 35
Woodland Stage (1200 BC – AD 1500) 36
European Settlement and Evolution of the Antebellum Cultural Landscape 37
Introduction 37
Early European Exploration and British Colonial Policy in the Shenandoah Valley 38
Early Shenandoah Valley Land Grants 40
The Hite-Bowman Landscape Imprint 43
Development of Local Institutions, Commerce, and Industry 70
The Civil War and the Battle of Cedar Creek 72
War in the Shenandoah Valley 72
The Battle of Cedar Creek 78
Aftermath and Consequences 88
Cedar Creek Battlefield: Memory and Commemoration 89
Commemorative Events and Markers 89
Commemoration and Historic Preservation 97
Chapter 3 Endnotes 100

Figures

1 Location and setting of CEBE and Cedar Creek Battlefield Core Area 2
2 Boundaries of battlefield study area and NHL relative to CEBE and battlefield core area 5
3 Map showing locations of key landmarks and extent of partner and private land ownership within CEBE 6
4 Features in the study area defined for Cedar Creek Battlefield by National Park Service historian David Lowe in 1991 10

5 Archaeological resources within the CEBE and battlefield core area recorded in VDHR cultural resources database as of June 2012 12
6 Architectural resources within the CEBE and battlefield core area recorded in VDHR cultural resource database as of June 2012 17
7 Geological formations in the vicinity of CEBE 27
8 Limestone formation landscape around Solomon Heater House (034-0082), looking north from U.S. Route 11 28
9 Typical landscape on the shale formation at confluence of Cedar Creek with the North Fork of the Shenandoah River at McInturff Ford, looking south 29
10 Valley Turnpike (forerunner of U.S. Route 11) in the late nineteenth century, consisting of macadam, a well-drained substrate of crushed rock with a packed surface of lighter crushed stone 30
11 Map showing sites with prehistoric components within CEBE and core area recorded in VDHR cultural resource database as of June 2012 34
12 Map of the of the Great Wagon Road and Wilderness Road, which followed the corridor of a Native American route that European settlers called the Great Warrior Path in the first half of the eighteenth century 39
13 Extent of the Northern Neck Proprietary as determined in 1745 based on a 1737 map of the Proprietary lands 41
14 Typical unpaved portion of historic road network connecting farms, mills, and fords in CEBE 44
15 Confederate engineer's map of the Cedar Creek battlefield 45
16 Map of the Cedar Creek and Fisher's Hill Battlefields with key domestic, agricultural, transportation, and industrial features highlighted 46
17 Facade of Harmony Hall (also known as Fort Bowman) 47
18 Ca. 1937 photograph of Harmony Hall and no longer extant outbuildings to the right of the dwelling. The photograph indicates that the current porch is not original 47
19 Family burial ground above Fort Bowman 48
20 Detail of burial ground enclosure and historic marker commemorating Bowman relative Samuel Kercheval, who published a history of the Shenandoah Valley in 1833 48
21 Bowman Cemetery in the 1930s, showing a clear view toward Harmony Hall similar to the way the property would have appeared in the nineteenth century 49
22 Map of the original 1,000-acre tract that George Bowman acquired from Jost Hite in 1734, relative to CEBE boundary and later key features established as the property developed and was subdivided among Bowman's kin 50
23 Subdivision of George Bowman's property following his death in 1768 51
24 Projected division of fields within the Bowman-Hite farm, closely corresponding to many present-day hedgerows, tree lines, and fences 52
25 George Bowman's Mill and Daniel Stickley Mill, located on Stickley property in Shenandoah County, west of the crossing of the old alignment of Cedar Creek 53
26 Isaac Bowman mill complex along Cedar Creek in the nineteenth century 54
27 Ca. 1937 view of Mount Pleasant from Harmony Hall, looking southeast 54
28 Mount Pleasant, southwest (former rear) elevation and earlier stone kitchen wing 56

29 Mount Pleasant, original facade toward creek and earlier stone kitchen wing 56
30 Mount Pleasant, facade cornice detail 57
31 Mount Pleasant, ca. 1812 smokehouse 57
32 Mount Pleasant, archway in passage 58
33 Mount Pleasant, entrance door with arched transom and reedwork 58
34 Mount Pleasant, Federal-style mantelpiece 58
35 Mount Pleasant, mantel and flanking arched niches in second-floor bedroom 59
36 Belle Grove viewed from turnpike in 1885 61
37 Belle Grove in 1930s with 1820 addition to left 61
38 Belle Grove plantation house and outbuildings, looking east 62
39 Slave cemetery with fieldstone grave markers and unmarked graves 62
40 Long Meadow, facade 63
41 Long Meadow, elliptical arch in passage with U-shaped staircase behind 63
42 Long Meadow, carved U-shaped staircase 64
43 Long Meadow, mantel and arched niches in parlor 64
44 Long Meadow, overseer's house off rear corner of manor house 65
45 Long Meadow, stone springhouse 65
46 Long Meadow, graveyard with house and outbuildings in background 66
47 Bowman-Hite Farmhouse, facade overlooking Cedar Creek 66
48 Displaced and broken headstone and footstone of Rebecca F. W. Hite on the Bowman-Hite Farm 67
49 View from Bowman-Hite Farmhouse overlooking Cedar Creek with the gable of Mount Pleasant visible (at tip of arrow) in the distance 68
50 Daniel Stickley House, facade 68
51 Daniel Stickley House and tightly clustered outbuildings 69
52 Map of Civil War campaigns in Virginia illustrating the strategic implications of the Shenandoah Valley's topography 73
53 Map showing Jackson's approaches to Front Royal, which led allowed him to isolate, surprise, and overwhelm the Union garrison there in 1862 74
54 Typical scene of destruction following Sheridan's army down the Shenandoah Valley in October 1864 76
55 Sketch of Union troops cheering Sheridan with scene of burning farm buildings and cattle theft in background 76
56 Massanutten Mountain viewed from Gordon's position at beginning of battle 79
57 Map of battle of Cedar Creek 80
58 Map of Battle of Cedar Creek, morning phase 81
59 Opening of the Battle of Cedar Creek: Kershaw's Division attacks the fortifications of the First Division, VII Corps 82
60 Ca. 1885 view eastward along Bowman's Mill Road 83
61 Stone abutment remains on south side of Cedar Creek for nineteenth-century bridge on former alignment of Valley Turnpike 84
62 Scene of early morning hand-to-hand combat at Belle Grove 86

63 Hilltop position in Mount Carmel Cemetery where Getty's Second Division, VI Corps resisted the Confederate advance until 10 a.m. 86
64 Map of Battle of Cedar Creek, afternoon phase 87
65 Locations of Civil War commemorative monuments in CEBE and vicinity 90
66 Monument to Vermont veterans and enclosure 92
67 Detail of inscription on Vermont monument 92
68 Monument to 128th New York Volunteers 93
69 Monument to Maj. Gen. Stephen D. Ramseur of North Carolina 94
70 Detail of plaque with inscription on Ramseur monument 94
71 Freeman Marker commemorating the Battle of Cedar Creek erected by the Battlefield Markers Association 95
72 Inscription on the plaque of the Freeman marker 95
73 Monument to Massachusetts cavalry officer Col. Charles Russell Lowell, located outside CEBE along Main Street in Middletown 96

Tables

1 Cedar Creek Battlefield features that NPS historian David Lowe mapped in 1991 for his *Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia* (1992) 8
2 Summary of archaeological sites recorded within CEBE and core area as of June 2012 15
3 Summary of architectural resources within CEBE and core area recorded in VDHR cultural resource database as of June 2012 20

1: Project Background

Introduction

In 2012, the College of William and Mary's Center for Archaeological Research (WMCAR) conducted a historic resource context study of the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park (CEBE/the Park), located in the Virginia counties of Frederick, Shenandoah, and Warren (Figure 1). The WMCAR completed this study in accordance with an agreement between the College of William and Mary and the National Park Service (NPS) through the Chesapeake Watershed Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit (CW CESU).

This study provides historical context both for updating the 1969 National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) nomination of Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove as a National Historic Landmark (NHL) and to inform management decisions by the NPS and its CEBE partners regarding cultural resources, land-use planning, and other Park efforts. Significantly, this study will assist CEBE in fulfilling both its Section 110 (planning for historic resources) and 106 (compliance) responsibilities under the National Historic Preservation Act. In conjunction with preservation and management plans for CEBE and partner resources, the historical context developed for this study provides a framework for future research designs associated with investigation of potentially eligible historic properties not currently identified both within and adjacent to the NHL boundary.

The existing NHL nomination focuses on the architectural significance of the Belle Grove mansion and makes only cursory mention of the October 19, 1864 battle, a watershed in the Civil War that ended Confederate control of the Shenandoah Valley and likely made re-election of Abraham Lincoln possible less than three weeks later.

The current study augments the thematic scope of the NHL not only by expanding on the context for the battle, but also by developing a contextual framework around three other broad themes related to the battlefield as a cultural landscape. Chronologically, the first theme in this study explores prehistoric settlement on the landscape until the period of primarily European occupation began in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The second theme traces the evolution of the study area as an open-country neighborhood with strong kinship connections, from early European settlement through the eve of the battle. The third theme is the Civil War and the Battle of Cedar Creek. The final theme is the battlefield's emergence as a site of commemoration beginning in the 1880s and continuing with the Park's ongoing land preservation.

Prior to the current study, historical context was developed in conjunction with several studies prepared for CEBE, including cultural resource management projects associated with various undertakings, an overview and assessment of cultural resources, an ethnographic overview and assessment, a cultural landscape inventory, and a historic structures report for the Bowman-Hite farm. In addition, consultants have prepared historical contexts for National Register nominations of selected individual properties within the Park such as Long Meadow, Mount Pleasant, and Fort Bowman, for example.

The material presented in this report draws on secondary sources, including recent scholarship

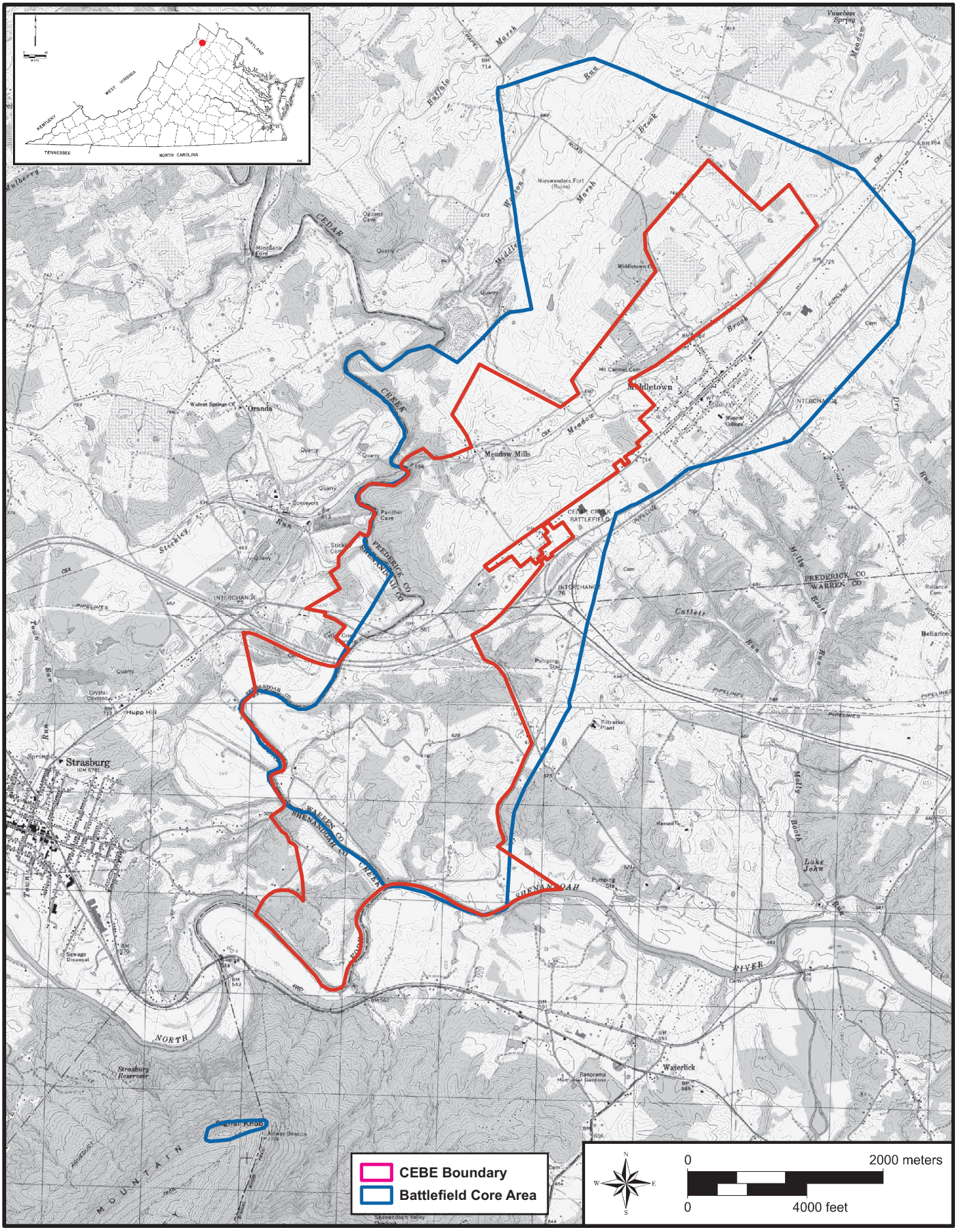


Figure 1. Location and setting of CEBE and Cedar Creek Battlefield Core Area (WMCAR; base map: USGS 1994, 1999).

on the four themes, as well as selected primary sources. The introduction includes summary tables and maps identifying archaeological, architectural, and cultural landscape historic resources identified within the Park, and in the larger Cedar Creek Battlefield core area and study areas. These include resources officially recorded through June 2012 in the cultural resource database of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR, Virginia's State Historic Preservation Office) and resources identified in an overview and assessment study of CEBE but not officially recorded. It also includes features identified by David Lowe in his 1991 survey of the battlefield study area. In addition to key historic maps and photographs, the illustrations incorporate photographs of selected resources, visited with Park staff in April 2012, showing their current condition as a baseline.[1]

Description of the Study Area

The CEBE lies within the Lower Shenandoah Valley along U.S. Route 11 between the towns of Strasburg (less than half a mile to the southwest) and Middletown (adjacent to the northeast). Straddling the corners of three counties, the 3,536-acre CEBE occupies the southwestern tip of Frederick (1,579.3 acres), the northwest corner of Warren County (1,384 acres), and the northeast corner of Shenandoah County (573.3 acres). A detailed description of CEBE's setting appears in the next chapter.

Although the geographic scope of this study is the 3,536-acre CEBE, the discussion of individually recorded cultural resources also embraces the larger "core area" and the "study area" of the battlefield defined by the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) through its Civil War Sites Advisory Commission (CWSAC) (Figure 2; see Figure 1). The core area encompasses sites where combat occurred during the battle, based on historical information compiled at the time of survey. As NPS historian David Lowe has cautioned, this core area should not serve as a restrictive boundary limiting the scope of the most intensive battlefield preservation efforts. Instead, the core reflects the best available historical evidence at the time of a given survey. In a study of Shenandoah Valley battlefields, Lowe drew a core area boundary encompassing 6,252 acres. The CEBE occupies a central portion of the core area.[2]

The much larger battlefield boundary encompasses the "study area" (see Figure 2). This broader landscape extends far beyond CEBE and the core area's locations of combat. According to the ABPP definition, the study area may include "the armies' starting points, corridors of movement, minor skirmishing, logistical areas, field hospitals and other contributing resources." Based on his initial survey, Lowe drew a study area boundary comprising 15,607 acres. The most recently published study area boundary for the Battle of Cedar Creek includes 13,995.28 acres. After discounting areas with compromised historical integrity, CWSAC recommended 12,091.95 acres of the study area as potentially eligible for NRHP listing.[3]

Currently, the Cedar Creek Battlefield bears the inventory number 034-0303 in the VDHR cultural resource database. The boundary mapped for 034-0303 encompasses 13,855 acres, approximating the size of the study area that the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission defined in a 2009 update report on Civil War battlefields in Virginia.[4]

Distinct from this vast battlefield resource defined by the ABPP is the "Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove" NHL, assigned inventory number 034-0002 by VDHR. The 1969 NHL listing consists of two discontiguous areas occupying key central portions of CEBE and of the core area defined in 1992.

The 3,536-acre CEBE is a "partnership park" established by Act of Congress on December 19, 2002 (Public Law 107-373). Creation of the park follows a trend that emphasizes management and preservation of key resources within an area of outstanding historical significance through partnerships rather than federal ownership. A commission composed of members representing these key partners and the NPS facilitates cooperation. The

federal government owns only 65.54 acres within CEBE, while private landowners hold more than two-thirds of the area (2,361.49 acres) (Figure 3). The remaining 1,040.24 acres consist of parcels held under the stewardship of the "Key Partners." The public law creating CEBE in 2002 specifically recognized the partners' continued ownership and operation of "central portions of the park" for the "benefit of the public." Partner ownership and additional easements total 1,455.12 acres, of which 410.38 acres are accessible to the public:

- **Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation (SVBF):** 493 acres (owned in fee simple) with a 189.18-acre VDHR easement. Preservation of this property is part of this non-profit organization's mission to "preserve the hallowed ground of the Valley's Civil War battlefields, and to share its Civil War story with the nation." Created in 2000, the Foundation works with various partners to preserve and interpret Civil War battlefields and associated historic sites within the eight-county Shenandoah Valley Battlefields National Historic District, a National Heritage Area designated by Congress in 1996 (SVBF 2012). The SVBF lands includes the Bowman-Hite Farm, surrounding 134-acre Whitham tract, and the adjacent 87-acre Powers tract along Cedar Creek south of Interstate 81.[5]
- **Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation (CCBF):** 308.59 acres (owned in fee simple) with a 158.16-acre VDHR easement and a 138.54-acre Virginia Outdoors Foundation (VOF) easement. Founded in 1988, the CCBF focused its preservation efforts on acreage at the heart of the battlefield where the XIX Corps built defensive works prior to the battle and areas of heated fighting overlooking Cedar Creek. These include 58 acres of the Heater Farm, northeast of Belle Grove, and 150 acres between Belle Grove and Cedar Creek.[6]
- **National Trust for Historic Preservation** and **Belle Grove Incorporated**: 283.42 acres (owned in fee simple) with 178.72-acre VOF easement. Belle Grove Incorporated is an entity created by the National Trust for Historic Preservation to preserve and interpret the late eighteenth-century Belle Grove plantation, which opened its doors to the public in 1967 (034-0002). The Trust lands include the 2 acres immediately surrounding the plantation house as well as a sizeable portion of the original 483-acre plantation property. These comprise two tracts: 98.29 acres northeast of Belle Grove Road and 183.13 acres adjacent to the southwest. The entire property lies on the northwest side of U.S. Route 11. Belle Grove Plantation is the centerpiece for the Belle Grove and Cedar Creek Battlefield NHL property.[7]
- **Shenandoah County Parks**: 151-acre Keister tract (owned in fee simple), the site of a proposed park fronting the North Fork of the Shenandoah River at the southern end of CEBE. The county parks department acquired this property with grant assistance from the VOF.[8]
- **Counties of Frederick, Shenandoah, and Warren; Towns of Strasburg and Middletown**: NPS cooperation with these surrounding communities is one of the provisions of the public law.

Cultural Resources within CEBE and the Cedar Creek Battlefield

This report focuses on resources within CEBE that contribute to the significance under the four previously mentioned themes: prehistoric settlement, historic-era settlement of an open-country neighborhood landscape through the antebellum period, the Battle of Cedar Creek, and the battlefield's role as a site of commemoration from the 1880s. To do justice to the historical context of

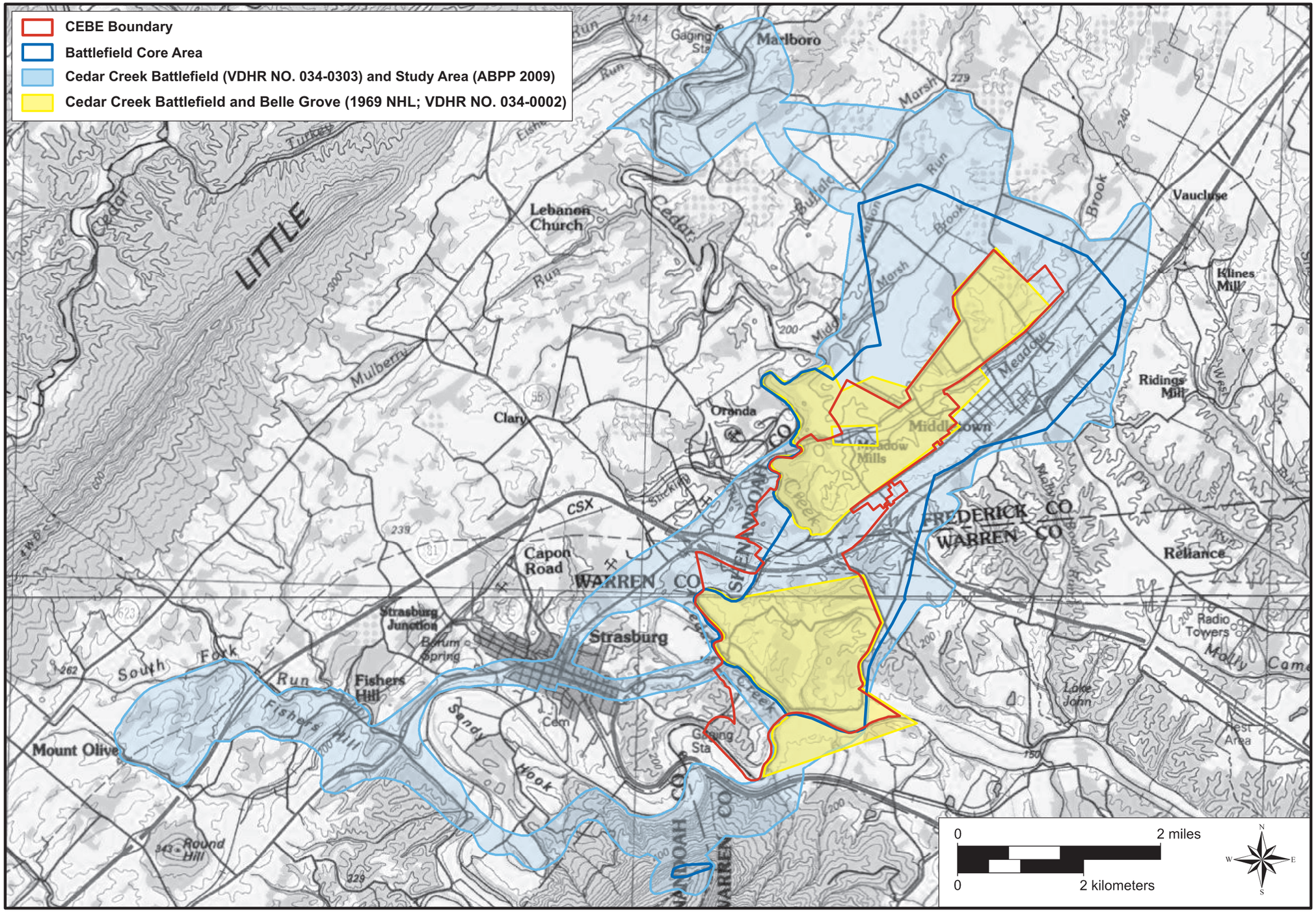


Figure 2. Boundaries of battlefield study area and NHL relative to CEBE and battlefield core area (base map: USGS 1983 Winchester and 1986 Front Royal 30 x 60' topographic quadrangles).

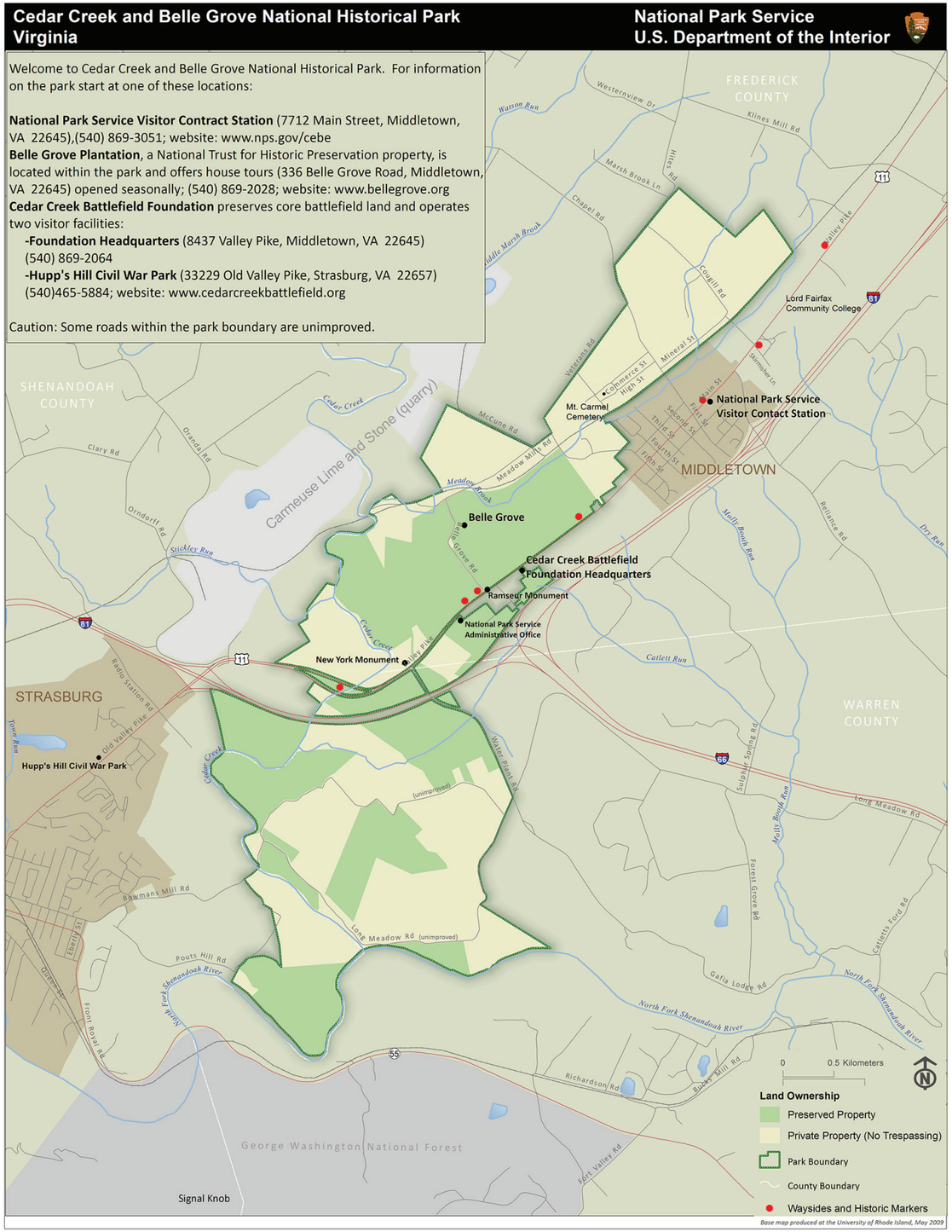


Figure 3. Map showing locations of key landmarks and extent of partner and private land ownership within CEBE (courtesy of NPS).

the Battle of Cedar Creek, however, it is important also to discuss the broader battlefield study area and its defining features. National Register and NHL listings for battlefields prepared during the 1960s and early 1970s usually defined boundaries around the areas of major combat. In some cases, a battlefield's listing was treated as less important in its own right than in augmenting the significance of a building associated with the battlefield. Indeed, the 1969 NHL nomination for Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove seems disproportionately focused on context for Belle Grove. The discussion of the battlefield, on the other hand, deserves further attention considering the role of the major Union victory both in turning the 1864 presidential election in Abraham Lincoln's favor and in shaping the conclusion of the Civil War.

In 1991, NPS historian David Lowe surveyed the Cedar Creek Battlefield as part of his Shenandoah Valley battlefields study. He was careful to include all significant resources related to the battle by employing a "defining features" methodology. These features include *all* "roads, streams, fords, hills, churches, farms, fences, and fortifications" mentioned in period accounts of the battle or shown on battle maps along with troop positions, movements, and staging areas.[9]

More recently, preservationists have applied a tool known as KOCOA, which military strategists utilize to assess the importance of battle-defining features. Each defining feature falls into at least one of the five categories that the acronym's letters represent: key terrain, obstacles, cover and concealment, observation points, and avenues of approach or retreat.[10]

Given that many of these features receive mention in the historical contexts of this report, they are plotted in Figure 4 and summarized in Table 1. Lowe identified defining features within the study area, based on research of primary and secondary sources detailing the battle. Table 1 also indicates the VDHR inventory number in cases when a feature is officially recorded in Virginia's cultural resource database. The feature numbers that David Lowe assigned sequentially, roughly west to east across the study area (see Table 1), appear with the prefix "L" (for Lowe) in the map labels in Figure 4.[11]

Detailed maps of the battlefield core area and CEBE identify all resources officially recorded within those boundaries in VDHR's cultural resource database as of June 2012 (Figures 5 and 6). The WMCAR generated these maps of archaeological sites and architectural/cultural landscape resources from shape files and GIS data shared by the VDHR.[12]

In addition to the large number of defining features and other resources officially recorded within CEBE and battlefield core area, the tables also list and cross-reference archaeological resources and cultural landscapes identified during the cultural resources and landscapes overview and assessment study of CEBE conducted by a James Madison University (JMU) research team in 2006. Although this study involved both surface survey and subsurface investigation of selected archaeological resources, the scope of work did not call for official recording of survey results in the VDHR cultural resource database. To keep track of the study's findings, the researchers assigned numbers consisting of the prefix "CEBE" followed by a five-digit number. To simplify this unwieldy numbering system, these designations appear in this report with the prefix "G," for Dr. Clarence Geier (the lead researcher), followed by the "CEBE" number (without the leading zeros used in the JMU report).[13]

Feature No.	Feature Name	VDHR Name	VDHR Number	USGS 7.5' Quadrangle
1	Widow Funkhouser/Early's HQ on Oct. 18	—	—	Toms Brook
2	Position of Confed. infantry at Fisher's Hill on	—	—	Toms Brook
3	Old Pike and Stone Bridge	Bridge Ruins, Tumbling Run	085-0772	Toms Brook
4	Line of Advance Wharton/Kershaw Night	—	—	Toms Brook
5	Line of March 2nd Corps Anx. Night Oct 18-19	—	—	Toms Brook/ Strasburg
6	Hamlet of Fisher's Hill	Fishers Hill HD	085-0910	Toms Brook
7	Miller's House	—	085-0123	Toms Brook
8	Fisher's Mill ("unsurveyed" [by Lowe])	—	085-0253	Toms Brook
9	APCWS (Association for the Preservation of Civil	—	—	Toms Brook
10	Hupp's Ford [over N. Fork of Shenandoah]	—	—	Strasburg
11	Site of G.A. Hupp house (unsurveyed)	Sandy Hook Dunkard Settlement	085-0016	Strasburg
12	Spangler's Mill (1797)	Old Mill Restaurant; Spangler Mill	306-0002 / 306-0016-0381	Strasburg
13	Old Town Strasburg	Strasburg Historic District	306-0016	Strasburg
14	Site of Fort Banks	—	—	Strasburg
15	George Hupp's House	—	—	Strasburg
16	Old Front Royal Road	—	—	Strasburg
17	McInturff's Ford	—	—	Strasburg
18	Col. Bowman's Ford	—	—	Strasburg
19	Old road to fords	—	—	Strasburg
20	Bowman's Mill Ford	Mountain View Farm/Bowman Mill Ford/Harold Davison Tract, Cedar Creek Battlefield	093-5059 / 034-0303-0003	Strasburg
21	Site of Bowman's Mill	Bowman's Mill	093-0103	Strasburg
22	Ruin of McInturff House	—	44WR0006	Strasburg
23	Long Meadow (Col. Bowman House)	Long Meadow	093-0006	Strasburg
24	Buckton Ford US Cav. Reg.	—	—	Strasburg
25	Old road to McInturff's Ford	—	—	Strasburg
26	CS Signal station Signal Knob	—	44SH0355	Strasburg
27	Engrenchments Crook's Corps	—	—	Strasburg
28	Wharton's advance on Valley Pike (CSA mvmt)	—	—	Strasburg
29	Kershaw's advance to Bowman's Mill	—	—	Strasburg
30	Vantage Point	—	—	Strasburg
31	Kershaw posit, 0430 Oct. 19	—	—	Strasburg
32	Kershaw attack 0500	—	—	Strasburg
33	2nd Corps (Gordon) posit. 0500	—	—	Middletown / Strasburg
34	Surviving trench Thoburn's Redoubt	—	—	Strasburg
35	Location (in garage) of poss 5NYHA Tablet	—	—	Strasburg
36	Wharton posit. 0530 Oct. 19	—	—	Middletown
37	Camp of Crook's Corps Thoburn/Hayes/Kitching	—	—	Middletown
38	Cooley House	Cooley House; Cooley Farm / Goldie Hudson Tract, Cedar Creek Battlefield	034-0074; 093-5044	Middletown
39	Belle Grove (34-2)	Isaac Hite, Jr. House / Belle Grove Plantation / Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove (NRHP Listing)	034-0002 / 034-0303-0001	Middletown
40	Stone House c. 1800 (34-213)	Stone House near Belle Grove / Belle Grove Overseer's House Archeological Site	034-0213/ 44FK0502	Middletown
41	Frame House c. 1850 (34-222)	House, Route 624	034-0222	Middletown
42	Site of Hottel's Mill (34-204)	Site of Hottel's Mill / Hottel's Mill	034-0204/ 44FK0714	Middletown
43	surviving XIX corps trenches	—	—	Middletown
44	surviving VI corps trenches	—	—	Middletown
45	XIX Corps encampment	—	—	Middletown
46	VI Corps encampment	—	—	Middletown
47	Merritt's division cavalry	—	—	Middletown
48	Heater House	Heater House / —	034-0082 / 44FK0509	Middletown
49	8th Vermont Monument	—	44FK0060	Middletown
50	128th New York monument	—	44FK0058	Middletown

Table 1 (pt 1 of 2). Cedar Creek Battlefield features that NPS historian David Lowe mapped in 1991 for his Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia *(1992); feature numbers correspond to "L" numbers in Figure 4.*

FOLDOUT PAGE

Feature No.	Feature Name	VDHR Name	VDHR Number	USGS 7.5' Quadrangle
51	Ramseur Monument	Ramseur Monument (Column)	034-1555	Middletown
52	Old Town Middleburg	—	—	Middletown
52	Roadside Markers Circle Tour	—	—	Middletown
53	End of Sherridan's Ride marker	—	—	Middletown
54	Sunnyside (Dinges)	Dinges, David, House	034-1028	Middletown
55	D.J. Miller's House Miller-Kendricks (34-131)	Miller-Kendrick-Walter House / Kendrick House	034-0131	Middletown
56	Foundation of Miller's Mill	—	—	Middletown
57	Stickley House & Grave of GA soldier	Daniel Stickley Farm / Stickley Farm	085-0013	Middletown
58	Ruin of Stickley's Mill	Stickley Mill	085-0014	Middletown
59	Sperry House Funk Farm (34-223)	Funk House, The / Idlewild	034-0223	Middletown
60	Riding's House	—	—	Middletown
61	William Dinges Farm c. 1820 (34-237)	Rienzi Knoll / Dinges House, 294 Rienzi Knoll Ln / Abel Tract, Cedar Creek Battlefield	034-0237	Middletown
62	Red Hill	—	—	Middletown
63	Cemetery & Cemetery Hill	—	—	Middletown
64	Walton House 19th century	—	—	Middletown
65	Wildes' stand 0600	—	—	Middletown
66	Thomas's stand 0600	—	—	Middletown
67	XIX corps line 0630	—	—	Middletown
68	VI Corps 0730	—	—	Middletown
69	Getty's Div. 0800-0900 (pos.)	—	—	Middletown
70	US Army XIX Corps. Rallies/Regroups 1000-1600	—	—	Middletown
71	Approx. location Early's command posit. 0800+	—	—	Middletown
72	Massed CS artillery 0800-1000	—	—	Middletown
73	Farthest advance of CS line 1100	—	—	Middletown
74	Merrit's division 1600	—	—	Middletown
75	Custer's division 1600	—	—	Middletown
76	US General attack 1600-1700	—	—	Middletown
77	Custer's Flank attack	—	—	Middletown
78	Custer crosses Cedar Creek 1830	—	—	Middletown
79	Merritt crosses Cedar Creek 1830	—	—	Middletown
80	US Cavalry pursuit of retreating Confeds.	—	—	Middletown
81	Cupp's Ford	—	—	Middletown
82	Clover House at Mine Bank Ford	—	—	Middletown
84	ROSSER 1600H approx.	—	—	Middletown
85	Bowman's "fort"	—	—	Middletown
86	Belle Grove National Trust & BF	—	—	Middletown
87	Quarries	—	—	Middletown
88	Montvue c. 1890	—	—	Middletown
89	New construction - townhouses	—	—	Middletown
90	New development - under construction	—	—	Middletown
91	Lord Fairfax College	—	—	Middletown
92	New Elementary School	—	—	Middletown
93	Cedar Creek Battlefield Campground	—	—	Middletown
94	Rt. 11 business park	—	—	Middletown
95	Commercial/residential strip	—	—	Middletown
96	US trains near Belle Grove	—	—	Middletown
97	US withdrawal	—	—	Middletown
98	Custer's advance; bridge from Middle Marsh to Hottel's Mill that collapsed	—	—	Middletown
99	Staging area CS Artillery	—	—	Strasburg
100	Gordon's Attack; CS line	—	—	Strasburg
101	Kershaw Staging Area	—	—	Strasburg
102	[illegible]	—	—	Middletown
103	Middletown Cemetery [duplicate of #63??]	—	—	Middletown
104	Area where Merritt & Custer converged	—	—	Middletown
105	Hottel's Mill ford	—	—	Middletown

Table 1 (pt 2 of 2). Cedar Creek Battlefield features that NPS historian David Lowe mapped in 1991 for his Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia *(1992); feature numbers correspond to "L" numbers in Figure 4.*

Feature No.	Feature Name	VDHR Name	VDHR Number	USGS 7.5' Quadrangle
51	Ramseur Monument	Ramseur Monument (Column)	034-1555	Middletown
52	Old Town Middleburg	—	—	Middletown
52	Roadside Markers Circle Tour	—	—	Middletown
53	End of Sherridan's Ride marker	—	—	Middletown
54	Sunnyside (Dinges)	Dinges, David, House	034-1028	Middletown
55	D.J. Miller's House Miller-Kendricks (34-131)	Miller-Kendrick-Walter House / Kendrick House	034-0131	Middletown
56	Foundation of Miller's Mill	—	—	Middletown
57	Stickley House & Grave of GA soldier	Daniel Stickley Farm / Stickley Farm	085-0013	Middletown
58	Ruin of Stickley's Mill	Stickley Mill	085-0014	Middletown
59	Sperry House Funk Farm (34-223)	Funk House, The / Idlewild	034-0223	Middletown
60	Riding's House	—	—	Middletown
61	William Dinges Farm c. 1820 (34-237)	Rienzi Knoll / Dinges House, 294 Rienzi Knoll Ln / Abel Tract, Cedar Creek Battlefield	034-0237	Middletown
62	Red Hill	—	—	Middletown
63	Cemetery & Cemetery Hill	—	—	Middletown
64	Walton House 19th century	—	—	Middletown
65	Wildes' stand 0600	—	—	Middletown
66	Thomas's stand 0600	—	—	Middletown
67	XIX corps line 0630	—	—	Middletown
68	VI Corps 0730	—	—	Middletown
69	Getty's Div. 0800-0900 (pos.)	—	—	Middletown
70	US Army XIX Corps. Rallies/Regroups 1000-1600	—	—	Middletown
71	Approx. location Early's command posit. 0800+	—	—	Middletown
72	Massed CS artillery 0800-1000	—	—	Middletown
73	Farthest advance of CS line 1100	—	—	Middletown
74	Merrit's division 1600	—	—	Middletown
75	Custer's division 1600	—	—	Middletown
76	US General attack 1600-1700	—	—	Middletown
77	Custer's Flank attack	—	—	Middletown
78	Custer crosses Cedar Creek 1830	—	—	Middletown
79	Merritt crosses Cedar Creek 1830	—	—	Middletown
80	US Cavalry pursuit of retreating Confeds.	—	—	Middletown
81	Cupp's Ford	—	—	Middletown
82	Clover House at Mine Bank Ford	—	—	Middletown
84	ROSSER 1600H approx.	—	—	Middletown
85	Bowman's "fort"	—	—	Middletown
86	Belle Grove National Trust & BF	—	—	Middletown
87	Quarries	—	—	Middletown
88	Montvue c. 1890	—	—	Middletown
89	New construction - townhouses	—	—	Middletown
90	New development - under construction	—	—	Middletown
91	Lord Fairfax College	—	—	Middletown
92	New Elementary School	—	—	Middletown
93	Cedar Creek Battlefield Campground	—	—	Middletown
94	Rt. 11 business park	—	—	Middletown
95	Commercial/residential strip	—	—	Middletown
96	US trains near Belle Grove	—	—	Middletown
97	US withdrawal	—	—	Middletown
98	Custer's advance; bridge from Middle Marsh to Hottel's Mill that collapsed	—	—	Middletown
99	Staging area CS Artillery	—	—	Strasburg
100	Gordon's Attack; CS line	—	—	Strasburg
101	Kershaw Staging Area	—	—	Strasburg
102	[illegible]	—	—	Middletown
103	Middletown Cemetery [duplicate of #63??]	—	—	Middletown
104	Area where Merritt & Custer converged	—	—	Middletown
105	Hottel's Mill ford	—	—	Middletown

Table 1 (pt 2 of 2). Cedar Creek Battlefield features that NPS historian David Lowe mapped in 1991 for his Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia *(1992); feature numbers correspond to "L" numbers in Figure 4.*

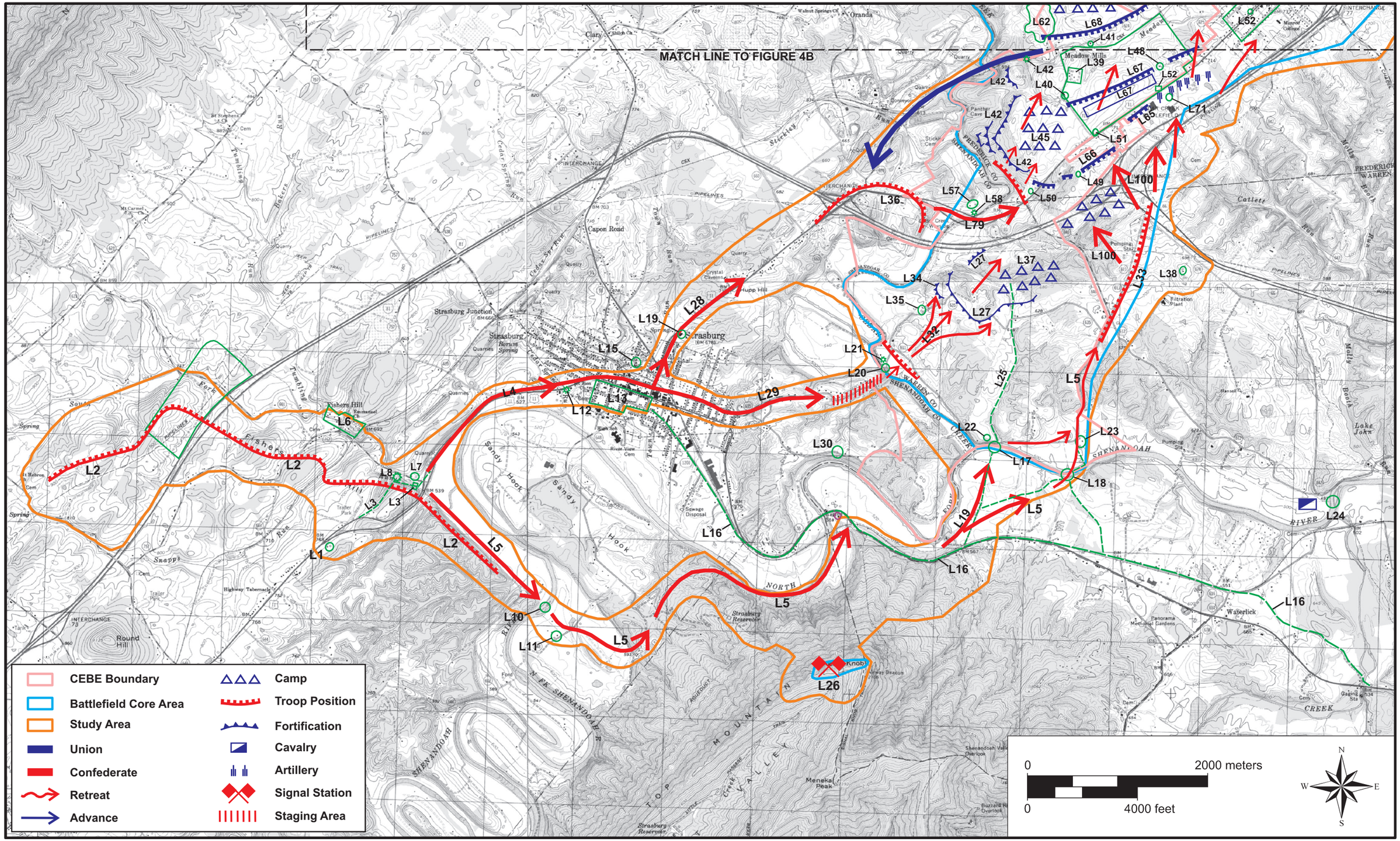


Figure 4a. Features in the study area defined for Cedar Creek Battlefield by National Park Service historian David Lowe in 1991. The numbers (prefixed with "L" for Lowe) correspond to the 1991 survey feature numbers listed in Table 1 (base map: USGS 1999 Middletown, 1994 Strasburg, 1999 Mountain Falls, and 1994 Toms Brook 7.5' topographic quadrangles).

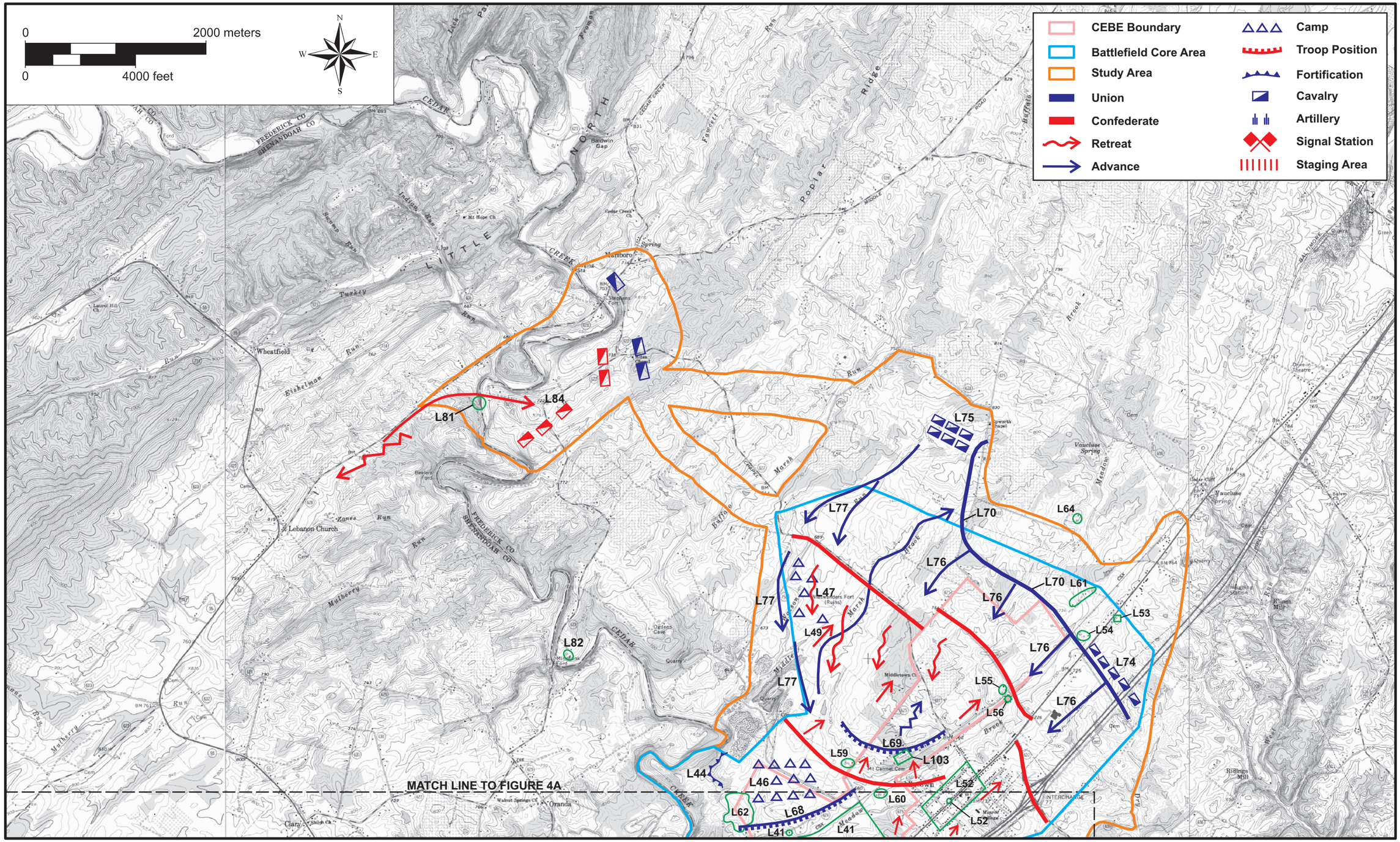


Figure 4a. Features in the study area defined for Cedar Creek Battlefield by National Park Service historian David Lowe in 1991. The numbers (prefixed with "L" for Lowe) correspond to the 1991 survey feature numbers listed in Table 1 (base map: USGS 1999 Middletown, 1994 Strasburg, 1999 Mountain Falls, and 1994 Toms Brook 7.5' topographic quadrangles.

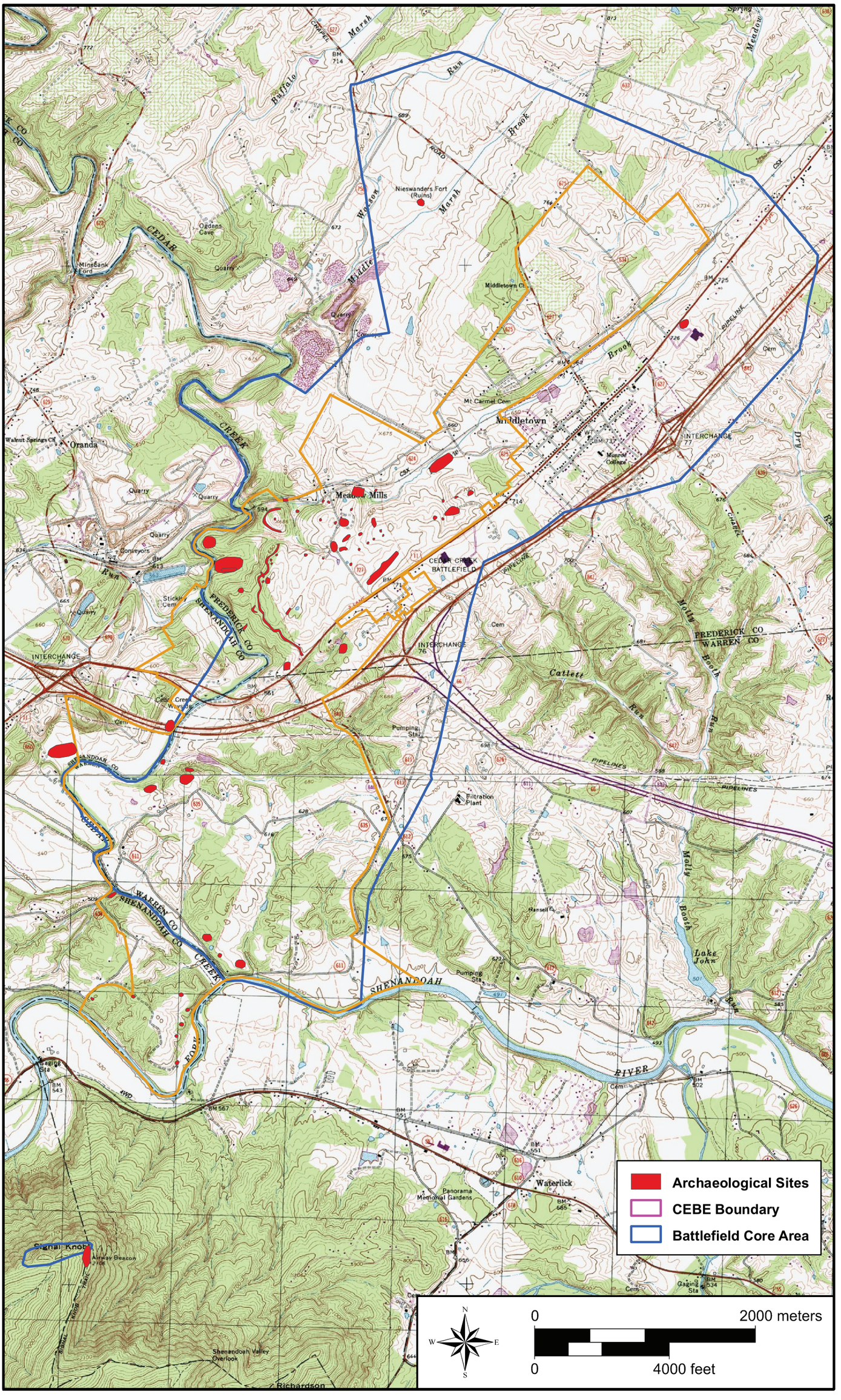


Figure 5a. Archaeological resources within the CEBE and battlefield core area recorded in VDHR cultural resources database as of June 2012 (base map: USGS 1994 Strasburg and 1999 Middletown 7.5' topographic quadrangles).

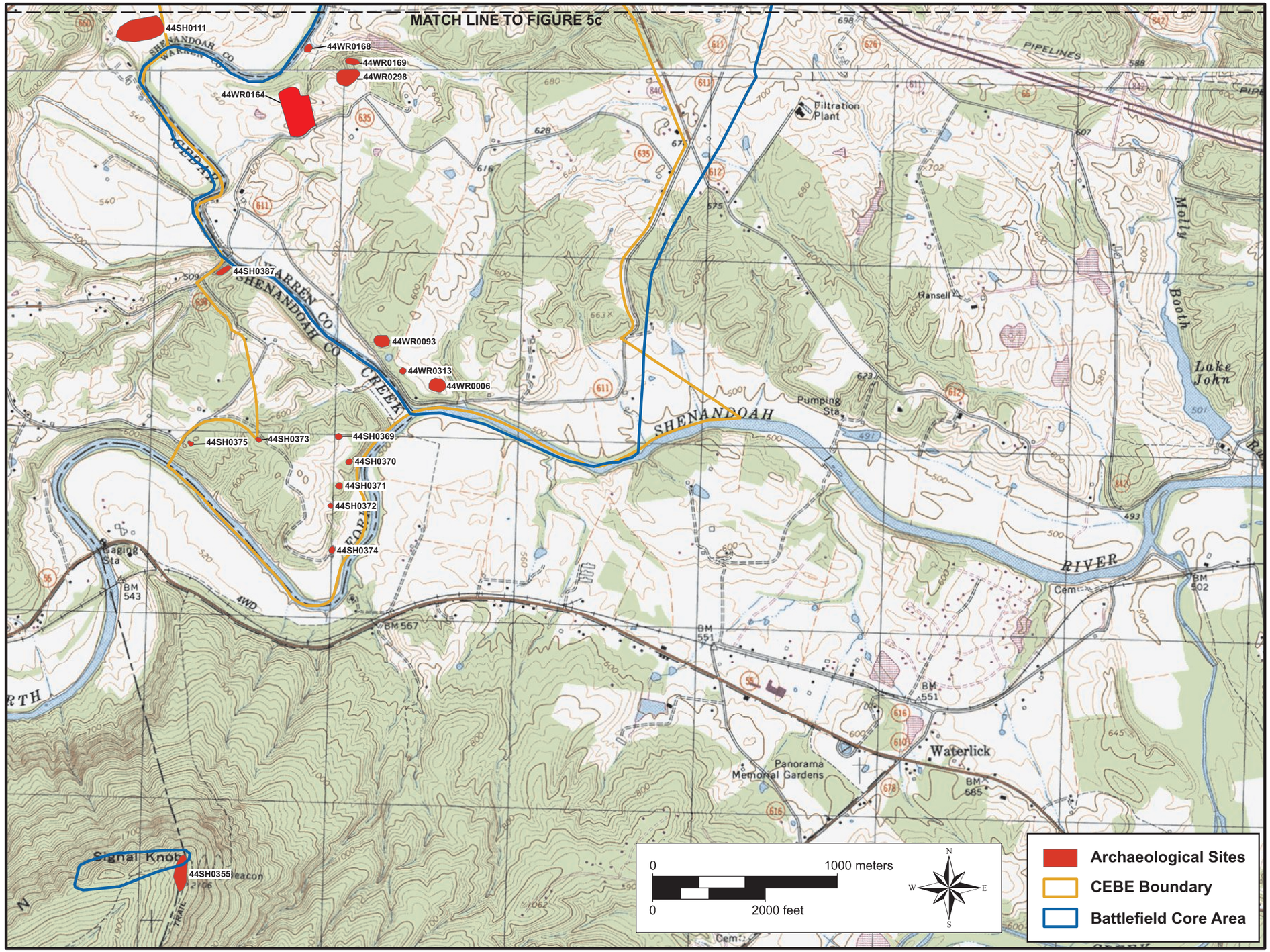


Figure 5b. Archaeological resources within the CEBE and battlefield core area recorded in VDHR cultural resources database as of June 2012 (base map: USGS 1994 Strasburg and 1999 Middletown 7.5' topographic quadrangles).

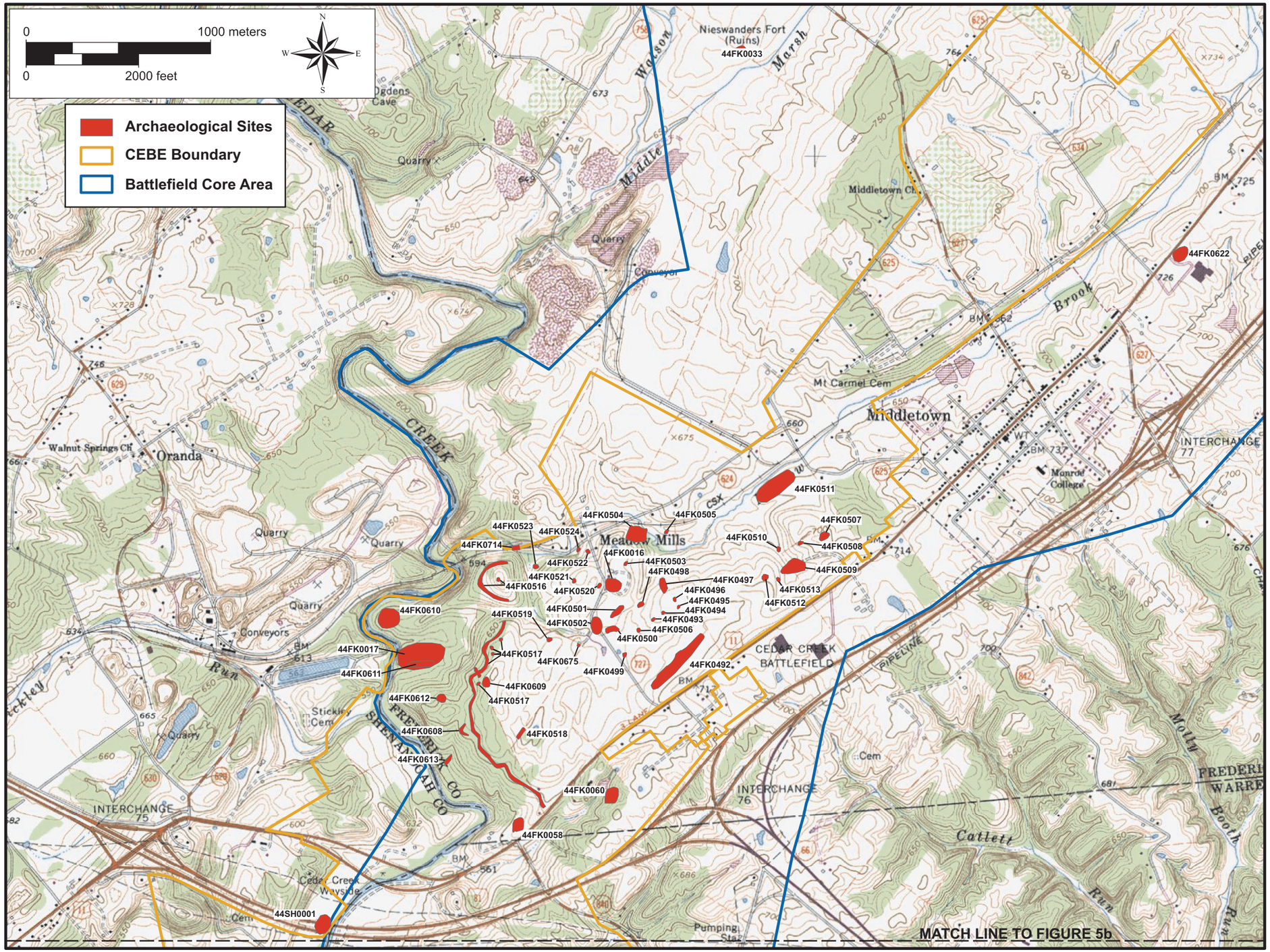


Figure 5c. Archaeological resources within the CEBE and battlefield core area recorded in VDHR cultural resources database as of June 2012 (base map: USGS 1994 Strasburg and 1999 Middletown 7.5' topographic quadrangles).

DSS Archaeol.#	Name	Other Numbers	Prehistoric/ Historic Components?	Date	Description	First Recorded by/Year	Level of Investigation
44FK0016	Belle Grove Plantation	034-0002, L4, G17*	H	ca. 1750-1850	Farmstead	McMullin/1958	HABSI/Ph.I/Archit. Reconn.
44FK0017	Panther Cave	G50*	P	Middle Archaic, Woodland	Cave	Scheulen/1966	Ph.I ?
44FK0033	Old Stone Fort	034-0012, L38	H	18th c. **, 1755	Fort ruins		
44FK0058	Division	034-0303, G38	H	Civil War, 1864	Other		Field Visit
44FK0060	Ramseur Monument	034-0303, G37	H	Civil War	Battlefield, Other		
44FK0492		034-0303, G31*	H	Civil War	Battlefield, Military camp	JMU Field School/1993	Ph.I
44FK0493		034-0303, G24	H	Civil War	Battlefield, Military camp		
44FK0494		034-0303, G49	H	Civil War	Battlefield, Military camp		
44FK0495		034-0303, G23	H	Civil War	Battlefield, Military camp		
44FK0496		034-0303, G20	H	Civil War	Battlefield, Military camp		
44FK0497		034-0303, G18	H	Civil War	Battlefield, Military camp		
44FK0498		034-0303, G21	H	Civil War	Battlefield, Military camp		
44FK0499		034-0303, G30*	P/H	UID Prehist., Civil War	Battlefield, Military camp	JMU Field School/1993	Ph.I
44FK0500		034-0303, G27	H	Civil War	Military camp		
44FK0501		034-0303, G22	H	Civil War	Military camp		
44FK0502	Belle Grove Overseer's House	034-0213, G26*	P/H	18th c., 19th c., UID Prehist.	Other, Dwelling	Kalbian/1989	Ph.I/Archit. Reconn.
44FK0503		034-0303, G11*	H	19th c.	Other	Geier & Whitehorne/1993	Ph.I
44FK0504	Conner Lime Kiln	G3*	H	ca. 1900-1950	Kiln, lime		
44FK0505		G2*	P/H	UID Prehist./19th c.	Possible Prehist. Camp, unknown	JMU Field School/1993	Ph.I
44FK0506		034-0303, G28*	H	19th c.	Military base/facility	JMU Field School/1993	Ph.I
44FK0507	Heater Barn	G4*	H	ca. 1875-1900, 20th c.	Barn	JMU Field School/1993	Ph.I
44FK0508	Heater Barn and Silo	G5*	H	19th c., 20th c.	Barn, Silo, upright	JMU Field School/1993	Ph.I
44FK0509	Solomon Heater Farmstead	034-0082, G12*	H	20th c.	Battlefield, Farmstead	Kalbian/1991	Ph.I
44FK0510	Heater Run Structure	G6*	P/H	19th c., UID Prehist.	Camp	JMU Field School/1993	Ph.I
44FK0511	Ashby Tenancy	G1*	P/H	18th c., 19th c., UID Prehist.	Dwelling, single	JMU Field School/1993	Ph.I
44FK0512		G15*	P/H	UID Prehist., 19th c.	Camp, temporary, Indeterminate	JMU Field School/1993	Ph.I
44FK0513		G16*	P/H	19th c., UID Prehist.	Camp	JMU Field School/1993	Ph.I
44FK0516	Taft's Battery, 5th New York Light Artillery	034-0303, G10*	H	Civil War	Battlefield, Earthworks	Geier/1994	Ph.I
44FK0517	XIXth Corps Entrenchment	034-0303, G72*	H	Civil War, ca. 1864	Battlefield, Earthworks	Rohrer et al./1994	Ph.I
44FK0518	Battle Position 11th Indiana	034-0303, G34*	H	Civil War	Earthworks	JMU Field School/1994	Ph.I
44FK0519		034-0303, G25*	H	Civil War	Military camp	Geier & Whitehorne/1994	Ph.I
44FK0520	Slave Quarters at Belle Grove?	G14	H	18th c., 19th c.	null	Geier & Whitehorne/1993	Ph.I
44FK0521	Belle Grove Barn	G13*	H	19th c., 20th c.	Barn, Granary	Geier & Whitehorne/1993	Ph.I
44FK0522	Belle Grove Stable Complex	G9*	H	19th c.	Farmstead	Richards & Geier/1994	Ph.I
44FK0523	Hottle Miller's House	G7*	H	19th c., 20th c.	Dwelling, single	Geier & Evans/1994	Ph.I
44FK0524	Publicly Controlled Springhead	G8*	H	18th c., 19th c., 20th c.	Springhouse	JMU Field School/1994	Ph.I
44FK0608	Flying "V" Earthworks	034-0303, G35	H	Civil War, ca. 1864	Earthworks		
44FK0609	Belle Grove Dependency	G32*	H	19th c.	Farmstead	Geier et al./2002	Metal Detecting
44FK0610	Hotchkiss Farmstead	G19*	H	19th c.	Farmstead	Geier/2003	Ph.I
44FK0611		G29	H	20th c.	Camp		
44FK0612	Quarry Pits	G33	H?	Indeterminate	Quarry, limestone		
44FK0613			H?	Indeterminate	Quarry, limestone		
44FK0622		034-0303	H	ca. 1850-1875	Battlefield		
44FK0675	Bunker Silo		H	ca. 1910-1930	Bunker/trench silo (concrete)		
44FK0714	Hottel's Mill	034-0204, L24, G75*	H	ca. 1830	Grist mill	Kalbian/1989	Ph.I/Archit. Reconn.
44SH0001	The Bowman Site	G48*	P	Archaic, Woodland	Camp	ASV/1964	Ph.II /Ph.I
44SH0111			P	Late Archaic, Woodland	Camp		
44SH0269		G101		ca. 1800-1825	Wingdam/Gundalow Sluice		
44SH0355		034-0303	P/H	18th c., 1850-1900, Indeterminate	Camp, temporary, Church, Military base/facility		
44SH0369		G65*	P	UID Prehist.	Lithic scatter	TAA/2002	Ph.I
44SH0370		G68*	P	Late Archaic	Camp	TAA/2002	Ph.I
44SH0371		G69*	P	UID Prehist.	Camp, temporary	TAA/2002	Ph.I
44SH0372	Keister 4	G70*	P	UID Prehist.	Lithic scatter	TAA/2002	Ph.I
44SH0373	Keister 5	G64*	P	UID Prehist.	Lithic scatter	TAA/5/9/2002	Ph.I
44SH0374	Keister Farm	085-5117, G71*	H	ca. 1850-1950	Farmstead	TAA/1999	Ph.I
44SH0375	Keister 7	G66*	P	UID Prehist.	Lithic scatter	TAA/2002	Ph.I

ASV = Archeological Society of Virginia; TAA = Thunderbird Archaeological Associates, Inc.; UID prehistoric = prehistoric period not identified;
* Site examined during 2006 CEBE Cultural Resources and Landscapes Overview and Assessment
** Site location recorded based on historic map projectionVirginia Division of Historic Landmarks

Table 2 (pt 1 of 2). Summary of archaeological sites recorded within CEBE and core area as of June 2012 (from VDHR cultural resource inventory database).

DSS Archaeol.#	Name	Other Numbers	Prehistoric/ Historic Components?	Date	Description	First Recorded by/Year	Level of Investigation
44SH0387		034-0303	H	ca. 1825-1850	Earthworks, Military camp		
44WR0006		G61*	P	Woodland	null	Baker/1940s	50 ft. diam. "hotspot"
44WR0093		G59	P	UID Prehist.	Village		
44WR0164	Bowman-Hite House (Whitham)	093-0138, G88*	H	ca. 1800-2005	Farmstead	Pearson/1971	Ph.I/II/Archit. Reconn., Intensive
44WR0164			P	Late Archaic, Middle Archaic	Camp		
44WR0168		G54*	P	UID Prehist.	Camp	TAA-Carr & Rodgers	Ph.I
44WR0169		034-0303	H	ca. 1850-1875	Earthworks		
44WR0298	Thoburn's defensive line, nothernmost sement	034-0303, G55	H	Civil War, ca. 1864	Earthworks	Geier/2005	Visuial Reconn./Ph.Ia
44WR0313		G60	P	null	Mound, temple		
	Kitching's Camp	034-0303, G81	H	19th c., Civil War	Military Camp	Whitehorne/2005	Field Visit
	Initial Defensive Position of XIX Corps	034-0303, G79	H	1864	Battlefield		
	Merritt's Horse and Artillery Train	034-0303, G62	H	1864	Ravine		Field Visit
	Harmony Hall Plantation	085-0004, G47	H	1735-Present	Farmstead	Geier & Garvey/1999	Visual Survey
		034-0303, G44	H	1825-1875, Civil War	Slave Quarter, Military Camp	JMU Field School/1993	Ph.I
	Bowman's Ford	G98	H	18th c.	Ford		
	McInturf's Ford	G96	H	19th c.	Ford		
	Miller's Mill	L36, G51	H	19th c.	Mill		Field Visit
	"The Death Trap"	034-0303, G80	H	19th c., Civil War	Battlefield, Other	Whitehorne/2005	Field Visit
	Hayes' Camp	034-0303, G82	H	19th c., Civil War	Battlefield, Camp	Whitehorne/2005	Field Visit
	Gibb's Ohio Battery	034-0303, G83	H	19th c., Civil War	Military Battery, Military Camp	Whitehorne/2005	Field Visit
	Hite Cemetery	G105*	H	19th c., Civil War	Family Cemetery	Whitehorne/2005	Field Visit/Ph.Ia
	Tennant House	G46*	H	20th c.	Dwelling, single	Geier & S. Garvey/1999	Ph.I
	Harmony Hall Ford	G84*	H	ca. 1700-1950	Ford	JMU/2005	?
	Long Meadow Plantation	093-0006, L27, G97*	H	ca. 1725-1750	Plantation, Farmstead	McMullin/1958	HABSI/Ph.II/Intensive Archit.
	Bowman Cemetery	G45*	H	ca. 1750-1950	Cemetery	Geier & S. Garvey/1999	Ph.I/Visual survey
	Bowman Mill)	085-0014, L50, G42*	H	ca. 1750-Present	Dwelling, single; Ford; Mill; Battlefield	McMullin./July 1958	HABSI/Ph.I/Archit. Reconn.
	Bowman's Mill/ Isaac Bowman Mill	093-0103, L6, G92*	H	ca. 1800-1825	Mill	Pearson/1971	Ph.I/Reconnaissance
	Widow Bowman's Ford	G100	H	ca. 1800-1850	Ford		Field Visit
	Thoburn's Earthworks	034-0303, G86	H	ca. 1825-1875	Earthworks	Whitehorne/2005	Field visit
	Davison or H.A. Wilson Farm	093-0103. G91	H	ca. 1850-Present	Farmstead		Windshield
		034-0303, G73	H	ca. 1862	Military Camp		
	DuPont's Artillery Park	034-0303, G104	H	ca. 1864	Military Artillery Park		Ph.Ia.
	States Artillery)	034-0303, G85	H	ca. 1864	Artillery Battery		Ph.Ia, Field visit
	Thoburn's Camp	034-0303, G102	H	ca. 1864	Military Camp		Field Visit
	Gordon and Ramseur Mass to Attack Hayes	034-0303, G87	H	ca. 1864	Battlefield		Field Visit
	Light Artillery	034-0303, G89	H	ca. 1864	Artillery Battery		Field Visit
	DuPont's Line of Withdrawl	034-0303, G90	H	ca. 1864	Battlefield, Other		Library Research
	Kershaw's Deployment for Attack	034-0303, G93	H	ca. 1864	Battlefield, Other		Library, map & historic photo analysis
	The Red Hills (Union VI Corps)	034-0303, G67	H	ca. 1864	Battlefield, Other		
	Sheridan's Cattle Herd	034-0303, G99	H	ca. 1864	Battlefield, Other		
	XIX Corps Encampment	034-0303, G78*	H	ca. 1864	Military Camp, Battlefield	JMU Field School/1993	Ph.I
	Cemetery Hill	034-0303, G63	H	Cemetery Indeterminate, 1864	Cemetery, Battlefield		Field Visit
	Carter's Battery	034-0303, G40	H	Civil War	Artillery Battery		Visual Reconn.
	Ashby's Battery	034-0303, G41	H	Civil War	Artillery Battery		Visiual Reconn.
		034-0303, G77	H	Civil War	Military Camp		
	Sibley Tent Encampment	034-0303, G76*	H	Civil War	Military Camp	Geier & Stern/2005	Visual Reconn./ Metal Detecting
	Carter's (Wharton's) Artillery Position	034-0303, G103	H	Civil War, 1864	Artillery Battery		
		G39	H	Unknown	None given		
	Cedar Creek Bridge	093-5014, G43*	H	None given	Bridge	VTRC/1993	Ph.I/Archit. Reconn.
	McInturf Farm	G95	H	1825-1850	Farmstead		
	Bowman's Mill Ford	093-5059, L7, G94*	H	19th c.	Creek Ford	Green/2009	Windshield/Ph.Ia
	Meadow Mills Community	034-2010, 034-0211, 034-0214,	H	Post Civil War-Present	Town		
		G52*	P	UID Prehist.	Camp	Geier & Garvey/1999	Ph.I
		G53*	P	UID Prehist.	Camp?	Garvey/1999	Ph.I
		G56*	P	UID Prehist.	Camp?	Garvey/1999	Ph.I
		G58	P	UID Prehist.	Possible Camp		Local informant report

ASV = Archeological Society of Virginia; TAA = Thunderbird Archaeological Associates, Inc.; UID prehistoric = prehistoric period not identified;
* Site examined during 2006 CEBE Cultural Resources and Landscapes Overview and Assessment
** Site location recorded based on historic map projectionVirginia Division of Historic Landmarks

Table 2 (pt 2 of 2). Summary of archaeological sites recorded within CEBE and core area as of June 2012 (from VDHR cultural resource inventory database).

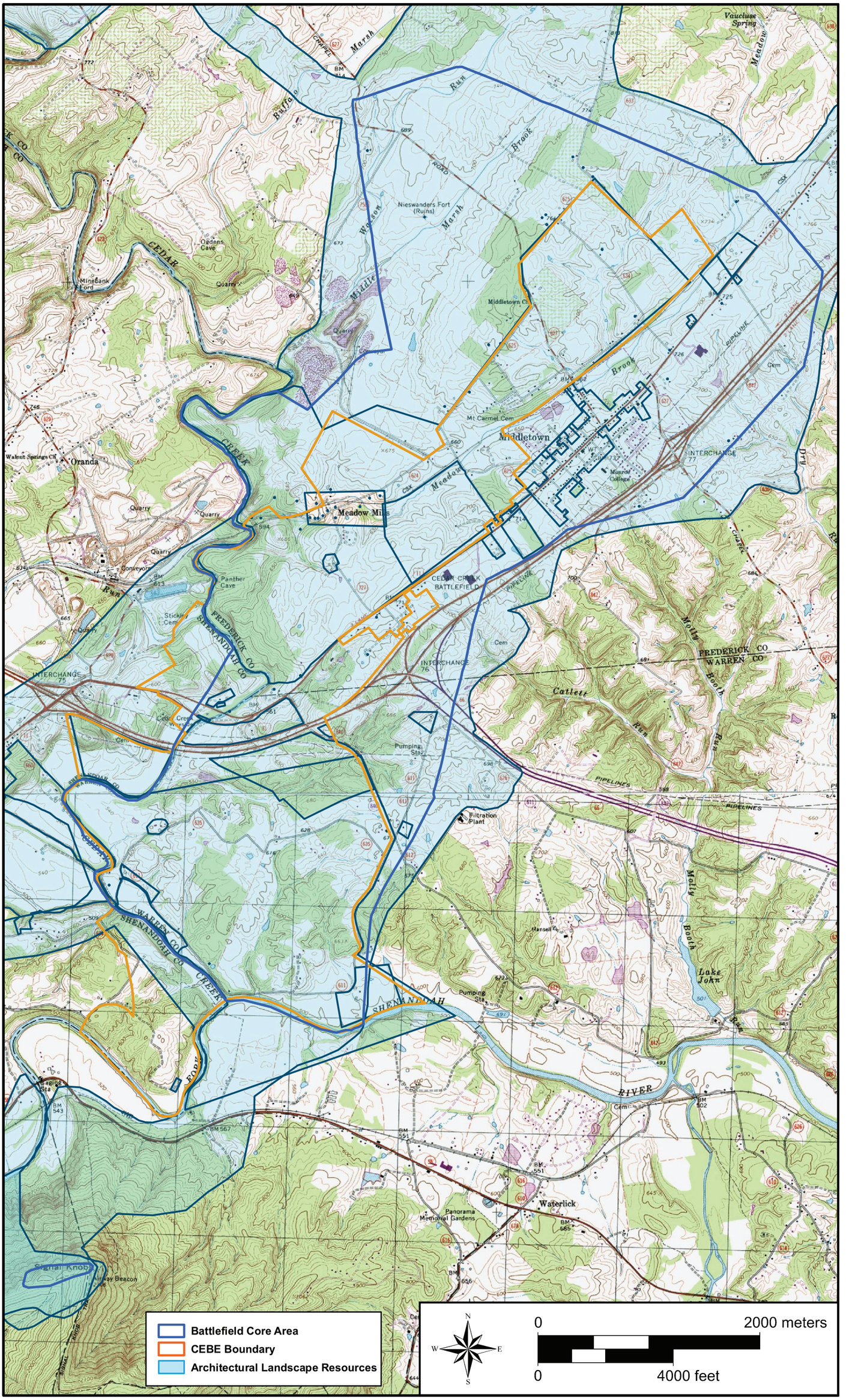
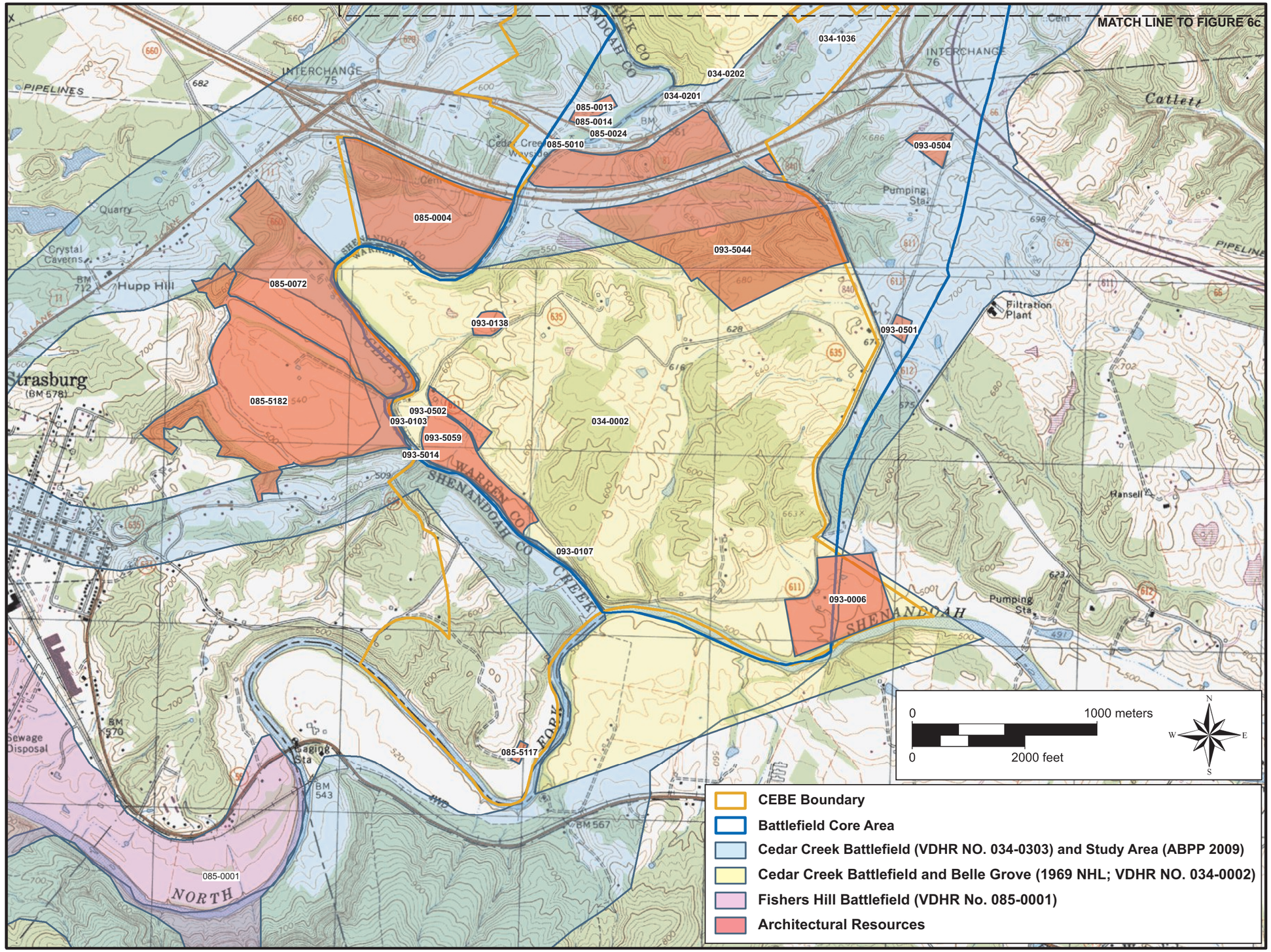


Figure 6a. Architectural resources within the CEBE and battlefield core area recorded in VDHR cultural resource database as of June 2012 (base map: (base map: USGS 1994 Strasburg and 1999 Middletown 7.5' topographic quadrangles).

Figure 6b. Architectural resources within the CEBE and battlefield core area recorded in VDHR cultural resource database as of June 2012 (base map: USGS 1994 Strasburg and 1999 Middletown 7.5' topographic quadrangles).



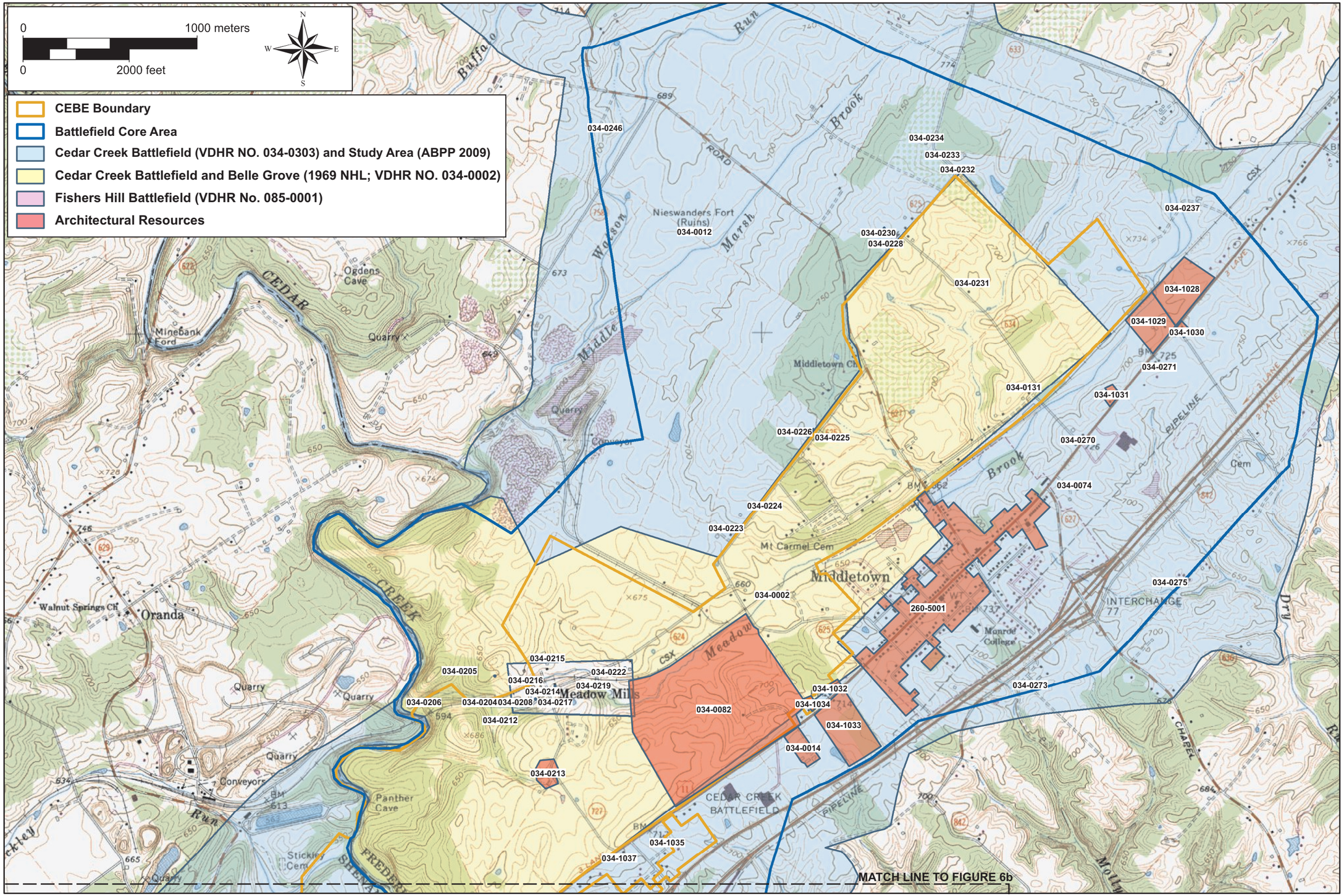


Figure 6c. Architectural resources within the CEBE and battlefield core area recorded in VDHR cultural resource database as of June 2012 (base map: USGS 1994 Strasburg and 1999 Middletown 7.5' topographic quadrangles).

DSS Archit. Number	Other Numbers	Name	Date
034-0002	44FK0016, 034-0303-0001	Belle Grove and Cedar Creek Battlefield	ca. 1787
034-0012	44FK0033	Old Stone Fort / Nieswanders Fort	ca. 1755
034-0014		Monte Vista Farm	1883
034-0074	L38	Cooley House	ca. 1870
034-0082	44FK0509, 034-0303-0004, L48	Heater House, Cedar Grove Battlefield	ca. 1835
034-0131		Kendrick House	ca. 1800
034-0201		House off Rt. 11S	post 1840
034-0202		House, Rt. 11S	ca. 1910
034-0203	G074	Meadow Mills Station, Store & Post Office (Cedar Creek Store Complex & Depot)	ca. 1850
034-0204	44FK0714, L42	Hottel's Mill site	ca. 1830
034-0205		The Cabin	ca. 1930
034-0206		Hite's Mill site	ca. 1820
034-0207		House ruins near Hite's MIll	ca. 1840
034-0208		Hodson House	ca. 1890
034-0209	G074	House in Meadow Mills	ca. 1900
034-0210	G074	House in Meadow Mills	ca. 1890
034-0211	G074	Store in Meadow Mills	ca.1910
034-0212		Hottle House	ca. 1880
034-0213	44FK0502	Belle Grove Stone Tenant House/Store (Overseer's House)	ca. 1795
034-0214	G074	Meadow Mills Union Chapel	ca. 1890
034-0215		Spiggle House	ca. 1840
034-0216		Garrett House & Farm	ca. 1840
034-0217		Malcolm Brumback House	ca. 1870
034-0218		Curry House	ca. 1890
034-0219	G074	Kiln at Meadow Mills	ca. 1880
034-0221		Clarke House	ca. 1870
034-0222		House, Rt. 624	ca. 1840
034-0223		Idlewild	ca. 1840
034-0224		House, Rt. 625	ca. 1880
034-0225		House, Rt. 625	ca. 1880
034-0226		House, Rt. 625	ca. 1880
034-0228		House, Rt. 625	ca. 1900
034-0229		House, Rt. 625	ca. 1900
034-0230		House, Rt. 625	ca. 1900
034-0231		House, Rt. 634	ca. 1840
034-0232		House, Rt. 625	ca. 1900
034-0233		Hank Walters House	ca. 1870
034-0234		House, Rt. 625	ca. 1900
034-0237	L61	Dinges House	ca. 1810

Table 3 (pt 1 of 2). Summary of architectural resources within CEBE and core area recorded in VDHR cultural resource database as of June 2012. "Other Numbers" with a "G" prefix are from Geier and Harding's "Overview and Assessment."

FOLDOUT PAGE

DSS Archit. Number	Other Numbers	Name	Date
034-0002	44FK0016, 034-0303-0001	Belle Grove and Cedar Creek Battlefield	ca. 1787
034-0012	44FK0033	Old Stone Fort / Nieswanders Fort	ca. 1755
034-0014		Monte Vista Farm	1883
034-0074	L38	Cooley House	ca. 1870
034-0082	44FK0509, 034-0303-0004, L48	Heater House, Cedar Grove Battlefield	ca. 1835
034-0131		Kendrick House	ca. 1800
034-0201		House off Rt. 11S	post 1840
034-0202		House, Rt. 11S	ca. 1910
034-0203	G074	Meadow Mills Station, Store & Post Office (Cedar Creek Store Complex & Depot)	ca. 1850
034-0204	44FK0714, L42	Hottel's Mill site	ca. 1830
034-0205		The Cabin	ca. 1930
034-0206		Hite's Mill site	ca. 1820
034-0207		House ruins near Hite's MIll	ca. 1840
034-0208		Hodson House	ca. 1890
034-0209	G074	House in Meadow Mills	ca. 1900
034-0210	G074	House in Meadow Mills	ca. 1890
034-0211	G074	Store in Meadow Mills	ca.1910
034-0212		Hottle House	ca. 1880
034-0213	44FK0502	Belle Grove Stone Tenant House/Store (Overseer's House)	ca. 1795
034-0214	G074	Meadow Mills Union Chapel	ca. 1890
034-0215		Spiggle House	ca. 1840
034-0216		Garrett House & Farm	ca. 1840
034-0217		Malcolm Brumback House	ca. 1870
034-0218		Curry House	ca. 1890
034-0219	G074	Kiln at Meadow Mills	ca. 1880
034-0221		Clarke House	ca. 1870
034-0222		House, Rt. 624	ca. 1840
034-0223		Idlewild	ca. 1840
034-0224		House, Rt. 625	ca. 1880
034-0225		House, Rt. 625	ca. 1880
034-0226		House, Rt. 625	ca. 1880
034-0228		House, Rt. 625	ca. 1900
034-0229		House, Rt. 625	ca. 1900
034-0230		House, Rt. 625	ca. 1900
034-0231		House, Rt. 634	ca. 1840
034-0232		House, Rt. 625	ca. 1900
034-0233		Hank Walters House	ca. 1870
034-0234		House, Rt. 625	ca. 1900
034-0237	L61	Dinges House	ca. 1810

Table 3 (pt 1 of 2). Summary of architectural resources within CEBE and core area recorded in VDHR cultural resource database as of June 2012. "Other Numbers" with a "G" prefix are from Geier and Harding's "Overview and Assessment."

DSS Archit. Number	Other Numbers	Name	Date
034-0246		House, Rt. 627	ca. 1840
034-0270		House, Rts 11 & 634	ca. 1900
034-0271		House, Rt. 11S	ca. 1910
034-0273		Rose Hill	ca. 1870
034-0275		House off Rt. 627	ca. 1880
034-0303		Cedar Creek Battlefield	1864
034-1028	L54	Sunny Side	ca. 1873
034-1029		Valley View Farm	ca. 1900
034-1030		Henson, Jeff, House	ca. 1920
034-1031		Didawick-Robinson House	ca. 1890
034-1032		House, Rt. 11S	ca. 1910
034-1033		Dodson Outbuildings	ca. 1870
034-1034		House, Rt. 11S	ca. 1880
034-1035		Harbaugh Outbuildings	
034-1036		Clayven Farm	ca. 1870
034-1037		Shrum-Helmick House	ca. 1910
085-0001		Fishers Hill Battlefield	1864
085-0004	G047	Fort Bowman (Harmony Hall)	1753
085-0013	L57	Daniel Stickley Farm	1859
085-0014	L58, G042	Stickley Mill	ca. 1840
085-0024		Cedar Creek Bridge	ca. 1800
085-0072		Mount Pleasant Farm	1812
085-5010		Bridge #1959, Old Valley Pike (Rt 11), Cedar Creek	1929
085-5117	44SH0374	Keister Farm (County Park)	post 1840
085-5182	034-0303-0005	Island Farm, Cedar Creek Battlefield	
093-0006	L23, G097	Long Meadows Farm (Long Meadow)	ca. 1788
093-0103	L21, G092	Bowman's Mill	ca. 1830
093-0107		Cedar Creek Indian Village	
093-0138	G088	Whithaven/Hite-Bowman House/Whittham House (Widham House)	ca. 1820
093-0501		House, Rt. 611	ca. 1830
093-0502		Snyder-Sine House	ca. 1901
093-0504		Dodson-Wilkins House	ca. 1800
093-5014	G043	Bridge #6905, Rt 635, Cedar Creek	
093-5044	034-0303-0002	Cooley Farm (Goldie Hudson Tract), Cedar Creek Battlefield	1864
093-5059	L20, 034-0303-0003, G091	Davidson Farm (Bowman Mill Ford Tract), Cedar Creek Battlefield	1864
260-5001	(234 contr. & 64 non-contr. Individual resources)	Middletown Historic District	

Table 3 (pt 2 of 2). Summary of architectural resources within CEBE and core area recorded in VDHR cultural resource database as of June 2012. "Other Numbers" with a "G" prefix are from Geier and Harding's "Overview and Assessment."

Chapter 1 Endnotes

1. Clarence R. Geier and Phoebe Harding, with contributions from Karen Early, and Kim Stern, and editorial comments by Joseph W. A. Whitehorne, "An Overview and Assessment of Cultural Resources and Landscapes within the Legislated Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park: Volume II: The Cultural Resources" (Department of Sociology and Anthropology, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, Virginia. Submitted to Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Middletown, Virginia, 2006); David Lowe, "DRAFT: Shenandoah Valley Study Battlefield Summary Sheet" (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1991).

2. David Lowe, "Defining 'Core,'" *Civil War News: For People with an Active Interest in the Civil War Today,* (September 2006), Preservation Columns and Opinion, accessed July 7, 2012, http://www.civilwarnews.com/preservation/core-lowe.htm; David Lowe, *Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, Pursuant to Public Law 101-628* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division, 1992).

3. David Lowe, *Study of Civil War Sites*; Civil War Sites Advisory Commission (CWSAC), "Battle Summaries by State" in *CWSAC, Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields,* accessed June 1, 2012, http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/abpp/battles/bystate.htm#va.

4. American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP), *Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission's Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields: Commonwealth of Virginia* (Washington, D.C. : U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program, 2009), 72.

5. Clarence R. Geier and Kimberly Tinkham, with contributions from Joseph Whitehorne, "An Overview and Assessment of Archeological Resources and Landscapes within Lands Managed by Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume 1: Park History, Previous Research, Cultural Resources and Significant Historic Military and Domestic Themes, Threat To Resource, with Recommendations for Resource Management and Interpretation" (Department of Sociology and Anthropology, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, Virginia. Submitted to Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Middletown, Virginia, 2006); ABPP, *Update to Civil War Sites,* 72.

6. ABPP, *Update to Civil War Sites,* 72.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Shenandoah County, "Keister Tract" page on County website, accessed June 1, 2012, http://www.shenandoahcountyva.us/parks_new/facilities/keistertract.php.

9. Lowe, *Study of Civil War Sites.*

10. Kristen McMasters, "Using KOCOA for a Better Understanding of the Battlefield Landscape" (presentation to University of Montana, Department of Anthropology, August 2011), accessed October 1, 2012, http://http://www.cas.umt.edu/anthro/courses/anth456/docs/ABPP_KOCOA_2011.pdf. According to McMasters, the Army's Military War College began using the KOCOA approach for its staff rides of battlefields after World War II. Use of the tool for battlefield preservation began in 1996 with its application to cultural landscapes at Gettysburg National Military Park. Although a KOCOA survey and analysis of the battlefield is beyond the scope of this study, it should be noted that the approach often results in expanding a battlefield study area. Geographic Information Systems (GIS) analysis can more accurately estimate KOCOA boundaries based on categories such as fields of fire or areas of observation, for example.

11. David Lowe, "DRAFT: Shenandoah Valley Study Battlefield Summary Sheet" (copy on file, Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Middletown, Va.).

12. William H. Moore, Jerrell Blake, Jr., Kevin

T. Goodrich, Thomas D. Young, and David W. Lewes, "An Archaeological Assessment of the Bowman-Hite Farm Property, Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Warren County, Virginia," (William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, Williamsburg, Virginia. Submitted to Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, National Park Service, Middleton, Virginia, 2012). In Figure 5, the only adjustment to the VDHR data is an expansion of the boundary for Site 44WR0164 to include historic-period archaeological deposits associated with the Bowman-Hite Farm (093-0138). When first recorded in 1979, the site defined a Middle and Late Archaic camp locus on the elevated ground north of the extant nineteenth-century farmhouse; the boundary for this multicomponent site now encompasses both the prehistoric and historic-era loci. Although the WMCAR investigated and recorded the historic component in 2011–2012, the VDHR had not yet updated mapping for the site at the time of the data sharing with WMCAR in June 2012.

13. Geier and Tinkham, "Overview and Assessment, Volume 1." **To streamline the inventory control of cultural resources in the park, it would be worthwhile to obtain official VDHR inventory numbers for all sites and cultural landscapes identified by JMU as well as all cultural features identified by Lowe.** Assignment of this standardized identification and mapping would require only the relatively modest effort of entering existing field survey data into the VDHR's V-CRIS database, supplying mapping data from the current study to VDHR, and limited field-checking of site locations.

2: Geographic and Environmental Setting

To develop the Park's historical context themes, it is important to describe its geographic and environmental setting. Together, geology, soil formation processes, flora, fauna, and climate have contributed to a distinctive cultural landscape within the Park boundaries. This landscape significantly shaped the patterns of human settlement and activity during the prehistoric era and the period of early European settlement through development of a open country kinship-based rural neighborhood into the first half of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the configuration of streams, topography, and the Valley's main land transportation route influenced the Union command's choice of the area as encampment for some thirty thousand soldiers. Likewise, for Confederate commanders, the landscape's shortcomings as a defensible military position indicated its suitability as the location for a full-scale attack. Throughout the eventful day of the battle, both natural and manmade features such as Cedar Creek, deep ravines, and the Valley Turnpike, to cite only a few examples, helped shape the action. Following the Civil War, the relative stability of this rural landscape has been a factor in the battlefield's commemoration and preservation from the time of large veterans' reunions in the late nineteenth century, through the acquisition of large areas by preservation groups, and eventually the creation of a partnership park in 2002.

Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Park lies within the Valley geographic region, defined by the VDHR as comprising the 12 counties ranging from Botetourt at the southwestern end and Frederick County to the northeast. Bordered by the Allegheny Plateau on the northwest and the Blue Ridge on the southeast, the Valley forms the drainage of the Shenandoah River, which flows northeastward to its confluence with the Potomac River at Harper's Ferry.[1] More specifically, the 3,536 acres within the park boundaries, located in northeastern Shenandoah, northern Warren, and southern Frederick counties, fall within the northern portion of the Shenandoah River Valley, also known as the Lower Shenandoah Valley. The majority of the park (1,579.3 acres) lies within Frederick County, 1,384 acres in Warren County, and a much smaller 573.3-acre portion in Shenandoah County.[2]

Major streams that defined the action of the October 19, 1864 battle as natural defensive boundaries for the Union's Army of the Shenandoah also delineated a distinctive geographic and cultural landscape. Meadow Brook flows for approximately three miles through and along the southeast and north edges of the northern third of the park before joining Cedar Creek. Three similar streams (Buffalo Marsh Run, Watson Run, and Middle Marsh) flow parallel to Meadow Brook and empty into Cedar Creek farther upstream to the northwest. Meadow Brook has a moderately to deeply entrenched stream bed (i.e., it has eroded downward to form a trench-like profile), with its waters coursing through a deep, V-shaped gorge within 0.5 mile of Cedar Creek.[3] These streams roughly mark off a landscape of agricultural lands, transportation networks of local farm roads and stream crossings, and mills located between the small towns of Strasburg on the southwest and Middletown on the northeast. Together, these components comprise one of the Shenandoah Valley's "open-country" neighbor-

hood of properties largely settled by descendants of the Hites and Bowmans following the families' patenting of the land in the middle quarters of the eighteenth century.[4]

Much of CEBE's southwestern boundary (approximately 2.25 miles) consists of Cedar Creek or the west side of its stream valley. Cedar Creek originates some 15 miles to the north of its confluence with the North Fork of the Shenandoah River. Upstream of the U.S. Route 11 crossing, its valley has eroded into a deep, U-shaped profile with bluff walls. Downstream from this road, however, the stream valley widens into a broad U shape, allowing the formation of significant bottomland features.[5] This slower-flowing portion makes wide meanders through the more level landscape before reaching its confluence with the North Fork of the Shenandoah River. During the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, construction of a milling complex by Isaac Bowman dramatically altered the course of Cedar Creek. The lowest oxbow on this stream became a permanent backwater after Bowman connected the two sharp bends at the base of the oxbow; due to millennia of periodic flooding, a channel with intermittent flow of water during flood periods would have been present prior to his modifications.[6]

Finally, the North Fork of the Shenandoah flows along the southern boundary of CEBE for approximately 1.5 miles above the junction of Cedar Creek and 1.2 miles below. These two portions of the river valley differ markedly. Upstream of Cedar Creek, the narrow bottomlands are poorly developed, with fairly steep, bluff-like walls. Below the creek mouth, to the east, the bottoms are broader, especially along the south side of the river, outside CEBE. Several south-flowing streams feed into the river east of the creek mouth.[7]

Physiographically, CEBE falls within the Valley and Ridge province, which trends southwest-northeast between the Allegheny Plateau and Blue Ridge provinces. General characteristics include folded or faulted sedimentary rocks forming parallel ridges and valleys. Massanutten Mountain, the largest of the ridges, lies just south of the CEBE boundary. Its underlying sandstone has resisted the erosion that created the Page Valley to the east and the main floor of the Valley to the west, which cover softer shales and limestones.[8]

Specifically, the geology of CEBE lands consists of a series of limestone and shale strata dating to the Cambrian and Ordovician periods, which appear as exposed linear southeast-northwest bands (Figure 7). Martinsburg Shale underlies approximately 60 percent of CEBE. Generally, the shale portion lies southeast of U.S. Route 11 and Belle Grove (034-0002) and south of the Heater House (034-0082), under moderate slopes and ridges. Edinburg Shale occurs under the terraces of the North Fork of the Shenandoah River and the floor of the Cedar Creek stream valley. To the west of the shales, there are narrow bands of Edinburgh, Lincolnshire, and New Market limestones along the Meadow Brook drainage. The Bellefonte Formation of Beekmantown Limestone characterizes the upland areas of the park, northwest of Meadow Brook.

These geologic formations have characteristics and resource potential that are particularly pertinent to the development of the area's cultural landscape. The black chert associated with the Lincolnshire limestone would have been an important resource for prehistoric toolmaking. During fieldwork for the 2006 overview and assessment of cultural resources within the Park, researchers noted the occurrence of black chert nodules on upper ridge slopes north of Belle Grove and west of the Solomon Heater House, and associated toolmaking debitage at prehistoric sites scattered across the Park. Bands of New Market and Lincolnshire limestone that cross Meadow Brook as well as Cedar Creek just south of the inflow from Meadow Brook were the focus of quarrying both in the early twentieth century and most likely earlier during the earlier historic period. Small pre-twentieth-century quarry pits near the Conner Limestone Furnace and Quarry may have been the source for the high-quality limestone used to construct Belle Grove and the foundations of other nearby buildings. Limestone

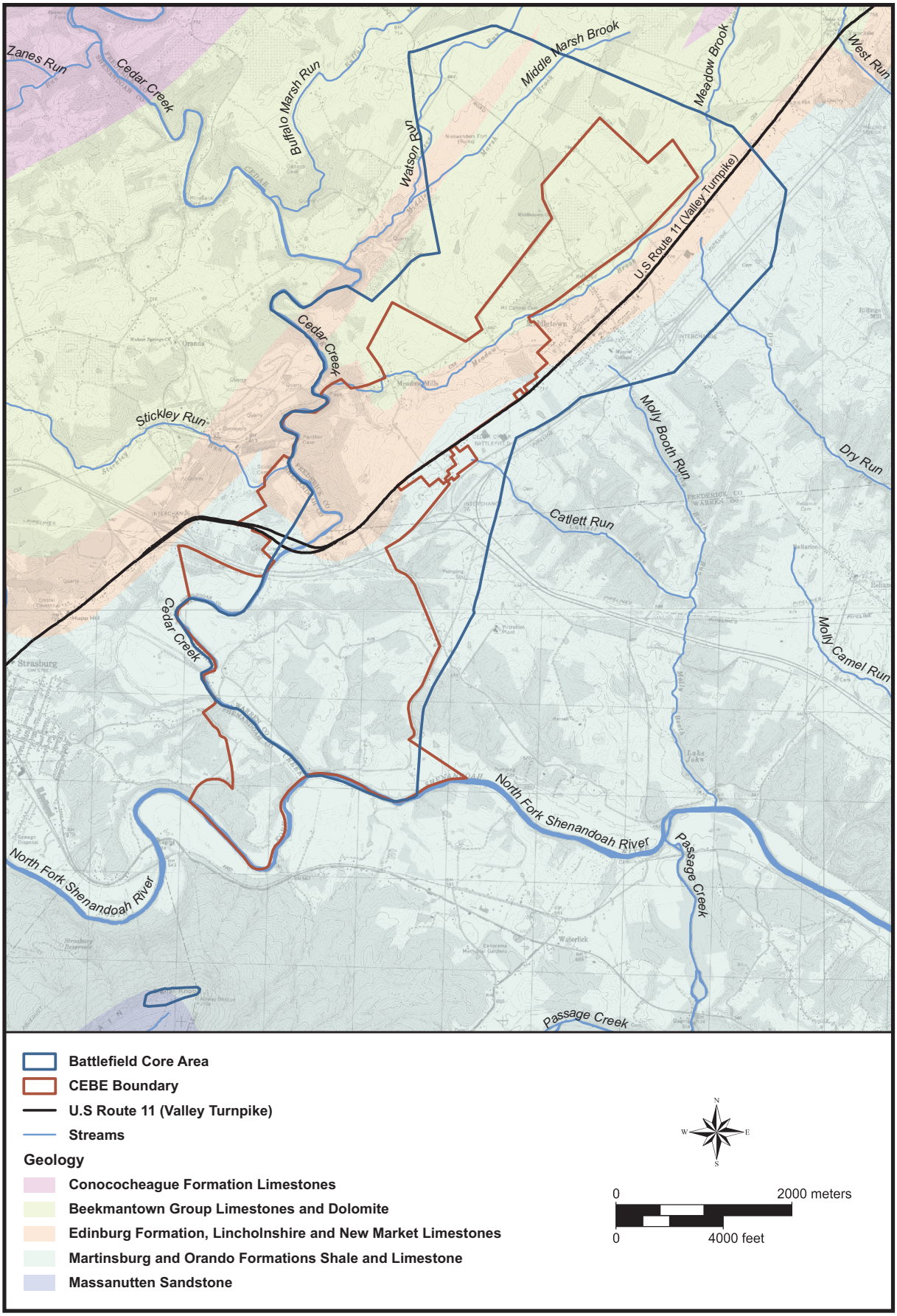


Figure 7. Geological formations in the vicinity of CEBE.

quarries along the northwest side of Meadow Brook may have provided material for construction of the Hite Mills in the vicinity. The presence of occasional sinkholes characterizes the limestone lands, including one near the Union Army's XIX Corps earthworks (CEBE 00072) and west of Belle Grove (CEBE 00017).[10]

The soils found on these geological formations bear distinctive characteristics that influenced both Native American and European settlement patterns along the length of the divide between the two formations, running southwest-northeast. Typically, subsurface drainage of limestone soils leads to the formation of gentle slopes with broad, shallow stream valleys, a topography well suited to growing crops (Figure 8).[11] During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these soils supported some of the most productive and profitable cereal cultivation in the United States. Supplementing the principal crop of wheat were maize, rye, buckwheat, and oats. The limestone formations' carbonate bedrock and associated fertile soils would have attracted European settlers as well as late prehistoric Native American communities dependent on horticulture for subsistence. Sinkholes and deep springs found along the limestone formations attracted large amounts of game, a factor influencing settlement choices for both Native Americans and Europeans.[13]

Less permeable shale soils generate surface erosion patterns of steep, V-shaped stream valleys and flatter uplands. Generally found along the east half of the Valley, the less fertile shale lands are beest suited for pasture and fruit orchards (Figure 9).[14] Grown for home consumption before the Civil War, apples became an important commercial crop in the second half of the nineteenth century.[15]

The most historically significant built feature that traverses the park is U.S. Route 11. Generally, this modern two- to four-lane road follows the path of what has been the Shenandoah Valley's main transportation route since approximately 6500 B.C., during the Archaic stage of prehistory. During a period of heightened native warfare in the first half of the eighteenth century, Europeans called the route the Great Warrior Path because of its use by Iroquoian raiding parties headed to fight against native groups to the south.[16] The route was the path worn by generations of Native American hunting parties, traders, warrior bands, and communities moving up and down

Figure 8. Limestone formation landscape around Solomon Heater House (034-0082), looking north from U.S. Route 11 (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 9. Typical landscape on the shale formation at confluence of Cedar Creek with the North Fork of the Shenandoah River at McInturff Ford, looking south (photo by WMCAR April 2012).

the Valley, or ranging across a larger prehistoric transportation network of paths, fords, rivers, and mountain passes that crisscrossed Eastern North America.[17] The course of the Great Warrior Path probably emerged not merely for characteristics of convenience such as gentle slopes and passable stream crossings. Instead, for the most part, the route follows the boundary between the Valley floor's limestone and shale formations. Generations of Native Americans may have worn this path because the biological diversity at the interface between these two settings would have offered more resources for their hunter-gatherer subsistence.[18]

As European settlement began in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the road brought immigrants from the Mid-Atlantic south and west to the Lower Valley or to more remote portions of Virginia, Kentucky, and other western lands on the expanding frontier. The diverse edge environment of this corridor would have been appealing to settlers who needed a variety of soils and topography for mixed farming.[19]

By the 1750s, the name Great Warrior Path was nearly obsolete, as native populations had been reduced by disease and moved farther west. Instead, settlers referred to the Great Wagon Road, an artery that continued to bring European settlers into the region and carried their agricultural products and manufactured goods between Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.[20]

As agricultural productivity and transportation to distant markets increased in the nineteenth century, the need for an improved, consistently maintained roadway led to the consolidation of the Valley Turnpike Company in 1838 (Figure 10). The turnpike proved to be a key corridor for the movement of armies up and down the Valley during the Civil War and its importance as a regional transportation route continued through the twentieth century. In 1918, the turnpike company ceded control of the road to Virginia's State Highway Commission, which designated the thoroughfare State Route 3 in the newly established system of state roads. The road's national importance was recognized in 1926 with its designation as U.S. Route 11. Since the construction of Interstate 81 in the 1960s, this road has served local traffic while long-range regional travelers follow the interstate corridor, which skirts around the southern edge of the Park (only a small portion passes through).[20]

Figure 10. Valley Turnpike (forerunner of U.S. Route 11) in the late nineteenth century, consisting of macadam, a well-drained substrate of crushed rock with a packed surface of lighter crushed stone (NPS). Prior to the use of asphalt in the twentieth century, macadam provided a significant improvement over dirt roads, which could become muddy, rutted, and sometimes impassable with heavy rains (from USAMHI collections).

Chapter 2 Endnotes

1. Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR), *Guidelines for Conducting Historic Resources Survey in Virginia, Revised,* (Richmond: Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2012), 115.

2. Natural Resources Conservation Service (NRCS), "Web Soil Survey" page on Natural Resources Conservation Service website, accessed April 4, 2012, http://websoilsurvey.nrcs.usda.gov.

3. Clarence R. Geier and Kimberly Tinkham, with contributions from Joseph Whitehorne, "An Overview and Assessment of Archeological Resources and Landscapes within Lands Managed by Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume 1: Park History, Previous Research, Cultural Resources and Significant Historic Military and Domestic Themes, Threat To Resource, with Recommendations for Resource Management and Interpretation" (Department of Sociology and Anthropology, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, Virginia. Submitted to Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Middletown, Virginia, 2006), 25.

4. 1. Warren R. Hofstra and Robert D. Mitchell, "Town and Country in Backcountry Virginia: Winchester and the Shenandoah Valley, 1730–1800," The *Journal of Southern History* 59, no. 4 (1993): 628; Conrad M. Arensberg, "American Communities," *American Anthropologist* 57, no. 6 (1955): 1153–1155. Hofstra and Mitchell credit Arensburg as the first scholar to apply the term "open country neighborhood" to the settlement pattern of "dispersed farms and rural kinship communities" that predated marketplaces and towns in the Lower Shenandoah Valley.

5. Geier and Tinkham, "Overview and Assessment, Volume 1," 25.

6. Michael Spencer, "The Bowman-Hite Property, Warren County, Virginia: Bowman-Hite Bank Barn Historic Structures Report" (Fredericksburg, Virginia Department of Historic Preservation, Mary Washington University, 2013), 4–5.

7. Geier and Tinkham, "Overview and Assessment, Volume 1," 26.

8. Lynn S. Fichter and Steve J. Baedke, "A Description of the Geology of Virginia" page on "The Geological Evolution of Virginia and the Mid-Atlantic Region" website, doi: 2000, accessed April 8, 2012, http://csmres.jmu.edu/geollab/vageol/vahist/physprov.html#valleyandridge.

9. Geier and Tinkham, "Overview and Assessment, Volume 1, 26–27.

10. *Ibid.*, 28–30.

11. Warren R. Hofstra, "The Colonial Road," in *The Great Valley Road of Virginia: Shenandoah Landscapes from Prehistory to the Present,* ed. Warren R. Hofstra and Karl Raitz (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 85–86.

12. Thomas Whitehead, Virginia, A Handbook: Giving Its History, Climate, and Mineral Wealth, Its Educational, Agricultural, and Industrial Advantages (Everett Waddey Co., publishers and printers, 1898), 249.

13. Kathleen J. Bragdon, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park" (College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia. Submitted to Northeast Region Ethnography Program, National Park Service, Boston, 2009); R. C. Orndorff, J. B. Epstein, and R. C. McDowell, "Geological Map of the Middletown Quadrangle, Frederick, Shenandoah, Warren Counties, Virginia," scale 1:24,000 (Reston, Va.: U.S. Geological Survey, 1999).

14. Hofstra, "The Colonial Road," 86–87.

15. T. K. Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants; a History of Frederick County, Virginia, from Its Formation in 1738 to 1908.…* (1909; Berryville, Va.: Chesapeake Book Co., 1963), 509.

16. Michael N. McConnell, "Before the Great Road: Indian Travelers on the Great Warrior's

Path," in *The Great Valley Road of Virginia: Shenandoah Landscapes from Prehistory to the Present,* ed. Warren R. Hofstra and Karl Raitz (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 62, 69–72.

17. Bragdon, "Ethnographic Overview," 12; Helen H. Tanner, "The Land and Water Communications Systems of the Southeastern Indians," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, ed. Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, pp. 27–42 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 8.

18. Hofstra, "The Colonial Road," 85–86.

19. *Ibid.,* 86.

20. McConnell, "Before the Great Road," 72.

21. Virginia Department of Transportation (VDOT), "About VDOT: VDOT History Highlights" on VDOT website, accessed May 7, 2012, http://www.virginiadot.org/about/vdot_history.asp.

3: Cultural and Historical Contexts

Prehistoric Settlement

Based on a limited sample of 20 recorded sites within CEBE that contain prehistoric components, settlement prior to arrival of Europeans typically consisted of short-term occupation (Figure 11). Eight of the sites are scatters of debitage (debris) from stone tools, lacking any more distinctive or "diagnostic" artifacts to date them to a particular period of prehistory. Only one site (44WR0313, along the lower portion of Cedar Creek) with a scant survey record is identified as a "village." In addition, four other more intensively inhabited sites include diagnostic tools ranging from the Early Archaic period (8000–6500 BC) through undetermined periods of the Woodland stage (1200 BC – AD 1500). Given the limited sample of prehistoric sites identified thus far within the Park, the following context for prehistoric settlement draws on findings across the Lower Shenandoah Valley region.

Paleoindian Stage (before ca. 8000 BC)

Evidence for human presence in the Lower Shenandoah Valley extends back at least 11,000 years, overlapping the last two millennia of the Pleistocene epoch when Virginia's environment was vastly different from the present. Average temperatures were lower by 18–27° F, and a continental glacier still covered portions of North America as far south as Pennsylvania. Several hundred miles south of the glacier, permafrost gripped the higher elevations surrounding what is now the Park. Vegetation in the Lower Shenandoah Valley consisted of boreal forest (taiga) dominated by jack pine, spruce, and fir, similar to central and eastern Canada today.[1]

In this environment, Paleoindian groups coexisted with "megafauna" such as ground sloth, bison, and mastodons. Until the 1980s, archaeologists had characterized Paleoindians as large game hunters who also gathered a limited amount of plant foods. Although Paleoindians elsewhere in North America relied on hunting big game such as mastodon and bison, these animals appear to have been sparse when the first humans came to the Lower Shenandoah region. Instead, local groups mainly hunted moose, elk, caribou, and deer; they supplemented their diet with small mammals, fish, and gathered plant foods.[2]

Based on archaeological survey evidence, the Lower Shenandoah Valley was a "hot spot" for Paleoindian and Early Archaic occupation. Due to the small size of Virginia's Paleoindian population and various natural processes, sites from this period are rare, and none have yet been identified within CEBE. However, some of Virginia's best-documented Paleoindian sites lie within the Flint Run Archaeological District (093-0163), only 8 miles (12.8 km) to the southeast. Dating as early as 9200 BC, these sites include a series of quarries mined for jasper (a high-quality toolstone), stone tool processing areas, and traces of a post-built structure.[3]

Investigations at the Flint Run sites have revealed patterns of Paleoindian settlement that inform site expectations within the Park. Generally, it appears that local Paleoindian groups operated over a broad territory for extended periods, but eventually returned to a central base. Rather than following a seasonal pattern, movements across the territory depended on the need to replenish tool kits and various social factors.[4]

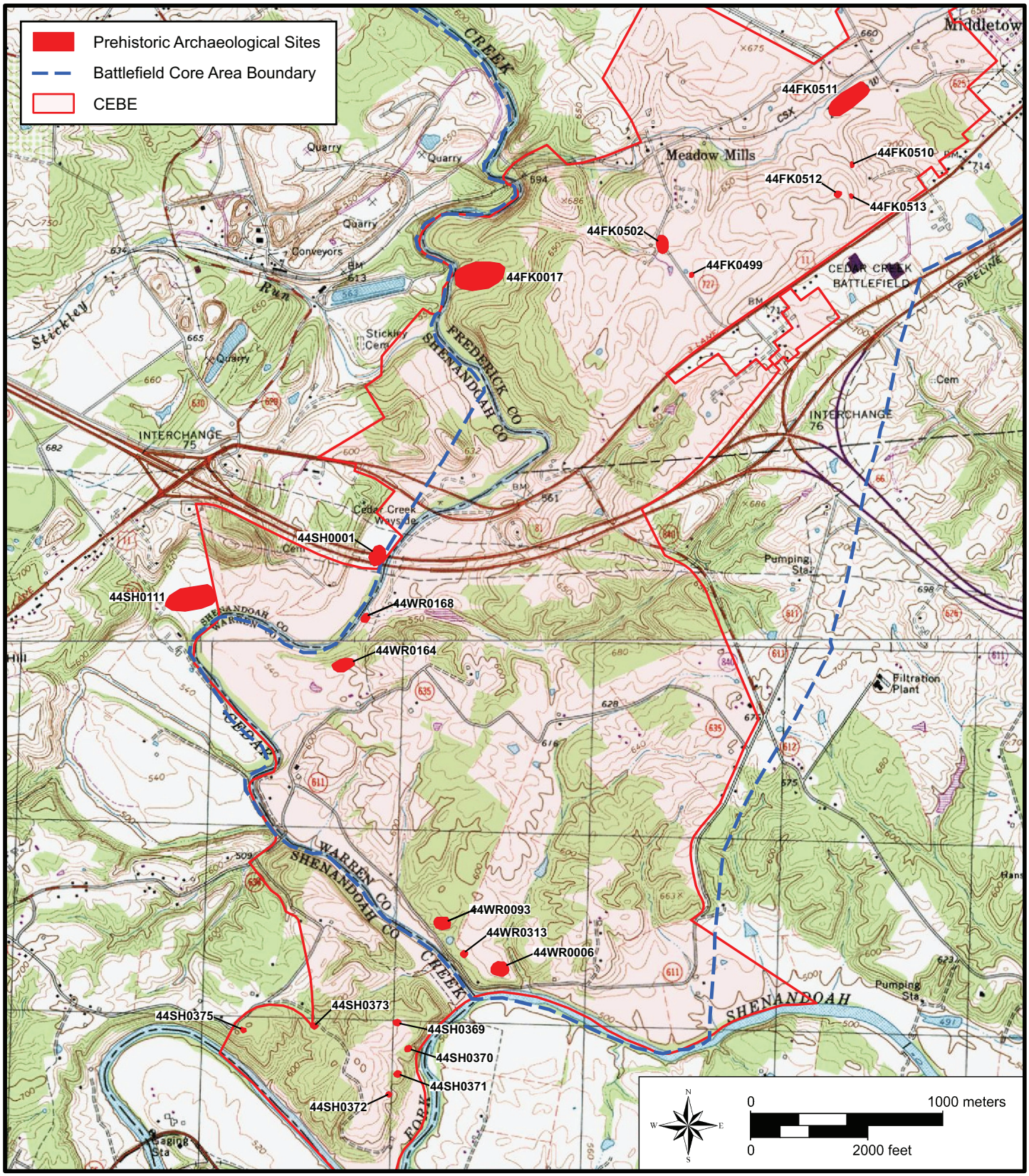


Figure 11. Map showing sites with prehistoric components within CEBE and core area recorded in VDHR cultural resource database as of June 2012 (WMCAR; base map: USGS 1999 Middletown and 1994 Strasburg 7.5' topographic quadrangles).

Archaic Stage (8000–1200 BC)

A warming climate and changes in both flora and fauna mark the transition from the Pleistocene epoch to the Holocene ca. 8000 BC. The new geological epoch coincides with the beginning of the Archaic stage of cultural history. The local population adapted to the changing environment with a hunting and gathering strategy focused on small and large game, fish and shellfish, and a variety of berries, nuts, and roots.

Consistent with a more varied subsistence strategy, Archaic-stage peoples added new items to their kit of stone tools and crafted them from a wider array of locally available materials, including quartz and quartzite. Changes over time in the appearance of a class of stone tools called hafted bifaces (used as spear points and knives) have allowed archaeologists to develop typologies tied to date ranges. Hafted biface types often serve as the hallmarks of the Early, Middle, and Late periods of the Archaic stage.[5]

Early Archaic Period (8000–6500 BC). In general, Early Archaic components represent small, short-term episodes of occupation at locales that are widely scattered across the landscape.[6] Settlement patterns of local sites indicate a society organized at the band level, although the hunting and gathering bands were probably not as dispersed as those of the preceding Paleoindian stage.

Stratified deposits and radiocarbon dates from sites in the Flint Run Archaeological District in Front Royal provide evidence for Early Archaic occupation near the study area.[7] At this time, drills, adzes, and chipped stone axes were added to the tool kit. While stone tool production still favored jasper, raw materials become more varied. Use of rhyolite, apparently from Blue Ridge outcrops around Harper's Ferry, points to nonlocal procurement of lithic raw materials.[8]

Middle Archaic Period (6500–3000 BC). In general, the transition from Early to Middle Archaic appears to have been more abrupt than the shift from the Paleoindian stage to the Early Archaic period. At the beginning of the Middle Archaic period, hafted bifaces were bifurcate (with a two pronged base for hafting), while later types had bases consisting of a single stem. Overall, the tool kit became more generalized not only in form, but also in the choice of raw materials. Jasper occurs less frequently in these assemblages. Formal (specialized) tool types decreased in frequency, while non-standardized, expedient forms increased.[9] New items in the more varied material culture of this period include grinding slabs, mortars, and pestles.[10]

As the Holocene warming trend continued, deciduous forests expanded into areas of former open scrubland and coniferous forests. Both the trees and undergrowth of these deciduous forests provided nuts and a rich variety of other edible plant resources. The deer and various smaller mammals that thrived in this new habitat made up a significant portion of the Middle Archaic diet. The largest sites tend to occur in areas that had convenient access to a variety of seasonally available resources.[11]

Evidence for significant population increase during the Middle Archaic in the Middle and Northern Shenandoah Valley points to the success of these adaptive changes.[12] Middle Archaic components are common on high Pleistocene terraces and appear to be the most abundant prehistoric resources documented within upland settings.[13]

Late Archaic Period (3000–1200 BC). During this period, climatic conditions began to resemble those present in modern times.[14] Riverine settings became increasingly productive for both shellfish and finfish. Chestnut and oak forests also climaxed, providing other dependable, seasonal resources. These factors appear to have favored increasingly sedentary and river-oriented settlement, although sites continue in smaller stream and upland settings as well.[15]

One of the more important changes of the Late Archaic is the greater variety of raw materials used for stone tools. Despite a resurgence of jasper use, quartz and quartzite tools are generally more common.[16] Broadspear points of the Susquehanna and Savannah River types as well as steatite ves-

sels are hallmarks of this period.[17] Interestingly, the source of soapstone at a site near Front Royal appears to be quarries in Albemarle and Nelson counties.[18] This sourcing as well as stylistic divisions in hafted biface styles may indicate long-distance social interaction from procurement or trade relationships.

Late Archaic components commonly occur along the floodplains and high Pleistocene terraces of the region. Site types include transient camps, small hunting stations, and probable base camps, which may have served as staging areas for exploiting resources at higher elevations.

Woodland Stage (1200 BC – AD 1500)

Woodland-stage groups continued the varied subsistence patterns of the preceding Archaic stage, but the emphasis on seasonal hunting and gathering gradually shifted to an economy more dependent on horticulture. During the Early and Middle Woodland periods, wild plant foods were most important in the diet, but by the Late Woodland, there was a greater reliance on cultivation of corn, beans, and squash. Concurrent with these changes in subsistence, settlement patterns continued an increasingly sedentary trend. A predominantly tribal social organization gradually shifted into a chiefdom level of complexity. Among the most obvious changes manifested archaeologically, however, are technological advances, especially the introduction of ceramic vessels for food preparation and storage.

Early Woodland Period (1200–500 BC). The most striking development of this period is technological, represented by the appearance of ceramic vessels.[20] Many of the pottery types introduced during this period appear to have been experimental, displaying a considerable variety of manufacturing techniques, tempering agents, and surface treatments.

While fired ceramics represent a major innovation, many items of Early Woodland material culture exhibit transitional characteristics left over from the Late Archaic period. Early vessel forms have wide openings, flat bottoms, and lug handles—similar to the characteristics of carved steatite bowls from the previous Late Archaic period.[21] Likewise, broad-blade points carry over from points dating to the end of the Late Archaic period. The wide variety of ground stone tools of the Late Archaic period also continued into the Early Woodland. However, trade networks of raw materials for the manufacture of stone tools were not as extensive.[22]

The presence of storage pit features and hearths reflects the increased permanence of local riverside sites, which appear to be microband residential settlements. More limited in size and artifact/feature diversity are sites outside floodplain settings, probably used for one specific activity such as gathering a particular plant or collecting and processing toolstone or other materials.[23]

Among the prehistoric occupations in local floodplain settings, those dating to the Early Woodland period are second only to Late Woodland floodplain sites. Early Woodland sites are least abundant within the high terrace and upland zones.[24]

Middle Woodland Period (500 BC – AD 900). During this period, settlement began to shift from inner floodplains toward the floodplain levees—a trend that continued through the Late Woodland. Factors for this reorientation may include depletion of inner floodplain resources and use of backwater environments for horticulture.[25]

Small hafted bifaces with contracting stems (similar to earlier Rossville and Piscataway types) are the diagnostic artifacts for the period. In the ground stone category, smaller, polished stone axes called celts replaced grooved stone axes. Distinctions between Middle Woodland ceramic series consist of relative frequencies of various surface treatments in combination with choice of temper.[26]

Despite these gradual changes in material culture, the Middle Woodland appears to be a period of rapid change with the relatively sudden appearance and disappearance of the Stone Burial Mound Complex in the vicinity of the Park. Beginning about 500 BC, a distinctive funerary

site type appeared: a pile of stones capping a burial pit that contained either individual or multiple burials. Unlike mounds of the Late Woodland Lewis Creek Phase, these stone mounds mark single-event burials.[27] These sites typically lie on ridge spurs, plateaus, or bluffs overlooking the floodplains below. Artifacts from these mounds include stone pipes, copper beads, pendants, celts, and projectile points. The complex extends along the South Fork of the Shenandoah and into West Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.[28] Small sedentary sites that occur on bottomland locations below these mound sites may be associated with the mound culture. The relatively small number of burial mounds and the presence of nonlocal artifacts have led researchers to assume that their occupants held relatively high status, indicative of social ranking within this culture. Within the Park, two very sparsely documented sites (44WR0093 and 44WR0313) may be associated with the mound-building culture. By AD 300, the Stone Burial Mound Complex disappeared, although no major contemporary changes in settlement or subsistence are visible archaeologically.[29]

For the Middle Woodland period, archaeological evidence suggests the importance an extensive network of transportation routes that generally followed along the corridor of present U.S. Route 11. It is possible that the Hopewell Culture (400 BC – AD 400) of southern Ohio traded materials such as copper, obsidian, and mica with populations as far as Tidewater Virginia through transportation networks that passed through the Lower Valley.[30]

Late Woodland Period (AD 900–1700). Small, dispersed hamlet sites dating to this period are ubiquitous throughout the Shenandoah Valley floodplain regions. These hamlet sites comprise circular house clusters and burial areas, along with a suite of storage and thermal features. Burials at one such site, 44WR0300 (in Front Royal), are highly variable and include primary and secondary interments composed of both single and multiple individuals.[31]

By the end of the Late Woodland period, these hamlets appear to have coalesced into aggregated, palisaded village locations. An architectural hierarchy between the small curvilinear habitation structures and large rectangular structures suggests an evolving level of sociopolitical complexity in the region.[32] Site 44WR0003 (located along the South Fork of the Shenandoah River in Front Royal) is a nearby example of such a palisaded Late Woodland site. Burials and large storage features are present. The factors behind this Late Woodland phenomenon include (1) introduction of maize into the diet, (2) changing organizational and scheduling requirements of domestic crop production, and (3) the social adjustments necessary to provide cohesion in large group settings.

The material culture of the period also reflects technological innovations. The introduction of the bow and arrow seems to correspond with the use of triangular projectile points throughout the Late Woodland sequence. Although ceramic types at the beginning of this period continued unchanged from the preceding Middle Woodland. The geographic ranges of succeeding ceramic types suggest patterns of migration into and out of the region during later stages of the Late Woodland period.[33]

European Settlement and Evolution of the Antebellum Cultural Landscape

Introduction

The history of European settlement and the ensuing development of the cultural landscape contribute to the significance of the NHL beyond the role of the landscape in the unfolding of the Battle of Cedar Creek. The landscape is also significant in its own right as a microcosm of trends in the economic, cultural, and social history of the Lower Shenandoah Valley—topics of intense scholarly interest for more than three decades.[34] The well-preserved and protected historic resources that make up the landscape at CEBE provide both a rich source of interpretive

material and a promising arena of future historical and archaeological research.

Early European Exploration and British Colonial Policy in the Shenandoah Valley

Europeans may have explored the Shenandoah Valley as early as the first two decades of the seventeenth century, with their findings crudely depicted on a 1632 map published by Samuel de Champlain. Descriptions of the Shenandoah and Potomac rivers may have come to Champlain from Jesuit priests or possibly from conversations with Native Americans.[35] According to local tradition, the vantage point of the first European to see the Shenandoah Valley may have been less than 15 miles southeast of CEBE. In 1670 Virginia's governor, William Berkeley, sent John Lederer to establish a fur trade with the Indians of the "Far West" and search for a passage to the Pacific Ocean.[36] Based on the description of the historic sighting in Lederer's diary, he may have climbed the Blue Ridge, either at Manassas Gap or farther south at Chester's Gap, both of which straddle the present Warren County line. Although Lederer turned back without descending into the Great Valley, he was followed by Cadwallader Jones in 1682 and then Louis Michelle of Switzerland in 1706. Both men explored the country around Front Royal.[37]

Settlement of the Lower Shenandoah Valley in the second quarter of the eighteenth century occurred within the context of intense rivalry between European powers. As Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal became embroiled in territorial wars on the European Continent, this contest extended to their colonies across the globe. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 left the colonial boundaries in North America unsettled. The Spanish and Portuguese were able to fend off French and British designs on their colonies in South and Central America, and the northern borderland of Spanish America ranging from Florida west to New Mexico.[38] Through the 1760s, then, France and Britain instead each focused their efforts on expanding their own sphere of control in North America. As settlers from Britain's more heavily populated colonies along the East Coast eyed new country to the west, their aspirations would eventually come into conflict with Native American communities and French colonists, whose influence and less densely populated settlements extended in a wide swath from the St. Lawrence down through the Mississippi River valley.

During the early eighteenth century, the Lower Shenandoah Valley was one of the least intensively settled Native American territories. Instead, the distinctive southwest-northeast trend of the valley separating the Blue Ridge from the Appalachian Mountains served as an ideal corridor for trade, hunting parties, and diplomatic contact between tribes. A corridor of trails that generally follows present U.S. Route 11, known as the Great Warrior Path in the first half of the eighteenth century, provided a geographic link between the Iroquois in present New York State and the Creeks, Catawbas, and Cherokees to the south of the Park (Figure 12). At this time, too, the Susquehannocks from Pennsylvania and Maryland moved through the Valley as they participated in the fur trade with Europeans. As the Iroquois expanded their territorial reach, the English solicited them as allies in their contest with the French, who had diplomatic relationships with other rival native groups. The English-Iroquois interaction yielded an alliance known as the Covenant Chain, which lasted from 1677–1755.[39]

By the 1720s, colonial policy makers in the British metropolis needed no encouragement to support westward expansion. The Board of Trade proclaimed that, "the British settlements might be extended beyond [the Appalachian Mountains]."[40] Virginia's governor, Alexander Spotswood, soon followed suit. Prior to the Tuscarora Wars of 1711–1715, Spotswood had restricted the expansion of western settlement and tried a policy of Indian containment to avoid further conflict.[41] Even though the fighting in the Tuscarora Wars was confined to North Carolina, Virginians along the frontier had been under threat as well. Virginia Indians associated with warring Iroquoian and Siouan tribes in North Carolina entered the

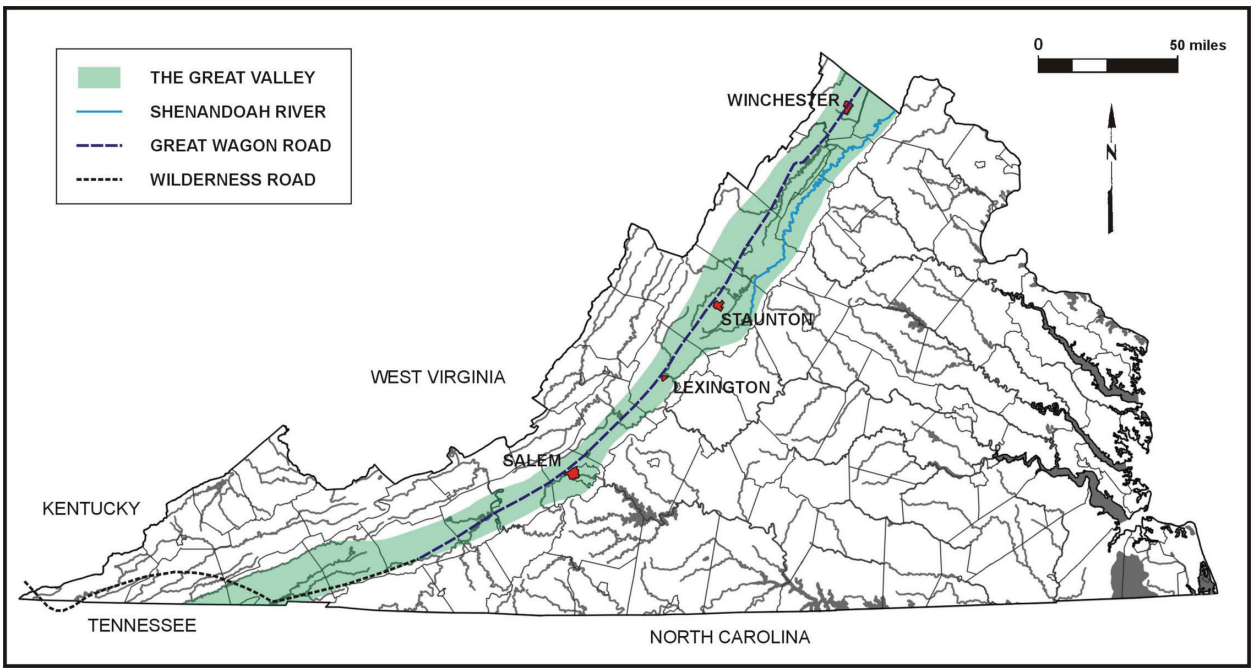


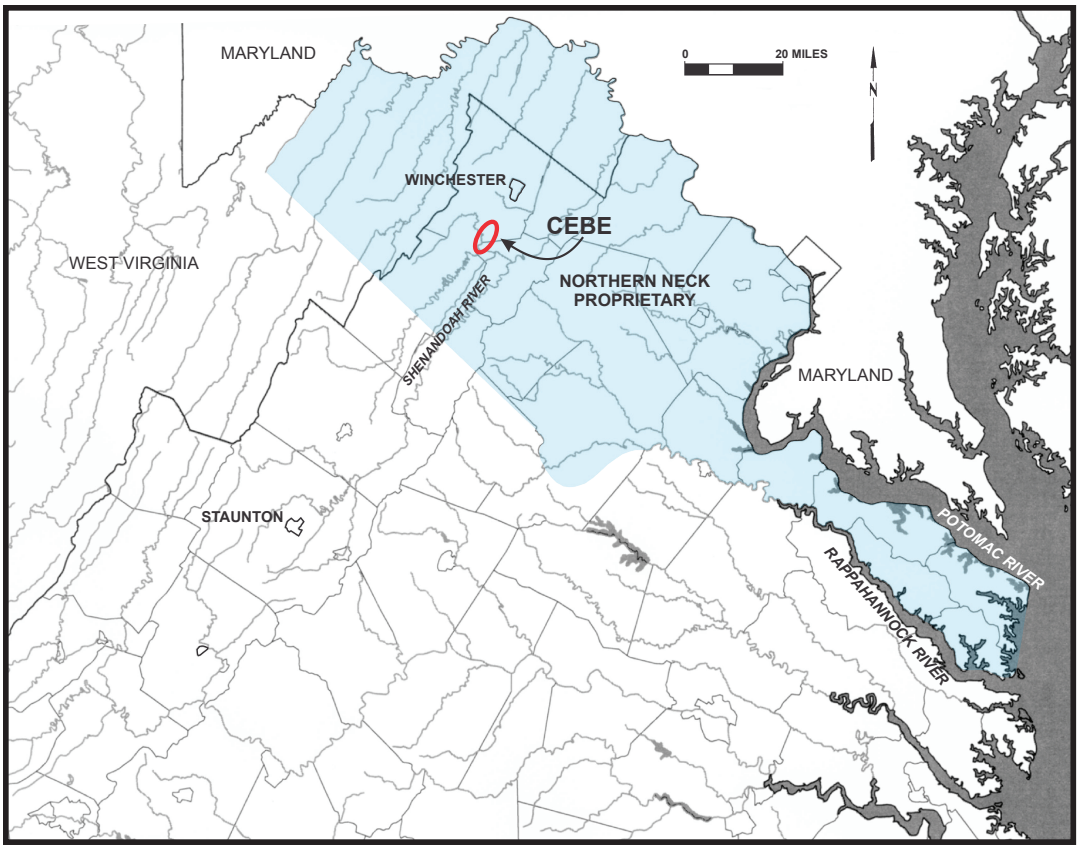
Figure 12. Map of the of the Great Wagon Road and Wilderness Road, which followed the corridor of a Native American route that European settlers called the Great Warrior Path in the first half of the eighteenth century (WMCAR).

conflict and, through tributary agreements, had embroiled Virginia's colonial government.[42]

A major shift in policy occurred in 1716, when Spotswood called for "buffer settlements" in the Piedmont to protect the more settled Tidewater region from Indian tribes and their French allies. He then made it evident that his interest in western lands extended much farther. Leading an expedition of 63 gentlemen, servants, and guides, the governor was one of the first Europeans to pass over the Blue Ridge and explore the Shenandoah Valley.[43]

In 1720, the Virginia Assembly affirmed Spotswood's frontier settlement policy by creating two vast new counties, Brunswick and Spotsylvania, which extended through the Blue Ridge mountain passes to the east bank of the Shenandoah River. Despite the 1722 Treaty of Albany between Virginia and the Iroquois, which restricted the tribe's access to the new counties, the Iroquois, as well as the Delaware and Shawnee, continued to pass through the Valley frequently.[44]

Besides buffering the Tidewater settlements from hostile Indian groups, the new land policy helped the colonial government of Virginia to establish a presence in the Lower Shenandoah Valley—territory that Thomas Lord Fairfax claimed as part of the Northern Neck Proprietary. In 1664, Fairfax's ancestor, Thomas Lord Culpeper, had received an immense tract between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers as a personal gift from Charles II in return for his political loyalty. The Crown defined the boundary of the Proprietary as extending northwestward as far as the sources of these rivers. Until the 1730s, the colonial government of Virginia had assumed that the headwaters of the Potomac did not extend beyond the Blue Ridge. Following a survey by appointees of the crown (William Mayo and Robert Brooke) and Fairfax (Benjamin Winslow and John Savage) in 1736–1737, it became ap-



parent that the Proprietary encompassed lands west of the Blue Ridge extending into present-day West Virginia. In 1745, a proclamation of the surveyors' results by the King in Council confirmed the Proprietary's claim to 5 million acres that included the contested Lower Shenandoah Valley (Figure 13).[45]

In the early 1730s, Gov. William Gooch nevertheless pursued a liberal policy of issuing patents for land in the Lower Valley. Between 1730 and 1732, he granted nearly 400,000 acres to immigrants entering the Valley, not from the Virginia Tidewater and Piedmont, but instead up the Valley from Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey. In 1734, Gooch wrote to the Board of Trade, explaining how generous grants to mainly non-British Protestants supported the board's goals of westward expansion and strengthening borderlands against the French:

> To demonstrate to your Lordships how soon that part of Virginia on the other side of the Great Mountains may be peopled, if proper Encouragements for that Purpose were Given: Most of these Petitioners are Germans and Swissers lately come into Pensilvania, where being disappointed of the quantity of land they expected… have chosen to fix their habitations in this uninhabited part of Virginia…for by this means a strong Barrier will be Settled between us and the French.[46]

Early Shenandoah Valley Land Grants

Within a decade of Spotswood's 1716 expedition into the Shenandoah Valley and his call for "buffer" settlements, the first Europeans staked claims to land in the region. In 1726 or 1727, settlers arrived from the north, moving across the Potomac River from Pennsylvania. A Welshman named Morgan built a cabin in what is now Berkeley County, West Virginia at about the same time as a small group of German settlers planted the village of New Mecklenburg in present Jefferson County, West Virginia. In 1727, Adam Miller and seven other heads of households settled

Figure 13. Extent of the Northern Neck Proprietary as determined in 1745 (facing page) based on a 1737 map of the Proprietary lands (facing page: WMCAR; above: "A survey of the northern neck of Virginia, being the lands belonging to the Rt. Honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax Baron Cameron, bounded by & within the Bay of Chesapoyocke and between the rivers Rappahannock and Potowmack: With the courses of the rivers Rappahannock and Potowmack, in Virginia, as surveyed according to order in the years 1736 & 1737" [Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3880.ct000362]).

Massanutting along the upper reaches of the South Fork of the Shenandoah River near present Elkton in Rockingham County, Virginia. Miller had ventured to the Valley from eastern Virginia after hearing reports of Spotswood's expedition in Williamsburg. To secure title, the Massanutting settlers had to pay Swiss immigrant Jacob Stover, who claimed ownership before actually receiving land grants totaling 10,000 acres from Governor Gooch in 1730.[47] Besides the dubious timing of the sale, Stover received his grant by lying about the number of people he had transported to Virginia. To increase the number of acres to which he was entitled he gave "human names to every horse, cow, hog and dog he owned."[48]

Stover's grant was among the hundreds of thousands of acres conveyed in the decade beginning in 1727. That first year, Robert Lewis and five other English speculators from Tidewater received 50,000 acres farther up the Great Valley near the head of the James River. In 1728, Larkin Chew, William Russell, and other English settlers obtained a grant of 10,000 acres at Happy Creek near Front Royal. The following year, Robert "King" Carter received a 50,000-acre grant in present Clarke County and northeastern Warren County from the Northern Neck Proprietary. A 100,000-acre grant near present Winchester went to Alexander Ross and Morgan Bryan of Pennsylvania in 1730. On June 10, 1731, the colonial government issued two grants near the location of the Park: 20,000 acres for William Beverley and his associates between Cedar Creek and Lost River in Frederick and Shenandoah counties and 50,000 acres for John Fishback and others between the Blue Ridge and the Shenandoah River in Page and Warren counties.[49]

Settlers and speculators first acquired land within the present boundary of the Park during this period of extensive land claims in the Valley. In June 1730, John Van Meter and his brother, Isaac, each obtained grants of 10,000 acres from the Virginia government; these were situated in the "fork of the Shenandoah" and in the Opequon Creek drainage. The Van Meter family had moved from the Hudson River Valley in New York and settled in New Jersey. By 1726, John Van Meter owned land near present Frederick, Maryland, which he used as a base for trading with Indians. His trade expeditions led him south across the Potomac into the Shenandoah Valley, where he saw first hand the attractive lands that he would claim.[50]

The Van Meters were among nearly a million German immigrants who arrived in North America between the 1680s and the American Revolution. Typically, they agreed to terms of indentured labor with landowners who paid the costs of their transatlantic passage. Most came as families, fleeing persecution and war, in contrast to the many British indentured servants who were unmarried men lured by the prospect of exponentially greater wealth. Many Germans even migrated en masse as whole communities.[51] It is not surprising, then, how successfully Germans fulfilled their obligations of attracting settlers to populate vast land grants as they could recruit among large networks of kin and acquaintances.

The German exodus drew chiefly from what is now the southwestern portion of Germany, especially the Palatinate, Alsace, and what is now the German state of Baden-Würtemberg. From 1618 to 1648, this was one of the areas affected by the Thirty Years War. The region continued to suffer wartime depredations during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. However, the War of the Palatine Succession (1688–1697) was a tipping point that drove many residents to emigrate. After attacking the Palatinate, King Louis XIV of France found that he lacked the military resources for a permanent occupation. Instead, he destroyed three major cities and laid waste to the farms in the countryside across the Palatinate, Baden, and Württemberg. The region also suffered terribly during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714). With their homeland devastated, thousands of Germans headed to North America seeking refuge from war, freedom of religion, relief from predatory rulers, and the unprecedented economic opportunity offered by inexpensive land.[52]

In the vicinity of the Park, the most prominent early landowner was Jost Hite, born in 1685 at Bonfeld. From the second quarter of the seventeenth century, this small town in the southwestern German province of Baden-Baden had suffered depredations in the Thirty Years War and the War of the Palatine Succession (1688–1697). Hite was among 13,000 refugees from the southwest region who arrived in London in 1709. Colonial officials agreed to transport 2,500 of these refugees, including Hite, to New York. In compensation for their transatlantic passage, the refugees would produce naval stores, and after a period of indentured servitude establish themselves in settlements on the province's western frontier to "buffer" areas to the east from the French and Indians.[53]

When this project did not work as planned, Hite was released from his term as an indentured servant and free to set out on his own. In 1711, he moved to Kingston, New York to take part in the fur trade. Five years later, he settled in Germantown, Pennsylvania. In 1717, he made his home on 141.5 acres north of Philadelphia, and remained there for more than a decade. By 1730, however, Hite was on the move again, attracted by the Virginia governor's issue of large grants for his own "buffer settlements" beyond the Blue Ridge.[54]

In 1731, Hite and partner Robert McKay received a grant of 100,000 acres from Governor Gooch. The land included the area along Opequon Creek, where he established his home, a mill, and the surrounding settlement. Just prior to receiving this grant, Hite also had purchased 40,000 acres from John and Isaac Van Meter, whom he had known while living in Pennsylvania.[55] It is possible that Hite's nickname, the "old German Baron," refers to noble origins, but the term is apt in any case for the astonishing amount of land that came into his possession.[56]

Hite had paid nothing for the 100,000-acre grant. Instead, like a feudal vassal, he had an obligation to Governor Gooch for this largesse. In exchange for title to the land, the terms of the grant required Hite to settle one family per thousand acres; the same obligation descended to him through his land purchase from the Van Meters. With his network of family and acquaintances, he was able to settle nearly 100 families by 1735. It is to Hite's credit that he managed to sell hundreds of tracts, as some fell within areas of the Valley claimed by Lord Fairfax as part of the Northern Neck Proprietary.[57]

The Hite-Bowman Landscape Imprint

Within the 40,000-acre Van Meter grant, Hite made good use of family connections to settle tracts that included a major portion of what is now the Park. Two sons and a son-in-law who settled the area imparted a distinctive imprint on the landscape derived from their ethnic origins, association with English elites from east of the Blue Ridge, and the close network of kinship, physical, social, and economic connections between the properties and their later subdivisions. These descendants inherited or purchased properties that contain prominent historic landmarks of the battlefield's antebellum landscape, including Fort Bowman/Harmony Hall; the Belle Grove, Long Meadow, and Mount Pleasant manor houses; the Bowman and Bowman/Stickley Mills sites; Hite Mills Site; Bowman-Hite Farmhouse; and Stickley Farmhouse. In addition, these families built many of the historic secondary roads that connected their properties with each other and with industrial/commercial hubs around their mills (Figures 14–16). Key fords over the North Fork of the Shenandoah River, Cedar Creek, and lesser streams bear the names of the families descended from Jost Hite.

The vicinity of the Cedar Creek Battlefield developed into a distinctive cultural landscape similar to the open-country neighborhoods that geographer Robert Mitchell describes: "adjacent and nearby farms or plantations, located along streams and connected by roads and paths...assembled into linked rural neighborhoods of two to three miles in extent."[58] Roads, fords, mills, and farmland formed a web connected to the nodes of this landscape: the substantial farmhouses

Figure 14. Typical unpaved portion of historic road network connecting farms, mills, and fords in CEBE (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

of the principal landowners, such as the Hites, Bowmans, and Stickleys, who were kin to each other. Also within this neighborhood were the tenants, slaves, and free blacks who contributed to a burgeoning rural economy and society.

The earliest major landmark erected on this landscape is a stone dwelling called Harmony Hall, originally known as Fort Bowman (Figures 17 and 18). This excellent example of mid-eighteenth-century domestic architecture with ethnic German influences was the home of George Bowman, who had married Hite's daughter, Mary, in 1731. Christened Hans Jerg Baumann in 1699, Bowman (as his name appeared in Virginia court documents) came from Eppingen, located only 10 miles southwest of Bonfeld, Hite's hometown. In 1734, George Bowman received a 1,000-acre tract extending across both banks of Cedar Creek from part of the grant his father-in-law had acquired from the Van Meter brothers in 1731.[59] When Bowman built Harmony Hall on the property in 1758, he chose a center passage plan rather than the traditional German *flurküchenhaus* layout with central hearth found at Jost Hite's dwelling along the Opequon. Certain distinctive interior details, however, reflect Bowman's German origins. Floorboards dressed on the underside form the ceiling of the floor below. In addition, paneling between the center hall and adjacent rooms consists of vertical planks dressed on both sides and beaded at the joints.[60]

A prominent landmark behind the house is the associated graveyard, surrounded by a mortared stone wall and containing the graves of George Bowman, his wife, several of his 13 children, and other descendants (Figures 19 and 20). Among the graves is that of Samuel Kercheval, who wrote a history of the Shenandoah Valley, first printed in 1833. Kercheval had married Susan Chinn, the sister of George Bowman's daughter-in-law.[61] Unlike the current view toward Harmony Hall, obscured by trees, open land lay between the house and graveyard in the early twentieth century and earlier (Figure 21) (see Figures 15 and 16).

Research for a historic structures report on the Bowman-Hite farm (discussed later in this chapter) illustrates in microcosm the kind of kin-based organization of the eighteenth- to nineteenth-century landscape within the Park boundary. Historian Michael Spencer has overlaid property and field boundaries onto modern aerial photographs to show the subdivision of the landscape as George Bowman and his heirs established farms, houses, mills, and roads on the original 1,000-acre tract that Bowman acquired in 1753. Figures 22 and 23 shows key features and parcels within the 1,000-acre tract, while Figure 24 outlines possible field divisions on the portion that became the Bowman-Hite Farm.

By 1758, George Bowman also had established a mill along the west side of Cedar Creek, located northeast of Harmony Hall. The ruins of the early stone building remain across from the Daniel Stickley house along the old trace of the pre-1930s turnpike alignment (Figure 25).[62] Sometime before 1820, the Bowman family sold

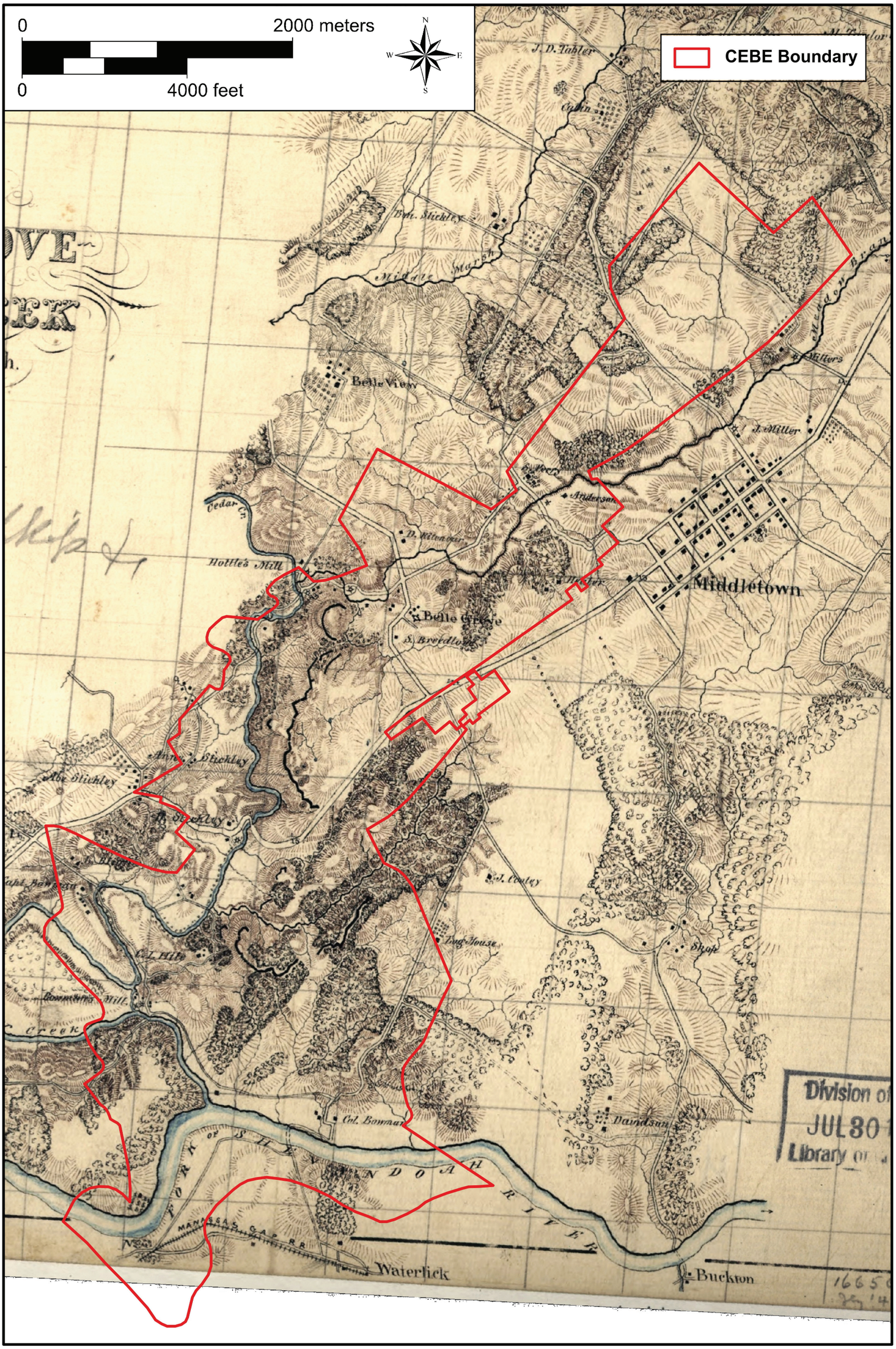


Figure 15. Confederate engineer's map of the Cedar Creek battlefield (Jedediah Hotchkiss, "Sketch of the battle of Belle Grove or Cedar Creek, Wednesday, Oct'r 19th, 1864," Hotchkiss Map Collection No. 195, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3884c.cwh00195 [georeferenced to present Park boundary by WMCAR]).

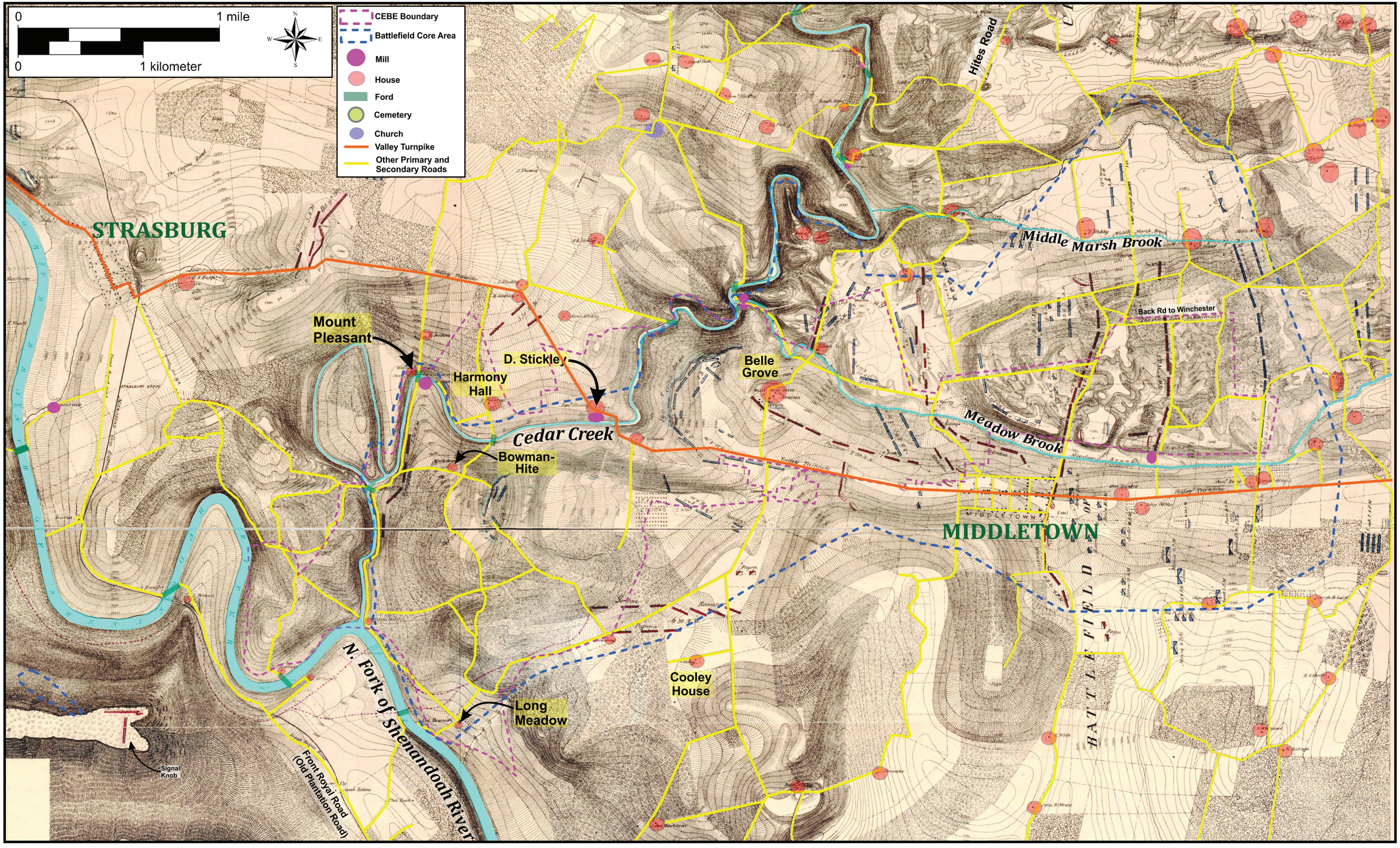


Figure 16. Map of the Cedar Creek and Fisher's Hill Battlefields with key domestic, agricultural, transportation, and industrial features highlighted (G. L. Gillespie, "Battle fields of Fisher's Hill [22 Sept. 1864] and Cedar Creek [19 Oct. 1864], Virginia....," 1873, LC Civil War maps (2nd ed.), 538, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3882f.cw0538000 [digitally re-mended and georeferenced to Park boundary by WMCAR]).

Figure 17. Facade of Harmony Hall (also known as Fort Bowman) (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 18. Ca. 1937 photograph of Harmony Hall and no longer extant outbuildings to the right of the dwelling. The photograph indicates that the current porch is not original (from Wayland, Historic Homes, *134).*

Figure 19. Family burial ground above Fort Bowman (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 20. Detail of burial ground enclosure and historic marker commemorating Bowman relative Samuel Kercheval, who published a history of the Shenandoah Valley in 1833 (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 21. Bowman Cemetery in the 1930s, showing a clear view toward Harmony Hall similar to the way the property would have appeared in the nineteenth century (from Wayland, Historic Homes, *136). According to one genealogical publication, the grave in the foreground, located outside the enclosure, is that of Hite family servant "Mammy" (ca. 1826–1926) (Elizabeth Madison Coles Umstattd,* Hite Family Homesteads - Neckar to Shenandoah, Revised *[Villanova, Pa.: privately published, 1999], 44).*

this mill property to the Stickleys, who built an additional mill alongside; the family had purchased other property in the vicinity from Bowman in 1741.[63] Labeled "Burnt Mills" on an 1873 map of the Cedar Creek Battlefield, the buildings were among those destroyed during Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan's scorched earth campaign of October 1864 (see Figure 16).[64]

After George Bowman's death in 1768, his property along Cedar Creek descended to his heirs. The wording of Bowman's will explains how the property was divided and gave the landscape its distinctive kin-based patterns of houses, boundaries, fields, mills, and roads:

> My will & desire is that the Tract of Land & Plantation Whereon I now Live which contains Seven Hundred & Twenty Acres be divided in four equal parts which I give & Bequeath in manner following vist the House and Plantation with the Land Joining thereto according to the Division, I give my son Isaac to be by him possessed when he comes of age with this reserve only, that it is my Will & Desire that my well beloved wife Mary shall live thereon and Enjoy the same during her Natural Life that part of the Said Tract whereon the Mill is; I give to my son George together with the Mill according to the said Division. That part of the said Tract joining the Plantation According to the sd. Division I give to my son Abraham and the other Remaining part I give to my Son Joseph to be by them Possessed when they come to age…"[65]

The 1,000-acre tract that Bowman had purchased was intact except for the 280 acres sold three decades earlier to John Stickley. Bowman's will devised holdings of land he had accumulated in Augusta County to his son John. As noted in the extract from the will quoted above, the remaining 720 acres along Cedar Creek went to his sons Isaac, George, Abraham, and Joseph. Although still a minor, his son Isaac received the choice 180-acre "home tract" containing

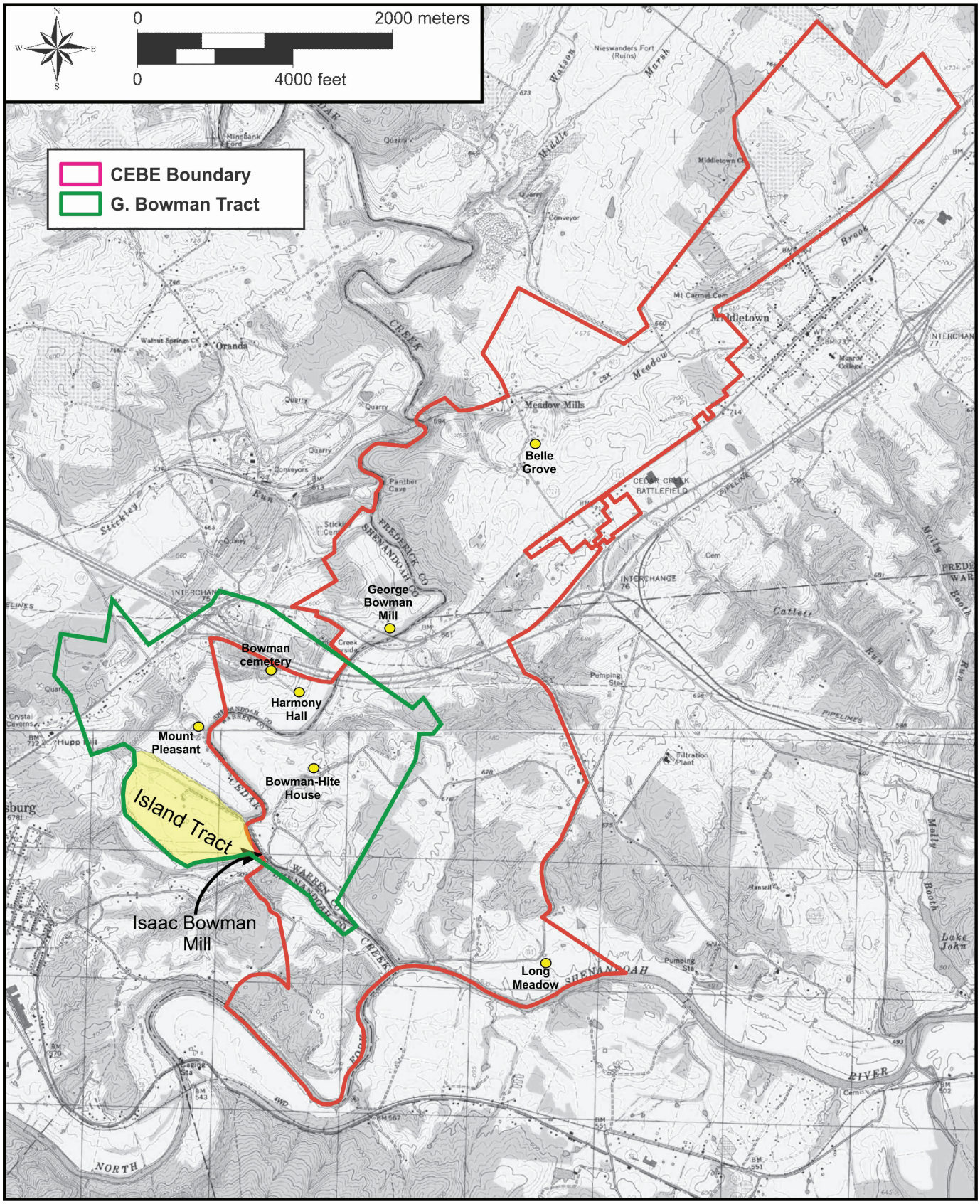


Figure 22. Map of the original 1,000-acre tract that George Bowman acquired from Jost Hite in 1734, relative to CEBE boundary and later key features established as the property developed and was subdivided among Bowman's kin (WMCAR; base map: USGS 1994 Strasburg and 1999 Middletown 7.5' topographic quadrangle).

Figure 23. Subdivision of George Bowman's property following his death in 1768 (not completed until 1843; the hatched area indicates a parcel acquired by one of Bowman's heirs in the 1850s) (from Michael Spencer, "The Bowman-Hite Property, Warren County, Virginia: Bowman-Hite Bank Barn Historic Structures Report" (Department of Historic Preservation Mary Washington University, Fredericksburg, Virginia. Submitted to CEBE, Middletown, Virginia, 2012), 229.

Figure 24. Projected division of fields within the Bowman-Hite farm, closely corresponding to many present-day hedgerows, tree lines, and fences (from Spencer, "Bowman-Hite Bank Barn Historic Structures Report," 39).

Figure 25. George Bowman's Mill (foreground) and Daniel Stickley Mill (rear), located on Stickley property in Shenandoah County, west of the crossing of the old alignment of Cedar Creek (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Harmony Hall, which would be his mother's home during her "natural life."[66]

After receiving his inheritance, Isaac Bowman ranged widely from Cedar Creek, first following his cousin Isaac Hite and brothers on a settlement expedition to Kentucky. In 1778, he served in the Revolutionary War with George Rogers Clark's Illinois militia. In recompense, he obtained a grant of 2,156 acres in Indiana territory. A year later, he led a group of settlers westward, but then spent the following three years as a captive of an Indian tribe along the frontier. By 1787, after two years of marriage to his first wife, Elizabeth Gatewood, he had fully established himself into his inheritance at Fort Bowman, paying property taxes on eight slaves, four horses, and 30 head of cattle.[67]

Isaac Bowman's fortune continued to grow as he invested his earnings from agriculture and western lands into construction of a mill complex below the next large bend in Cedar Creek downstream from Harmony Hall. In 1793, he cut a mill race that formed the so-called Island Tract from the next oxbow downstream (Figure 26). Although more dense vegetation and a small flow of water mark this original course of Cedar Creek, this major landscape modification permanently altered the stream's principal flow. Along the northeast side of the stream, Bowman erected a 40-by-30-foot, two-and-a-half-story merchant mill for grinding the grain from nearby farms and a 40-by-13-foot sawmill. In 1803, insurance adjusters valued the gristmill at $3,000 and the sawmill at $300. Three years later, an insurance policy documents the addition of a wood frame dwelling, a blacksmith shop, and two other wooden buildings.[68]

Sometime between the 1803 and 1806 insurance assessments, Isaac Bowman moved to Mount Pleasant (085-0072), just downstream and visible from Harmony Hall (Figure 27). It is likely that the Bowman family lived in what is now a dressed rubble kitchen wing of the manor house at Mount Pleasant. Adjacent to this simple ca. 1790 stone building, Bowman erected a splendid Federal-style dwelling in 1812 (Figures 28–30). The imposing five-bay, double-pile, center pas-

Figure 26. Isaac Bowman mill complex along Cedar Creek in the nineteenth century (from English, Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio 1778–1783; and Life of Gen. George Rogers Clark.... *[Indianapolis: Bowen-Merrill Company, 1897], 121).*

Figure 27. Ca. 1937 view of Mount Pleasant from Harmony Hall, looking southeast (from Wayland, Historic Homes, *135).*

sage house with pedimented porches on the front and rear is as an imposing presence on the landscape, perched high on a bluff overlooking Cedar Creek. Before the screen of mature trees grew up in the late twentieth century, this local landmark would have been a highly visible reminder of Isaac Bowman's personal wealth and prominence (see Figures views). Although most of the outbuildings date to the twentieth century, a smokehouse remains that likely is contemporary with the brick house (Figure 31).[69]

Besides presenting a fashionable exterior appearance, Mount Pleasant also exhibits several refined details on the interior (Figures 33–35). As the most public room, the broad center passage would have impressed visitors with its 11-foot ceiling, an elliptical archway with pilasters at its midpoint, and flat plaster wainscoting with chair rail. The original façade entrance, oriented toward the creek, features an eight-panel door with an arched transom and geometric reedwork above. Refined woodwork continues throughout the first floor, including elegantly proportioned Federal-style mantelpieces, windows with pilaster trim, fluted moldings, and bulls-eye corner blocks. The finest second-floor bedroom, above the parlor, has a Federal-style mantel flanked by finely trimmed, arched niches. Although these may be original, one surveyor suggests they date to a major rehabilitation of the house ca. 1930.[70]

During the eighteenth century, Jost Hite's third son, Isaac, acquired property that includes both Long Meadow along the left bank of the North Fork of the Shenandoah (at the southern end of CEBE) and Belle Grove. According to Cecil O'Dell's land records research, Isaac Hite acquired the 300-acre parcel where the Long Meadow plantation house stands from his brother John Hite in 1744. Four years later, he added 300 acres to the north along Meadow Brook, the site of Belle Grove plantation house, through a purchase from James Hoge (this land had been part of a 2,168-acre grant made to Jost Hite in 1732). In 1770, he purchased a 183-acre tract adjacent to the northwest from William Vance.[71] Probably due to the Fairfax Proprietary's ongoing dispute with the Virginia colonial government's right to issue land grants in the Lower Valley, Hite considered it prudent to obtain a new patent to ensure clear title to his holdings. In 1788, he obtained a patent for 1,689 acres that he had accumulated through purchases of old Virginia grants.[72]

By the time Isaac Hite obtained his Proprietary Grant in 1788, he already resided on the property. His long frame house stood on the same site as the mid-nineteenth-century dwelling built by his nephew George Bowman. Known as Traveler's Rest, the Hite dwelling stood where the road between Front Royal and Strasburg crossed the river at a ford. On Civil War maps, the location is labeled "Col. Bowman," referring to Isaac Hite's nephew George W. Bowman owned the property in the mid-nineteenth century (see Figures 15 and 16). Before the formation of old Frederick County in 1743 (and then Warren County in 1836), this road would have been a vital link connecting Valley planters to the nearest local court east of the mountains in vast Orange County, from which Frederick County was formed (due to a subsequent subdivision of Frederick County, Long Meadow now lies in Warren County).[73]

In Isaac Hite's 1794 will, he mentions a 4.75-acre tract along Meadow Brook where he built a mill in partnership with his son, Isaac, Jr. This complex probably consisted of a merchant mill and sawmill. By the time of the Civil War, the Hottle family was in possession of the old Hite mill tract. These early mill sites are in the vicinity of the postbellum community of Meadow Mills.[74]

By 1783, Isaac Hite had developed his property along Meadow Brook as a farm. That year, he conveyed the 483-acre tract as a wedding gift to his son, Isaac, Jr., and his bride, Nelly Conway Madison (sister of later President James Madison); Isaac, Sr., also provided 15 slaves to work the property.[75]

At first, Isaac and Nelly Hite lived in the "Old Hall," a two-story stone dwelling at the west end of the present plantation complex that stood until

Figure 28. Mount Pleasant, southwest (former rear) elevation and earlier stone kitchen wing (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 29. Mount Pleasant, original facade toward creek and earlier stone kitchen wing (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 30. Mount Pleasant, facade cornice detail (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 31. Mount Pleasant, ca. 1812 smokehouse (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 32. Mount Pleasant, archway in passage (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 33. Mount Pleasant, entrance door with arched transom and reedwork (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 34. Mount Pleasant, Federal-style mantelpiece (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 35. Mount Pleasant, mantel and flanking arched niches in second-floor bedroom (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

the early twentieth century. In 1794, Isaac Hite, Jr., began building the stone manor house called Belle Grove, completing construction in 1797. Upon his father's death in 1795, Hite inherited Traveler's Rest, which increased his holdings to 1,512 acres. By 1805, Belle Grove and its adjacent lands totaled 4,106 acres, and in 1813 the Hite holdings encompassed an astounding 7,535 acres.[76]

At its peak in the 1820s, Belle Grove was a mixed farming operation with crops of wheat, rye, oats, and maize, as well as cattle and other livestock. Hite's cattle farming may have functioned much like the modern feed lots of the Midwest. It was convenient for Hite to purchase animals from the large seasonal droves of up to 12,000 head of cattle that moved down the Valley Wagon Road in front of his house. Typically, he would buy cattle in September, fatten them over the winter with hay and corn fodder, and then sell them on his farm or at the market in Winchester. The productivity of soils on Hite's property varied according to the topographic setting. Bottomlands produced 6 bushels of corn per acre, while uplands yielded no more than 4 bushels per acre. The best yield for wheat was 12 bushels per acre. During periods of low grain prices, Hite found it more profitable to process the grain into spirits or feed it to livestock. In his distillery on the property, a two-thirds rye, one-third corn mix yielded 11 quarts of spirits per bushel. Up to 103 slaves worked the vast tracts.[77] In addition, Hite operated a sawmill, a gristmill, and a general store.[78]

After the death of his wife, Nelly, in 1802, Hite married Ann Tunstall Maury. Of three children by Nelly Hite and ten more by Ann Hite, twelve survived to adulthood. To accommodate the large family, the Hites constructed a wing on the

west end of the Belle Grove mansion, extending the width of the impressive facade to its current dimension in 1820. The property remained in the Hite family after the death of Isaac Hite, Jr., in 1836. After Ann Hite's death in 1851, the property was managed in the interest of the Hite family heirs.[79]

Construction of Belle Grove had begun in 1794, and the first phase would be complete in 1797. Although constructed of stone like Fort Bowman, the sprawling Belle Grove mansion (100 by 40 ft. with the 1820 wing) departs completely from the earlier building's vernacular characteristics (Figures 36–38). Instead, Belle Grove features dressed limestone walls, decorative quoins, windows with keyed flat arches, four porticoes, four chimneys widely spaced across a hipped roof—a fine melding of the fashionable Neoclassical and Federal styles that recalls the Madisons' Montpelier. Surrounding the plantation house are several outbuildings with masonry similar to the house, and to the rear is a large slave cemetery (Figure 39; see Figure 38).

Following the trend of fashionably styled masonry dwellings, Isaac Bowman's son, Col. George W. Bowman, built the fine brick Long Meadow mansion along the North Fork of the Shenandoah River in 1848; he had purchased the surrounding property in 1840 (Figure 40).[80] Although Long Meadow is transitional between the Federal and Greek Revival styles, the interior mirrors some of the striking interior wood trim found at Mount Pleasant, including an elliptical arch in the center passage, a carved U-shaped staircase, and arched niches in the parlor (Figures 41–43). Although the house generally reflects the Greek Revival rather than Neoclassical style, George Bowman may have echoed his relatives' mansion at Belle Grove, with its hipped roof and four lateral chimneys (see Figures 37 and 40). Despite the accidental or deliberate destruction of Traveler's Rest, the plantation house yard retains some of the late eighteenth-century outbuildings, including a frame overseer's house and a stone springhouse (Figures 44 and 45). The burial ground at Mount Pleasant includes the graves of Isaac Hite of Long Meadow; Isaac Hite, Jr., of Belle Grove and first wife, Nelly Conway Madison; 15 other interments with inscribed markers; nine unidentified graves with plain markers; and possibly additional graves that are unmarked (Figure 46).

Continuing the trend of substantial brick farmhouses is the Bowman-Hite Farm, located along the east bank of Cedar Creek (Figure 47). It is on the property Rebecca Bowman inherited from her father Isaac at mid-century. When Rebecca and her husband Charles Hite built the Federal-style brick dwelling in 1851–1853, they probably followed the side passage plan layout of his family's homeplace in Jefferson County (now in West Virginia).[81] Although grave markers from the small family burial ground on the property have been displaced and broken, the headstone and footstone from Rebecca Bowman's grave are largely intact (Figure 48). Like the Bowman homeplaces at Fort Bowman and Mount Pleasant, the Bowman-Hite farmhouse was an imposing presence on high ground. It had a clear line of sight to Mount Pleasant and was visible from the Bowman cemetery (Figure 49).

The prosperous Stickley family, likewise, built a brick dwelling on their property directly across the turnpike from their mill, which George Bowman had sold to John Stickley in the eighteenth century (Figures 50 and 51). Even though the Stickley house burned in 1859, the family rebuilt the dwelling on the eve of the Civil War.[82] The Stickley yard illustrates an observation by NPS landscape architect Tonia Horton that antebellum farms in the vicinity of Cedar Creek appear to have outbuildings more tightly clustered around the main house than in other parts of the Valley and in Virginia. Future architectural history research could further examine this possible trend (see Figures 18, 38, 44, and 51).

The building techniques and styles of these historic dwellings track the assimilation of high-status German immigrant families into English colonial and antebellum culture. As the Hites and Bowmans forged connections with the dominant culture through marriage, business dealings, and local government, they displayed their status

Figure 36. Belle Grove viewed from turnpike in 1885 (from USAMHI collections).

Figure 37. Belle Grove in 1930s with 1820 addition to left (from Wayland, Historic Homes, *70).*

Figure 38. Belle Grove plantation house and outbuildings, looking east (photo by WMCAR, April 2013).

Figure 39. Slave cemetery with fieldstone grave markers (three are within the highlighted oval) and unmarked graves; the roof and chimneys of Belle Grove are visible just right of center beyond the fence (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 40. Long Meadow, facade (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 41. Long Meadow, elliptical arch in passage with U-shaped staircase behind (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 42. Long Meadow, carved U-shaped staircase (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 43. Long Meadow, mantel and arched niches in parlor (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 44. Long Meadow, overseer's house off rear corner of manor house (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 45. Long Meadow, stone springhouse (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 46. Long Meadow, graveyard with house and outbuildings in background (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 47. Bowman-Hite Farmhouse, facade overlooking Cedar Creek (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 48. Displaced and broken headstone (left) and footstone (below) of Rebecca F. W. Hite on the Bowman-Hite Farm (photo courtesy of CEBE [left] and by WMCAR, April 2012 [below]).

Figure 49. View from Bowman-Hite Farmhouse overlooking Cedar Creek with the gable of Mount Pleasant visible (at tip of arrow) in the distance (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 50. Daniel Stickley House, facade (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 51. Daniel Stickley House and tightly clustered outbuildings (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

within the community by building and appointing their homes according to the fashionable styles of the day. The earliest of the dwellings, George Bowman's Fort Bowman, is constructed of random rubble limestone in sharp contrast to the later brick (Mount Pleasant, Long Meadow, Bowman-Hite Farm, and Stickley House) and ashlar limestone (Belle Grove) dwellings of his more thoroughly assimilated son and relatives. Although Fort Bowman has a center passage plan, popular among the of English planters as a means of restricting direct access to the family's living space to their peers, many of the interior architectural details are still typically German, such as floorboards/ceiling boards and vertical interior wall boards dressed on both sides and beaded at the joints. George Bowman's son, Isaac, embraced the dominant English culture's building traditions with the construction of Mount Pleasant, a ca. 1790 Federal style brick dwelling that he added onto an earlier stone dwelling. Isaac Hite, Jr., made an even more emphatic statement of his social eminence by perching his Belle Grove mansion on a slight rise overlooking the Valley's main thoroughfare. Local neighbors and traveler's along the Turnpike could appreciate Hite's means and fashionable taste with a view of his Neoclassical/Federal-style plantation house of gleaming light gray limestone. Toward the mid-nineteenth century, George Bowman's grandson, Col. George Bowman, built Long Meadow of brick in the popular Greek Revival style, while Daniel Stickley rebuilt a slightly less imposing Federal-style brick dwelling on his property overlooking Cedar Creek and the Valley Turnpike.

Architectural historians also relate the shift to a more formal landscape anchored by imposing brick plantation houses—"landscapes of control"—to the expansion of slavery in the Lower Valley in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Projection of status through an ordered built landscape (aimed at other white peers and social inferiors rather than slaves, whose compliance depended instead on the threat of violence) replicated the customs of the slaveholding elite to in the Tidewater and Piedmont.[83]

Less labor-intensive than the tobacco-based agricultural system that had thrived in the

Tidewater, wheat agriculture and mixed farming in the Valley nonetheless required a large labor pool to achieve the high yields and substantial income enjoyed by the major land holders such as the Bowmans and Hites. In 1814, the holdings of Isaac Hite, Jr., at Belle Grove and elsewhere across Frederick County totaled 7,535 acres, one of the largest land estates in the region. In order to tend the fields, but also to perform various crafts and labor in his industrial enterprises such as gristmills, sawmills, and a distillery, Hite had 103 enslaved workers. By far, they were the most important segment of his labor force, which included only a few white servants and no free blacks. Isaac's kin, who admittedly owned much smaller holdings, also relied on slave labor. For example, by 1860–1861 Charles and Rebecca Hite had eight slaves to work the mixed farming operation on 285 acres of improved land. Likewise, in 1850 Isaac S. Bowman had 13 slaves at Mount Pleasant, and there were 11 slaves on Washington Bowman's Island Tract across Cedar Creek.[84]

Compared to other parts of Virginia such as the Tidewater and Piedmont, relatively little research has delved into the practice of slavery in the vicinity of the Park and more broadly in Frederick, Shenandoah, and Warren counties. It is clear that the Hite and Bowman families along Cedar Creek relied heavily on slave labor. Nevertheless, a perception persists that slaveholding was "exceptional" among ethnic Germans because their main denominations—Mennonite, United Brethren, and Dunker—opposed the practice on moral grounds.[85] Compilation and analysis of statistics from tax and court records could shed light on correlations between ethnicity and slaveholding in the local economy. The relationship between German families' degree of assimilation into the dominant elite culture could reveal whether this was the main factor in the local Bowman and Hite families' embrace of slaveholding or whether purely economic circumstances (such as owning large tracts requiring a larger labor force) played a more important role. A broad-based study could also reveal whether the local pattern of slaveholding is more broadly representative of German families within the Valley than previously believed.

Study of the institution of slavery within the Park also has the potential for interesting comparisons between the Valley and more widely researched slave regions. The distinctive settlement patterns, social organization, agriculture, and economic structure of the Valley all played a role in the way the institution developed locally.[86] Some questions to consider include the degree to which slave labor was tied to a particular property. The intermittent labor needs of grain cultivation in the Valley often meant that slaves periodically were hired out to other farmers or local mills and forges. A study of slavery in Augusta County estimates that the rate of out-hiring was between 6 and 34 percent of the slave labor force.[87] As the diverse Hite and Bowman family operations included grain agriculture, extensive livestock farming, mills, stores, and a distillery, their slaves would have shifted around internally within a slaveholder's property, as needed. Census information for Isaac Hite, Jr., reveals that free white labor made up only a small fraction of this workers, while the slaves included craftworkers such as "a blacksmith, woodworkers, masons, leather-workers, millers, weavers, and seamstresses."[88] Recent research on the Bowman-Hite Farm property suggests the variety financial benefits the families derived from owning slaves. For example, before her marriage Rebecca Bowman derived an income from the hired labor of four slaves designated for that purpose in her father's will. Later, Rebecca and her husband, Charles Hite, used their slaves as collateral assets to secure a loan.[89]

Development of Local Institutions, Commerce, and Industry

As settlement increased west of the Blue Ridge, the colonial government established counties and local courts. From 1734 to 1743, the vast territory of Orange County extended west beyond the Blue Ridge to encompass the entire Valley. Just as had occurred to the east in Tidewater Virginia, smaller counties were formed as settlement intensified in

frontier areas. A substantial population situated beyond a day's horseback ride from the courthouse could usually convince the colony's government in Williamsburg to carve out a new county to serve their needs. Accordingly, in the 1740s, the Valley was divided into Frederick and Augusta counties. Further division of Valley counties occurred in 1772 when the British Parliament relented on the Proclamation Line that had prohibited western migration into Indian territories. Frederick County lost the lands of Berkeley County on the north and Dunmore County on the south. In 1778, Dunmore County understandably was renamed Shenandoah as a reaction against the unpopular colonial governor. During the early years of the republic, the county boundaries in the Valley remained stable. In 1836, complaints by local citizens of long trips to the county seats in Shenandoah and Frederick prompted the formation of Warren County, named for Dr. Joseph Warren, a Massachusetts patriot who died at the Battle of Bunker Hill in 1775.[90]

In this lower part of the Shenandoah Valley below Port Republic in Rockingham County, a distinctive system of river navigation developed, giving local planters access to distant markets. In the Shenandoah's shallow waters, impassable for conventional cargo vessels, minor improvements to the waterway allowed barges called gundalows with only 1 ft. of draft to negotiate the river. These sturdy craft carried local farmers' produce downstream to Harper's Ferry, where larger vessels and other transportation methods distributed the cargo to wider commercial networks down the Potomac and beyond.[91] Valley boatbuilders used undressed timbers to construct gundalows measuring 4 ft. high, 9.5 ft. wide, and 76 to 90 ft. long. Each gundalow had a crew of four to six men who poled the vessel along and handled a rudder at each end. Commonly, the boats carried 100 to 110 barrels of flour; other cargoes included beef, iron or iron ore, and lumber.[92] At the confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac rivers in Harper's Ferry, the boats were recycled into construction lumber and for other uses rather than making the challenging journey back upriver empty or with small, unprofitable cargoes. Where low water prohibited passage of even these shallow-draft vessels, "wing dams" funneled the water to form channels called sluices deep enough for gunalows to float through.[93]

Begun by the Potomac Company in 1802, construction and maintenance of these improvements along the Shenandoah continued under the New Shenandoah Company from 1815 until Shenandoah River transportation declined in the 1850s due to competition from rail traffic as well as the James River Canal between Lynchburg and Richmond.[94] Despite these alternatives, the river remained a significant transportation artery through the late nineteenth century.[95]

The Manassas Gap Railroad Company was chartered in 1850 with the intention of constructing a railroad from a junction with the Orange and Alexandria Railroad in Prince William County west across the mountains into the Valley, extending to Strasburg and Harrisonburg in Rockingham County. The railroad grade closely followed the route of the Chester's Ferry and Manassas Gap Turnpike road corridors. Much of the motivation behind this enterprise came from merchants in Alexandria who wanted a direct link to the commodities and potential consumers of the Valley. Unlike freight by gundalow, rail transportation also had the advantage of being independent of fluctuations in river levels. The railroad was completed from Manassas Junction to Front Royal and Strasburg by 1854.[96]

During the second half of the eighteenth century, especially following the French and Indian War, towns sprang up along the Great Wagon Road. Typically, these centers of craft and commerce occurred 6 to 12 miles apart, an interval determined "by the distances farm families were willing to travel to secondary and primary markets." Typically formed by profit-minded landowners in response to local needs and obvious demand, these thriving economic nodes stood in stark contrast to the largely unsuccessful attempts of the House of Burgesses to legislate the creation of towns in Tidewater in the colonial period.[97]

Strasburg was founded in 1761 by German immigrant Peter Stover, who named it after his birthplace in Lorraine (now in France). This brother of the early land speculator, Jacob Stover, sited the town on the land that he purchased from mill operator Jacob Funk. Many purchasers of the 32 lots sold in a brisk first six months of sales would have been confident that the hub of activity that had existed at the junction of the mill and the Wagon Road would continue to attract commerce. It was an important node in the "open-country neighborhood" that characterized the countryside in the vicinity of CEBE at the time.[98]

Middletown emerged later during a spurt when two other towns were surveyed in the 1790s. By this time, the region had entered what historian Warren Hofstra calls a "town and country" phase of development, with "a hierarchy of towns intricately woven into the earlier pattern of open-country neighborhoods." The term "settlement continuum" underscores the "continuities of rural and urban worlds in the preindustrial landscape."[99] In this hierarchy, Middletown would have ranked among villages (communities of 50–100 residents). Strasburg belonged to the next rank of a small urban center with more than 250 residents. Moving up the scale were local centers such as Woodstock (500+ residents), regional centers like Sheperdstown (1,000+). Within the Lower Valley, Winchester stood at the top of the hierarchy as a "regional entrepôt" with more than 2,000 in population.[100]

The Civil War and the Battle of Cedar Creek

War in the Shenandoah Valley

When the Civil War began, most of the counties in the Shenandoah Valley voted against secession. With the April 1861 enactment of the Ordinance of Secession, however, Frederick, Shenandoah, and Warren counties immediately raised troops, and the first units of militia volunteers marched north to capture the Federal Arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Although a number of small skirmishes occurred within the Valley, the region remained mostly untouched by Union forces for the first year of the war. For Union armies intent on capturing Richmond, the Valley's northeast to southwest orientation precluded its usefulness as an approach route as it veered away from central Virginia. On the other hand, Confederate forces could move down the Shenandoah and then along the Potomac River to threaten Washington. Rich farmland further enhanced the Valley's importance to the Confederacy as a supply of food for its armies. For these reasons, it became imperative for Federal forces to gain control of the Valley.[101]

To even the most capable Union generals, this proved a daunting task for most of the war. Under the leadership of Gen. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, and later Gen. Jubal Early, Confederate forces dominated the Shenandoah Valley during the first three years of the war. Topography favored the Confederates, allowing them to defend the Valley with a much smaller force than the Union needed to mount a strategically successful campaign (Figure 52). Confederate forces, especially under Jackson, were difficult to track from the east as they moved behind the cover of the Blue Ridge. Within the Valley, Massanutten Mountain served as an additional screen. Southern commanders were able to take advantage of this topographical feature because of their more intimate knowledge of the surrounding roads, tracks, and fords. A prime example of this superiority is Jackson's victory at Front Royal in 1862. With the help of cartographer Jedediah Hotchkiss, a native New Yorker who moved to the Shenandoah Valley at the age of 19, Jackson moved his troops along little-known tracks in the Luray Valley and in the immediate vicinity of Front Royal, surprising a Union garrison that Jackson had isolated from a larger force at Strasburg (Figure 53). Later that year, Jackson used the barrier of Massanutten to keep two Union forces separated while he defeated them one at a time at Cross Keys and Port Republic.[102]

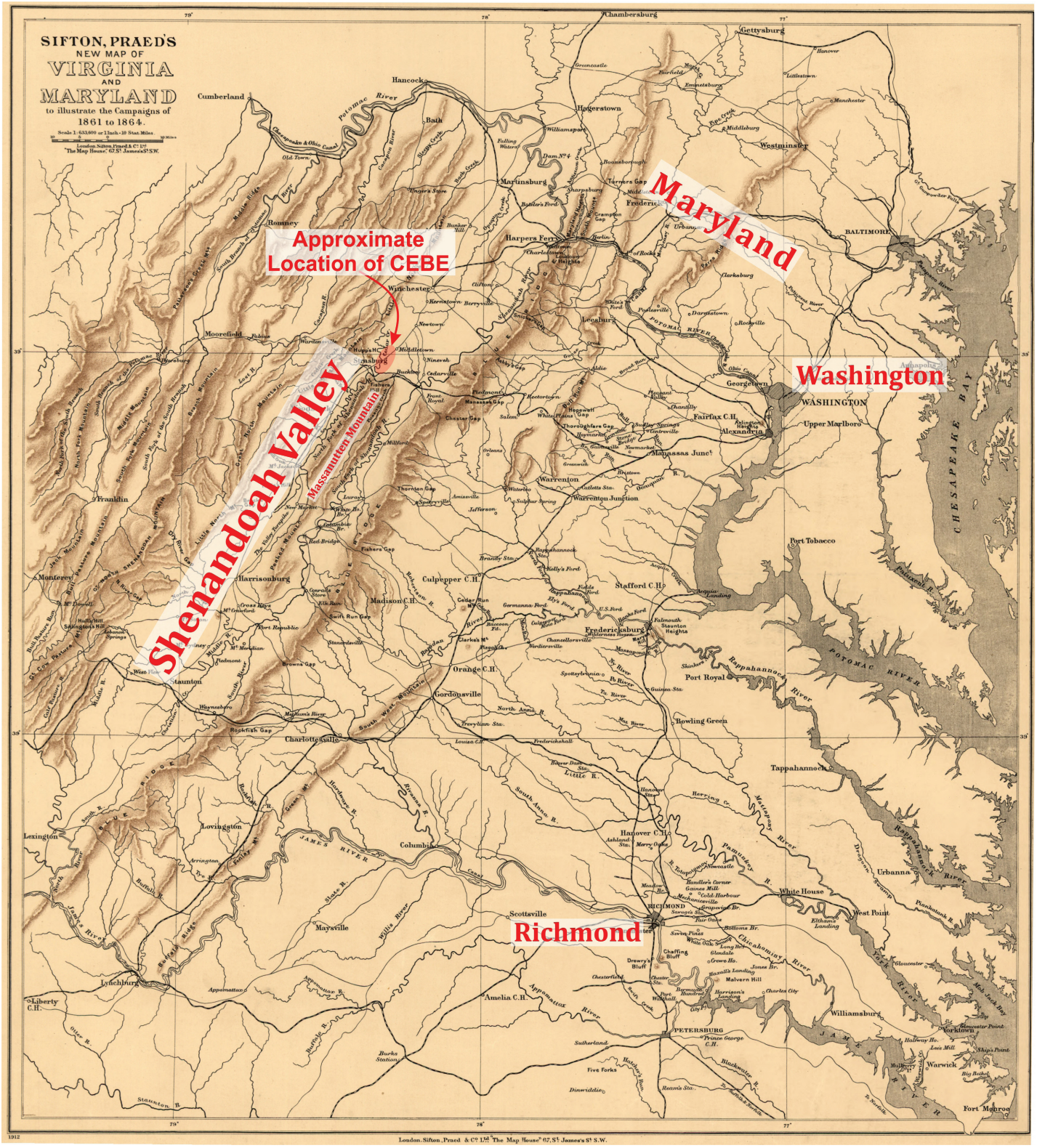


Figure 52. Map of Civil War campaigns in Virginia illustrating the strategic implications of the Shenandoah Valley's topography (Sifton, Praed & Company, Ltd., "Sifton, Praed's new map of Virginia and Maryland to illustrate the campaigns of 1861 to 1864" [London, 1912], http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3880.cw0499500).

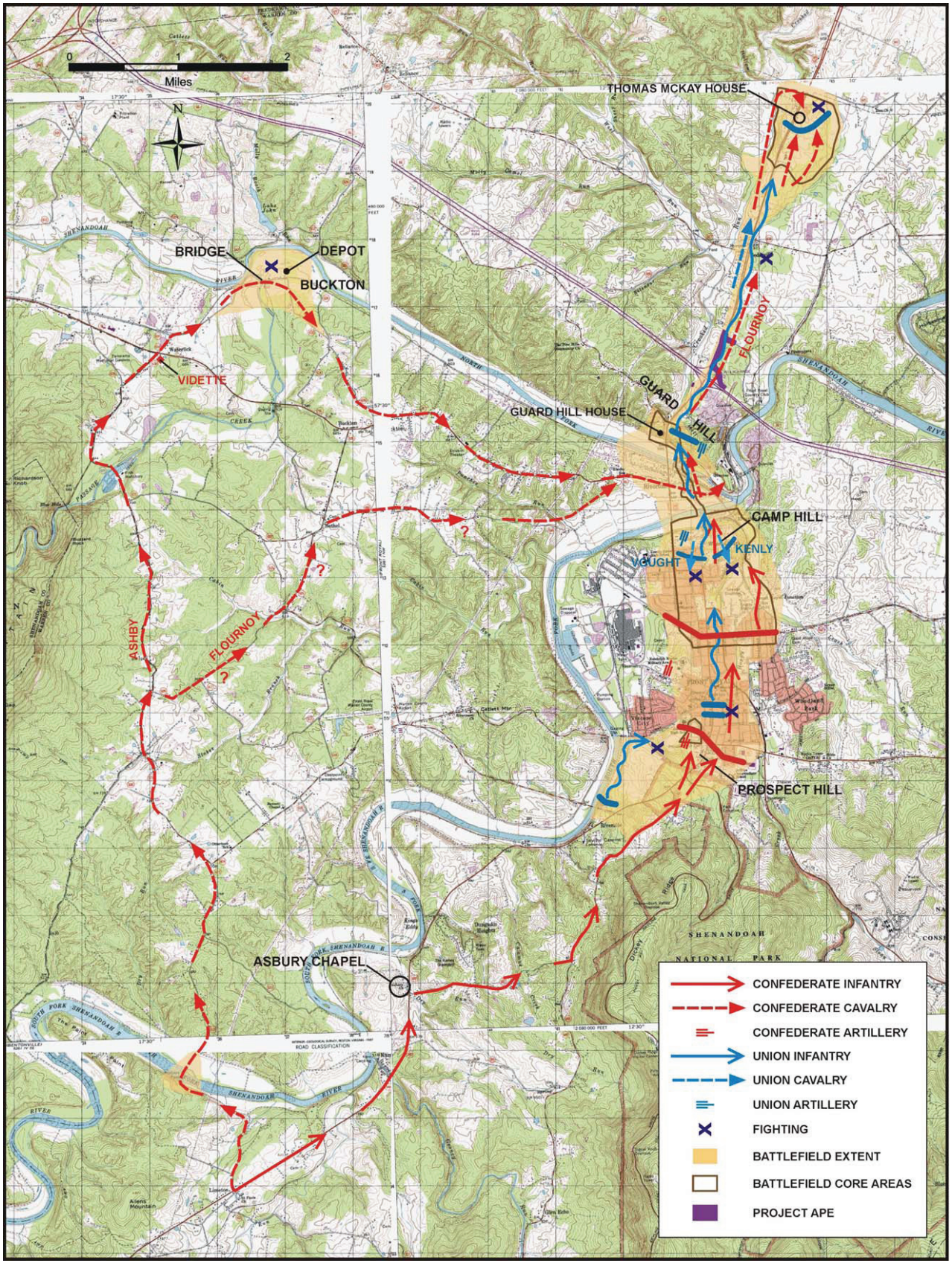


Figure 53. Map showing Jackson's approaches to Front Royal, which led allowed him to isolate, surprise, and overwhelm the Union garrison there in 1862 (WMCAR, from Lowe 1992; base map: USGS 1972 Bentonville, 1986 Strasburg, 1994 Front Royal, and 1994 Chester Gap 7.5' topographic quadrangles).

Confederate power eventually weakened in late summer 1864, when Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant consolidated Union forces in the Valley with units from Maryland, West Virginia, and northern Virginia, and placed Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan in command. The Army of the Shenandoah consisted of a cavalry corps under the command of Maj. Gen. Alfred Torbert and the equivalent of three infantry corps. The VI Corps (under Maj. Gen. Horatio Wright) and XIX Corps (under Brig. Gen. William H. Emory) were part of the corps system of organization of the Union Army authorized by Act of Congress in June 1862. The third corps-size infantry component was the Army of West Virginia, commanded by Brig. Gen. George Crook. When merged within Sheridan's Army of the Shenandoah, this former army acquired the unofficial designation of VIII Corps. The identification is not to be confused with the officially designated VIII Corps in the Middle Department, from which Crook drew some of the units in his command. At the time of the Battle of Cedar Creek, the official VIII Army Corps served as a defensive force in Maryland.[103]

For more than a month, the armies shadowed each other's movements and fought small skirmishes. However, Early's Army of the Valley suffered a shuddering blow at the Third Battle of Winchester on September 19, 1864. Sheridan's pursuit continued at Fisher's Hill, to the south of Strasburg. Although Early held a strong position there on September 21, the Union force managed to outflank him the next day. To avoid capture of his entire army, Early withdrew far to the south near Waynesboro. General Sheridan ended his pursuit, but the victory at Fisher's Hill gave him free rein to move through the lower and central parts of the Shenandoah Valley.[104]

As the Army of the Shenandoah moved northward, down the Valley, it wrought a path of destruction that became known as the "The Burning" or "Red October" (Figures 54 and 55).[105] In a letter dated October 1, Grant approved Sheridan's strategy of leaving "nothing for the subsistence of an army on any ground you abandon to the enemy."[106] Losses along the Valley Pike and lesser thoroughfares such as Middle Road and Broadway Road between Staunton and Strasburg included:

> 630 barns; 47 flouring mills; 4 sawmills; 1 woolen mill; 3,982 tons of hay, straw and fodder; more than 400,000 bushels of wheat; 3 furnaces; 515 acres of corn; 750 bushels of oats; more than 3,000 head of livestock; 560 barrels of flour; 2 tanneries; 1 railroad depot; 1 locomotive engine; and 3 boxcars.[107]

As early as the Gettysburg campaign of 1863, when Robert E. Lee invaded Pennsylvania, historian Mark Fiege has noted, the South was in "environmental collapse, from battle destruction and the exigencies of war, and from drought, flood, cold, and disease."[108] With the Shenandoah Valley largely under Confederate control during that period, the region's agricultural resources had increased in importance. Relatively unscathed by the decline suffered elsewhere across the Confederacy, local farmers supplied a large proportion of the provisions for Lee's forces in the Eastern Theater. Three years of hard fighting had only resulted in a general stalemate on the battlefields. It is not surprising that by the fall of 1864, Grant authorized a strategy aimed specifically at destroying agricultural resources and the infrastructure necessary for their processing, storage, and transport. Destruction of a key supply source would quickly render the Confederate forces ineffective—even if it also inflicted terrible "collateral damage" on civilians, who also depended on these resources for subsistence.[109]

An engagement at Tom's Brook on October 6 underscored Sheridan's rising superiority in the Valley. As Sheridan moved northward, the arrival of Maj. Gen. Joseph B. Kershaw's Division augmented Early's army. However, an attempt to harass Maj. Gen. Alfred T. A. Torbert's Union cavalry turned into a rout of the Confederate cavalry under Maj. Gen. Thomas L. Rosser and Maj. Gen. Lunsford L. Lomax.[110]

Following its rampage down the Valley, the Army of the Shenandoah settled into positions on the north bank of Cedar Creek on October 10, 1864. The next day, Early received news

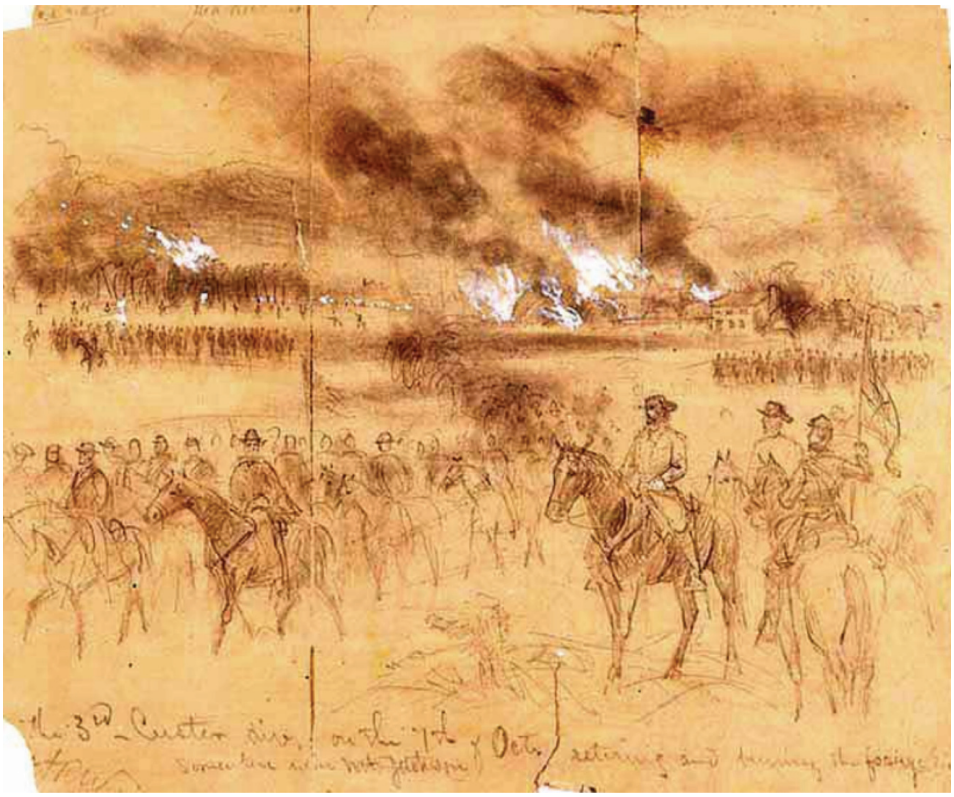


Figure 54. Typical scene of destruction following Sheridan's army down the Shenandoah Valley in October 1864 (Alfred Waud "Custer's Division Retiring from Mount Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley, October 7, 1864" [Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/treasures/images/tlc0065.jpg]).

Figure 55. Sketch of Union troops cheering Sheridan with scene of burning farm buildings and cattle theft in background (sketch by Civil War newspaper artist James E. Taylor in collections of Western Reserve Historical Society).

that drove him to action: Sheridan was preparing to send his VI Corps to assist Grant in the all-important siege of Petersburg. Maintaining control of this city and its railroad junctions was crucial to the Confederacy. Union capture would effectively choke off supply lines for Lee's Army of Northern Virginia and to the Confederate capital at Richmond, hastening an end to the war. Early recognized the urgency of keeping Sheridan's entire force pinned down in the Valley. On October 13, he moved his artillery to Hupp's Hill, just southwest of Cedar Creek, and bombarded the Union camps on the north side of the creek around the Belle Grove plantation house. Colonel Joseph Thoburn sent two brigades from his First Division of the VIII Corps across Cedar Creek toward the Confederate guns. Union artillery provided support from a location near the Daniel Stickley house, west of the turnpike and on the south side of the creek (see Figure 50). However, Conner's brigade from Kershaw's Division put up stiff resistance. Facing a superior force that threatened to flank them, Thorburn's brigades withdrew hastily, suffering 209 casualties in the hour-long engagement. These included the death of one of the brigade commanders, Col. George Wells.[111]

As the two armies eyed each other's positions from opposite sides of Cedar Creek (Union to the north and Confederate to the south), Sheridan was called away to a strategy meeting with Lincoln's cabinet in Washington. In his absence, Sheridan left the VI Corps commander, Maj. Gen. Horatio Wright, in charge of the Army of the Shenandoah. In turn, Wright's subordinate, Brig. Gen. James B. Ricketts, assumed the duties of VI Corps commander. When Sheridan departed on October 16, he accompanied the cavalry corps with the intention of sending it to attack railroads near Charlottesville. However, an intercepted fake message announcing the arrival of reinforcements for Early's army put a halt to the plan. Following his habit, Sheridan ordered the returning cavalry corps to concentrate near the western/right flank, considered the most likely approach of a Confederate attack. Only two cavalry brigades patrolled approaches from the east, posted far to the army's left at Buckton's Ford and near Front Royal.[112]

Although Early had managed to detain the VI Corps in the Valley with the engagement on October 13, historian Jonathan Noyalas points out, a pressing dilemma drove Early to further action. As the onset of winter loomed in the wasted lands of the Valley, local farmers faced a season of extreme want. Many soldiers with local ties would be sorely tempted to desert so they could help their families survive. Indeed, resistance to new enlistments was already a problem. Before his army disintegrated, Early resolved to strike a decisive blow.[113]

Given the strength of Sheridan's position and the superior condition of the well-supplied Army of the Shenandoah, Early would need every advantage of surprise and knowledge of local terrain in order to succeed. On the night of October 17, he sent Maj. Gen. John B. Gordon with a small party to explore the possibility of attacking weak points in the enemy's flanks. Along with Gordon's chief of staff Maj. Robert W. Hunter, and Brig. Gen. Clement Evans came chief topographical engineer Capt. Jedediah Hotchkiss, who had been a major asset to Gen. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson's successful Valley campaign of 1862. Climbing the north end of Massanutten Mountain, the party surveyed the disposition of the Union forces from a prominence known as Signal Knob, where the Confederates maintained a signal station. From there, it became evident that the left flank lay exposed to a surprise attack from the south and east via the lower reaches of Cedar Creek and the North Fork of the Shenandoah River, respectively. Discounting the rough terrain of Massanutten Mountain and the waterway crossings as viable approaches, Sheridan had focused his strength, including the bulk of the cavalry corps, along the Valley Turnpike and less rugged terrain to the west of his right flank. Moreover, Brig. Gen. George Crook was not accustomed to Sheridan's habit of concentrating the cavalry corps, and therefore did

not send his pickets out far enough to compensate for the lack of cavalry reconnaissance. As a result, the position of Crook's VIII Corps along the left/east flank was the most vulnerable to stealthy maneuvers and surprise attack. Although division commander Brig. Gen. John Pegram proposed an attack against the Union right, Early wisely followed the recommendation of Gordon's party to press the bulk of his forces in the initial attack on the left, against the VIII Corps.[114]

Key to the battle plan was a series of nighttime movements that positioned Early's army for a carefully coordinated, multi-pronged pre-dawn attack. Gordon led three divisions (his own, Maj. Gen. Stephen D. Ramseur's, and Brig. Gen. John Pegram's) under cover of darkness along a minor trail between the foot of Three Top Mountain (the north end of Massanutten) and the North Fork of the Shenandoah. Upon reaching Bowman's Ford of the North Fork at Long Meadow, Gordon's men would move to within 1,000 yards of the left flank of the Army of the Shenandoah's VIII Corps. General Gabriel C. Wharton's Division (originally also to be accompanied by Kershaw's division) would climb Hupp's Hill, where it would wait until Gordon's attack diverted Union attention toward their left; only then would Wharton's men cross Cedar Creek along the turnpike. Farther up on the Union right, Brig. Gen. Thomas Rosser's cavalry division would attack the enemy's cavalry at Cupp's Mill. A brigade of cavalry under Brig. Gen. William H. F. Payne covering Gordon's advance was to pull away and attack the Union headquarters at Belle Grove, with the objective of kidnapping Sheridan (already on his way to Washington, unbeknownst to Early). Lomax's cavalry would move quickly up the Turnpike to block retreating Union troops and wagon trains. In a battle that depended on surprise to sweep up through the flanks of a rudely awoken enemy, the Confederate artillery would have to wait until the battle was underway before moving its noisy gun carriages up the turnpike into effective positions. A last-minute adjustment was to have Kershaw's Division mount a frontal attack on the VIII Corps' fortified positions after crossing Cedar Creek at Bowman's Mill Ford; this attack from the south was planned to coincide with Gordon's move from the east.[115]

On October 18, a Union reconnaissance party arrived at Fisher's Hill, but found Early's positions deserted. Although this suggested a pullback had occurred, Early's forces had already begun to deploy toward their opening battle positions (see Figure 4).[116]

The Battle of Cedar Creek

On October 19, the battle began to unfold much as Early had planned. In the early morning darkness, Confederate cavalry launched minor attacks on the Union's extreme left and extreme right. At 4:00 a.m., Brig. Gen. Thomas Rosser attacked the 7th Michigan Cavalry at Cupp's Mill, at the northwest end of the Union line, but quickly withdrew back across Cedar Creek once the Union troopers received support from other nearby cavalry units.[117] Half an hour later, Brig. Gen. William Payne's cavalry quickly overcame pickets of the 34th Ohio Infantry at Bowman's Ford on the North Fork of the Shenandoah River, allowing Gordon's three divisions to cross over unhindered. Following this success, Gordon moved north along Long Meadow Road toward the Union's VIII Corps camps (Figure 56). Meanwhile, Joseph Kershaw's Division prepared to cross Cedar Creek at Bowman's Mill undetected through a cover of fog. In his eagerness for the battle to begin, Early ordered Kershaw forward slightly ahead of schedule, so that his attack against the westernmost division in the VIII Corps occurred about 15 minutes before Gordon could form his line of battle and attack from the east.[118]

Kershaw's immediate objective was the Union position less than 400 yards northeast of the Bowman-Hite farmhouse (093-0138/44WR0164). Colonel Joseph Thoburn's men of the First Division, VIII Corps were camped behind fortifications on high ground overlooking the slopes that led down to Cedar

Figure 56. Massanutten Mountain viewed from Gordon's position at beginning of battle (from USAMHI collections).

Creek (Figures 57 and 58). The division consisted of infantry from West Virginia (three regiments), Ohio (two), Pennsylvania (one), Massachusetts (one), as well as the 5th New York Heavy Artillery; the 23rd Illinois Infantry recently had been detached from the division. The New York artillerymen, responsible for picket duty that day, likely held positions several hundred yards back from the bank of Cedar Creek. Their distance from the creek allowed Kershaw's Division to cross over unobserved at Bowman's Mill Ford (Figure 59). Once on the north side of Cedar Creek, Kershaw's Division quickly formed its four brigades into line of battle. Bryan's Brigade of four Georgia regiments commanded by Col. James P. Simms began moving forward across the floodplain immediately after crossing. Humphrey's Brigade of four Mississippi regiments, commanded by Col. Daniel Moody, formed to the right of Bryan's. On the extreme right, Wofford's Brigade of Georgia units, commanded by Col. Henry P. Sanders, consisted of three regiments, the 3rd Georgia Battalion, and Cobb's and Philip's legions. Conner's Brigade, led by Maj. James M. Goggin, formed to the left of Bowman's Mill Road (now State Route 635). This South Carolina brigade consisted of six regiments and one battalion of South Carolina troops (the large number of units indicating that none was at full strength following losses earlier in the war). Its approach to Thoburn's works passed directly through the Bowman-Hite farmyard (Figure 60).[119]

With Bryan's Brigade leading the way, Kershaw's Division climbed undetected up the slopes below Thoburn's positions, obeying orders to hold fire as long as possible in order to maintain the element of surprise. Near the crest of the hill, the Confederates encountered the New York pickets, who fled into the entrenchments. The 116th and 123rd Ohio and the 34th Massachusetts had managed to reach the entrenchments from their tents just before

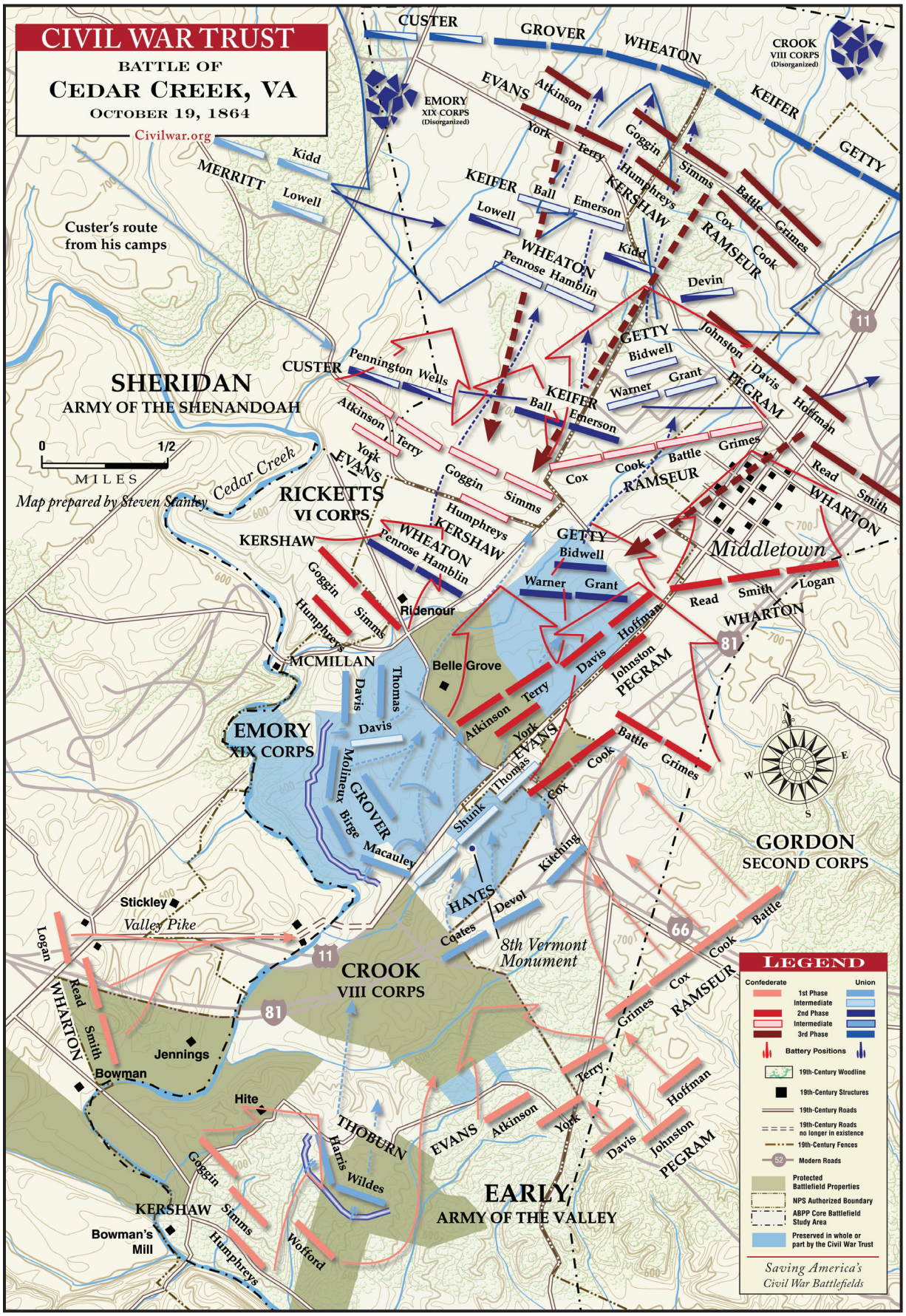


Figure 57. Map of battle of Cedar Creek (courtesy of Civil War Preservation Trust).

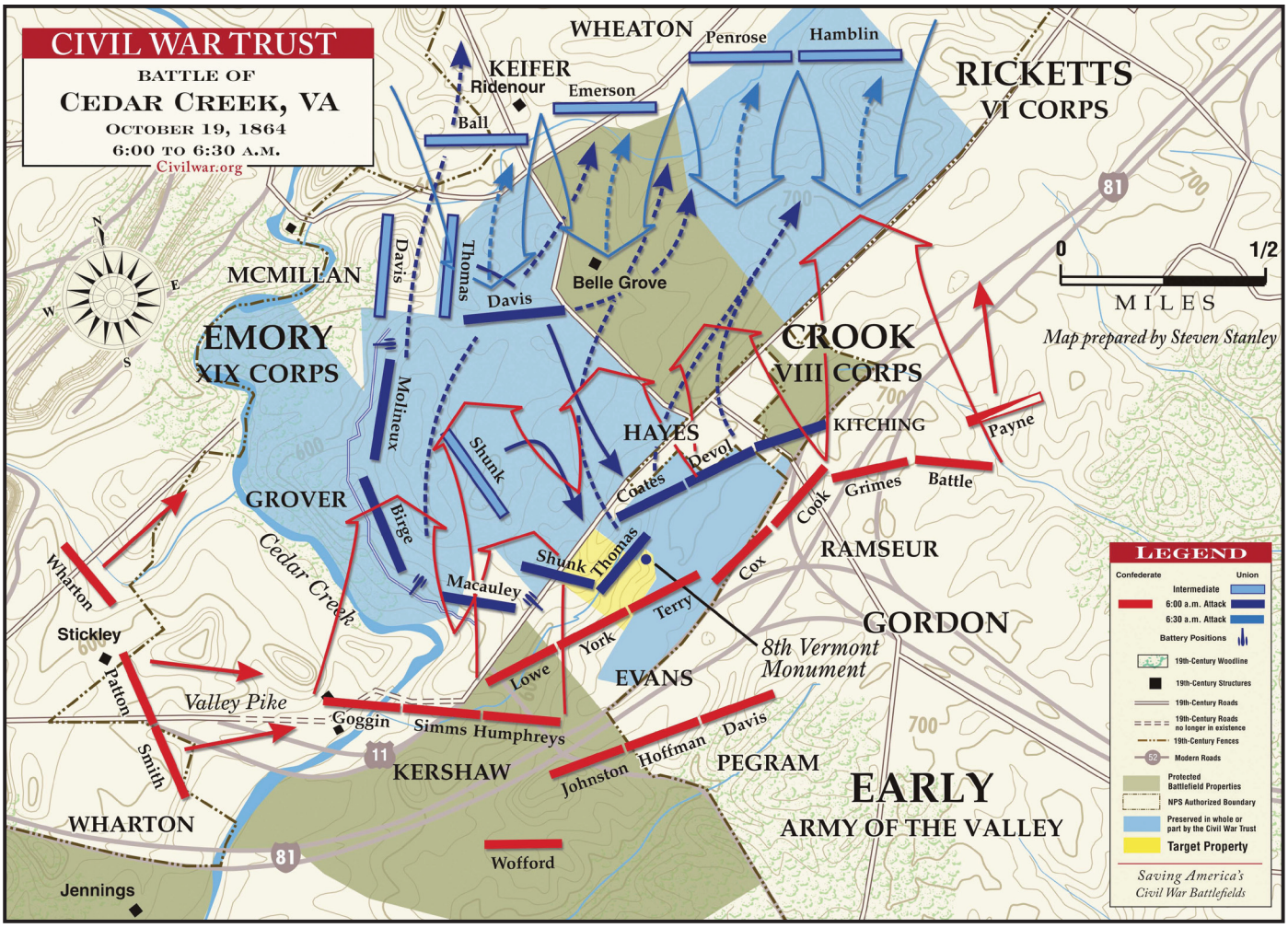


Figure 58. Map of Battle of Cedar Creek, morning phase (courtesy of Civil War Preservation Trust).

Kershaw's men rushed through the abatis, opened fire, and charged into the works. However, large gaps punctuated the line as the 54th Pennsylvania Infantry remained behind in camp. Battery D, 1st Pennsylvania Light Artillery commanded by 1st Lt. William Munk, hastily organized its guns and fired 15 rounds of canister shot from the center of the Union line into Simms' Georgians but was quickly overwhelmed. After capturing six guns, Simms' men turned them around and pounded fleeing Union infantrymen with canister shot and shells. As Conner's Brigade reached the works, Battery B, 5th U.S. Artillery opened up with canister shot. Almost immediately, the 3rd Brigade's West Virginians began to fall back, exposing the battery to Simms' Georgians, who swept along the works toward the gunners. Although some of the gunners, assisted by infantry, were able to pull six of the guns back to the retreating Union line, the Georgians captured most of the men in Battery B.[120]

In the wake of the pre-dawn assault on the earthworks, the First Division suffered terrible losses, including the death of Thoburn. Pushed back to Middletown, the colonel was trying to rally his men when Confederate cavalry arrived, some apparently wearing scavenged Union coats. In the chaos, Thoburn suffered a deadly bullet wound in his back. Overall, Kershaw's men killed, wounded, or captured nearly 600 of the enemy during this intense opening 15 minutes of the battle.[121]

An eyewitness account of the immediate aftermath of the fighting at the First Division fortifications records the scene of the earlier fighting along the earthworks and the hastily overrun

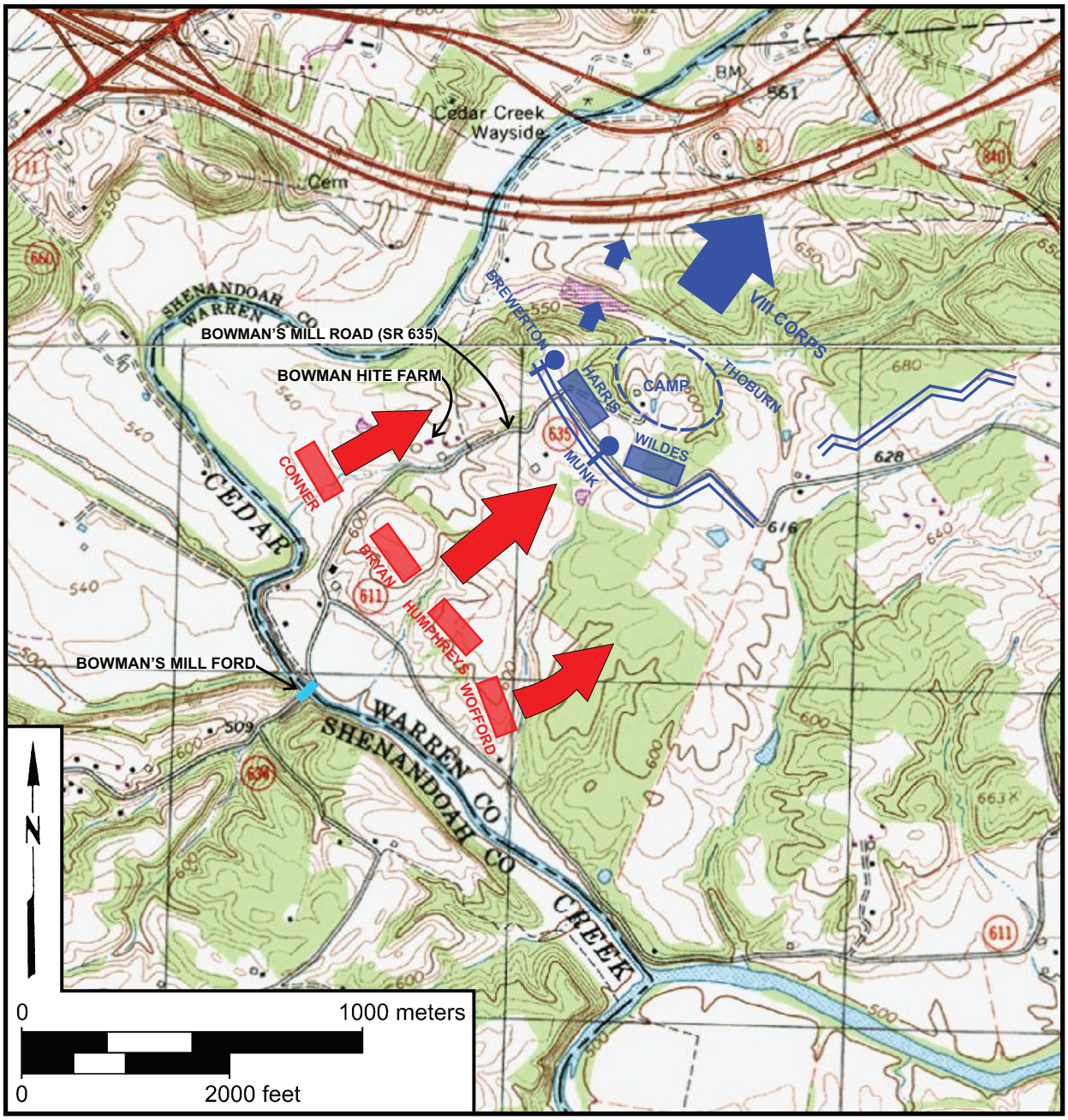


Figure 59. Opening of the Battle of Cedar Creek: Kershaw's Division attacks the fortifications of the First Division, VII Corps (WMCAR; base map: USGS 1994 Strasburg and 1999 Middletown 7.5' topographic quadrangles).

encampment.[122] In the early twentieth century, an unnamed informant shared his recollections of walking over this part of the battlefield after the fighting had shifted north toward Belle Grove. A boy of 16 at the time, he roamed with two teenage girls into the area where Kershaw's and Thoburn's divisions had fought earlier that morning. These curious young people started from the Hoover residence, which may have been in Shenandoah County (given that the Hoover surname appears in the 1860 census records for that county, but not in Warren County's census records) and apparently crossed Cedar Creek:

> We had to cross the crick, and when we were on the bridge [the nearest may have been the Valley Turnpike Bridge] we saw the water was full of guns. The Yanks had thrown their guns away.
>
> Soon we got to the battlefield, and we walked right along to the Yankee camp. Men had run out of their bunks who didn't get their guns at all, and we saw soldiers in the tents who had been shot there. Some of 'em were not dead and wounded were layin' five deep, and we waded through blood as we looked around. You see the Rebs took the breastworks endways—and it was playin' on the enemy like that killed 'em so fast.[123]

However, this first stage of the great battle took a heavy toll on the Confederate attackers as well:

> The wounded men were hollerin' and screamin' and prayin'. We heard one Southern soldier prayin' for his wife and children way down in Alabama, and he was beggin' just for life enough to get back to see 'em. A doctor come along and examined him and moved on. He said there was no hope. It was sad, sir.
>
> So we started back, and we went down toward the crick to where there was a big brick farmhouse that had been turned into a hospital. The wounded were inside the house and outside both. The front yard was full, and they lay there close together arranged in sections so as to have convenient walkways. On the back porch the surgeons were sawin' off limbs, and as soon as they got through with a man he was laid back

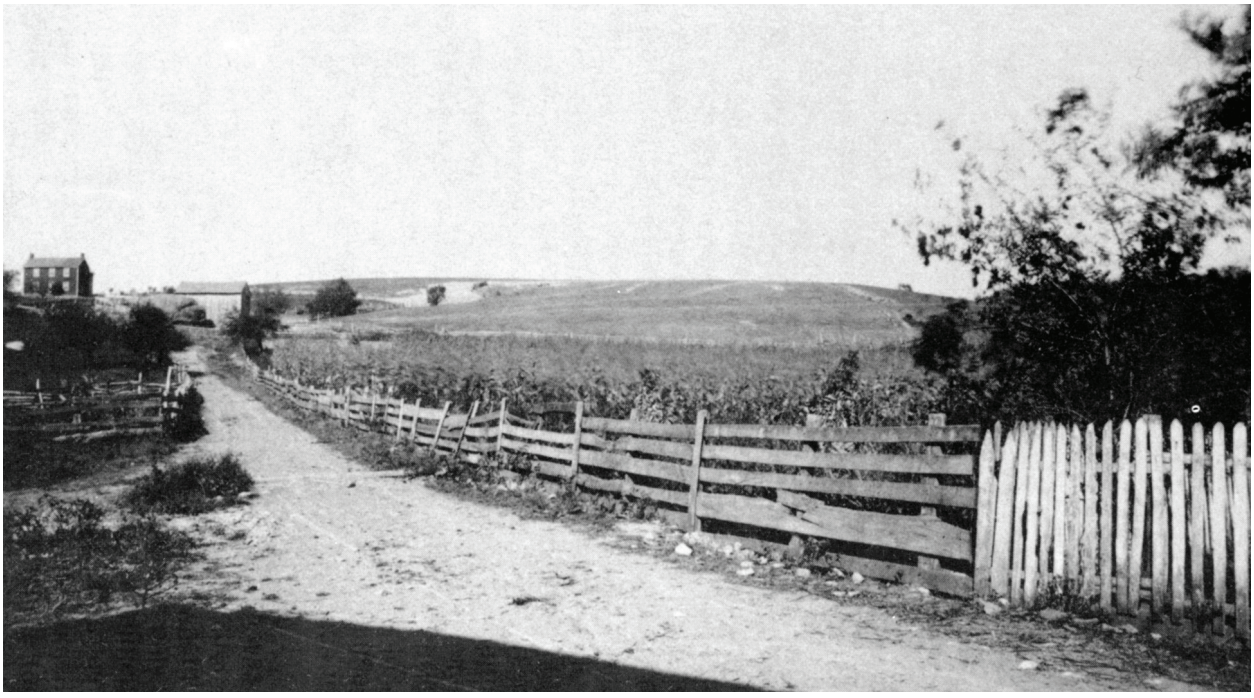


Figure 60. Ca. 1885 view eastward along Bowman's Mill Road (predecessor of Route 635) toward Thoburn's position. Conner's Brigade would have advanced along the left side of the road. The frame house and barn in the foreground postdate the battle (built by John Pirkey, 1876–1879); the Bowman-Hite farmhouse was beyond the ridge at the far left of the image (from USAMHI collections).

Figure 61. Stone abutment remains on south side of Cedar Creek for nineteenth-century bridge on former alignment of Valley Turnpike. Wharton's Division crossed here at 5:40 a.m. (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

> on the ground where he'd been before. They had about a four-horse wagon load of limbs outside of the porch in a heap just as you might pile up corn or manure.[124]

The Confederate battle plan continued with good success. About 5:20 a.m., only minutes after Kershaw's attack had begun, Gordon's Corps fell upon the Second Division of the VIII Corps, commanded by a future president, Col. Rutherford B. Hayes. Colonel J. Howard Kitching's Provisional Division of the VIII Corps did not have time to form a line of battle before retreating as troops of the Second Division disrupted their organization. Shortly after 5:30, the entire VIII Corps was retreating northward across the turnpike. The corps was in such disarray that none of its units took part in the rest of the battle.[125]

As soon as he heard firing from Kershaw's direction at 5:00 a.m., Wharton had moved his division up to the creek. Setting up behind Wharton, the Confederate artillery began to bombard the XIX Corps camps. From the south, Wharton's Division overtook pickets of the 128th New York at the Daniel Stickley Farm (085-0013) (see Figure 50). Among the casualties in this sharp fight was a Georgia soldier tentatively identified as Jesse Helms, whose grave remains on the property. Throughout the day, casualties from this engagement filled the Stickley home and grounds as surgeons from both armies turned the residence into another makeshift hospital. Once Mj. Gen. William H. Emory turned his XIX Corps units to face the Confederates attacking from the south, Wharton's Division was able to move across the unprotected turnpike bridge about 5:40 a.m. (Figure 61). As Emory's men moved back, the Confederates stormed the high ground overlooking the creek and captured seven Union guns.[126]

While portions of the XIX Corps tried to slow the Confederate advance, Emory sent Lt. Col. Thomas F. Wildes with part of his brigade of the First Division, VIII Corps into a briefly successful counterattack. Wildes was able to bring only two

of his regiments, the 116th and the 123rd Ohio, forward. At this stage, Horatio Wright, acting commander of the Army of the Shenandoah, accompanied Wildes' attack and received a bullet wound to the chin but managed to fulfill his duties for the rest of the battle. All day he presented a ghastly appearance with dried blood caked in his beard.[127]

Even though elements of Emory's XIX Corps had been awake since 3:00 a.m., the force was vulnerable to the swift flanking movement that had swept over the VIII Corps. Initially, with the fog, it was unclear whether the noise of gunfire indicated the imminent threat came from across Cedar Creek or across the Valley Pike. Once Emory recognized the urgency of the approach of Kershaw and Gordon, he took measures that may have been pivotal in preventing a total collapse of all three corps and eventually allowed Sheridan to regroup and fight to victory in the afternoon. He sent wagon trains stationed around the Belle Grove mansion farther north to avoid capture. The corps also began to wheel their line about, from facing Cedar Creek to a position parallel to the turnpike.[128]

While the bulk of the corps attempted to organize, Emory sent Col. Stephen Thomas with his Second Brigade (of the First Division, XIX Corps) forward across the turnpike to slow the Confederate advance. Despite the overwhelming odds, the 12th Connecticut, 47th Pennsylvania, 160th New York, and 8th Vermont, mounted a spirited resistance that slowed Early's men for half an hour. Thomas positioned his forces across a broad front; instead of massing together, each of his regiments fought as a single unit. Surrounded in a ravine east of the turnpike that became known as the Death Trap, the 8th Vermont suffered terrible losses (106 men killed, wounded, or captured out of 159 in the fight; 13 of the 16 officers also were casualties). Many of the heavy losses came during a furious bout of hand to hand combat as the Confederates attempted to capture the Vermont battle flags.[129]

These two brigade-strength Union counterattacks helped slow Confederate progress. The XIX Corps' long battle line extended too thinly to be effective, however. Adding to the vulnerability, units that had sheltered in earthworks facing the creek now came under fire from Gordon's divisions curling around from the east. In some cases, the men crawled to the opposite side of the works for protection. This untenable situation caused a steady pullback through Belle Grove (Figure 62).[130]

By 7:30 a.m. the XIX Corps had fallen back far enough to combine with elements of the VI Corps. Closest to Cedar Creek, Ricketts' Division of the VI Corps faced Kershaw's men. The XIX Corps stood on Red Hill, beyond Hite Road (now Route 624) northwest of Belle Grove. Farther northeast, the VI Corps, First Division, under Brig. Gen. Frank Wheaton fought against Gordon's corps. Although Kershaw made no inroads, Confederate artillery pressed the Union line and it fell back along Middle Marsh Brook.[131]

Despite the complete disarray that the surprise flanking movement had wrought in the early morning, the Army of the Shenandoah retained a good measure of poise and discipline as it continued to pull back. Brigadier General George W. Getty deserves credit for holding the line in the next phase of battle as his comrades regrouped to the rear. As Wheaton's Division finally caved in and broke, Getty headed toward Middletown, positioning some of his troops and artillery of the Second Division, VI Corps, among the tombstones of Mount Carmel Cemetery atop Cemetery Hill (Figure 63). Early failed to mount a unified attack at this point, sending only portions of divisions one at a time against Getty. All of these thrusts were too weak to succeed and resulted in heavy Confederate losses near the Sperry House (L59/034-0223) and Ridings House (L60).[132]

To soften up Getty's resistance, Early ordered a 30-gun barrage from artillery positioned along the Valley Turnpike that lasted half an hour. As forces from Kershaw's and Wharton's divisions prepared to assault the Union positions in the cemetery, Getty heard that General Ricketts had been seriously wounded with a ball in his chest. Getty then assumed command of the VI Corps,

Figure 62. Scene of early morning hand-to-hand combat at Belle Grove (from USAMHI collections).

Figure 63. Hilltop position in Mount Carmel Cemetery where Getty's Second Division, VI Corps resisted the Confederate advance until 10 a.m. (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

while Brig. Gen. Lewis Grant took charge of the Second Division. At 10:00 a.m., the division pulled back north of Middletown to join the rest of the Army of the Shenandoah. To establish and maintain an organized line of battle, Wright sent Merritt's cavalry (which had moved over from the Union right) in among the fleeing infantry as a kind of crowd control. The troopers had authority to use their sidearms and sabers if necessary to bring order to the retreat.[133]

The moment of the Union cavalry's arrival near the Confederate right proved to be a pivotal point in the battle (Figure 64). If Early had a chance for a complete victory, continued pressure might have foiled Union chances of re-forming an effective line of battle. Instead, his advance slowed to a crawl as his troops fell to plundering the Union camps and equipment scattered along their path of retreat. Historian Jonathan Noyalas points to several factors influencing Early to let the pursuit stall. First, it was nearly impossible for his poorly supplied soldiers to resist the temptation of plundering tents filled with clothing, shoes, and bedding hastily abandoned by Sheridan's men. Early also reasoned that his men were exhausted. In addition to fighting and advancing all morning, they had been up the entire previous night maneuvering into the positions that had rewarded them with the element of surprise. Moreover, Early recognized the severe flanking threat that Merritt's cavalry posed on his right.[134]

As Early's army paused, Sheridan rejoined his men at 10:30 a.m. after a legendary ride from Winchester to the battlefield. He had returned from Washington the night before, but after Wright sent a message assuring him that

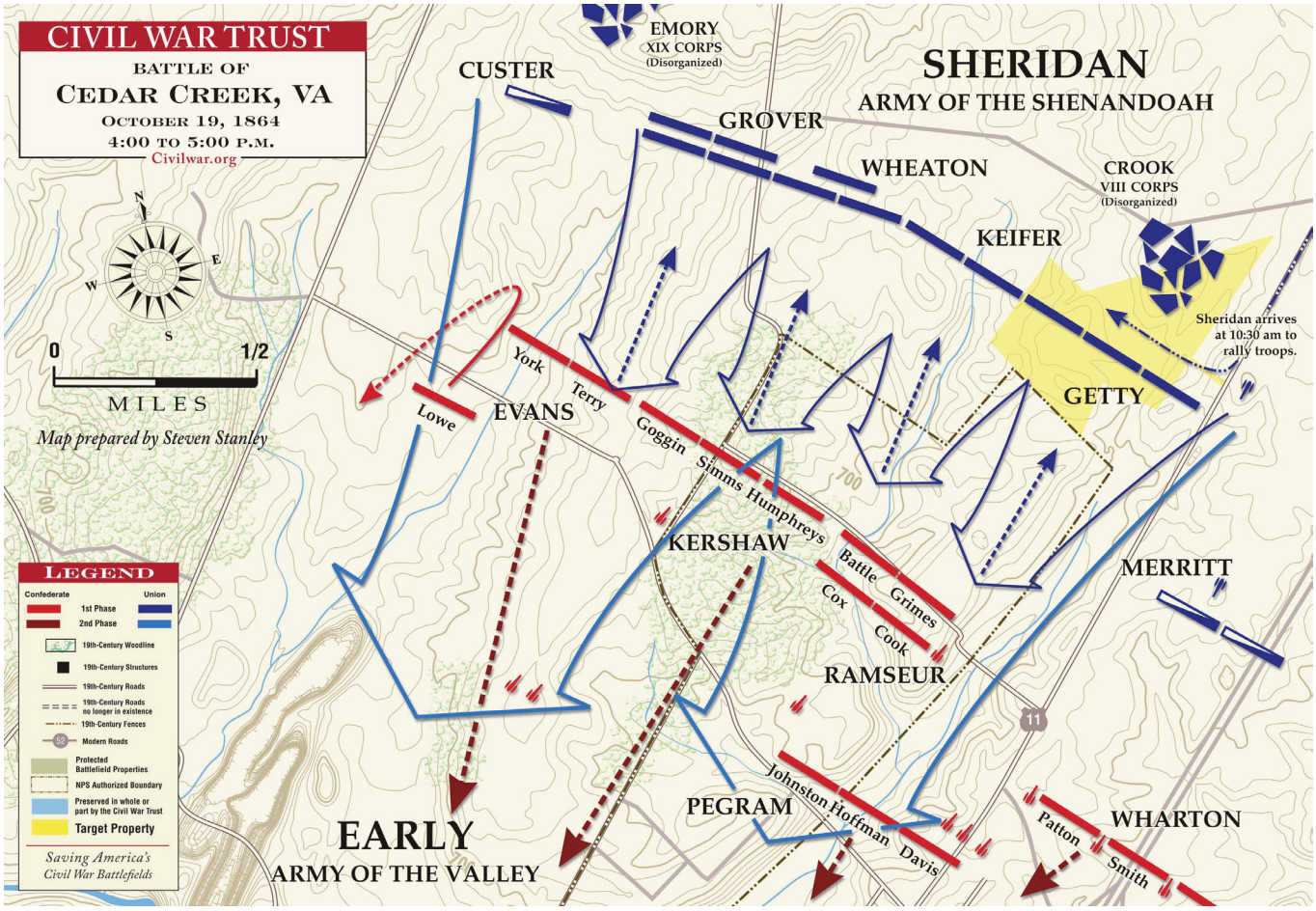


Figure 64. Map of Battle of Cedar Creek, afternoon phase (courtesy of Civil War Preservation Trust).

all was well, Sheridan chose to stay the night in Winchester. During the scattered skirmishes that characterized the lull in the battle, Sheridan reformed two of his infantry corps for a counterattack. The VI Corps took its position on the left, the XIX Corps on the right. A cavalry division led by Merritt's cavalry covered the left flank, Brig. Gen. George A. Custer's cavalry division would move on the right, and the battered VIII Corps would remain to the rear as a reserve force. Eventually, Early's army formed to face them in a long line of divisions, arrayed left to right, under the command of Gordon, Kershaw, Ramseur, Pegram, and Wharton.[135]

Typical of Sheridan's battle tactics, cavalry performed effectively in a decisive role. At 3:00 p.m., they advanced against skirmishers on both wings, driving them back to the main Confederate line. A concerted assault all along the lines began at 4:00 p.m. Custer and portions of the XIX Corps moved swiftly against Gordon and Kershaw from the Union right. By extending his attack farther west, Custer managed to spread out the Confederate line, causing panic. Gordon's division, arrayed near Middle Marsh Brook, became especially vulnerable and Custer soon broke through that portion of the line. Ramseur's division in the center resisted the longest. During the fierce fighting near the D. J. Miller House shortly after 5:00 p.m., Ramseur had two horses shot from under him. Mounting a third horse, he received a mortal bullet wound to the chest, precipitating an immediate withdrawal.[136]

As Custer moved aggressively toward the rear of Early's army, the retreat grew more disorderly. Even though some of Early's men offered resistance at the Daniel Stickley House and at Hupp's Hill, most continued to flee in panic. By 6:30 p.m., Custer and Merritt converged at Hupp's Hill. As Early's men fled through Strasburg, they reached a wooden bridge over a creek next to Spangler's Mill that had partially collapsed but was wide enough to be usable. When one of the wagons drove too close to the broken portion, a wheel slid into the breach, jamming the wagon and blocking the bridge. Early's men could only pass on foot and had to abandon all wheeled vehicles and guns. Early retreated into the darkness as far as Fisher's Hill before the Union cavalry ceased its pursuit.[137]

Aftermath and Consequences

What had begun so successfully for Early in the morning ended in a disastrous rout as the sun set. Although the Confederates sustained fewer casualties—2,910, compared to Union losses of 5,655—they lost considerably more materiel, including 43 guns and 200 wagons.[131] Just as serious were the decisiveness of the defeat and the blow to morale. In their panicked flight, Early's men had the dishonor of losing 10 regimental flags, later presented to Secretary Edwin Stanton at the War Department.[138]

Knowledge of local topography and nearly perfect planning and execution of a surprise flanking attack had nearly achieved a major victory. During the morning, Early's men had scattered the enemy in confusion, driving them back 4 miles from their initial positions.[139] However, inferior numbers, inadequate supplies, and fatigue inevitably slowed the attack. Once organized, Sheridan used his superior numbers and highly effective cavalry to overwhelm the smaller enemy force. Since Early's attack had not succeeded under nearly ideal conditions, a battered force now deprived of much of its artillery and tons of supplies would have even less chance of success.

Despite Sheridan's accomplishment of rallying his troops to victory from a desperate position, historian Theodore Mahr has observed that the battle exposed some of the general's deficiencies as a strategist. Early and Gordon can be credited for devising an attack that successfully exploited the Army of the Shenandoah's exposed left flank. With careful planning, they executed a difficult approach to the battlefield in nearly complete darkness, and effectively arrayed four divisions for a well-synchronized attack on the southern side of the battlefield. The overwhelming success

of the Confederates' morning assault against far superior numbers, however, only was possible because of Sheridan's poor positioning of his three army corps and cavalry corps. Rather than grouping his infantry corps so they could support each other in case of attack, their camps lay on a series of ridges separated by ravines and drainages that hampered their movements. Moreover, Sheridan allowed his cavalry on the left of the line to stray too far east (Buckton Station and the outskirts of Front Royal) to provide effective support and advance warning of enemy attack. While Sheridan was immensely popular and able to motivate his men in the afternoon fighting at Cedar Creek, until that point his campaign had not succeeded in dealing a decisive blow to Early's ill-supplied and outnumbered forces. After the Confederates fell into panicked retreat in the evening darkness, Sheridan even failed to follow up the next day with what could have been annihilation of the Confederate Army of the Valley.[140]

The Battle of Cedar Creek was one of the last major battles of the Civil War, with 47,209 soldiers engaged (15,262 against 31,944 Union). Sheridan's victory at Cedar Creek marked the end of large-scale Confederate military operations in the Valley and, combined with Sherman's Atlanta Campaign, ensured President Lincoln's re-election in 1864. Early's losses at Cedar Creek were such that he could no longer mount a viable offensive in the Valley or prevent the reinforcement of Petersburg with units from Sheridan's army. Nevertheless, Early managed to hold together a reduced force and continued to fight in small engagements through December 12, when combat ceased for the winter. Following the Army of the Shenandoah's campaign of deliberate destruction of agricultural resources in October, Early's forces came through the winter greatly weakened. The final blow came on March 2, 1865, when cavalry under Custer and Col. Thomas C. Devin triumphed at Waynesboro, capturing or scattering the remnants of Early's army and claiming complete control of the Valley.[141]

Cedar Creek Battlefield: Memory and Commemoration

Commemorative Events and Markers

In the decades following the Civil War, a new layer of cultural landscape has emerged on the battlefield, superimposed on the areas of combat in the core area. Following Lee's surrender on April 9, 1865, although combat had ceased, resentment of Sheridan and his army did not vanish immediately. During the period of Reconstruction under military rule, which lasted until 1877, the residents of the Lower Shenandoah Valley pieced their lives back together and rebuilt their farms.[142] By the early 1880s, however, agricultural production generally had surpassed antebellum yields.[143] Increasing prosperity coincided with the beginnings of battlefield's role as a site of commemoration (Figure 65).

Upon the establishment of the Sheridan's Veteran's Association in 1882, the first order of business was to organize a tour for its members to revisit the sites of major battles of the Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1864. By the time they arrived the following year, the veterans found the local residents hospitable. A week of touring in the Valley culminated with a visit to Belle Grove on September 22. Afterward, the veterans roamed the battlefield and found little had changed on the landscape, making it easy to find camps, fortifications, and other key features.[144]

The earliest monument on the battlefield dates to this occasion, although its location and its survival through the last century are unclear. Members of the 14th New Hampshire infantry made a rough pile of stones, but did not build the more formal memorial they had intended to replace it.[145]

The highlight of the next reunion, two years later, was the dedication of a monument to the members of the 8th Vermont Infantry. This simple yet striking stone memorial honors the

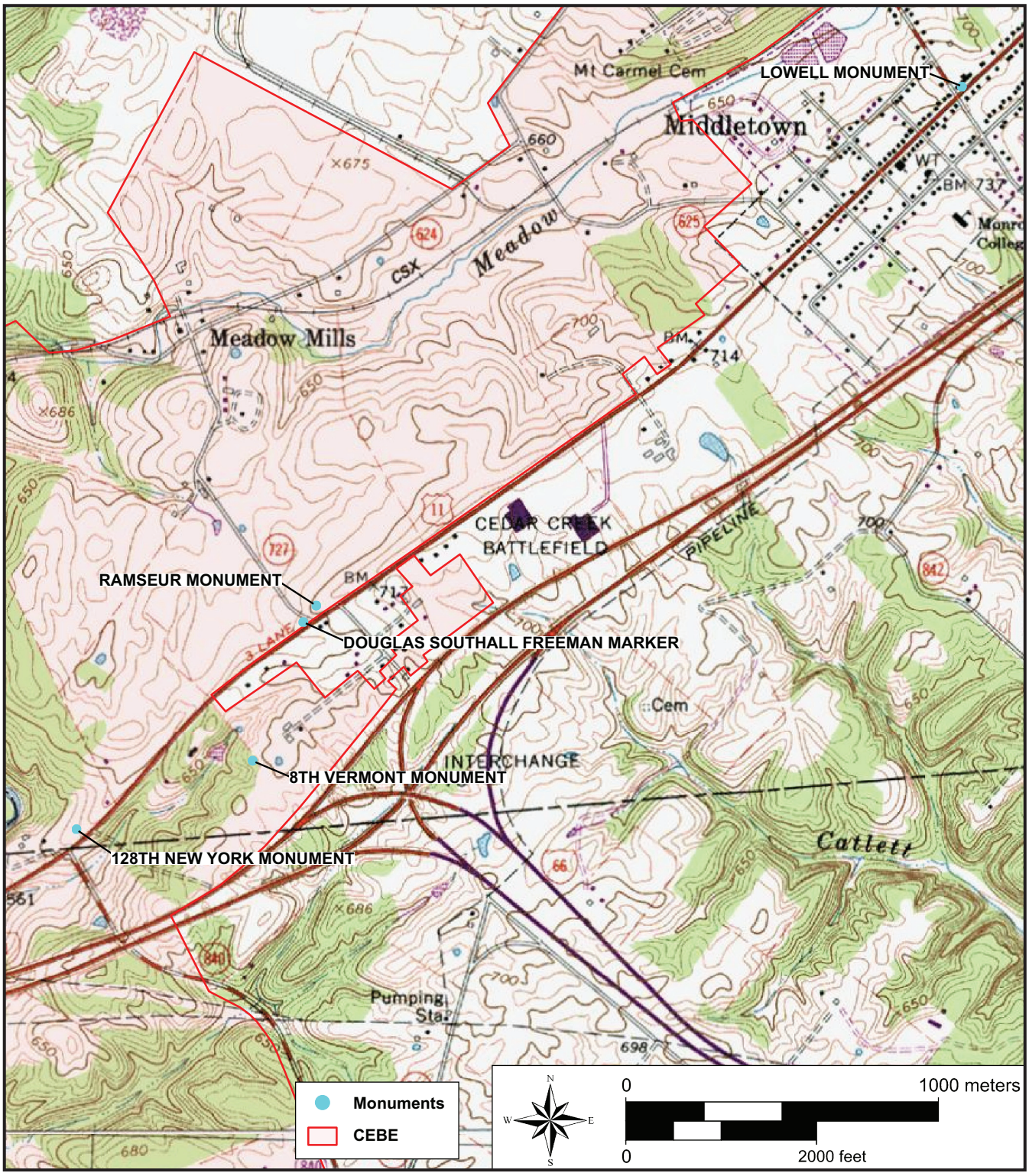


Figure 65. Locations of Civil War commemorative monuments in CEBE and vicinity (WMCAR; base map: USGS 1994 Strasburg and 1999 Middletown 7.5' topographic quadrangles.

fallen with an inscription on a smoothed surface of the otherwise rough-hewn block of Vermont marble, which stands within a small wrought iron enclosure (Figures 66 and 67). At the dedication, Col. Herbert Hill explained that the three rough sides of the stone "represent the savage and peculiar features of that awful struggle." The site, located just south of U.S. Route 11, overlooks the "Death Trap" where the regiment heroically resisted capture of its colors in the early morning of the October 19 battle. The most significant aspect of the ceremony was the attendance of Confederate veterans alongside veterans of the Army of the Shenandoah. A speech by one of the Vermont veterans underscored the marker's significance as a memorial of reconciliation between the two sides.[146]

The second organized visit by the Sheridan's Veterans Association in 1885 was its last. However, in 1907 a group of veterans from the 128th New York Infantry commemorated their fallen comrades with a more formal monument on the northwest side of present U.S. Route 11 above its crossing of Cedar Creek. The tablet monument rests on a two-level, graduated, rusticated ashlar base. The upper ashlar level has a draft margin and a finished portion with an inscription to the memory of the regiment's members who fell in battle. The tablet has carved crossed rifles, a knapsack, blanket, and canteen, with a sword beneath, and a projecting lozenge-shaped block inscribed "128th REGT N.Y.S.V.I." Above this grouping is a modified Greek cross (Figure 68). Speeches at the dedication continued the theme of reconciliation that had characterized the 1885 ceremony for the Vermont monument. Winchester attorney Herbert S. Larrick assured the Northerners that, "we would guard [the monument] with the same tender care with which we guard those monuments which we have erected to the memory of our own dead."[147]

The battlefield's population with monuments continued in 1920 with a joint offering of the North Carolina Historical Commission and the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy to honor Gen. Stephen D. Ramseur, the division commander who had directed the final resistance to the advancing Union line (Figures 69 and 70). Located on the northwest side of present U.S. Route 11, near the entrance to Belle Grove, this polished stone Doric column stands on a square, rough stone base. The base has a bronze tablet affixed that is a representation of a pedimented enclosure supported by Doric pilasters with an inscription within. The pediment contains classical figures and the North Carolina motto "ESSE QUAM VIDERI" on a bronze ribbon. A bas-relief eagle projects slightly below the pediment. The column does not support an entablature but instead a block upon which is stacked a pyramid of cannonballs. After receiving a mortal wound in the closing stage of the battle, Ramseur had received care from a Union surgeon at Belle Grove. As he lay dying, several of Ramseur's former comrades and West Point classmates, including Custer and VIII Corps artillery commander Col. Henry DuPont, had come to pay their respects (Lewis 1988:289). Recalling the cross-sectional respect of officers for their peers during the war, DuPont gave one of the speeches at the monument dedication.[148]

In 1925, Virginian historian Douglas Southall Freeman and five other individuals founded the Battlefield Markers Association to commemorate important battles fought within the Commonwealth. As a historian and biographer of George Washington and Robert E. Lee, Freeman was responsible for drafting the markers' text. Sixty-nine of these simple stone and bronze markers stand at important Civil War sites in the Richmond area (Figures 71 and 72).[149] Similar in design to those examples, the Cedar Creek marker has a slanted base of unfinished stone. A square tablet of weathered bronze with a raised frame on the slanting face bears a succinct inscription describing the battle in less than 60 words.

The most recent monument, erected in 1992 just outside CEBE, honors Col. Charles Russell Lowell, commander of the Reserve Brigade in Merritt's cavalry division. Civil War preservationists Allan Tischler and the late Brian Pohanka received permission from the late Leo

Figure 66. Monument to Vermont veterans and enclosure (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 67. Detail of inscription on Vermont monument (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 68. Monument to 128th New York Volunteers (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 69. Monument to Maj. Gen. Stephen D. Ramseur of North Carolina (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 70. Detail of plaque with inscription on Ramseur monument (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 71. Freeman Marker commemorating the Battle of Cedar Creek erected by the Battlefield Markers Association. One of the association's founding members, historian Douglas Southall Freeman, wrote the text for this series of Civil War battlefield markers (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 72. Inscription on the plaque of the Freeman marker (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Figure 73. Monument to Massachusetts cavalry officer Col. Charles Russell Lowell, located outside CEBE along Main Street in Middletown (photo by WMCAR, April 2012).

Bernstein, owner of the Wayside Inn in Middletown, to place a simply inscribed granite memorial to Lowell in the hotel's front yard along Main Street across from the house where Lowell died of battle wounds (Figure 73). Inside the inn, Tischler and Pohanka installed a small interpretive display about Lowell's life and military career.[150]

Born into a prominent Boston family, Lowell graduated valedictorian from Harvard. Prior to the war, the multifaceted young man associated with transcendentalists such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, devoted himself to abolition and other progressive causes, but also began a successful career in the iron industry. After serving in two U.S. Cavalry regiments from the start of the Civil War, Lowell recruited the 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry, a unit that also included five companies of volunteers from California. At Cedar Creek, as he prepared to lead a charge toward the weakened Confederate lines late in the afternoon, a ricocheted minié ball struck his chest but only partly penetrated the flesh. After removing the bullet and tossing it aside, Lowell discovered that he could only talk in a whisper (probably due to a collapsed lung and other internal injuries). Nevertheless, he insisted on charging with the color bearers ahead of the line as the Union cavalry counterattacked at 4:15 p.m. Raising his sword to signal the charge, a second bullet struck his spine; he died the following day. For Lowell's extraordinary devotion and courage, Sheridan promoted him posthumously from colonel to brigadier general. Lowell's death bears some similarities to Ramseur's, in that each died young leaving behind a wife and a very young daughter; Ramseur heard news of his daughter's birth on October 18, while Lowell died a month before his daughter's birth. Lowell's wife, Josephine Shaw Lowell, became one of the leading social reformers of her generation, founding the New York Consumers' League and championing improved labor conditions and women's welfare.[151]

The distribution of these monuments reflects the changing landscape of commemoration from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. The earlier monuments, such as those honoring the 8th Vermont and probably the mound of rocks left by the New Hampshire veterans were placed at the actual sites where events occurred, regardless of their distance from major thoroughfares. For example, to reach the quiet, secluded site of the Vermont monument, a visitor must leave U.S.

Route 11, hike for a quarter mile down through the Death Trap ravine and onto the rise above. On the other hand, the 128th New York and Ramseur monuments, as well as the Freeman marker bear testament to an increasingly mobile and leisured American population. All three stand within a few paces of U.S. Route 11, drawing the attention of travelers along this main road. The Ramseur monument and Freeman Marker, both erected in the 1920s, bear testament to the rise in popularity of the automobile and the attendant tourist industry.

Commemoration and Historic Preservation

As the veterans who erected monuments to their fallen comrades died off toward the mid-twentieth century, an attitude of reverence developed among descendants of the Civil War generation. Rather than erecting monuments in memory of specific individuals or units (except in the case of Lowell), the descendant generations sought to preserve key portions of the battlefield as hallowed ground for purposes suiting the dignity of the thousands who died or were maimed in solemn devotion to a cause or homeland. At roughly decade-long intervals since the late 1960s, organizations such as Belle Grove Incorporated, Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation, and Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation have purchased or acquired preservation easements on hundreds of acres within the battlefield core area.

The first major preservation group to set aside a large acreage within the battlefield for the benefit of future generations was Belle Grove Incorporated, beginning in 1967. Created by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the non-profit group began by acquiring Belle Grove plantation house and surrounding acreage, where much of Sheridan's army was camped and dug in during the days before the battle and where intense fighting took place. Currently, Belle Grove Incorporated owns 283.42 acres (all part of the original 483 acres that made up the plantation when Isaac Hite, Jr., built the mansion). The organization also preserves an additional 178.72 acres within the battlefield through a Virginia Outdoors Foundation (VOF) easement.

In 1968, only a year after Belle Grove opened its doors to the public, the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commssion (VHLC) listed the property on the Virginia Landmarks Register (VLR). In 1969, staff from the VHLC successfully applied for listing of the 2,500-acre "Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove" on both the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and as a National Historic Landmark (NHL). The NHL status attests to the exceptional significance of the property, as it is among only 2,500 NHL listings within the United States and its territories.

Since the acquisition of battlefield acreage by Belle Grove Incorporated in 1967, other organizations have set aside large tracts for protection from development:

1. Formed in 1988, Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation (CCBF), has purchased 308.59 acres and has stewardship of a 158.16-acre VDHR easement and a 138.54-acre VOF easement, encompassing the XIX Corps defensive works and areas of combat overlooking Cedar Creek.
2. Created in 2000, the non-profit Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation (SVBF) owns 493 acres and has stewardship of a 189.18-acre VDHR easement. Key historic properties within the acreage include the Bowman-Hite Farm, the surrounding 134-acre Whitham tract, and the adjacent 87-acre Powers tract along Cedar Creek south of Interstate 81.
3. Shenandoah County has acquired a 151-acre property known as the Keister tract, which overlooks the North Fork of the Shenandoah River at the southern end of Park.
4. Since 1987, the Civil War Preservation Trust (CWPT) (known as the Association for the Preservation of Civil War Sites until 1991) has promoted land preservation efforts at Civil War battlefields across

the country through purchases funded by its a vast donor base. At Cedar Creek, the CWPT has acquired tracts that it has subsequently conveyed to the NPS. Through sophisticated presentations on its website and in its *Hallowed Ground* magazine, the organization provides valuable interpretive material for the general public and raises awareness of urgent threats to battlefield resources. Its current focus for Cedar Creek is raising awareness of direct and visual impacts posed by mining along the northwestern edge of the Park.

Instead of preserving large tracts of land, the Civil War Monument Fund has made its mission to maintain and restore monuments on Cedar Creek Battlefield and across the Lower Shenandoah Valley. One the Fund's most significant contributions to the Cedar Creek Battlefield has been the cleanup and restoration of the small fenced plot that contains the marker dedicated to the 8th Vermont Infantry. In 1989, trustee Allan Tischler conducted research on the history of the monument and ascertained land ownership before directing cleanup and restoration by a contractor. The Fund coordinated with the Vermont State Historic Preservation Office and received the support of an appropriation of the Vermont state legislature. The Fund also conducted restoration and repair on the Ramseur and 128th New York Volunteer Infantry monuments in the early 1990s. As noted above, Tischler and the late Brian Pohanka erected the memorial to Col. Charles Russell Lowell on the grounds of the Wayside Inn in Middletown.[152]

During the four decades since the initial land preservation initiative by Belle Grove Incorporated, interpretive programs have presented the history of the battlefield and many of its individual resources to the public, including house tours at Belle Grove and tours of the battlefield. In addition to on-site tours, the organizations mentioned above for their land preservation efforts also offer websites, maps, and cellphone apps with a wide array of interpretive material for both physical and virtual visits to the battlefield.

In the combined roles of interpretation, commemoration, and recreation, the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation has focused much of its mission on hosting battle reenactments, catering to an enthusiastic community of participants. Interviews compiled for an ethnographic study of the Park reveal that reenactors see themselves primarily as living history interpreters who offer visitors a unique and engaging perspective of historical events at the battlefield. However, many reenactors professed an emotional connection to the battle and its nineteenth-century participants, and some are direct descendants of those who fought on October 19, 1864. The ethnographic study reported that the reenactors interviewed generally had "a deep respect for the bravery and honor of our nation's soldiers, a reverence for place, and a need to immerse oneself in the experience of the past."[153]

In 2002, following recommendations from a management plan for the Shenandoah Valley National Battlefields Historic District, an act of Congress created Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park. The fourfold purpose was to:

1. help preserve, protect, and interpret a nationally significant Civil War landscape and antebellum plantation for the education, inspiration, and benefit of present and future generations;
2. tell the rich story of Shenandoah Valley history from early settlement through the Civil War and beyond, and the Battle of Cedar Creek and its significance in the conduct of the war in the Shenandoah Valley;
3. preserve the significant historic, natural, cultural, military, and scenic resources found in the Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove Plantation areas through partnerships with local landowners and the community; and

4. serve as a focal point to recognize and interpret important events and geographic locations within the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields National Historic District representing key Civil War battles in the Shenandoah Valley, including those battlefields associated with the Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson campaign of 1862 and the decisive campaigns of 1864.[154]

Described as a "partnership" park, Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove National Historical Park consists of a combination of privately owned tracts, properties owned and managed by partner entities such as the preservation organizations previously mentioned, and additional lands owned or under acquisition by the NPS. Since the NPS acquired a small residential property along the south side of U.S. Route 11 for a park office in 2009, the federal government has acquired additional acreage in the vicinity from private owners. These tracts, totaling 65.54 acres, encompass the Vermont Monument and the scene of some of the most intense fighting of the October 19, 1864 battle as the 8th Vermont stubbornly defended its battle flags while surrounded by advancing Confederate forces.

Over the last decade, the Park has sponsored an impressive program of research that has expanded and enhanced understanding of the Park's historic resources and how they should be managed and interpreted. At regular intervals, these studies have included an overview and assessment of cultural resources within the Park, including limited archaeological survey (2006); a Park-wide ethnographic overview and assessment (2009); and a cultural landscapes inventory (2007), site-specific historical background (2010), archaeological assessment (including survey and testing) (2012), and a historic structures report (2013) for the Bowman-Hite Farm; and currently ongoing, a metal detector survey and archaeological assessment of the battle locus surrounding the Vermont Monument.

Chapter 3 Endnotes

1. C. Clifford Boyd, Jr., "Paleoindian Paleoecology and Subsistence in Virginia," in *Paleoindian Research in Virginia: A Synthesis,* Special Publication, no. 19, ed. J. M. Wittkofski and T. R. Reinhart (Richmond, Va.: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1989),141–158.

2. William M. Gardner, *Lost Arrowheads & Broken Pottery: Traces of Indians in the Shenandoah Valley* (Front Royal, Va.: Thunderbird Museum, 1986); William M. Gardner, "An Examination of Cultural Change in the Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene (Ca. 9200 to 6800)," in *Paleoindian Research in Virginia: A Synthesis,* Special Publication, 19, ed. J. M. Wittkofski and T. R. Reinhart (Richmond, Va.: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1989), 5–51; E. Randolph Turner III, "Paleoindian Settlement Patterns and Population Distribution in Virginia," in *Paleoindian Research in Virginia: A Synthesis,* Special Publication, no. 19, ed. J. M. Wittkofski and T. R. Reinhart (Richmond, Va.: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1989), 71–94.

3. William M. Gardner, "The Flint Run Complex: Pattern and Process during the Paleo-Indian to Early Archaic," in *The Flint Run Paleoindian Complex: A Preliminary Report, 1971–1973 Seasons,* Occasional Publication, no. 1 ed. W. M. Gardner (Washington, D.C.; Archeology Laboratory, Catholic University of America, 1974), 5–47; William M. Gardner, "Flint Run Paleoindian Complex and Implications for Eastern North American Prehistory," in *Amerinds and Their Paleoenvironments in Northeastern North America*, ed. W. S. Newman and B. Salwen, Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 288 (New York, 1977), 257–263. The Flint Run Complex consists of four site types: the jasper quarry itself; the reduction station where quarried materials were knapped into more portable tool "blanks"; the base camp, incorporating living areas; and the base camp procurement area, where food and other resources are obtained to sustain activities in the base camp.

4. Jay F. Custer and E. B. Wallace, "Patterns of Resource Distribution and Archaeological Settlement Patterns in the Piedmont Uplands of the Middle Atlantic Region," *North American Archaeologist* 3 (1982): 163; Gardner, "Flint Run Paleoindian Complex," 261; Turner, "Paleoindian Settlement Patterns," 77, 82. Studies of known Paleoindian sites, especially Flint Run and Williamson (in Dinwiddie County), tracing specific cherts and jaspers back to original source locations have consistently documented a recurring emphasis on high-quality materials for stone tools. Furthermore, wide-ranging "foraging," rather than "collecting" subsistence patterns, characterized this period. Given these tendencies of lithic procurement and subsistence, "tethered nomadism" characterizes the Paleoindian settlement pattern.

5. Richard J. Dent, *Chesapeake Prehistory: Old Traditions, New Directions* (New York: Plenum Press, 1995), 168, 170, 175. The range of diagnostic hafted bifaces recovered from Early Archaic sites includes corner-notched types such as Kirk Corner-notched and Palmer; side-notched types such as Hardaway; and stemmed types such as Kirk Stemmed. Notched hafted bifaces occur from 8000 to 5500 BC, while Kirk Stemmed points continue to be deposited well into the Middle Archaic period (6500 to 4000 BC). During the Early Archaic period, tool makers continued to favor nonlocal rhyolites and chert stone The earliest evidence for the use of ground stone tools in the Chesapeake region comes from Early Archaic deposits

6. Assemblages associated with notched points may display regional patterning more similar to the preceding Paleoindian stage than to subsequent periods. Bifurcate point occupations may display a radiation into a wider variety of habitats, however, perhaps suggestive of exploitation of an expanding Holocene resource base (Dent 1995:171–172).

7. Gardner, "The Flint Run Complex." These findings are corroborated by radiometric dates from 44WR0050.

8. Gardner, "An Examination of Cultural Change."

9. *Ibid.*

10. K. A. Snyder and A. M. Fehr, "Data Recovery Excavations at 44WR3, 44WR299, 44WR300, and 44WR301" (Thunderbird Research Corporation, Front Royal. Submitted to The Town of Front Royal, Virginia, 1984).

11. Gardner, "An Examination of Cultural Change."

12. *Ibid.*

13. William M. Gardner, "Comparison of Ridge and Valley, Blue Ridge, Piedmont, and Coastal Plain Archaic Period Site Distribution: An Idealized Transect (Preliminary Model)," *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* 3 (1987): 64.

14. Victor A. Carbone, "Environment and Prehistory In the Shenandoah Valley" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University, 1976).

15. J. Sanderson Stevens, "A Story of Plants, Fire, and People: The Paleoecology and Subsistence of the Late Archaic," in *Late Archaic and Early Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis,* Special Publication, no. 23, ed. Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges (Richmond, Va.: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1991), 208–209.

16. William P. Boyer, Jr., "Test Excavations at the Dry Run Site: Late Archaic-Woodland and a Buried Stone Wall (master's thesis, Catholic University of America, 1978). Although quartz and quartzite had more widespread use, on some sites cryptocrystalline materials still dominate, such as the Late Archaic Dry Run Site (44WR0060), with jasper comprising comprised 65 percent of the stone artifact assemblage.

17. Snyder and Fehr, "Data Recovery Excavations."

18. Boyer, "Test Excavations."

19. Gardner, "Comparison of Ridge and Valley," 59.

20. Daniel P. Mouer, "The Formative Transition in Virginia," in *Late Archaic and Early Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis,* Special Publication, no. 23, ed. Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges (Richmond, Va.: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1991), 1–88.

21. Robert L. Stephenson, Alice L. L. Ferguson, and Henry Ferguson, *The Accokeek Creek Site: A Middle Atlantic Seaboard Cultural Sequence,* Anthropological Papers, no. 20 (Ann Arbor: Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, 1963); Gregory A. Waselkov, "Shellfish Gathering and Shell Midden Archaeology" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1982). Diagnostic Early Woodland ceramic wares, defined from site assemblages in the lower Potomac River valley by Stephenson et al., include Marcey Creek ware and Bushnell ware. Diagnostic hafted bifaces found in association with Early Woodland ceramics include Fishtail and variants of the broad-blade points similar to Calvert, Piscataway, and Rossville points from the end of the later part of the Late Archaic period.

22. Dent *Chesapeake Prehistory,* 228–229.

23. Snyder and Fehr, "Data Recovery Excavations"; Douglas C. McLearen, "Late Archaic and Early Woodland Material Culture in Virginia," in *Late Archaic and Early Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis,* Special Publication, no. 23, ed. Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges (Richmond: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1991), 39–64. Nearby sites in Warren County with storage pit features and hearths include the Corral Site (44WR0057)) and the 522 Bridge Site (44WR0329).

24. Gardner, "Comparison of Ridge and Valley," 59–64.

25. Joan M. Walker and Glenda F. Miller, "Life on the Levee: The Late Woodland Period in the Northern Great Valley of Virginia, in *Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis,* Special Publication, no. 29, ed. T. R. Reinhart

and M. E. N. Hodges (Richmond: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1991), 165–185; Snyder and Fehr, "Data Recovery Excavations."

26. Snyder and Fehr, "Data Recovery Excavations." Crushed rock-tempered Albemarle series sherds, with cord- and net-marked surfaces, gradually give way to fabric-impressed varieties, with mixed sand and crushed rock temper.

27. Douglas C. McLearen, "Virginia's Middle Woodland Period: A Regional Perspective," in *Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis,* Special Publication, no. 29, ed. Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges (Richmond, Va.: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1992), 50.

28. Snyder and Fehr, "Data Recovery Excavations"; Keith T. Egloff and Deborah Woodward, *First People: The Early Indians of Virginia (Richmond* (1992; reprint, Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, for the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 1994).

29. McLearen, "Virginia's Middle Woodland Period," 50–52. Located within the Park, Site 44WR0313 may represent this burial mound type. However, there is only limited documentation of the site in the VDHR database. As mapped, the site's setting is the edge of an eroded ridge along Cedar Creek near its confluence with the North Fork of the Shenandoah River. Site 44WR0093, described in similarly minimal database documentation as an "Indian Village" of unknown date, is about 500 feet upstream across a low ravine. Although the sites may be related, Site 44WR0093 is not necessarily contemporary and could date to the Late Woodland period.

30. Michael N. McConnell, "Before the Great Road: Indian Travelers on the Great Warrior's Path," in *The Great Valley Road of Virginia: Shenandoah Landscapes from Prehistory to the Present,* ed. Warren R. Hofstra and Karl B. Raitz (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 63–64.

31. Snyder and Fehr, "Data Recovery Excavations."

32. Joan M. Walker and Glenda F. Miller, "Life on the Levee: The Late Woodland Period in the Northern Great Valley of Virginia," in *Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, Special Publication, no. 29, ed. Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges (Richmond: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1991), 165–186.

33. *Ibid.,* 166. The crushed-stone Albemarle series, a continuation from the Middle Woodland period, is the primary ceramic type during the beginning of the Late Woodland period. The occurrence of limestone-tempered Page series ceramics overlaps and then replaces the Albemarle series, spreading north through the Shenandoah Valley into the Potomac drainage and east into the Piedmont as far as the Monocacy Valley. The end of the Late Woodland period is marked by the appearance of the shell-tempered Keyser ceramics, which abruptly replace the widespread ceramics of the Page series. The Keyser series appears closely related to the Monongahela series and may represent migrations of groups into the area from the northwest.

34. See Warren R. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley,* Creating the North American Landscape Series (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Warren R. Hofstra and Robert D. Mitchell, "Town and Country in Backcountry Virginia: Winchester and the Shenandoah Valley, 1730–1800," *The Journal of Southern History* 59, no. 4 (1993): 619–646; Robert D. Mitchell, *Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977); Robert Mitchell, ed., Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society, and Development in the Preindustrial Era (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991); Robert D. Mitchell, "The Settlement Fabric of the Shenandoah Valley, 1790–1860: Pattern, Process,

and Structure," in *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800–1900,* ed. Kenneth Koons and Warren Hofstra (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000) 34–47; Michael J. Puglisi, ed., *Diversity and Accommodation: Essays on the Cultural Composition of the Virginia Frontier,* 1st ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997).

35. Wilmer L. Kerns, *Frederick County, Virginia: Settlement and Some First Families of Back Creek Valley, 1730–1830* (Baltimore: Gateway Press Inc., 1995).(Kerns 1995:1).

36. Dieter Cunz, "John Lederer, Significance and Evaluation," *William & Mary Quarterly* vol. 22, no. 2 (1942): 175.

37. Laura Virginia Hale, "History of Warren County," in *An Economic and Social Survey of Warren County,* Laboratory Research Study in the School of Rural Social Economics, by Elliott C. Haley, William H. Sager, William Morris Stull, Robert B. Crane, Sumner W. Matteson, and Landon T. Christian III (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1943), 10–11.

38. Warren R. Hofstra, "The Colonial Road," in *The Great Valley Road of Virginia: Shenandoah Landscapes from Prehistory to the Present,* ed. Warren R. Hofstra, and Karl B. Raitz (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 86, 88).

39. Kathleen J. Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park* (College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia. Submitted to Northeast Region Ethnography Program, National Park Service, Boston, Mass, 2009), 69–70; Jay F. Custer, *Prehistoric Cultures of Eastern Pennsylvania,* Anthropological Series, no. 7 (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1996), 305–306; Gardner, "Lost Arrowheads."

40. Hofstra, "Colonial Road," 88.

41. Robert D. Mitchell, "'From the Ground Up': Space, Place, and Diversity in Frontier Studies," in *Diversity and Accommodation: Essays on the Cultural Composition of the Virginia Frontier,* ed. Michael J. Puglisi, 1st ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 27.

42. Warren R. Hofstra, "'The Extention of His Majesties Dominions': The Virginia Backcountry and the Reconfiguration of Imperial Frontiers," *The Journal of American History* vol. 84, no. 4 (March 1, 1998): 1288.

43. Mitchell "'From the Ground Up,'" 27–28; Warren R. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 60–61.

44. Mitchell "'From the Ground Up,'" 27–28.

45. Josiah Look Dickinson, *The Fairfax Proprietary: The Northern Neck, the Fairfax Manors, and Beginnings of Warren County in Virginia* (Front Royal, Va.: Warren Press, 1959), 6, 8–10; Cecil O'Dell, *Pioneers of Old Frederick County, Virginia* (Marceline, Mo.: Walsworth Publishing Co., 1995), viii; T. K. Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants; a History of Frederick County, Virginia, from Its Formation in 1738 to 1908.…* (1909; reprint, indexed ed., Berryville, Va.: Chesapeake Book Co., 1963), 12.

46. Quoted in Hofstra, "Colonial Road," 88.

47. John Walter Wayland, *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia* (1907; reprint, Harrisonburg, Va.: C. J. Carrier, 1989), 34–41.

48. David Hackett Fischer and James C. Kelly, *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 113.

49.Wayland, *The German Element,* 42–45.

50. Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers,* 13; Wayland, *The German Element,* 19.

51. Fisher and Kelly, *Bound Away,* 112.

52. Wayland, *The German Element,* 24; Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia,* 82; A. G. Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Luther-*

ans in Colonial British America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

53. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia,* 34.

54. Garland R. Quarles, *Some Old Homes in Frederick County, Virginia* (1971; reprint, Winchester, Va.: Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society, 1990), 30; O'Dell, *Pioneers of Old Frederick County,* 17; Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia,* 34–36.

55. Wayland, *The German Element.*

56. Fisher and Kelly, *Bound Away,* 113.

57. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia,* 34; Wayland, *The German Element,* 52. Due to ambiguities in the Proprietary's boundary definition, colonial Virginia's vigorous settlement policy of issuing grants for large tracts in the Lower Shenandoah Valley clashed with the Fairfax family's claim to the same lands. An epic suit brought against Jost Hite by the Fairfax family was not resolved in Hite's favor until 1786, after the American Revolution and long after his death.

58. Robert D. Mitchell, "The Settlement Fabric of the Shenandoah Valley, 1790–1860: Pattern, Process, and Structure," in *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800–1900,* ed. Kenneth E. Koons and Warren R. Hofstra, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 34.

59. Quarles, *Some Old Homes in Frederick County,* 130.

60. Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, Fort Bowman National Register nomination form, 1969 (collections of Virginia Department of Historic Resources Archives, Richmond).

61. Cartmell, Shenandoah Valley Pioneers, 261; John Walter Wayland, *Historic Homes of Northern Virginia and the Eastern Panhandle of West Virginia* (Staunton, Va.: The McClure Company, Inc., 1937), 136.

62. Clarence R. Geier and Kimberly Tinkham, with contributions from Joseph Whitehorne, "An Overview and Assessment of Archeological Resources and Landscapes within Lands Managed by Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume 1: Park History, Previous Research, Cultural Resources and Significant Historic Military and Domestic Themes, Threat To Resource, with Recommendations for Resource Management and Interpretation" (Department of Sociology and Anthropology, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, Virginia. Submitted to Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Middletown, Virginia, 2006), 140; Wayland 1967:104)

63. O'Dell, *Pioneers of Old Frederick County,* 351.

64. John Walter Wayland, *A History of Shenandoah County, Virginia* (Strasburg, Va.: Shenandoah Publishing House, 1927), 340.

65. Frederick County Will Book No. 3, pp 431–434 (1764).

66. O'Dell, *Pioneers of Old Frederick County,* 351; Michael Spencer, "The Bowman-Hite Property, Warren County, Virginia: Bowman-Hite Bank Barn Historic Structures Report" (Department of Historic Preservation Mary Washington University, Fredericksburg, Virginia. Submitted to CEBE, Middletown, Virginia, 2013).

67. *Ibid.*

68. Margaret T. Peters and Maral S. Kalbian, "The Bowman-Hite Property, Warren County, Virginia" (Submitted to Shenandoah Valley Battlefield Foundation in cooperative agreement with Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Middletown, Va., 2010), 6–7; William Hayden English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio 1778–1783; and Life of Gen. George Rogers Clark....* (Indianapolis: Bowen-Merrill Company, 1897), 121, reproduced in Spencer, "Bowman-Hite Bank Barn Historic Structures Report"; Wayland, *History of Shenandoah County,* 695.

69. James C. Massey and Shirley Maxwell, Mount Pleasant National Register nomination

form, 2011 (collections of Virginia Department of Historic Resources Archives, Richmond).

70. *Ibid,* 9–10. Massey and Maxwell, who conducted an architectural survey of the interior of Mount Pleasant as documentation for its National Register listing, noted other early-style features that are not original. In particular the impressive collection of iron box locks, door handles, and key plates more closely resembled "Germanic" mid-eighteenth-century pieces than the more restrained hardware typically found in a Federal style dwelling such as Mount Pleasant. They suggest that these items were installed during the ca. 1930 rehabilitation; the box locks may be early pieces that were later modified.

71. O'Dell, *Pioneers of Old Frederick County,* 26–27.

72. Maral Kalbian, Long Meadow National Register nomination form, 1995 (collections of Virginia Department of Historic Resources Archives, Richmond), Sct. 8, p. 10)

73. Michael F. Doran, *Atlas of County Boundary Changes in Virginia, 1634–1895* (Athens, Ga.: Iberian Publishing Company, 1987).

74. Geier and Tinkham, "Overview and Assessment, Volume 1," 131.

75. Clarence R. Geier, "An Immense Lilac Hedge in Full Bloom: The Archaeological Definition and Assessment of the Belle Grove Plantation (44FK16)" (Department of Sociology and Anthropology, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, Virginia. Submitted to Belle Grove, Inc., NTHP, Middletown, Virginia, 1995), 13; Geier and Tinkham, "Overview and Assessment, Volume 1," 114.

76. Geier and Tinkham, "Overview and Assessment, Vol. 1," 114–115.

77. Anonymous, "Agriculture: Virginia Husbandry," *The American Farmer* (June 29, 1821): 3, 14.

78. Belle Grove, Inc., "Belle Grove History" on Belle Grove Plantation website, accessed October 15, 2013, http://www.bellegrove.org/index.php?/about/history.

79. *Ibid.*

80. Kalbian, Long Meadow, Sct. 7, p. 1.

81. Spencer, "Bowman-Hite Bank Barn Historic Structures Report," 7.

82. *Ibid.*

83. Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," in *Material Life in America, 1600–1860,* ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 357–369.

84. Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment,* 116, 119; Spencer, "Bowman-Hite Bank Barn Historic Structures Report," 9; Peters and Kalbian, "The Bowman-Hite Property."

85. Wayland, *The German Element,* 179, 185. Wayland presents a table (p. 185) of slave populations in the Shenandoah Valley counties to support his view that the proportion of slaves is directly related to the percentage of Scots-Irish settlers, and therefore inversely proportional to the number of German residents.

86. Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1998). Morgan's comparison of slave culture in Tidewater Virginia and Lowcountry South Carolina reveals stark contrasts shaped by various social, economic, and geographic conditions.

87. J. Suzanne Simmons and Nancy T. Sorrells, "Slave Hire and the Development of Slavery in Augusta County, Virginia," in *After the Backgountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia,* ed. Kenneth E. Koons and Warren Hofstra (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000),182; Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment,* 122.

88. Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment,* 119.

89. Spencer, "Bowman-Hite Bank Barn Historic Structures Report."

90. Doran, *Atlas of County Boundary Changes,* 20–23, 26–29; Hale, "History of Warren County," 18.

91. Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment,* 145; William E. Trout, *The Shenandoah River Atlas: Nineteenth-Century Inland Navigations of the Virginias* (Front Royal: Virginia Canals & Navigations Society, 1997), 11.

92. Anthony Greiner, "Navigation and Commerce on the Shenandoah River of Virginia, *The Log of the Mystic Seaport,* vol. 42 (1990): 44.

93. Trout, *The Shenandoah River Atlas,* 6, 7, 80

94. *Ibid.,* 11, 88–90.

95. Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment,* 145.

96. L. VanLoan Naisawald, "The Manassas Gap Railroad," *Virginia Cavalcade* vol. 19, no. 4 (Spring 1970), 30; Wayland, *History of Shenandoah County,* 293.

97. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia,* 262.

98. *Ibid.*; Fisher and Kelly, *Bound Away,* 113.

99. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia,* 285.

100. Mitchell, "Settlement Fabric of the Shenandoah Valley," 37.

101. Rebecca Ebert and Theresa Lazazzera, *Frederick County, Virginia: From the Frontier to the Future* (Norfolk, Va.: The Donning Company, 1988), 52). Bruce Catton, *A Stillness at Appomattox* (New York: Doubleday, 1953), 30.

102. David Lowe, *Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, Pursuant to Public Law 101-628* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division, 1992), Part 2, Section 4; Laura Virginia Hale, *Four Valiant Years in the Lower Shenandoah Valley, 1861–1865* (Strasburg, Va.: Shenandoah Publishing House, Inc., 1968), :147–148; *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. 15, Pt. 1, pp. 701–716.

103. Michael J. Commisso, "Land Use History for Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park" (Submitted to Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Middletown, Virginia, 2007); Frederick Phisterer, *Statistical Record of the Armies of the United States* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883), 57.

104. Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *The Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1864,* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), xiii–xiv; Civil War Sites Advisory Commission (CWSAC), "Battle Summaries by State" in *CWSAC, Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields,* accessed June 1, 2012, http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/abpp/battles/bystate.htm#va

105. John L. Heatwole, *The Burning: Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley,* 1st ed. (Charlottesville, Va.: Rockbridge Publishing, an imprint of Howell Press, 1998), 27–28.

106. United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies [OR]* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), ser. 1, vol. 43, pt. 2, p. 266.

107. Heatwole, *The Burning,* 219.

108. Mark Fiege, "Gettysburg and the Organic Nature of the American Civil War," in *Natural Enemy, Natural Ally: Toward an Environmental History of Warfare,* ed. Richard P. Tucker and Edmund Russell (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2004), 95.

109. Richard P. Tucker, "The Impact of Warfare on the Natural World: A Historical Survey," in *Natural Enemy, Natural Ally: Toward an Environmental History of Warfare,* ed. Richard P. Tucker and Edmund Russell (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2004), 27.

110. American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP), *Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission's Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields: Commonwealth of Virginia* (Washington, D.C. : U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program, 2009).

111. Jonathan A Noyalas, *The Battle of Cedar Creek: Victory from the Jaws of Defeat* (Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2009), 22–23.

112. Joseph W. A. Whitehorne, *Self-Guided Tour: The Battle of Cedar Creek* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1992), 7–8.

113. Noyalas, *Battle of Cedar Creek,* 26.

114. Jeffry D. Wert, *From Winchester to Cedar Creek: The Shenandoah Campaign of 1864,* 1st ed. (Carlisle, Pa.: South Mountain Press. 1987), 174–175.

115. Whitehorne, *Self-Guided Tour,* 9–10.

116. Noyalas, *Battle of Cedar Creek,* 29.

117. *Ibid.,* 32–33.

118. Theodore C Mahr, *The Battle of Cedar Creek: Showdown in the Shenandoah, October 1–30, 1864* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1992), 107.

119. *Ibid.,* 110–111.

120. *Ibid.,* 114–117; Noyalas, *Battle of Cedar Creek*, 36.

121. Noyalas, *Battle of Cedar Creek,* 37, 40.

122. *Ibid.,* 37.

123. Clifton Johnson, *Battleground Adventures: The Stories of Dwellers on the Scenes of Conflict in Some of the Most Notable Battles of the Civil War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915). 403.

124. *Ibid.,* 403–404.

125. Lowe, *Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley,* pt. 3, section 15; Whitehorne, *Self-Guided Tour,* 24.

126. Lowe, *Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley,* pt. 3, section 15; Noyalas, *Battle of Cedar Creek,* 42.

127. Whitehorne, *Self-Guided Tour,* 17–18.

128. Lowe, *Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley,* pt. 3, section 15; Noyalas, *Battle of Cedar Creek,* 42–43.

129. Noyalas, *Battle of Cedar Creek,* 43–44.

130. Mahr, *Battle of Cedar Creek,* 154; Noyalas *Battle of Cedar Creek,* 47; Lowe, *Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley,* pt. 3, section 15.

131. Whitehorne, *Self-Guided Tour,* 24; Lowe, *Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley,* pt. 3, section 15.

132. Noyalas, *Battle of Cedar Creek,* 53; Lowe, *Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley,* pt. 3, section 15.

133. Noyalas, *Battle of Cedar Creek,* 54.

134. *Ibid.,* 54–57.

135. Lowe, *Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley,* pt. 3, section 15.

136. *Ibid.*; Thomas A. Lewis, *The Guns of Cedar Creek,* 1st ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 279.

137. *Ibid.,* 284–285.

138. Lowe, *Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley,* pt. 3, section 15; Lewis, *Guns of Cedar Creek,* 308.

139. Lewis, *Guns of Cedar Creek,* 292.

140. Mahr, *Battle of Cedar Creek,* 349–350.

141. Lowe, *Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley,* pt. 3, section 15.

142. Noyalas, *Battle of Cedar Creek,* 90–91.

143. Kenneth E. Koons, "'The Staple of Our Country': Wheat in the Regional Farm Economy of the Nineteenth-Century Valley of Virginia," in *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800–1900,* ed. Kenneth E. Koons

and Warren R. Hofstra, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 8–12.

144. Noyalas, *Battle of Cedar Creek,* 92–93.

145. *Ibid.,* 98.

146. *Ibid.,* 96.

147. *Ibid.,* 99–100.

148 *Ibid.,* 101.

149. Rob McGinnis, Tonia Horton, Liz Sargent, Justin Dollard, Laura Ehrlich, Daniel Beattie, Julie Gronlund, and Elizabeth O'Brien, "The Civil War: Richmond, Virginia and Its Environs – 1861–1865," National Register of Historic Places multiple property documentation form (Richmond: Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 1996), p. E49.

150. Allan Tischler, Civil War Monument Fund, personal communication 2012.

151. Carol Bundy, *The Nature of Sacrifice: a Biography of Charles Russell Lowell, Jr., 1835–64,* (New York: Farrar, 2005), 467–470.

152. Allan Tischler, "Forgotten In The Valley," *Civil War News: The Monthly Current Events Newspaper* (Feb./March): Preservation column; Correspondence, Box 6: Civil War Monument Fund, Allan Tischler Collection, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives Room, Handley Regional Library, Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society, Winchester, Virginia.

153. Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment,* 254–260.

154. H.R.4944, An Act to designate the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park as a unit of the National Park System, and for other purposes.