

ARCHEOLOGICAL OVERVIEW, ASSESSMENT, INVENTORY, AND EVALUATION STUDY OF MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK

Prince William and Fairfax Counties, Virginia

Contract No. P16PC00290 / PMIS No. 41350A-D / Work Order No. 140P3021F0099

VOLUME I



Prepared for:



National Park Service
National Capital Area
1100 Ohio Drive, SW
Washington, D.C. 20242

Prepared by:



WSP USA Inc.
1250 23rd Street, NW, Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20037

March 16, 2023

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John Bedell, Tiffany Raszick, and Erin Cagney

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ABSTRACT

The Manassas Battlefield encompasses over 5,072 acres of rolling hills in northern Virginia's Prince William and Fairfax Counties. The mission of Manassas National Battlefield Park is to preserve and interpret the sites of two important Civil War battles, known as First and Second Bull Run or First and Second Manassas. Today the park consists mostly of forests and grassy fields, but over the past 11,000 years many people have lived there and put the landscape to their own uses. The park therefore has a rich archeological record that spans ancient Native Americans, European settlers, enslaved and free African Americans, and of course Civil War soldiers from both sides.

Between 2018 and 2022, WSP USA Inc. (WSP) carried out a four-year archeological study of Manassas National Battlefield Park (the park, or the battlefield). The park is a unit of the National Park Service (NPS). WSP carried out this study under the terms of Contract No. P16PC00290, PMIS 41350A-D. This report documents the work done across the entire four-year archeological study. Volume I, this volume, is written as a narrative, and it is intended for park interpretive staff and the general public. Volume I does not include sensitive information such as the locations of archeological sites. Volume II is intended for park managers and cultural resource professionals and includes the technical information from the study, such as precise maps.

The work of the four-year study began with an Archeological Overview and Assessment (AOA) study of the park. AOAs are standard resource management studies conducted by the NPS nationwide to meet their mission and follow applicable laws and regulations, including Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act. The main goals of this AOA were to summarize what is known about the archeological record and history of the battlefield and to establish a plan for the four-year archeological study. Quite a bit of archeology had already been done in the park before 2018: more than 30 studies had been carried out and 95 archeological sites recorded.

Archeological study followed, with testing carried out in all four years. The main tasks were the following.

- Investigation around historic house sites, which are key interpretive sites for the park, and the focus of much development.
- Metal detecting in selected areas of heavy fighting, to enhance our understanding of the fighting in the two battles.
- Survey of selected areas to locate new archeological sites.

Documentary research was also carried out on selected topics, notably the enslaved population of Pittsylvania plantation and the fighting at the locations where metal detecting was carried out.

Key advances include the following.

- Significant metal detector finds related to the fighting at the Deep Cut and the Federal Breakthrough Site (Second Manassas) and Matthews and Henry Hills (First Manassas).
- Uncovering features and artifacts at historic house sites, including Pittsylvania, Rosefield II, Van Pelt, Matthews, Hazel Plain, and M.J. Dogan.
- Discovery of five new archeological sites.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Section</i>	<i>Page</i>
ABSTRACT.....	i
LIST OF FIGURES	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	vi
I. INTRODUCTION	1
A. The Archaeological Study.....	1
1. The Project	1
2. Overview and Assessment	3
3. Archeological Survey.....	5
4. Investigations at Historic House Sites	5
5. Metal Detecting for Civil War Remains	7
B. The Battlefield Landscape	7
1. The Rocky Underpinnings	7
2. Soils.....	7
3. Vegetation	8
II. PRELUDE AT BRAWNER FARM.....	9
A. The Peaceful Green Hills	9
B. Brawner Farm	9
1. What Archeology Can Show.....	9
2. The Excavations	12
a. The House	12
b. The Kitchen and Slave Quarter.....	15
3. A Stand-Up Fight.....	20
4. Ancient Hunters	22
III. ANCIENT NATIVE AMERICANS.....	24
A. The First People	24
1. Paleoindian Period	24
2. Early Archaic Period.....	26
B. Hunters and Gatherers.....	26
1. Middle Archaic Period	26
2. Late Archaic Period: Masters of the Forest Environment.....	29
3. Terminal Archaic Period: New People and a New Way of Life.....	32
4. Early Woodland Period	34
5. Middle Woodland Period	34
C. Agriculture and Village Life.....	36
1. Late Woodland Period	36
2. Contact Period.....	38
D. Summary	41

IV. SETTLEMENT BY EUROPEANS AND AFRICANS	45
A. Settlement from Across the Atlantic.....	45
B. Building Plantations and Communities in the Eighteenth Century	47
1. Growing Populations.....	47
2. The Agricultural Economy.....	47
3. Pohoke.....	48
4. Pittsylvania.....	49
a. A Grand Plantation of the Carter Family.....	49
b. History of the Enslaved Population	53
c. Archeological Research	59
V. BLACK AND WHITE VIRGINIA, 1800-1861.....	67
A. Changing Circumstances Under the New Republic.....	67
1. Creating Farms	67
2. Roads and Railroads.....	67
B. New Plantations	71
1. Old Families and New Manors	71
2. Hazel Plain	71
C. New Farms.....	80
1. The Henry House	80
a. Property History.....	80
b. Archeological Research	80
2. Avon.....	82
3. The Robinson House.....	85
a. Property History.....	85
b. The House	88
c. Archeological Research	90
4. Other Battlefield Houses.....	92
a. Matthews House.....	95
b. The Thornberry House.....	95
VI. THE CIVIL WAR.....	99
A. First Manassas: The First Great and Terrible Battle.....	99
1. On to Richmond	99
2. Matthews Hill: The Morning Phase	99
3. The Afternoon Phase.....	105
4. The Archeology of First Manassas	106
B. Second Manassas	106
1. Two Armies Spoiling for a Fight	106
2. The Archeology of Second Manassas.....	111
C. Metal Detecting at the Deep Cut.....	111
1. Historical Background	111
2. Archeological Survey.....	116
3. Discussion	120

VII. RECONSTRUCTION AND GROWTH	125
A. From Ruins to Renewal	125
B. Groveton	128
1. The Lucinda Dogan House	128
2. The Mary Jane Dogan House.....	132
a. Property History.....	132
b. Archeological Investigations	138
3. Andrew Redman's Blacksmith Shop	138
C. The Mahala Dean Site.....	145
VIII. GROWTH, TOURISM, AND PRESERVATION	148
A. From Farmland to Park	148
B. A Person and a Name.....	148
IX. REFERENCES CITED.....	156

LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Figure</i>	<i>Page</i>
1 Manassas National Battlefield Park	2
2 Map of Civil War-Era Houses, Roads, and Wood Lots on Manassas Battlefield	4
3 Excavating a Shovel Test Adjacent to Feature 15 at Chinn Ridge	6
4 View of Manassas National Battlefield Park	10
5 The Brawner Farmhouse Before Rehabilitation, 2006 to 2007, Facing Northeast.....	11
6 Plan of the 1987 Excavations at Brawner Farm.....	13
7 Chimney Base of Old House in 1987	14
8 Stone Pavement and Foundation of Standing Brawner House	16
9 Chimney Base in West Yard of Brawner House, Facing South	18
10 Padlock from Kitchen Area of Brawner Farm.....	19
11 Colonoware from Brawner Farm	19
12 Fired Civil War Bullets from Brawner Farm.....	21
13 Civil War Artillery Artifacts from Brawner Farm.....	21
14 Bifaces from Brawner Farm.....	23
15 Early Archaic Points from Brawner Farm	23
16 Morrow Mountain Points from Site 44FX3188.....	28
17 Halifax Points from Brawner Farm.....	31
18 Savannah River Point from Montgomery County, Maryland.....	32
19 Savannah River Point from Western Maryland	33
20 Early Woodland Accokeek Pot from a Site on the Potomac in Washington.....	35
21 Middle Woodland Points from Washington, D.C.....	37
22 Late Woodland Ceramic Sherd from Washington, D.C.	39

23	Section of John Smith’s 1608 Map of Virginia Showing Indian Settlements Along the Potomac.....	40
24	Projectile Points from the Excavations at Henry House.....	42
25	Portrait of Robert “King” Carter (National Portrait Gallery ca. 1720).....	46
26	Drawing of a Carter Mansion, Possibly Intended to be the First Mansion House at Pittsylvania.....	50
27	Division of Bull Run Tract	52
28	Plan of Features Documented at Pittsylvania in 1981	60
29	Plan of Features Identified by GPR Survey at Pittsylvania, Site 44PW0287	61
30	Excavating a Shovel Test on Feature 15, Pittsylvania.....	63
31	Ceramics from Pittsylvania.....	64
32	Colonoware from Pittsylvania	65
33	Tools from Pittsylvania.....	66
34	Prince William County and the Manassas Battlefield Area Mapped in 1826	68
35	Virginia’s Railroads in 1852, Showing Manassas Junction.....	70
36	Portici in 1862, Facing North.....	72
37	Overhead View of the Portici Excavations Exposed During Excavation.....	73
38	Chinn House or Hazel Plain, ca. 1940	74
39	McGarry’s Plan of Hazel Plain.....	75
40	Features 3 and 4, Well and Cistern at Hazel Plain.....	77
41	Stone Wall of Feature 6 at Hazel Plain.....	78
42	Pearlware from Hazel Plain	79
43	Drawing of Henry House in 1861.....	81
44	Plan of the 2003 Excavations at Henry House, Showing Foundations of the Earlier House	83
45	Colonoware from Henry House Site.....	84
46	Van Pelt House from the Stone Bridge, Facing Northwest, Undated but Likely 1862	86
47	Plan of Van Pelt House in 1981	87
48	The James Robinson House in 1862.....	89
49	Drawing of Robinson House in the Twentieth Century.....	89
50	Plan of Robinson House Site in 1981	91
51	Matthews House in a Civil War Photo	93
52	The Thornberry House in 1862.....	94
53	Plan of the Matthews House Site in 1981.....	96
54	Plan of Archeological Testing at the Thornberry House Site	98
55	Simplified Map of the Fighting at First Manassas.....	100
56	View from the Confederate Position on Matthews Hill Toward the Union Lines	102
57	Bullets from Recent Metal Detecting on Matthews Hill	107
58	Louisiana Buttons from Matthews Hill.....	108
59	Simplified Map of the Fighting at Second Manassas, August 29-30, 1862	110
60	Plan of the Deep Cut Attack	112
61	Map of Overall Controlled Burn Survey Area.....	117
62	Deep Cut Survey Area, Facing Northwest.....	118
63	Metal Detecting on the Rocky Slope Where Union Troops Took Shelter	118
64	Deep Cut Battlefield Line of Sight Analysis	119
65	Unusual Bullets from the Deep Cut	121

66	Other Military Artifacts from the Deep Cut	122
67	Ruins of Henry House on Manassas Battlefield in March 1862.....	123
68	Ruins of the Stone Bridge in 1862	124
69	Henry House as Reconstructed After the War and Restored by the NPS.....	126
70	Rosefield in 2015, Facing Northwest.....	127
71	Civil War Map of Groveton	129
72	Surveyor's Sketch of Groveton in 1878.....	130
73	Groveton from the East, ca. 1904	131
74	Lucinda Dogan House ca. 1940	133
75	Dogan Family in 1904	134
76	Mary Jane Dogan House in 2018.....	135
77	Shovel Test Showing Porch Pier.....	136
78	Front (South) Elevation of the Mary Jane Dogan House, Showing Framing.....	137
79	East Elevation of the Mary Jane Dogan House	139
80	Possible Stone Step at Mary Jane Dogan House, Facing North	140
81	Ceramics from Mary Jane Dogan House	141
82	Small Finds from Mary Jane Dogan House.....	142
83	Excavating TU 4 at Mary Jane Dogan House.....	143
84	Plan of Features Identified by the GPR Survey, Groveton Southwest	144
85	Plan of Mahala Dean Site	146
86	Wall of Mahala Dean House with Cellar, Facing North.....	147
87	Plan of Buildings Around U.S. 29/Sudley Road Intersection in the 1930s	149
88	Photograph of Stone House Property in 1903.....	150
89	Monument on Henry Hill.....	151
90	Deep Cut Monument.....	152
91	Map of What Might Have Been the Maggie Lewis Cabin	153
92	Maggie Lewis Site	154

LIST OF TABLES

<i>Table</i>		<i>Page</i>
1	Middle Atlantic Region, Cultural and Environmental Chronology.....	25
2	Projectile Points from Old Collections at Manassas, from McGarry 1980	43
3	Population of Dettingen Parish.....	47
4	Landon Carter Jr.'s Enslaved, 1760 to 1801.....	55
5	Populaton of Prince William County, 1790 to 1830.....	67
6	Features Identified at the Chinn House (Site 44PW0008) during 1981 Survey.....	76
7	Features Identified at Robinson House(Site 44PW0288) During 1981 Survey	92
8	Artifacts Recovered During Intensive Metal Detecting at the Deep Cut	116

I. INTRODUCTION

A. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY

1. *The Project*

The archeological study undertaken for this project was guided by the mission of Manassas National Battlefield Park, which is to interpret the Civil War battles of First and Second Bull Run or First and Second Manassas. The study therefore focused on nineteenth-century properties, that is, evidence of the battles and of the houses and farms that stood on the landscape at the time. The work was carried out over four years, with fieldwork in the fall of 2018, 2019, and 2020 and the spring of 2022. The work was carried out by WSP USA Inc. (WSP) on behalf of the National Park Service (NPS), National Capital Region and Manassas National Battlefield Park, under the terms of Contract No. P16PC00290, PMIS 41350A-D. The final report of the project is presented in two volumes. Volume I (this volume) is written as a narrative intended for park interpreters and the general public, and it does not include the location of sensitive archeological sites. Volume II, intended for park managers and cultural resource professionals, includes the bulk of the technical material from the study.

Manassas National Battlefield Park (hereafter the battlefield or the park) measures 5,072 acres (Figure 1). Most of the park is grass or woodlands, and it is all accessible to the public. The park is bordered along its east side by Bull Run, a substantial stream that seems to have been a focus of activity for ancient Native Americans. It is crossed by two major roads, the Warrenton or Centreville Turnpike (U.S. Route 29) from east to west and Sudley Road (present-day SR 234) from north to south; the intersection of those roads near the center of the battlefield was an important locus of both Civil War fighting and civilian economic activity.

Previous archeological investigation in the park has included both wide-ranging surveys designed to locate and document new archeological sites and in-depth studies of particular locations. The wide-ranging surveys were mostly completed before 1992. These studies were carried out by shovel testing and surface inspection and led to the discovery of dozens of precontact and historic archeological sites. The most important study was carried out by NPS archeologist Thomas McGarry in the early 1980s (McGarry 1982; McGarry and Bohannon 1986). McGarry used a towed tiller to plow up strips of soil that allowed his team to examine 5 percent of the surface across large areas of the park, covering hundreds of areas and identifying dozens of sites. The survey was especially productive in the northeast quadrant of the park. There have also been several metal detector studies in the park, although those were mainly of small areas. The in-depth studies have mainly focused on historic house sites, partly because the standing houses are used by the park for offices and interpretive sites and have therefore undergone significant construction activity. Future plans for the park also focus on these house sites, so they will continue to be an important focus of archeological work, including this study.

Only a small percentage of the battlefield had been systematically metal detected before this study. Previous studies have suggested that there is considerable potential for the recovery of artifacts that can further aid in the interpretation of the battles. For example, it was possible to identify the firing line of the 19th Indiana east of Brawner Farm, where they stood on the first day of Second

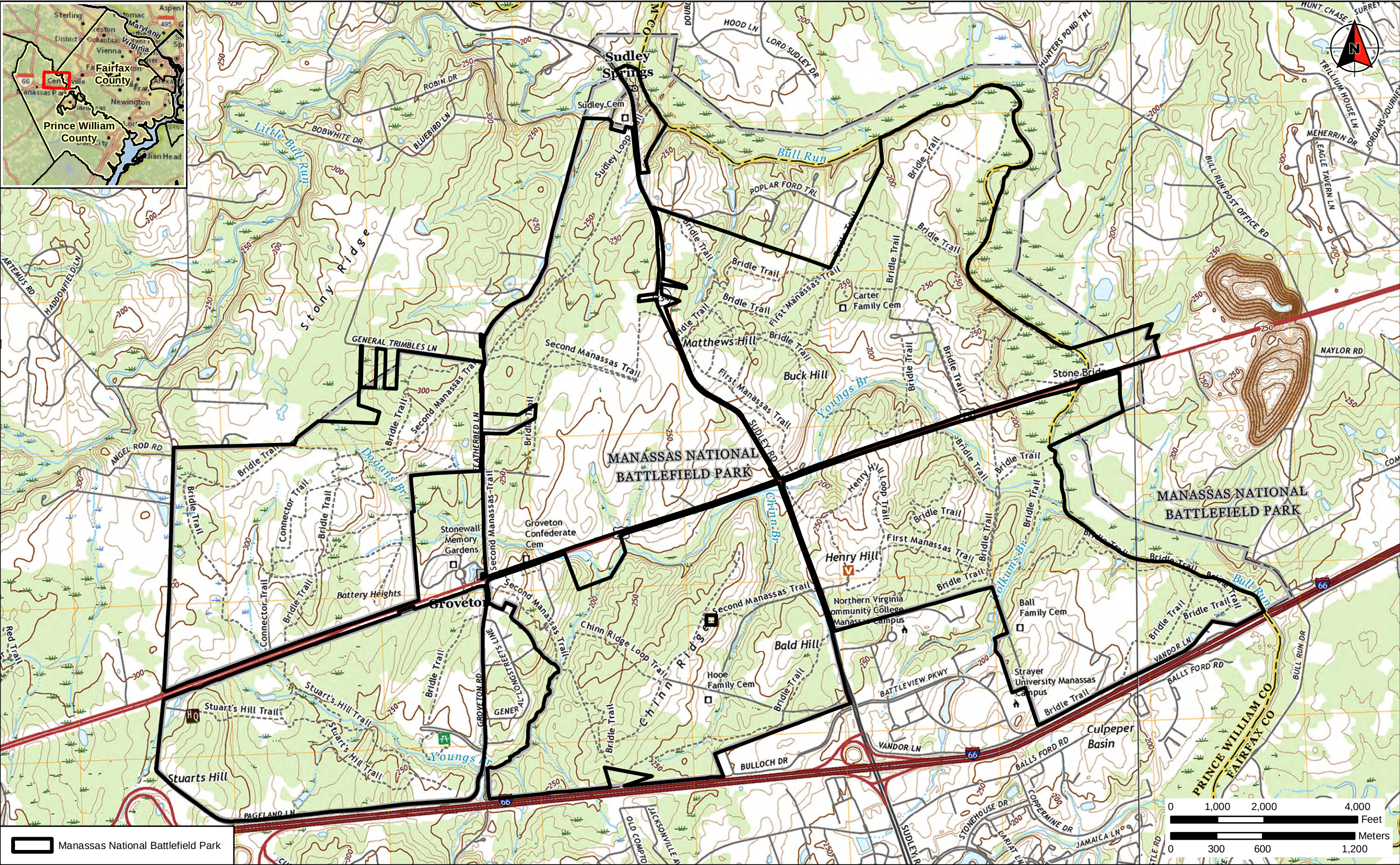


FIGURE 1: Manassas National Battlefield Park (USGS Gainesville 2019a, Manassas 2019b)

Manassas (Potter et al. 2001). Another study (Reeves 2001a) may have located the spot where the first shots of First Manassas were fired. Among the areas that had not been investigated were most of Matthews Hill and Henry Hill, where the heaviest fighting took place at First Manassas. One of the goals of this study was to carry out metal detecting in selected locations within the park to investigate the potential for information on the Civil War fighting.

The project manager and principal investigator for this study was Dr. John Bedell. The field directors were Tiffany Raszick, Erin Cagney, and Gregory Katz. The laboratory director was Kathryn Wilkins. The field crew consisted of Judy Joklik, Sofia Krum, Meredith McCulley, Sonny Jorgensen, Charles Simpson, Brittany Blanchard, Lillian Salamone, Lauren Jakobsson, Noelle Thompson-Worthington, and Michael Lundberg. Expertise was leant by many knowledgeable people, including Dr. Stephen Potter, Dr. Stuart Fiedel, Jason Shellenhamer, and Dr. Andrew Wilkins. This report was edited by Anne Moiseev and Dr. Evelyn Dsouza, and the graphics were prepared by Jacqueline Horsford, Sabrina Jones, and Rose Micke. The study was guided by personnel of the NPS, National Capital Region, and the park. Valuable contributions were made by Dr. Joshua Torres, Dr. Jason Theuer of the National Capital Region and Brandon Bies, Ray Brown, Jim Burgess, and Andrew Bentley of the park.

2. Overview and Assessment

The first task undertaken at the beginning of the four-year study was to conduct an Archeological Overview and Assessment (AOA) study of the park. AOAs are standard resource management studies conducted by the NPS nationwide to meet their mission and follow applicable laws and regulations, including Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act. The main goals of this AOA were to summarize what is known about the archeological record and history of the battlefield and to establish a plan for the four-year archeological study. The park had previously undergone quite a bit of archeological work: more than 30 studies had been carried out and 94 archeological sites recorded. The AOA document was originally submitted in December 2018. It included recommendations for the entire four-year project, and the key recommendations for the study were the following.

Develop Detailed Site Descriptions of Historic House Sites with Summaries of All Previous Work. Since the historic house sites (Figure 2) will be key foci of future development in the park, one of the most frequent uses of this document will likely be for information on what is known about the archeology of these sites.

Archeological Investigations of Historic House Sites. For the reasons stated above, basic information about the presence or absence of archeological deposits around the historic houses and the degree of their integrity will be of great use to park personnel. The focus of excavations around houses has not been to evaluate significance, since all houses that were present during the Civil War are already considered eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, but to understand where significant deposits or features are likely to be found.

Metal Detecting in Areas of Heavy Fighting. Most of the battlefield had not been investigated with systematic metal detecting, so it was not known how much evidence of Civil War fighting remains in key locations like Henry House Hill, Matthews Hill, and Chinn Ridge. Studies were therefore carried out to investigate those areas to provide data and to assess which areas are most likely to warrant more intensive study.



Investigations of the Enslaved People's Landscape. Hundreds of enslaved African Americans lived within the park in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is not known where most of them lived, and there is documentary evidence of scattered cabins or quarters, especially on former Carter family lands. Since the people enslaved by the Carter family were divided among heirs when their properties were divided, some people living in this area would have had relatives enslaved on nearby plantations. This probably promoted connections among the enslaved population throughout the area. One key piece of evidence of these connections has already been uncovered, the widespread use of colonoware that appears to be from a single potter or potting family. Investigations were carried out to locate slave quarter sites and explore the ways people might have communicated, such as along trails between quarters.

Search for Stratified Precontact Sites Along Bull Run. The sites most useful for answering questions about the precontact past are stratified, that is, layered, so that components of different time periods are separate and can be identified. Along Bull Run, Holocene river terraces stretch for more than a mile within the park, providing many opportunities for the preservation of stratified deposits. These terraces were investigated by a geomorphologist to locate places where such sites might be present, and a plan was developed for testing at least certain key locations.

3. *Archeological Survey*

Survey to locate new archeological sites was a limited part of this study. Shovel test and geophysical survey was carried out around the Groveton intersection, to identify sites that might be threatened by a traffic circle that has been proposed for that location. A small survey was also undertaken for a new fiber optic line at the Visitor Center, which mainly documented disturbance surrounding the access road and parking lot. A search was made for the Maggie Lewis Cabin, a site shown on some Civil War maps that was said to be the home of an African American woman. The most extensive survey was carried out to search for slave quarters associated with Pittsylvania Plantation. This included survey of areas immediately surrounding the main house and on high ground to the west, as well around as a group of sites northwest of Rosefield where McGarry (1982) had identified a few sherds of colonoware and a handful of other artifacts dating to around 1800. Survey was carried out along Bull Run to search for well-preserved Native American sites.

4. *Investigations at Historic House Sites*

The known historic house sites are key parts of the park's landscape and are likely foci for future development, so their study was made a high priority (Figure 3). The sites chosen for study had not been intensively investigated in the past; sites that had already received substantial testing or excavation include the Robinson House, the Henry House, and Brawner Farm. The historic house sites investigated during this study were the following.

- Pittsylvania, Site 44PW0287
- Hazel Plain, Site 44PW0008
- Van Pelt House or Avon, Site 44PW0289
- Matthews House, Site 44PW0297
- Rosefield, Site 44PW0301
- Mary Jane Dogan House, Site 44PW2046
- Mahala Dean House, Site 44PW0296

The investigations at each site included shovel testing and test unit excavations.

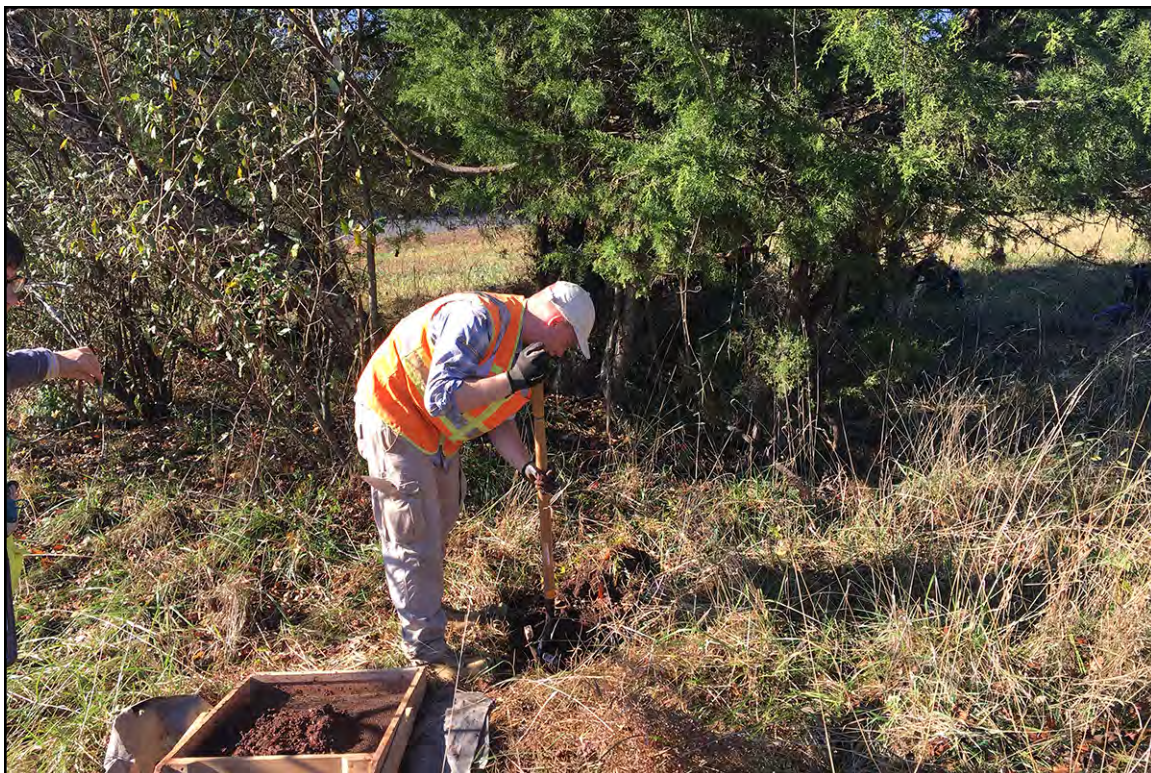


FIGURE 3: Excavating a Shovel Test Adjacent to Feature 15 at Chinn Ridge

5. *Metal Detecting for Civil War Remains*

Experience has shown that metal detecting is the best way to find the remains of battles. Metal detecting for this project was carried out using methods that have been successfully employed in other national parks.

Metal detecting during this study was carried out at two locations related to Second Manassas, the Deep Cut and the Federal Breakthrough site, and on both of the hills that were the focus of fighting during First Manassas, Matthews Hill and Henry Hill. Metal detecting at the Deep Cut took place under ideal conditions, following a controlled burn, and as a result recovery was the greatest there. The results of these studies are described below. Please note that metal detecting on Federal property without proper authorization is a crime.

B. THE BATTLEFIELD LANDSCAPE

1. *The Rocky Underpinnings*

The 5,072-acre Manassas battlefield lies within the Piedmont physiographic province, the hills between the Mountains and the Coastal Plain. This part of the Piedmont is known as the Culpeper Basin, underlain by volcanic rocks laid down in the Triassic era. The depression was filled with sediments that eroded off the Appalachians to the west; these deposits formed siltstones and sandstones. Geologists call the rocks around Manassas the Newark Supergroup (Lee 1977, 1979; Roberts 1928). They tend to produce reddish colored, silty to finely textured soils.

2. *Soils*

The fertile soils and landscapes of the Culpeper Basin have been greatly affected by a long history of farming. Indeed, historic tillage has probably produced more significant soil and landscape alterations than all of the combined natural processes acting during the Holocene. Basically, tillage has caused the accelerated erosion and removal of upslope soils and their re-deposition downslope. Much of the eroded soil has also washed into stream systems, where, as transported sediment, it was re-deposited as recent alluvium. As a result of these processes, upland toeslope, floodplain, and low-lying terrace positions throughout the Culpeper Basin are nearly everywhere mantled by deposits of historic age.

An assortment of landscape types occurs within the battlefield. These range from variably sloping uplands to nearly level alluvial positions along Bull Run, where both floodplain and stream terrace landscapes are present. Young's Branch, a perennial tributary of Bull Run, cuts across the park from west to east, and there are narrow terraces along its margins.

Uplands account for the majority of the park. Upland soils of the tract are fairly typical of the Culpeper Basin: reddish (7.5 5YR) hues, relatively shallow to bedrock, and for the most part severely eroded. Common named types include Arcola Silt Loam (1,500 acres) and Waxpool Silt Loam (520 acres). Some of these soil types are classified as well drained, but others, including Waxpool, are poorly drained (Elder 1989). This means that many flat or comparatively low-lying locations within the park are naturally wet for a good part of the year. In areas of poorly drained soil, house sites are most likely to be on slopes.

A study of the alluvial landscapes along Bull Run showed that terraces of different ages are present. The large level area within the bend of the river at the northeast corner of the park, near Poplar Ford, dates to Pleistocene times, with just a shallow mantle of more recent Holocene soil. Holocene terraces were found near the Stone Bridge and in the southeast corner of the park.

3. Vegetation

Historically the park was a mix of agricultural fields, pastures, orchards, and wood lots. Now no land is actively plowed and all is grass or forested. Fleming and Belden (2004) define 10 habitat types in the park: successional scrub and forest (19 percent of the landscape), upland basic forest (13 percent), upland acidic forest (6 percent) (the acidic and basic habitats are distinguished by the character of the underlying soil in which the trees grow), alluvial forest (5 percent), swamp forest (less than 1 percent), upland depression swamps (less than 1 percent), upland grassland (maintained by mowing), open wetlands, open ruderal habitats, and rock outcrops. The NPS has recently begun conducting controlled burns of some areas of the park to keep them as open land.

Braun (1950) classified this area as part of the Piedmont Section of the Oak-Chestnut Forest Region, which once contained various mixtures of oaks and chestnut, with patches of pines on xeric ridges and mixed mesophytic forest in coves, ravines, and stream bottoms. However, even before the early twentieth-century chestnut blight, chestnut seems not to have been abundant in the Triassic Basin, and the local forest may have resembled that of Braun's more western Oak-Hickory Forest Region. The local vegetation growing on the flat, poorly drained soils of the Basin, consisting of pin oak, red maple, willow oak, swamp white oak, and sweet gum, was also distinctive within the Piedmont (Braun 1950; Fleming and Belden 2004).

Many rare plants that now grow within the park are related to species found in the prairies west of the Appalachians. When early English colonists arrived at the end of the seventeenth century, they described much of the Culpeper Basin as a prairie-like grassland. This landscape may have been maintained by intentional burning by the Native population (Fleming and Belden 2004).

The precontact-era grasslands were destroyed after the 1720s by clearing and agriculture, fire suppression, and repeated cutting, and the prairie-like grassland was replaced by dense secondary forests. The pioneer trees colonizing the old agricultural fields are typically Virginia pine, eastern red cedar, dogwood, white ash, and tulip poplar (Fleming and Belden 2004).

Some areas that were cultivated at the time of the Civil War battles are now reforested. Although some areas that were then wooded have since been cleared, forests have persisted to the present (although intermittently cut) on parts of Stuarts Hill, Bald Hill, the ridges east of Brawner Farm and north of Battery Heights, and the ridge north of Groveton (Fleming and Belden 2004).

II. PRELUDE AT BRAWNER FARM

A. THE PEACEFUL GREEN HILLS

Gazing across the green hills of the Manassas battlefield, a visitor sees a lush landscape of grass and trees, crossed by roads and studded with a few old houses (Figure 4). At first glance there is no sign of the terrible battles that were fought here more than 160 years ago. The smoke cleared, the wreckage was cleaned up, the dead men were buried, the armies marched on, and over time the land healed itself. The rest of the battlefield's history is also largely invisible. The eye picks up no trace of the ancient Native Americans who camped and hunted here. Lines of trees still mark out the boundaries of some old farm fields, but this only hints at the tobacco plantations and wheat farms that once covered the land, at the hundreds of enslaved Africans who once labored here, at the human pageant of many, many lives begun and ended on this now quiet landscape. Today the battlefield is a lovely place, and many people come here to walk in peace through the fields and woodlands, their minds on anything but the events of the past.

One way to reach the past that lies hidden here is through archeology. Traces of the battlefield's past are buried in the ground, and with the right knowledge and tools, we can bring them to light. These traces, from flakes of stone to bullets, can tell us much about the events that took place here and the people who once walked this land. They can also connect us to that past in a direct and powerful way. This is not just any bullet, but one dropped by a soldier of Butterfield's Division as he lay here, pinned down by Confederate fire, struggling to load his own rifled musket amidst the hell of battle. This sherd is no random piece of pottery, but part of a pot shaped by a person who learned the potting trade in Africa, made according to his own methods, for the use of other Africans enslaved on a great plantation thousands of miles from their birthplace, among people struggling to make a new home for themselves as they labored for others. These objects bear witness to lives, and deaths, from long ago, and using careful excavation and other modern archeological methods, we can bring them to light and share their stories.

B. BRAWNER FARM

1. *What Archeology Can Show*

The richness of the battlefield's buried past can be explored at many places. One that shows the potential of archeology to bring the battlefield's history to life is Brawner Farm. Brawner Farm is in the western part of the battlefield, on a broad ridge 2,000 feet north of U.S. Route 29. In the early 2000s the house standing there was badly run down, the yard a mess of brambles (Figure 5). The park had been working for years to improve their interpretation of the Second Battle of Manassas, fought on August 28-30, 1862. Brawner Farm was a key piece of that story, the place where the battle was first joined in earnest. Plans were made to renovate the Brawner House so it could become an interpretive center. That meant building all the other infrastructure of battlefield interpretation: signs, trails, a parking lot, a driveway. This construction might damage precious remains of the past buried around the house, and the NPS therefore sent archeologists to investigate the house and the yard. Their mission was to find what could be found and learned before workers and machines arrived. The archeology took place in several phases, years apart, and many people worked on the project.



FIGURE 4: View of Manassas National Battlefield Park



FIGURE 5: The Brawner Farmhouse Before Rehabilitation, 2006 to 2007, Facing Northeast
(HABS 1933a)

Archeology at Brawner Farm ended up illuminating three distinct parts of the battlefield's past: the Second Battle of Manassas, the lives of Euro-American farmers and enslaved African Americans, and a camping spot used by ancient Native Americans.

2. *The Excavations*

Archeologists first explored the farm in 1987, not long after the NPS had acquired the property. They excavated around the foundations of the house and north to the well, exposing a large part of the yard (Figure 6). They found many artifacts left by the occupants of the house, which showed that it was first occupied from around 1790 to 1800. They also found dozens of military artifacts from the Civil War, especially bullets, musket balls, and fragments of artillery shells. Intrigued by the number of Civil War artifacts found around the house, archeologists returned in 1994 to conduct a wide search using metal detectors, and they found more material. Archeologists were back at the site in 2003 for extensive excavations, in preparation for the rehabilitation of the house. During the course of these three different projects, much was learned about the house and the people who lived there.

a. *The House*

The standing house of 1987 (see Figure 5) was a conglomerate. It was L-shaped, formed of two rectangles, and both sections were two stories. But the lower floor of the front section was built in a completely different way from the rest. The Brawner House once had just two rooms and one and one-half stories (meaning it had a usable attic), but it had been enlarged around 1904 to two floors with four rooms on each. Architectural historians who looked at the older part of the house noticed that although the newer part of the house used modern balloon framing, the older part did not—it had been built in a very traditional way, with massive posts and beams. Most of the nails are hand-wrought, and hand-wrought nails were not generally made after 1820. Some of the beams were pit sawn, another traditional technique that was uncommon after the early 1800s. The architectural historians thought it must have been built in the late 1700s or early 1800s, certainly before 1820 (Hill 1985; Historic Preservation Training Center [HPTC] 2002). This matched with both the artifacts found by archeologists and the known history of the property. This area had been part of a huge plantation belonging to the Carter family, but sometime in the 1790s, they sold off this tract to a farmer named George Tennille, a veteran of the Revolution who served in the 3rd Virginia Regiment of the Continental Army. Tennille presumably built a house for his family not long afterward. The historians did notice, however, that there were no bullets or bullet holes in the beams of the house. This was a bit of a puzzle, since heavy fighting supposedly took place in the yard in 1862.

When archeologists started digging by the standing house in 1987, they quickly found what appeared to be the foundations of an earlier house (see Figure 6). The earlier house was of a different size and shape from the one standing on the site. It was much closer to square, with the bases of two massive chimneys along the east side (Figure 7). It looked to have been bigger than the old section of the standing house. The archeologists theorized that the foundation they had uncovered was from the first house on the site, which was probably so badly damaged during the Civil War that it was torn down and replaced. That would explain the lack of bullet holes in the structure (Parker 1989).

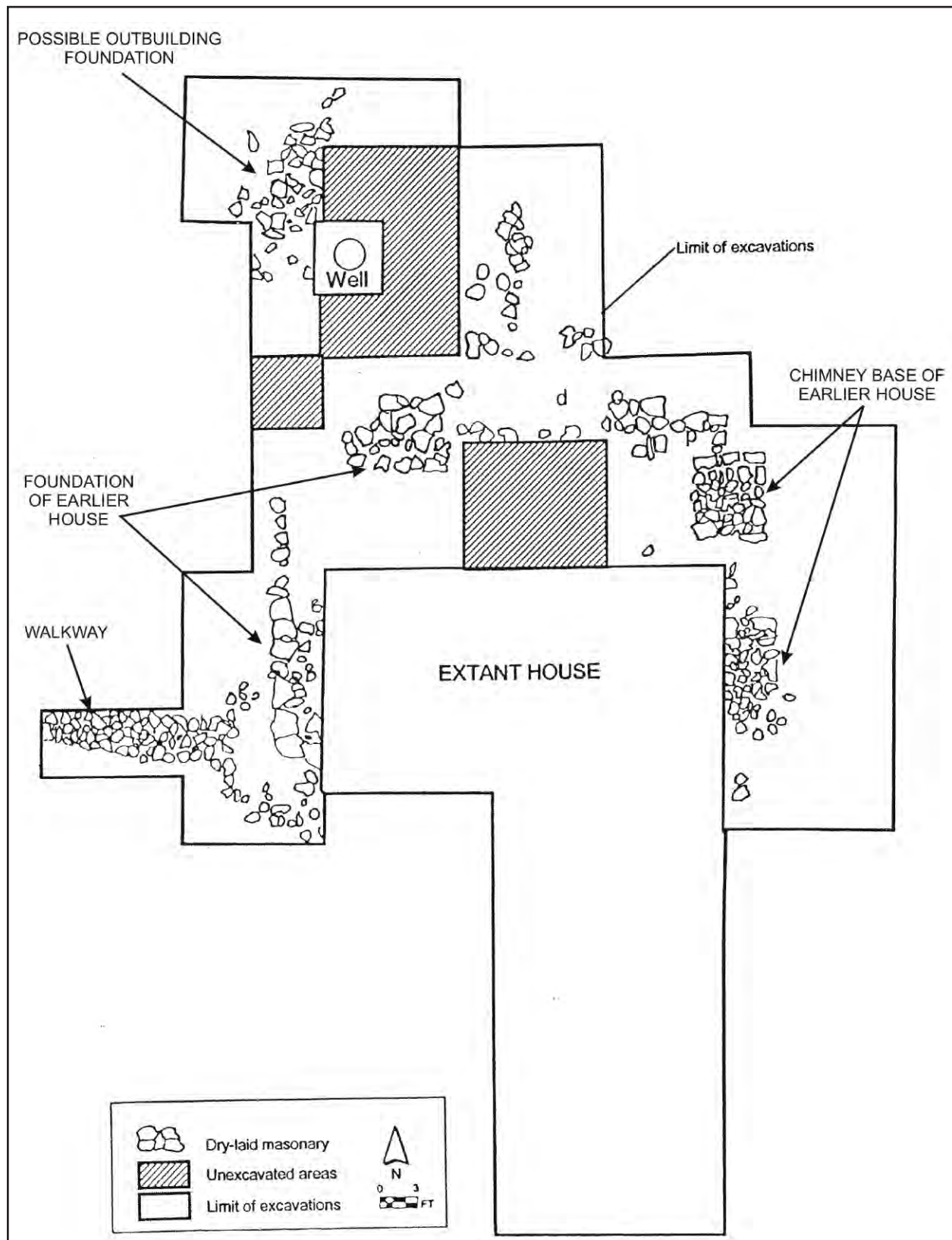


FIGURE 6: Plan of the 1987 Excavations at Brawner Farm (Parker 1989)



FIGURE 7: Chimney Base of Old House in 1987 (Parker 1989)

This led to a dispute between the archeologists and the architectural historians. At least one architectural historian argued that the foundations in the yard could not be from a house, but must be a porch. The archeologists disagreed but could not explain how the older part of the standing house came to be built after 1865 using the methods of colonial times. Could there perhaps have been two houses on the property before the Civil War? If so, what happened to the earlier house—there was no evidence that it had burned, something archeologists can usually tell from evidence like burned nails and melted glass—and why was the newer one smaller? There did not seem to be any point before the war when the occupants of the house should have become poorer. A nearly continuous series of property tax records shows no change in the Brawner Farm property from 1820, when the records begin, down to 1860.

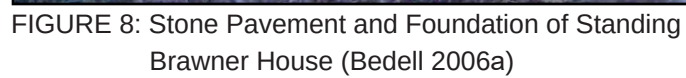
People were still arguing over this question when different archeologists came to the site in 2003, and one question put to them was the dating of the standing house (Bedell 2006a). Digging in the yard, the new archeologists quickly verified the discoveries of the first group: there was an earlier house foundation, and the site was first occupied around 1790 to 1800. They also made a new discovery near the southwest corner of the old house: a stone pavement (Figure 8). Such pavements were common around nicer farmhouses, since highly trafficked parts of the yard were often very muddy. This one ran up against the foundation of the new house, and in fact seemed to be incorporated into the wall, with one stone of the wall resting on top of one of the stones in the pavement. The wall, it seemed, was built later. The archeologists pulled up several stones from the pavement to see what was underneath it. They found, under the middle of a large rock where it could not have found its way after the rock was put down, a sherd of pottery.

Fortunately, this was a very informative artifact. This sherd was a kind of ceramic archeologists call whiteware, and it bore a black pattern that had been applied using a technique called transfer printing. Whiteware was not transfer-printed in black until after 1825. Allowing a few years for this sherd to cross the Atlantic, arrive at a store in Manassas, be purchased by the people at Brawner Farm, get broken, get buried in the soil, have a stone pavement laid on top of it, and a house built on top of that, and the construction date for the house is pushed into at least the 1830s.

How, then, to resolve the conflict over the construction techniques used in the house with a date after 1830? The key is recognizing that the date a house was built need not be the same as the date when it arrived at its current location. Moving houses used to be quite common. The most likely scenario at Brawner Farm is that both the archeologists and the architectural historians were right. There was an earlier house, and it was probably badly damaged during the war and torn down not long afterwards. But the later house was also built long before, possibly in the late 1700s. It was just built somewhere else. Then, when the original Brawner house was torn down, someone purchased this house and had it moved to this spot.

b. The Kitchen and Slave Quarter

Many enslaved people lived and worked on the Manassas battlefield, including at Brawner Farm. George Tennille enslaved up to 20 people. When he died in 1840, he divided his property into three parts. Each son received one part, and the third part to his wife; after her death this part would pass to his grandson, George Douglas. The widow's share included the house where Tennille lived, the one now known as Brawner Farm. The enslaved people were also divided into three groups, and six remained at the home farm and thus ended up enslaved by Douglas. Douglas owned the



farm from his mother's death in 1846 until his own death in 1855. Enslaved people thus lived at the Brawner Farm from its construction until 1855. Their names are not known.

The archeologists who worked at Brawner Farm in 2003 spent most of their time digging in the yard west of the house. Outbuildings stood in that location the early twentieth century, and it seemed likely that they had also been present farther back in time. A scatter of stone that looked like a collapsed stone chimney was visible on the surface in this location, so an excavation unit was placed in the center of the scatter. A massive stone chimney base measuring 5x10 feet was found (Figure 9). This must have been the chimney and hearth of a kitchen.

Around the hearth were several pits and the scattered stones of a foundation that measured about 10x18 feet. In all, more than 27,000 artifacts were found in this area (Figure 10). More than 6,000 of these were nails. The nails spanned the whole history of the farm. There were 133 hand-wrought nails dating to before 1820, back to the early Tennille years. More than 4,000 machine-cut nails were found, the dominant type from 1800 to about 1890. There were also nearly 2,000 wire nails, the modern type, which were used in the 1904 enlargement of the house. These show that many different buildings probably stood in this area over the years, torn down when they were no longer useful and replaced with something else.

The pottery also spanned the whole history of the site, and it included both fine dishes and coarse kitchenware like crocks and bowls. One kind of pottery especially caught the archeologists' eyes: 15 sherds of colonoware (Figure 11). Colonoware is low-fired, hand-made (not thrown on a wheel) pottery that is found across the Southern states wherever enslaved Africans lived. This was an important clue to where the black people enslaved at Brawner Farm lived.

People enslaved on small farms had rather different lives than those on large plantations. They did not reside within a separate quarters or work in gangs, but lived and worked side by side with the landowning family. Sometimes they lived in the main house, other times in a building nearby. One common arrangement was for enslaved people to live in a separate structure that was also the kitchen, and this seems to have been the case at Brawner Farm. The six people mentioned in George Tennille's will most likely slept in the kitchen building, which may have been enlarged with added rooms to accommodate them.

Another glimpse into the lives of the black people at Brawner Farm comes from the animal bones. Many animal bones were found around the kitchen, as one would expect. The most common type was pig, followed by chicken, cow, and sheep. But there were also many wild species: squirrel, rabbit, raccoon, turkey, duck, turtle, and small fish. Written sources tell us that enslaved men and boys loved to hunt and fish, enjoyable ways to supplement their sometimes meager diets. These bones may be a record of time they spent in the woods or on the river.

After George Douglas died in 1855, his widow Augusta and children moved to town and the farm was leased out to a man named John Brawner. Brawner happened to be living at the house during the Civil War, and his was the named placed on maps of the battlefields. The Brawners were not enslavers, and we do not know what happened to the black inhabitants of the farm when it was leased out. A storage pit near the chimney base, probably once under the floor of the kitchen, was filled in with trash that included many artifacts from the war, such as bullets, musket balls, and a button from a Union officer's jacket. It seems likely that the kitchen was badly damaged during



FIGURE 9: Chimney Base in the West Yard of Brawner House, Facing South (Bedell 2006a)



FIGURE 10: Padlock from Kitchen Area of Brawner Farm (Bedell 2006a)



FIGURE 11: Colonoware from Brawner Farm (Bedell 2006a)

the fighting and was torn down after the war, debris from the battle getting swept into the old storage pit with kitchen trash and the remains of what was once a home.

3. *A Stand-Up Fight*

Brawner Farm met history and its violence on August 28, 1862, the first part of the battle now known as Second Manassas or Second Bull Run. Early in the evening, Union troops marching east toward Centerville, following the Warrenton Turnpike, were fired on by Confederate artillery.

Union Brig. Gen. John Gibbon, commander of the “Black Hat” Brigade, sent his 2nd Wisconsin regiment up the hill just east of Brawner Farmhouse to silence the guns. But instead of one Confederate battery, they found three batteries and four brigades from Stonewall Jackson’s wing of Lee’s army coming at them across the open fields. Gibbon hurriedly brought the rest of his men into line. On his left was the 19th Indiana, and their left flank was anchored in the yard of the Brawner Farmhouse. For about 90 minutes, until darkness fell, two lines of infantry stood 70 to 80 yards apart and shot it out in what Gibbon said was the most intense small-arms fire he saw during the entire war. He later wrote, “the left of my line rested at the Douglas House, and from that point as darkness came on, I could see the enemy’s line extending far to my left. Should the enemy get possession of the house, and yard full of trees, he would entirely flank my line and enfilade it” (Gibbon 1928:54). Toward the close of the fighting, Virginia troops under Alexander Taliaferro did take the farm, and the Indiana men fell back toward Brawner’s woods. Division commander William Taliaferro later recalled the fighting:

A farm-house, an orchard, a few stacks of hay, and a rotten “worm” fence were the only cover afforded the opposing lines of infantry; it was a stand-up combat, dogged and unflinching, in a field almost bare. . . . Twice our lines were advanced until we reached a farm-house and orchard on the right of our line and were within about 80 yards of a greatly superior force of the enemy. . . . Our troops held the farm house and one edge of the orchard, while the enemy held the orchard and inclosure next to the turnpike. To our left was no cover, and our men stood in the open field without shelter of any kind [Earley and Fanning 2002:19].

After nightfall, the fighting moved away from the farm, although artillery was positioned nearby during the next two days.

As one might expect from these accounts, the yard of Brawner Farm turned out to be full of Civil War artifacts. During the 1987 excavations, four dropped .58 caliber bullets from rifled muskets were found, likely lost by the Union defenders of the farm, along with six bullets and eight musket balls that Confederates fired at them. Six case shot show that artillery was fired into the fray. In 2003 the finds included seven unfired .58 caliber bullets and six .54 caliber bullets; the fired bullets included five .54 caliber, four .58 caliber, and one .577 caliber, as well as two pistol bullets and six musket balls (Figure 12). The men of the 4th Virginia were equipped with a motley assortment of weapons, and they could have fired all of these (Potter et al. 2001). Twenty pieces of artillery shells and 13 case shot confirm that the farm was brought under artillery fire (Figure 13).

One interesting artifact is a Wisconsin button, which no doubt went into battle with a man of the 2nd Regiment.



FIGURE 12: Fired Civil War Bullets from Brawner Farm (Bedell 2006a)



FIGURE 13: Civil War Artillery Artifacts from Brawner Farm (Bedell 2006a)

Intrigued by the number of Civil War artifacts found around the house in 1987, archeologists returned to Brawner Farm in 1994 to extend the investigation. Using metal detectors, they explored the field east of the house (Potter et al. 2001). The grassy yard, which measured about 200x220 feet, produced 47 military artifacts and also a pit apparently filled in with trash by Confederate soldiers. Dropped .58 caliber bullets traced out a firing line of the 19th Indiana extending eastward, roughly in line with the north wall of the standing house. Visitors can therefore walk into this field, line themselves up with the north wall of the house, and imagine that they are in line with the men from Indiana, who stood exactly where they are standing as they struggled to hold their position against the attack of the Stonewall Brigade.

4. Ancient Hunters

Archeologists went to Brawner Farm to learn about the people who lived in the farmhouse and the Civil War battle. They ended up learning something completely unexpected: that this same spot was a camp or hunting station used by ancient Native Americans. Finds in the yard included 12 stone spear or dart points, eight other stone cutting tools, and 10 pieces of debitage, as archeologists call the waste flakes from making or resharpening stone tools (Figures 14 and 15).

Sites like this one have been found across the Manassas battlefield. Most of them are on high ground within a few hundred feet of a stream but not next to it. The large number of spear or dart points and cutting tools compared with other artifacts is a clue to what they almost certainly represent: hunting. Any site where people camped for more than a few days is usually covered with debitage, because maintaining stone tools was a constant chore. But knapping stone is loud, and if sweat drips on the stone, it also makes a distinctive smell, either of which might drive away game. So in a place men went to hunt, you would not expect debitage. A site like the one in the yard of Brawner Farm, with many stone points and knives but very few stone flakes, was probably a hunting station.

Four of the stone points found at Brawner Farm were rather special (see Figure 15). These four specimens are all rare, eye-catching types, and it would be extremely unusual to find four points like these in a small precontact site. All of them are very old, dating to between 9,000 and 11,000 years ago. Most likely these were collected by someone who lived in the Brawner house in the 1800s. Perhaps they sat on the fireplace mantle, or were kept in a special box. But either way they are a sign that modern people are not the first to care about the past, or to collect artifacts made by people who came before them. This is a point archeologists have often forgotten, leading to embarrassing mistakes. It is one of the many fascinating things to be learned from digging into the soil of Brawner Farm, just one site out of dozens on the Manassas battlefield.



FIGURE 14: Bifaces from Brawner Farm (Bedell 2006a)



FIGURE 15: Early Archaic Points from Brawner Farm (Bedell 2006a)

III. ANCIENT NATIVE AMERICANS

A. THE FIRST PEOPLE

In our time many people are concerned about how the climate might be changing, but archeologists have long known that human culture is tightly bound up with climate and climate change. The first people to reach northern Virginia came at the end of the last Ice Age, when the land looked very different from its appearance in recent times. Around 13,000 years ago temperatures were colder and the forests resembled those of central Canada today, dominated by fir and spruce. Extinct beasts like mammoths, mastodons, and giant ground sloths roamed the hills. Much of the planet's water was locked up in vast glaciers, and sea levels were around 300 feet lower than today. The Chesapeake Bay did not exist, and the Potomac River joined the ancient Susquehanna before the combined great river flowed south and then east, entering the Atlantic somewhere east of Hampton Roads.

But the world was changing rapidly. The Ice Age animals died off, and by 10,000 years ago the spruce trees were gone and many oaks and alders grew in the forest. That does not mean, however, that the forests were just like those of today. They changed over the centuries, in response to changes in the climate and the ways people managed the landscape.

Archeologists divide the ancient past into periods that correspond to major changes in how people lived in this region (Table 1). Before 11,500 years ago, before the Ice Age had fully ended, is the Paleoindian period. The time between 11,500 and 3450 years ago is called the Archaic period. Around 3450 years ago, or 1450 BC, the first pottery was made in the Chesapeake region, marking the beginning of the Woodland period, which lasted until the arrival of Europeans and Africans. The Archaic and Woodland periods are further divided, somewhat arbitrarily, into Early, Middle, and Late phases. Across this whole period Native American societies changed and evolved, creating several different ways of life.

1. *Paleoindian Period*

The date when the first humans arrived in the Americas is much disputed. Some experts think this happened tens of thousands of years ago, whereas others think the first people came around 14,000 to 13,000 years ago. Recent genetic data suggest that most Native Americans share common ancestors who lived around 15,000 years ago, which supports the more recent dates for entry (Posth et al. 2018). Whoever is right, there were certainly people in the Potomac Valley around 13,000 years ago.

The people of that time were few and lived in highly mobile bands with 20 to 150 members. They probably traveled hundreds of miles across the country, following herds of game or searching for other resources. In the western part of the continent, they hunted large, now extinct animals like mastodons and mammoths, but the limited evidence from eastern North America suggests they relied on fishing and hunting smaller game. They had dogs, descended from the ones they had brought with them from Asia. The distinctive artifact of that time is the Clovis spearpoint. Many of these were made of striking stone—crystal quartz, red jasper, obsidian—and some of them are much bigger than they needed to be; like the jeweled swords and etched lances of later eras, they were symbols or art objects as well as hunting weapons. No Clovis points have been found on the Manassas battlefield, but several have been found in the Potomac Valley.

TABLE 1: MIDDLE ATLANTIC REGION, CULTURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHRONOLOGY

DATES cal AD/BC	CLIMATE/ENVIRONMENT CHANGES	CULTURAL PERIODS	CULTURAL EVENTS AND ARTIFACT TYPES
AD 1500	Little Ice Age onset (AD 1350); dry (AD 1320-1400)	Late Woodland AD 900	Palisaded villages (AD 1300)
1000	Medieval Climatic Optimum; dry (AD 800-1200)		Maize (AD 900)
500	Ice-rafting event (AD 600) pollen change (AD 300)		Bow and arrow (AD 700)
AD 1	Dry (200 BC-AD 300)		Algonquian migrations
500 BC	Ice-rafting event (800 BC) Pollen change (850 BC)	Middle Woodland 500 BC	Delmarva Adena (400 BC) Piscataway points (500 BC)
1000		Early Woodland 1200 BC	Pottery (1200 BC)
1500			Fishtail points (1500 BC)
2000	Pollen change (2100 BC) Megadrought (2200 BC) Ice-rafting event (2000 BC)	Terminal Archaic 2200 BC	Stone bowls, grooved axes, Broadspear points (2200 BC)
2500			
3000	Mid-Late Holocene transition (3250 BC)		
3500		Late Archaic	Lamoka points (3500 BC)
4000	Drought; Ice-rafting event (3900 BC)		
4500			Halifax points (4500 BC)
5000	Pollen change (4700 BC) More severe El Niño events (5000 BC)	5000 BC	Brewerton points (4500 BC) Otter Creek points (5000-4500 BC)
5500			
6000	Chesapeake becomes salty estuary (5800 BC)	Middle Archaic	Morrow Mountain points (6000 BC)
6500	Ice-rafting event (6200 BC cold event); drought; Hypsithermal (warm, dry) begins		Stanly points (6500 BC)
7000	More rainfall in Southeast (7000 BC)		
7500	Ice-rafting event (7400 BC)	7500 BC	Bifurcate base points (7500 BC)
8000			
8500 BC	Pollen change (8200 BC) Ice-rafting event (8300 BC)	Early Archaic	Kirk, Palmer corner-notched points (9000 BC)
9000	Pre-Boreal Oscillation cold event (9300 BC)		
9500	End of Younger Dryas; Holocene begins (9500 BC)	9500 BC	Side-notched points
10,000			
10,500			
11,000	Younger Dryas onset (cold) (11,000 BC)	Paleoindian	Extinction of megafauna (10,700 BC)
11,500	Intra-Alleröd cold period (11,400-11,200 BC)	11,500 BC	Clovis fluted points
12,000	[warming]		Earliest sites in Alaska (12,000 BC)
12,500	Bölling-Alleröd warming onset (12,700 BC)		

2. *Early Archaic Period*

The years after the end of the last Ice Age were a time of large, rapid changes in the climate. After the warming period of 12,700 to 11,000 BC came a harsh cold period that lasted more than a thousand years. This is called the Younger Dryas. Very few artifacts from that period have been found in the Potomac Valley, so it seems that people mostly migrated toward the south. After 9600 BC the continent warmed dramatically again, and people came back.

Excavations of an Early Archaic jasper quarry at Brook Run, in Culpeper County about 40 miles south of the battlefield, provided rare evidence of the regional vegetation in the Triassic Basin around 11,300 years ago (Voigt 2004). Evidently, some northern tree species still lingered while deciduous trees were already appearing. Charcoal pieces represented chestnut, eastern hemlock, hickory, jack pine, red pine, oak, pine, spruce, white oak, and yellow poplar. Pollen of alder, ash, birch, dogwood, hazel, juniper/cedar, white pine, elm, hickory, jack pine, red pine, oak, pine, spruce, tamarack, and willow, was recovered, in addition to pollen of various bushes and grasses.

After people returned to the region, their culture was very different from before. Large, Clovis-style spear points disappeared, and people used smaller points with notches in the corners or on the sides. Some of these are called Palmer, Kirk, and Amos points. There were many more people in this period, so archeological sites are much more common (Johnson 1986); however, population density remained low. A comparison with the recent Native hunting peoples living in the similar environment of present-day northeastern Canada suggests that the territory of a single band of perhaps 150 to 250 people might have stretched from the Chesapeake Bay to the Blue Ridge, covering as much as half the state of Virginia (Custer 1990). People probably roamed widely through their large territories, moving frequently.

Early Archaic points have been reported from several sites within the park. McGarry and Bohannon (1986) reported Palmer or Kirk points from two sites. Site 44PW0262 is near where Young's Branch enters Bull Run, the sort of place one might look for Early Archaic sites; however, Site 44PW0270 is on a rise a few hundred yards from the closest stream, a spot that seems no different from most of the land in the park. Another point of this period was reported from a site along Young's Branch near the center of the park (Reeves et al. 2002). Four Early Archaic points were found during excavations around Brawner Farm (see Figure 15), which is also on high ground at some distance from any surface water. These striking specimens may have been some nineteenth-century person's collection, but even if so, they likely came from nearby fields.

B. HUNTERS AND GATHERERS

1. *Middle Archaic Period*

The Middle Archaic cultural period roughly corresponds to a period of warm climate called the Hypsithermal. The warmest temperatures of the entire Holocene probably occurred at the beginning of this period, around 7500 BC. An oak-hemlock-hickory forest dominated the region, and deer became the dominant large mammal. Archeologists find more sites of this period, some of them quite large, and sites are found in locations that people had not used before. All of this points to a growing population. Most sites are still small, however, showing that people still spent much of their time traveling through the landscape in small groups. The larger sites on the rivers

may show us that people came together in part of the year in larger groups, although this is far from certain. People made a wider variety of stone tools, including some designed for wood-working, seed-grinding, and nut-cracking: axes, adzes, mauls, grinding slabs, and nutting stones (Gardner 1987).

The temporal boundary between the Early and Middle Archaic cultural periods is a matter of rather arbitrary archeological definition, and it has shifted since the 1980s. Bifurcate-base point types (LeCroy, St. Albans, Kanawha) were formerly regarded as Early Archaic; now they are classified as Middle Archaic. Unlike Early Archaic Kirk Corner-Notched points, Kirk Stemmed and Kirk Serrated points date to the Middle Archaic; they may have been knives used by the same people who employed bifurcates as dart tips. Bifurcate and Kirk Stemmed types date from 8000 to 7000 BC (Broyles 1971). Diagnostic projectile point types of the later portion of the Middle Archaic period include Stanly 7000 to 6000 BC), Morrow Mountain (6000 to 5500 BC), and Guilford (5500 to 5000 BC).

Previous surveys in the Piedmont region of Fairfax County and neighboring counties (e.g., Cromwell and McIver 1985) have documented numerous Middle Archaic occupations. As of 1983, in Fairfax County, Johnson had recorded 60 bifurcate points from 28 components, 40 Kirk Stemmed points from 13 components, 10 Kanawha or Stanly points from seven components, and 18 Morrow Mountain points from five components (Johnson 1983:64). At least two bifurcate points have been recovered from the Manassas battlefield, as well as six other Middle Archaic points (Lee and Parsons 2001; McGarry and Bohannon 1986). Three Morrow Mountain points were recovered from Site 44FX3188, which is on Fairfax County property just across Bull Run from the park (Figure 16) (Bedell et al. 2006).

Bifurcate points are common artifacts in the Chesapeake region, but they present something of a puzzle. The bifurcated base is very distinctive, which is very helpful for archeologists but means that nobody else in North America thought it was a good design. Most other ways of shaping a point base are common and reappear again and again. It seems to have been a stylistic choice, or maybe an ethnic or cultural marker. Once this type of point was inserted in a spear or dart shaft and wrapped with twine or sinew, the base would have been invisible. Perhaps it was actually something of a secret, passed by older men to their sons and nephews when they taught them how to make and use weapons.

Beginning in the Early Archaic, people in northern Virginia sometimes made their stone tools from rhyolite, a type of stone found in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Maryland and Pennsylvania. Rhyolite is easy to shape and holds its edge fairly well, and many different groups of Native Americans have preferred to use it for stone tools (see Figure 14). But it is not found in the Piedmont. Native people who used it either traveled to the mountains themselves every so often to get new stone, or traded for it. In the Early and Middle Archaic periods, they probably walked to the mountains. This implies that their territories extended at least as far as Catoctin Mountain in Maryland. Probably trips to the mountains for hunting, gathering nuts and berries, and quarrying stone were a regular part of their seasonal rounds.



FIGURE 16: Morrow Mountain Points from Site 44FX3188 (Bedell et al. 2006)

The end of the Middle Archaic is as ill-defined as its beginning. The Middle to Late boundary has typically been set at about 3800 to 3200 cal BC.¹ Although this date roughly corresponds to the climatic boundary between the Middle and Late Holocene at 3250 cal BC, it has the unfortunate effect of bisecting the apparent temporal spans of both Halifax and Brewerton points, which seem to mark a particular culture and way of life. In the Northeast large side-notched Otter Creek points represent a clear stylistic break from the preceding Stark type at about 5000 cal BC, and they are the hallmark of a new Laurentian tradition that is later expressed by Brewerton point types. Funk (1993) recognized this abrupt break as marking the Middle/Late Archaic boundary in the Upper Susquehanna region. Since the Otter Creek type seems to extend as far south as the Potomac and Patuxent drainages (e.g., at the Higgins Site in Anne Arundel County, Maryland [Ebright 1992]), it seems reasonable to synchronize the Potomac sequence and thus to set the end of Middle Archaic here also at 5000 cal BC. With this change, rare Otter Creek and Brewerton points and the ubiquitous Halifax points of northern Virginia fall entirely within the Late Archaic.

2. *Late Archaic Period: Masters of the Forest Environment*

During the Late Archaic period a series of thriving cultures developed throughout eastern North America. These cultures had higher population densities than anything seen before, based, it seems, on great expertise in exploiting the forest environment. They knew where to find all the valuable plants in their territories and how to use them, and how to hunt all the animals they might come across. The variant most commonly found in northern Virginia is called the Halifax culture. The most striking thing about Halifax people is that they ranged widely across the landscape. Most Halifax points have been found in small, upland sites, and often they are the only points found in such sites. Halifax points have also been found along large rivers and in wetlands, but not in great numbers. The greatest numbers of Halifax points have been reported in the western Piedmont, near the foot of the mountains, where sites are found along streams and rivers of every size and are usually associated with good soil for nut-bearing trees (Holland 1978; Mouer 1991). At those sites Halifax points seem to be associated with crude scrapers made from large quartz cobbles and chipped stone axes made from greenstone or quartz. The preference of Halifax people for making tools out of quartz may be related to their wandering ways; quartz was available just about everywhere within their range, so they never had to carry around extra stone for tool-making or leave off hunting to make a special trip to the quarries.

Recent excavations at the Chopawamsic Creek Site (44PW1292) at Marine Corps Base Quantico provided an opportunity to study a Halifax occupation in a roughly stratified context (Bedell et al. 2014). Such opportunities are rare; although Halifax points are very common in the Piedmont and Coastal Plain of North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, they have mainly been found in near-surface contexts on eroded upland sites. This has made it hard to learn very much about the people who made them. Apart from the typical quartz points, the finds from the Halifax levels at Chopawamsic Creek include pit features, large amounts of fire-cracked rock, and several small formal scrapers. Five radiocarbon dates were obtained, all between 3800 and 3600 cal BC. Large “platform hearths” made of cobbles have been attributed to the smoking of fish caught in annual runs of herring or eels, so the finds at Chopawamsic Creek suggest that the reliance on this annual bounty began in Late Archaic times.

¹ “Cal AD” and “cal BC” denote calibrated calendar ages according to standard western usage.

Wood charcoal shows that when Halifax people lived along Chopawamsic Creek, the local forest was dominated by oaks and hickories, and the Halifax residents certainly collected hickory nuts. In fact, the origin and spread of the Halifax adaptation may be related to the appearance of the oak-hickory and oak-chestnut forests in Virginia and Maryland. Before 4000 cal BC, this region was dominated by oak-pine-hemlock forests, which are noticeably less productive from the point of view of human hunter-gatherers. Sometime between 4000 and 3500 BC, the climate grew warmer and drier. Hemlocks and pines declined, and the weakened hemlocks suffered an abrupt die-off (Bennett and Fuller 2002; Haas and McAndrews 2000; Yuan 1995). Oaks increased and hickories first became a significant part of the picture. In the mountains chestnuts multiplied. The effects of the drier climate and the changed forests on humans may have been profound. Historic-period Indians made great use of forest nuts, and their favorite game animals (deer and turkeys) also relied on nut mast to sustain them through the winter.

The appearance of the Halifax culture around the same time as the development of oak-hickory and oak-chestnut forests may not be a coincidence, and it may be that their culture was built around exploiting the new riches of their changing environment. In fact, the rise of the oak-hickory forest may have been partly caused by human activity. Data from Dan's Bog in Prince Georges County, Maryland and other sites show an increase in burning in this period (Yuan 1995). The burning might have been caused solely by the drier climate, but humans may have played a role (as previously suggested in a controversial essay by Stevens [1991]). Human-set fires have a habit of getting out of control in dry, windy conditions and spreading to the surrounding forest, so the simple presence of more people usually leads to more fires. Historic-period Indians also set large fires intentionally when they were driving game in large communal hunts. Fires favor oak and hickory trees over evergreens, so more frequent fires helped maintain the oak-hickory forest. Some Indian groups may have set fires as a way of intentionally changing their environments. From Halifax times onward, Indians and the oak-hickory forest may have existed in a symbiosis, each benefiting the other.

Halifax points are the most common type found in the park. At least 85 have been reported, no more than six from any single site. Halifax points have also been found in excavations at the Henry House and Brawner Farm (Figure 17).

The radiocarbon dates for the Halifax culture mainly fall into the 4000 to 3000 cal BC period. What came after the Halifax tradition is obscure and much disputed. In some parts of the Middle Atlantic, stemmed points resembling the Lamoka points of New York are found; work at the Puncheon Run Site in Delaware led to the recovery of several stemmed points associated with radiocarbon dates of 3085 to 2035 cal BC (LeeDecker et al. 2005). At the Slade Site in southeastern Virginia, Lamoka-like points were found in a stratum just above the Halifax levels; no radiocarbon dates were obtained, but the excavators estimated the date of this horizon as 3000 to 2500 cal BC (Egloff and McAvoy 1990:74). Points of these types have been recovered from at least seven sites in the park (McGarry and Bohannon 1986; Parsons 2001; Parsons and Ravenhorst 2003; Reeves 1998a, 1998b).

Having redefined the beginning of the Late Archaic, it now remains necessary to delineate its end more logically. Gardner, in his various regional syntheses, set the Middle to Late Archaic transition at 3200 cal BC; his Late Archaic I encompassed the Savannah River complex, and Late Archaic II was equivalent to Susquehanna Broadspear. A very sharp break occurs in material culture and



FIGURE 17: Halifax Points from Brawner Farm (Bedell et al. 2006)

settlement patterns at 2200 cal BC, when the Savannah River broadspear complex replaces Halifax in the Potomac Piedmont. This cultural transition at 2200 cal BC closely coincides with a pan-continental, possibly even global “megadrought.” Rather than lump together the very different small-point Halifax and Broadspear complexes, it makes more sense to regard 2200 cal BC as dividing the Late Archaic from the subsequent Terminal Archaic. Thus, both Savannah River and Susquehanna Broadspear complexes (2200 to 1200 cal BC) are referred to here as Terminal Archaic.

3. *Terminal Archaic Period: New People and a New Way of Life*

A major change in settlement pattern is associated with the appearance of Savannah River points (Figure 18), which marks the onset of the Terminal Archaic (or “Transitional”) period. These large, broad-bladed stemmed points were typically made of quartzite. It is not certain if they were used as projectile points, or as specialized knives for fish-processing or some other task (McLearn 1991). Although broadspear points are sometimes found in ritual mortuary contexts, they were apparently utilitarian objects, as shown by occasional breakage and edge attrition.

The widespread appearance of broadspear points about 2200 cal BC has been interpreted alternatively as indicating the rapid adoption of an innovative weapon or processing tool by Indigenous populations (Custer 1991), or as the marker of rapid intrusive expansion northward by a population originating in the Coastal Plain of Georgia and the Carolinas (Mouer 1990). The evidence of a radical change in settlement and subsistence patterns circa 2200 cal BC is more consistent with the intrusion/migration hypothesis. It is probably not a coincidence that the spread of this new tool type is contemporaneous with a global climate event that was manifested as a centuries-long “megadrought” in North America and elsewhere (Booth et al. 2005). This abrupt change may have destabilized the local culture and thus facilitated northward expansion by the broadspear makers. The latter had previously adapted to the estuarine environments of the southern coast, newly created circa 4000 cal BC as the rate of sea level rise slackened.

Continued northward expansion of the broadspear-makers beyond Virginia is indicated by Savannah River points in western Maryland (Figure 19) and the appearance of Lehigh/Koens-Crispin points in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and Snook Kill points in New York. Around 1900 cal BC, the Perkiomen and Susquehanna point types were probably developed in Pennsylvania from northern Savannah River variants, and were spread back, by diffusion or migration, into parts of northern Virginia such as the Potomac Valley.

Terminal Archaic populations seem to have been much more numerous than their Late Archaic predecessors, indicating another major increase in technological or cultural sophistication. Although some upland sites are known, most occur in riverine settings. Large sites ranging in extent from 0.5-acre to more than five acres, which probably represent macroband encampments to exploit seasonal fish spawning runs, are known in the James River Piedmont and Coastal Plain. Smaller sites of about 5,000 square feet, which may represent single band camps, are a more common site type in the Piedmont; very small microband camps also are known (Mouer 1991).



FIGURE 18:
Savannah River
Point from
Montgomery County,
Maryland (Fiedel et.
al 2005)



FIGURE 19: Savannah River Point from Western Maryland (Fiedel et al. 2005)

Apart from broadspears, Terminal Archaic assemblages include two other significant new artifact types: grooved groundstone axes, which replace earlier chipped-stone forms, and carved soapstone (steatite) bowls. Soapstone was quarried in the Piedmont of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania (Luckenbach et al. 1975). W.H. Holmes (1897) recorded quarries within present Washington, D.C., at Rose Hill on Connecticut Avenue, and in Fairfax County at the Clifton, Holmes Run, and Falls Church sites. Vessels were carved at the quarries, and transported in finished form, probably by canoe. Soapstone pots were clearly used for cooking, but it is not yet known what foods (fish, meat, seeds, tubers, or nuts) they were used to process, or why such containers suddenly became necessary or desirable. The use of ceramics preceded manufacture of soapstone vessels along the lower Savannah River; however, the earliest ceramic pots in the Middle Atlantic seem to be imitative of soapstone pots.

4. *Early Woodland Period*

The Early Woodland period began around 1400 cal BC with the adoption of ceramic technology (Figure 20). The earliest vessels, known as Marcey Creek ware, imitated the form of flat-bottomed soapstone pots, including lug handles, and were tempered with bits of soapstone (Egloff and Potter 1982). This ceramic type was defined at the Marcey Creek Site, which is along the Potomac in Arlington (Manson 1948). Other ceramic types from this period include Selden Island and Accokeek. Selden Island vessels, although steatite-tempered like Marcey Creek ware, were conoidal (bag-shaped), cordmarked, and constructed by coiling rather than from slabs. Accokeek pottery is a thin-walled, cordmarked ware, with quartz particles and sand added to the clay as temper; vessels were conical or round-bottomed (Egloff and Potter 1982). Large Accokeek sites are common on the Potomac River and the Shenandoah, and numerous Accokeek components have been reported for Prince William and Fairfax Counties. During this period people seem to have been more sedentary than earlier, and some of their sites look like semi-permanent villages. An Accokeek component at the 522 Bridge Site in Front Royal, ¹⁴C-dated to circa 2900 radiocarbon years before present (1100 cal BC), includes storage pits, pieces of burnt daub, and traces of nine oval houses. Flotation of pit contents yielded carbonized seeds of amaranth, polygonum, mustard, and grape (all wild plants). However, no Early Woodland pottery has yet been reported from the park.

Point types associated with the Early Woodland include Orient, Calvert, Rossville/Piscataway, and teardrop or ovoid points (Dent 1995). Rossville/Piscataway points are very common; Johnson (1991) reported Piscataway points from 99 sites in Fairfax County. However, many points of this type are so crudely made that archeologists sometimes classify them as unfinished “bifaces” rather than finished points, and this makes it difficult to identify them with certainty. They may also have been made over a long period of time, from the end of Late Archaic times through the Terminal Archaic and Early Woodland into the Middle Woodland. Points of this general type have been recovered from two sites in the park, including Brawner Farm.

5. *Middle Woodland Period*

Based primarily on ceramic chronology, two phases of the Middle Woodland period have been recognized in eastern Virginia: the earlier characterized by Popes Creek and related ceramics (400 cal BC to cal AD 300), and the later by shell-tempered, net-impressed Mockley pottery (cal AD 300 to 1000) (Stewart 1992). The appearance of Albemarle ware, with crushed rock temper, and



FIGURE 20: Early Woodland Accokeek Pot from a Site on the Potomac in Washington
(Bedell et al. 2014)

small amounts of Popes Creek net-impressed pottery, with sand temper, marks the beginning of the Middle Woodland in the Potomac River valley (Hantman and Klein 1992). Ceramic style differences indicate that the Fall Zone began to demarcate a sharp ethnic boundary in the Middle Woodland. In central and southern Virginia, it marked the boundary between mutually hostile Coastal Algonquians and Piedmont Siouan speakers at the end of the Late Woodland period. Linguistic data suggest that Algonquian speakers intruded into the coastal zone between circa 600 cal BC and cal AD 800 (Fiedel 1987, 1990, 1991).

Several different types of stone tools were used in this period. One common type in the later part of the period is known as Selby Bay, rather crude, straight-sided points that are very common in sites along the Potomac River (Figure 21).

During the Middle Woodland the regional population grew. Bands became more sedentary and participated in regional exchange networks. Continuity in site location between the Early and Middle Woodland implies that earlier subsistence-settlement systems persisted. Early Middle Woodland groups in the northern Virginia Piedmont were apparently mobile, exploiting diverse and dispersed resources but focusing on riverine environments. The number of sites in the Maryland Piedmont increases between cal AD 300 and 900, but they are more dispersed (Kavanagh 1982). The eastern Piedmont may have been used seasonally as part of the settlement round of groups based in the Coastal Plain (Stewart 1992:15).

Albemarle pottery has been reported from one site in the park, Site 44PW0254, which is along Bull Run near Poplar Ford.

C. AGRICULTURE AND VILLAGE LIFE

1. *Late Woodland Period*

Maize horticulture was adopted ca. AD 1000 by many Indigenous groups in the Middle Atlantic region. Reliance on maize varied from group to group; indigenous diets continued to include fish, game, and gathered plants. A dramatic increase in the number of sites coincides with the onset of agriculture. Late Woodland sites include small permanent hamlets, and villages of varying sizes, all of which are typically located in floodplains of higher-order streams and adjacent to high-yield agricultural soils. During the Late Woodland period ranked societies emerged, which developed into the complex tribes and chiefdoms encountered by the Europeans in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Potter 1993).

Prior to AD 1200 or even 1300, settlements were not stockaded (fortified), suggesting that there were minimal inter- and intra-group hostilities (Stewart 1993). At around AD 1200 to 1300, throughout the Middle Atlantic region, population density increased, nucleated settlements and stockaded villages were established, and there is evidence of population movement and displacement (Stewart 1993).

Diagnostic artifacts of the Late Woodland period include Levanna and Madison triangular projectile points. These were certainly used as arrow tips; the bow seems to have replaced the spearthrower around AD 800, or somewhat earlier.



FIGURE 21: Middle Woodland Points from Washington, D.C. (Bedell et al. 2014)

Ceramics found most commonly along the Potomac basin include Rappahannock ware (also known as Townsend) (AD 1000 to 1600), and Potomac Creek ware (AD 1300 to 1600). Rappahannock pottery is a shell-tempered, fabric-impressed, sometimes incised ware that was common along the Coastal Plain in the Middle Atlantic region (Figure 22). Sites containing Potomac Creek ware have been identified in both the Piedmont and Coastal Plain regions of the Potomac basin and along the Rappahannock drainage. Potomac Creek pottery, which is tempered with crushed rock and has a variety of surface treatments, is the most prevalent ware on sites dating from AD 1300 to 1600 along the Potomac River south of the Fall Zone (Johnson 2001:109).

Less common Late Woodland period ceramic types originating on the Coastal Plain include Sullivan Cove (AD 1250 to 1600), Moyaone (AD 1300 to 1600), and Yeocomico (AD 1500 to 1700) (Egloff and Potter 1982). Wares originating in the Piedmont, such as Shepard (AD 900 to 1450) and Culpeper (circa AD 1400), are also recovered with some frequency on sites in the Fall Zone (Johnson 2001).

Only one site at Manassas has yielded Late Woodland pottery: Site 44PW0254, within the bend of Bull Run in the northeast corner of the park. McGarry and Bohannon (1986) reported sherds from five sites that he variously classified as “colono-Indian” or “proto-historic.” More recently, NPS archeologists have come to believe that these sherds are colonoware made by African Americans. Some of the sherds came from sites where no other historic artifacts were reported, however, so their status remains uncertain. If McGarry and Bohannon are correct, these sherds may well belong to one of the plain or smoothed types dating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as Moyaone or Yeocomico. No more than four sherds were reported from any of these sites, so it is difficult to draw conclusions, but it may be that the park was briefly inhabited by refugee peoples moving inland to escape English intrusion into their lands.

2. Contact Period

In late June 1608 John Smith explored the banks of the lower Potomac as far as the falls. He mapped five native villages located on the west (Virginia) bank between the mouths of Aquia Creek and the Anacostia River: from south to north, Pamacocack, Tauxenent or Doegs, Namassingakent, Assaomeck, and Namoraughquend (Figure 23). Tauxenent was the only one of these settlements that Smith denoted with the longhouse symbol that he reserved for “kings” residences. Tauxenent was located on the north bank of the Occoquan River, near its mouth, in the vicinity of Colchester. Smith’s map may not provide a full picture of the regional settlement pattern. It is well known from his own observations that the Virginia Algonquians shifted residence on a seasonal basis, so although these villages were inhabited in the summer when he visited them, the locations of their winter encampments are unknown. Also, Smith had no opportunity to observe the interior, inland from the major streams, so we cannot be certain that presumed interior campsites were all vacant even during the summer. It is noteworthy that finds of Potomac Creek pottery in Fairfax County are concentrated at the mouth of the Occoquan and to the northeast, on the north bank of the Potomac (Johnson 1991). Triangular points also occur in this area, but they are most numerous at the mouth of the Accotink and farther up the Occoquan (Chittenden et al. 1988:III-P6-8,9).

It is still a matter of contention whether infectious diseases introduced by Europeans had already caused a series of devastating “virgin-soil” epidemics in eastern North America in the early to mid-



FIGURE 22: Late Woodland Ceramic Sherd from Washington, DC
(Fiedel et al. 2006)



FIGURE 23: Section of John Smith's 1608 Map of Virginia Showing Indian Settlements Along the Potomac (Smith 1624)

sixteenth century (Dobyns 1983), or if native people remained largely unscathed by disease until the 1630s (Snow 1995; Ubelaker 1992). In any case, despite the effects of disease, the Doegs continued to inhabit the mouth of the Occoquan into the early 1650s, when English settlement of the area began.

D. SUMMARY

What does the archeological record from the park tell us about the people who lived there in precontact times? The record is dominated by small, upland sites, 200 to 900 feet from water, so that is the place to begin.

Archeologists have identified at least 40 such sites in the park. Most are known only from surface survey and yielded very few artifacts; the larger collections all come from historic-era sites (Figure 24). If the projectile points and bifaces from the historic house sites were indeed left there by precontact people, that would tell us something valuable about these sites, because a majority of the artifacts found were spear and dart points. What were precontact people doing at these small sites on hills and ridges, hundreds of feet from water? Hunting, these sites suggest. Their camps were placed where they could keep watch over the streams where deer and turkeys drank, but not so close that they would leave strong human smells that might discourage wildlife. The tools they left are mostly projectile points and bifacial knives, indicating hunting and butchering. They did very little tool manufacture, only minimal maintenance, which explains why little debitage is found. After all, knapping stone made a loud noise that deer had surely learned to recognize, so working on tools at the hunting camp would only scare away game. If sweat got on the stone, then striking it produced a burning smell that might also travel far. Most of the artifacts on the many small precontact sites in the park were probably left by hunting parties. Based on the division of labor found in all North American Indigenous peoples of historic times, these hunting parties were made up of men.

It is possible that people were using the park landscape in ways that leave fewer traces, for example, gathering nuts. Hickory nuts in particular were a valuable resource much used by ancient Native Americans. Again based on Indigenous people of the historic period, nut gathering was mostly likely done by women. But because gathering nuts would not lead to the loss or breakage of projectile points, that is not relevant to these particular sites.

The most common artifacts found on small upland sites in the park are Halifax projectile points (Table 2). Of all the points from the park that archeologists have tried to type, about a third are Halifax. The Halifax people dominated this area around 3000 to 2500 BC. They made very extensive use of upland areas like the battlefield, and their points are often the most common artifacts in such locations. Their way of life seems to have been highly mobile. They roamed extensively through the forests, relying on a wide variety of ecological niches rather than focusing on one or two. Most of their sites are quite small, so they probably spent much of their time moving about in small groups. So far as we can tell, Halifax people spent more time in the park than any other precontact population.

There is a caveat to be made, however, about converting projectile point counts to populations. We know from the study of stone-tool using peoples in the twentieth century that different groups



FIGURE 24: Projectile Points from the Excavations at Henry House (Parsons and Ravenhorst 2003)

TABLE 2: PROJECTILE POINTS FROM OLD COLLECTIONS AT MANASSAS, FROM MCGARRY 1980

TYPE	ARCHAIC			WOODLAND			UNKNOWN
	Early	Middle	Late	Early	Middle	Late	
Palmer	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Palmer/Kirk	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Archaic Side-Notched	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kirk Stemmed	-	9	-	-	-	-	-
LeCroy	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Big Sandy	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Misc. Bifurcate	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Morrow Mountain	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Clagett	-	-	13	-	-	-	-
Brewerton	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
Halifax	-	-	55	-	-	-	-
Savannah River	-	-	33	-	-	-	-
Piscataway	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
Bare Island	-	-	-	19	-	-	-
M. Woodland Stemmed	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Levanna	-	-	-	-	6	-	-
Pentagonal	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Small triangles	-	-	-	-	-	23	-
Misc. Side-Notched	-	-	-	-	-	-	36
Misc. Stemmed	-	-	-	-	-	-	21
TOTAL	15	17	103	23	8	23	57

made and used wildly different numbers of stone tools. Some made only a few, using bone, shell, or wood for most tools. Others made them but were not at all careful about the shape, which means archeologists cannot specify which culture made them. Others lovingly made beautiful tools that they treasured, so archeologists rarely find them just lying around their camps. Part of the reason that archeologists find so many Halifax points must be that Halifax people made huge numbers of them and were not very careful about losing or discarding them. The reason they generally used quartz for their points, scrapers, and knives was probably that quartz was available almost everywhere in their homeland, allowing them to find new material easily and never worry about discarding their old tools. So although the record shows that Halifax people regularly visited and hunted in the Park, one cannot simply count up the diagnostic artifacts from each period and proclaim that they were the most numerous people of precontact times.

Most Halifax sites are small and seem to represent hunting stations like those in the park, but they also left other evidence of themselves. They quarried quartz from outcrops throughout the region and left thousands or even millions of stone flakes at those sites and at workshops nearby. A large site of this type was found in Prince William Forest Park (Bedell 2004). An impressive Halifax site was found on Marine Corps Base Quantico that included hundreds of pounds of fire-cracked rock, probably for smoking fish caught in annual spring runs (Bedell et al. 2014). What may be a different sort of Halifax site was found on the battlefield, at Pohoke. Here the finds included not just points but a bifacial chopper made from a cobble, which is a kind of tool reported from other Halifax sites. Most likely they were used for working wood. Fire-cracked rock was also found. Fire-cracked rock cannot be dated, but Halifax appears to be the largest component of the precontact site, so it may well be associated with the Halifax people. At least five scrapers were found, indicating woodworking or the scraping of hides. It is impossible to be sure, since material

of different periods is present, all of it disturbed by the later historic occupation, but it may be that Pohoke was the site of a longer-term Halifax camp where a band of men, women, and children spent time, working on a variety of different tasks.

Two other distinctive sites in the park border Bull Run. One is on the low-lying ground near Poplar Ford, within the bend of the river (McGarry and Bohannon 1986). Site 44PW0254, where most of the precontact pottery recovered from the park has been found, was presumably a gathering camp of the Middle or Late Woodland period. The small number of Middle and Late Woodland projectile points found in the park suggests that men of that period did not do as much hunting here as Archaic people did. Pottery had many uses, but none closely related to hunting. Site 44PW0254 may therefore represent a different activity. Perhaps stands of nut-bearing trees grew along the river, and people camped here to collect nuts and boil them for their oil. Perhaps dense stands of weedy annuals like sumpweed grew along the river, and people came in late summer to collect their seeds. Late Woodland people used many other kinds of plants (LeeDecker et al. 2005), so there are also other options.

A second distinctive site is Site 44PW0294, the Thornberry House, where a number of precontact artifacts were found (Reeves 1998a). The site overlooks a good ford across Bull Run. A substantial Halifax component was found, six points plus other quartz artifacts that might be associated with them. However, a majority of the stone artifacts in this collection are made of rhyolite. Rhyolite cannot be found on the battlefield and must have been quarried in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Maryland or North Carolina. This site ties the battlefield to wider spheres, to people who must have wandered farther or traded farther than the Halifax folk. Perhaps the location of this site by the ford is a clue, and the site was occupied by people passing through during longer journeys.

IV. SETTLEMENT BY EUROPEANS AND AFRICANS

A. SETTLEMENT FROM ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

The arrival of the English colonists at Jamestown led quickly to profound changes for Native Americans throughout eastern North America. The impact spread far beyond the actual reach of the white men as European diseases and warfare over the fur trade led to the disappearance of many tribes and the displacement of others. A few Indian groups, such as the Haudenosaunee (Five Nations Iroquois), took advantage of the changes to expand their wealth and power, but for most the seventeenth century was a time of shrinking populations, loss of territory, and political uncertainty.

The Native Americans who occupied Prince William County in the early 1600s were a tribe known to history as the Doegs or Tauxenents. John Smith's map shows a village called Pamacocack along the Potomac between Quantico and Chopawamsic creeks, under what is now the built-up center of the Marine Corps base (see Figure 23). According to later English authors, this village was within the territory of the Doegs. The Doegs probably spoke an Algonquian language but were not members of the Powhatan chiefdom (Potter 1993). Smith's map placed the house of the werowance or chief of the Tauxenents (Doegs) along the north shore of the Occoquan River, but by 1650 their capital was on Mason Neck (then known as Doegs Neck). They seem to have lived on both sides of the Potomac, and their territory may have extended westward to the mountains. The English considered the Doegs their enemies.

The Doegs' territory in northern Virginia was well beyond the area of early English settlement, which was mostly limited to lands along the lower James and York Rivers. The English population of Virginia expanded slowly throughout the 1620s and 1630s, until the alarmed Powhatans launched an attack on them in 1644. What the English called the Second Powhatan War ended with an English victory in 1646, and almost immediately the colonists began to expand their settlements. They quickly spread up the Potomac and west into the Piedmont. The 1650s was a period of frenzied land speculation during which the wealthy and well-connected patented thousands of acres of land, and by 1670 all the land on the navigable parts of the Potomac and its tributaries had been claimed. The site of the Doegs' main village was, it seems, the first piece of property north of Chopawamsic Creek claimed by an Englishman (Harrison 1924:41).

In the 1660s and 1670s, the Doegs were still hunting and trading in their old Virginia territories. In 1675 Robert Hen, a herdsman recently hired by Thomas Mathew, was found killed and mutilated. His death was blamed on the Doegs, and Virginia militiamen crossed the Potomac into Maryland on a punitive raid. In the process they killed several Susquehannock Indians who had nothing to do with the dispute. After this incident, the Virginia and Maryland militias besieged the recently established Susquehannock fort at Moyaone. The Susquehannocks managed to escape and raided plantations in Virginia as they headed southwest to take refuge with the Occaneechi, who lived on the Roanoke near present-day Clarksville, Virginia. Nathaniel Bacon raised troops to attack them there, in the process defying the royal governor, whom the planters regarded as too lenient toward the Indians. This was the origin of Bacon's Rebellion, an event that badly shook up the whole colony of Virginia.

After the Susquehannocks were smashed and the Doegs finally expelled from the Piedmont, the English settlement of northern Virginia resumed. Among the major movers in the new land grab was John Carter, founder of the Carter family whose history is bound up with that of the park. John Carter immigrated to Virginia around 1650. He was an active politician, serving in the House of Burgesses for Upper Norfolk, Nansemond, and Lancaster Counties. He was also a vestryman in the Anglican Church and built the first church in the Northern Neck. He used his political clout to acquire land for his family; he had six children, four of whom survived to adulthood. His son, Robert “King” Carter (1663-1732) (Figure 25), would follow in his father’s footsteps, becoming an active politician and the largest landowner in Virginia, as well as land agent for Lord Fairfax, who claimed the entire Northern Neck as his estate. By the late seventeenth century he owned a long list of properties, including 52,000 acres near Broad Run to Goose Creek (present-day Fauquier and Loudoun Counties); 58,000 acres above the Shenandoah River, the 10,000-acre Licking Run tract; the Turkey Run tract of 10,610 acres; the Kettle Run tract of 6,166 acres; the Broad Run tract of 12,285 acres; and the Bull Run Tract, Lower Bull Run tract, and Middle Bull Run tract that together encompassed over 50,000 acres. In all, it is estimated that Carter’s total landholdings amounted to around 330,000 acres, “insuring a place of epic importance in the history of Virginia for his family” (Nomini Hall Slave Legacy n.d.-1; Parker and Hernigle 1990b:8-9). The Bull Run tracts encompassed the Manassas battlefield. “King” Carter’s sons (Landon and Robert II) acquired a portion of the Bull Run tract and the Lower Bull Run Tract, as described in the following section, after their father’s death in 1732.



FIGURE 25: Portrait of Robert “King” Carter
(National Portrait Gallery ca. 1720)

The agricultural basis of the colony’s economy was established in the seventeenth century. Sweet-scented tobacco was the key “cash crop,” and because its cultivation was labor-intensive, it encouraged the exploitation of unfree labor. Labor was supplied in part by indentured servants from Britain and Ireland and a handful of free black immigrants, but also by enslaved African and Atlantic creole people, imported in increasing numbers after 1680 (American Public History Laboratory 2003:6). The ideal soil for tobacco had been discovered along the banks of the Potomac and the Rappahannock, and plantations sprouted there in the 1650s and 1660s. John Carter built his plantation Corotomon, in present-day Lancaster County, around 1653 along the banks of the Rappahannock River between Carter’s Creek and Corrotoman River (Nomini Hall Slave Legacy n.d.-2). Small and large plantations proliferated along the waterfront as the plantation economy grew through the end of the eighteenth century (Galke 1992:13). These waterfront locations provided the best “seats” for trade because of the ease of transporting their crops to market.

B. BUILDING PLANTATIONS AND COMMUNITIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1. Growing Populations

The population of northern Virginia remained small until after 1722, when the Treaty of Albany ended the threat of attacks by the Haudenosaunee and their allies. The land then began to fill up with settlers. Planters spread beyond the tidal shores and up into the Piedmont, laying out a network of roads as they went. In 1724 the rector of Overwharton Parish, which then included all of northern Virginia, said that he ministered to 650 families. In the same year colonial tax documents indicate that there were 1,554 “tithables” in Stafford County, which covered the same area (Harrison 1924:117). A “tithable” was a person who could engage in tobacco cultivation (yet another way that tobacco dominated Virginia’s culture and institutions). This category included males over 15 and also enslaved adult females. A series of records in 1699 shows that for the colony as a whole, there were about 2.79 people in the population as a whole for each tithable, so in 1724 the population of northern Virginia was about 4,300. Rapid population growth thereafter led to the formation of new counties: Prince William in 1731, Fairfax in 1742, Fauquier in 1759. In 1744 a new parish, Dettingen, was established with boundaries essentially the same as those of modern Prince William County.

The registers of the new parish of Dettingen provide counts of tithables for almost every year from its founding to 1802, and they document the very rapid population over that period (Table 3). The first head count in the parish record was taken in 1745, when there were 977 tithables, or about 2,800 people, in the county. By the start of the Revolution, the county held more than 2,000 tithables and probably around 6,000 people. After stagnating during the recession of the Revolutionary period, population growth resumed again after 1785 and continued until about 1800.

TABLE 3: POPULATION OF
DETTINGEN PARISH

YEAR	NUMBER OF TITHABLES	POPULATION ESTIMATE
1745	977	2780
1755	1277	3640
1765	1410	4020
1775	2003	5710
1785	2063	5880

Bedell 2004

As the population grew, settlement of the region gradually spread away from the main waterways, into interior locations like the park. Road networks slowly developed to serve these inland farms, beginning with “rolling roads” down which hogsheads of tobacco could be rolled to river landings.

2. The Agricultural Economy

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the economy and society of the region were dominated by large plantations. The biggest landowners, such as the Carters, subdivided their land into huge “tracts” and then further divided those tracts into working plantations of around 1,000 acres (Parker and Hernigle 1990b:3). After 1695 importation of enslaved Africans began on a large scale, and by the 1720s these plantations had a large enslaved labor force. Mostly autonomous, the large plantations not only produced tobacco for export but also much of their own food, which for the servants or enslaved workers meant largely corn and hogs. They traded directly with ships from England or Holland at their own wharves, so they had little need for stores or towns. Some of the working plantations were leased to tenant farmers. For example, Robert Carter established

21-year leases with five men who settled the Bull Run tract between 1752 and 1762 (Galke 1992:16-17).

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the agricultural economy diversified; this was necessary because the soil had been depleted by tobacco cultivation. New crops included grain (primarily wheat), fruit, and vegetables; in the early 1770s Landon Carter of Pittsylvania shifted his fields to grain production. An economy based on selling tobacco directly to seaborne merchants shifted toward more local and regional trade. Rural towns formed throughout Prince William County as more residents settled in the area (Blake and Bowden 1999:21; Reeves 2000:15). Centreville, Buckland, Haymarket, and Occoquan were established in 1792, 1796, 1799, and 1804, respectively. The rise of Alexandria as a port city in addition to then county seat Dumfries was one impetus for a new rural roadway network (Reeves 2000:13). Nascent postal roads and carriage trails had begun to provide transportation routes throughout the state by the middle to late eighteenth century. Some of these roads followed Native American trails, including the Fauquier-Alexandria Turnpike and Sudley Road, which intersect at the center of the park. Blacksmiths, wheelwrights, millers, merchants, and craftspeople began businesses in support of the area's farmers (Daniels 1993:753, in Reeves 2000:17).

3. Pohoke

The oldest non-Native archeological site on the battlefield is Pohoke, Site 44PW0335, which is near the southeast corner of the park. Archeological evidence suggests it was founded in the 1720s. The property was part of the Carter family's Lower Bull Run Tract. The acreage was inherited by Robert "Councillor" Carter (1728-1804), whose main plantation, Nomini Hall, was located in Westmoreland County. Carter later embarked on a spiritual quest that led him to be baptized into a primitive Baptist church and then to explore the teachings of the Swedish mystic Emanuel Swedenborg. Carter turned against slavery and lobbied the Virginia legislature to pass a gradual manumission plan. Rebuffed, he went ahead with a personal plan that eventually led to the freeing of all 500 people he had enslaved, the largest personal manumission in American history.

Carter endowed a few favored freedmen with land, but his 1804 will divided most of his estate among his 10 surviving children. The tract where Pohoke is located passed to Elizabeth Landon Carter Ball and her husband, Spencer Ball. The tract had been leased to a tenant, and when they arrived to take over the property, they ended up in a lawsuit with the tenant (Parker and Hernigle 1990b:13-14). Around 1820 they constructed a new and much grander house for themselves, known as Portici.

The archeological site of Pohoke represents the home of the tenant farmers who leased the property from the Carters. It was discovered in 1984, during a surface survey of the property when it was still being farmed, not long after the NPS acquired this tract. A more detailed, follow-up survey followed, and then in 1986 to 1988 the site was extensively excavated (Parker and Hernigle 1990a). The excavations exposed the remains of a house foundation made of local stone, with a small cellar. Too many stones had been removed from the foundation to determine its exact size, but it might have been about 16x20 feet, which is the size Councillor Carter specified in his leases that his tenants should build. This was probably a one-room house, with an attic above and a storage cellar below. Most likely the walls and roof were made of clapboards, the norm in Virginia at the time.

Although more than 13,000 artifacts were recovered from Pohoke, most come from plowzone soils and it is difficult to say which are related to the colonial house and which come from a later structure, possibly a slave quarter, built around 1800. Artifacts that definitely date to the tenant period include 10 sherds of Buckley coarse earthenware (1720-1775), seven sherds of tin-glazed earthenware (Delft), seven sherds of Jackfield ware (1720-1790), seven sherds of Astbury ware (1725-1750), and single sherds of Westerwald blue and gray stoneware (1620-1775) and white stoneware (1705-1780). Other artifacts that are probably from the tenant period include white clay tobacco pipes and hand-wrought nails.

The evidence from the site is rather meager, but what there is suggests that the occupants were fairly typical for tenant farmers in Virginia at that time. Their house was nothing much to look at and had no glass windows, but it kept them warm and dry. They had dishes to eat off and pots to cook with, and were probably well equipped with farm tools. Their lives were not easy, but if they avoided illness and injury, they had a good chance of raising a family and perhaps one day owning their own land.

4. *Pittsylvania*

a. A Grand Plantation of the Carter Family

The history of Pittsylvania Plantation encapsulates several themes of history in the park: founded as a great plantation (Figure 26), it gradually declined and must have been quite shabby by the time it was destroyed, during the Civil War. It served as a field hospital during Second Manassas. After its destruction, a much more modest house was built next to the ruins of the colonial mansion, serving as the home of a farm family until around 1930 (Beasley 2000; McGarry 1982:24-25).

Pittsylvania Plantation was established by Landon Carter II on the Middle Bull Run Tract of in the 1750s. Landon Carter I (1710-1778) is a somewhat famous character thanks to his political pamphlets and his diary, which recorded many details of his life and also his reaction to the American Revolution. Carter initially supported freedom until the idea spread to his daughters and to some of the people he enslaved, and then he began to have doubts (Isaac 2004.) He had enough land that he was able to pass thousands of acres to each of his seven children. Much less is known of his son Landon II (1738-1801), but he was certainly a major planter and a wealthy man, and he also had a large family.

There was a farm of some sort in this location by 1756, because a diary entry records that Landon I met his son there on May 15, 1756. That entry refers to the place as Bull Hall. The farm seems to have been managed by an overseer named John Sibley. The Pittsylvania house was probably built some years later. William Pitt did not become the leader of the British war effort until 1758, and he was not highly regarded by the American colonists until after the victories of 1758-1759, especially the capture of Quebec in September 1759. It therefore seems unlikely that a great house would have been named after him until 1759 at the earliest. Of course it might be that the house was originally called Bull Hall and the name was changed to honor Pitt, but again there is no evidence of this. A later diary entry, from 1777, indicates that by that time Landon Jr. had built a “dwelling house of taste” (Beasley 2000:7). A construction date in the 1760s or early 1770s seems most likely.



FIGURE 26: Drawing of a Carter Mansion, Possibly Intended to be the First Mansion House at Pittsylvania (McGarry 1982)

A letter written from Landon Jr. to his father in 1763 or 1764 shows that he was running the Pittsylvania property by that time:

[Pittsylvania] Jany. 1. 1763 [1764]

Dear Sir

You will receive your man Jammy by my Overseer Joseph Florance who has my Orders to take great care of him that he does not get away I shou'd have sent him three weeks ago to you but the weather with us has been too bad for any one to travel in so hope you'll not be offended as I cou'd have no view in doing as I have.

I shou'd be obliged to you for a supply of coffee by my Overseer as you live where its plenty also some Garden seeds if any to spare.

I don't know but I may carry half of my tobo. this year to Falmouth if so shou'd take it as a great favour if you'd order your Overseer at Park to let my horses have corn and Fodder as the distance is too far to carry a sufficient quantity of Provision for their Journey the Corn I will pay you ten shillings a Barrell for.

My little Babies have been all very ill tho I thank God are now tolerable well I am obliged to practice on them myself and have as yet been successfull but God knows how much longer I am to be so as my Love to them increases more and more which makes me apprehensive that I may one day or other do them an injury I am

Dr Sr

Your afft & dutifull Son

Landon Carter jr

We wish you a happy new year— [Carter 1764]

Landon Carter II's will divided his lands among his three sons. Wormley Carter received all the Prince William County lands, including Pittsylvania, while his brothers received land in Loudoun and Fauquier. By 1801 Wormley was already living at a new house he had build for himself in the 1790s, known as Rosefield. Rosefield was also within the park, and a later house still stands on the spot. The Pittsylvania house was left to Landon II's three daughters, Elizabeth, Margaret, and Judith. They also received "the yard and garden, to contain 10 acres," cash, and annual subsidies drawn from their brothers' estates. Margaret and Judith married and moved away not long after 1801. Elizabeth, however, did not marry and ended up staying in the neighborhood. Eventually she purchased 333 acres of the Lower Bull Run Tract; most likely this was arranged by her brothers in exchange for the subsidies required by their father's will. She built a house there that came to be known as Spring Hill Farm. After her death this property was acquired by her sister Judith and her husband Dr. Isaac Henry, and under the name of the Henry House the property played a major part in the First Battle of Manassas (Beasley 2000:39-40).

Wormley Carter died in 1815, and his estate was divided among his nine heirs (Figure 27). Wormley died in debt, and a lawsuit with the descendants of John Carter, Landon II's brother, cost the Carters even more. To cover these expenses, 184 acres of land were sold, and the estate papers

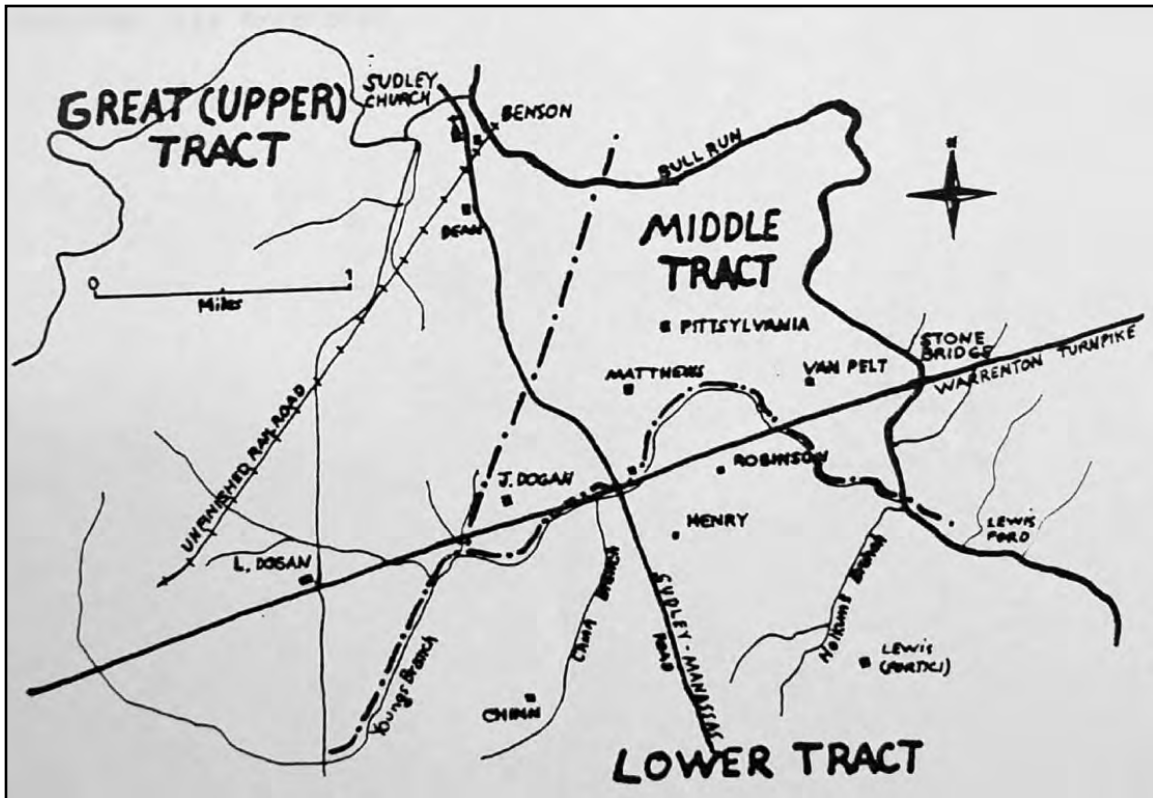


FIGURE 27: Division of Bull Run Tract (McGarry 1982)

record payments to an auctioneer for selling off some of the enslaved people who lived with the Carters. Pittsylvania, along with 230 acres of cultivated land and 50 acres of woodland, passed to Landon III. This generation of Carters was never able to live in the style of their ancestors. Family tradition records that

The Pitt. people lived a peculiar life with their slaves –the most of them women. These were never hired out possibly for fear they would get in family way. This number of feed and clothe made them poorer and poorer each year. The land was sold piece by piece to meet expenses [Beasley 2000:44].

After Landon III's death in 1849, his widow took over management of the estate. Comparing the 1850 and 1860 agricultural censuses shows that the amount of land plowed for crops gradually declined, and more and more was left to grow up in trees (United States Census Bureau [U.S. Census] 1850, 1870). What was left of the property was devastated during the war, and the old house burned.

The new house, Pittsylvania II, was constructed circa 1880 by Edwin Carter, the last Carter to reside in the home. The house was abandoned circa 1930 and fell into disrepair before being razed in 1970. Reusable building materials were salvaged from Pittsylvania to construct the new residence and a new wall around the family cemetery.

b. History of the Enslaved Population

By time of Landon Carter II's death in 1801, slavery had been entrenched in the Manassas area for 50 years (Kulikoff 1986:41; Mullin 1972; Reeves 2000:11). An enslaved subculture developed within and between area plantations; to some extent this local culture was connected to other African Americans across the state. There is considerable documentation of enslaved people at the Manassas battlefield, especially in the papers of the Carter family (Beasley 2000:24-29). Many people enslaved by the Carter descendants living at Manassas may have been related to each other, since they were for most part descendants of Africans who had been purchased by the Carters in the eighteenth century. We can therefore envision a network of relationships and interactions among the enslaved people living on the different Carter properties, just as there was among the landowning families. One piece of evidence of these contacts has been unearthed at Manassas: slave-made colonoware pottery has been found at most of the antebellum sites in the park, probably produced by a single potter or family of potters (Bedell 2006a; Parsons and Ravenhorst 2003).

People enslaved on large Virginia plantations lived for the most part in "quarters," clusters of huts placed around the estate for ready access to the fields. These groups of huts were sometimes likened by observers to small villages. The huts were surrounded by gardens where the slaves could raise some of their own food. Enslaved people were typically given Sundays off, and some spent much of that day laboring on their own behalf (Fox-Genovese 1988; Genovese 1974). This was necessary because, although planters supplied their field hands with food, it was only the most basic ingredients (corn, wheat flour, salted pork) and barely enough to sustain hard-working people. Both Robert "Councillor" Carter and Landon Carter Sr. are said to have deliberately underfed their enslaved workers to encourage industriousness and so that they could reward particularly hard workers with extra meat (Beasley 2000:29). One likely slave quarter site has been identified at Manassas, the Hooe Dependency just southwest of the U.S. Route 29/SR 234

intersection (Reeves 2001b), and documentary evidence suggests that more should be present at Pittsylvania at least.

On large plantations enslaved people did many different kinds of work. The 1801 will of Landon Carter, Jr. listed a shoemaker, a weaver, a wagoner, and a blacksmith (Beasley 2000:23). Enslaved Africans brought their own inherited craft traditions or innovated new techniques of animal husbandry and gardening, ironworking, basketry, and pottery making. They could exchange their products in a barter system, or for cash.

The wider marketing activities of the enslaved population are well documented in the Virginia Piedmont. Nineteenth-century documents record enslaved laborers selling produce to their owners and to the owners of neighboring plantations, engaging in cash and barter exchanges with local merchants, and participating in local Sunday markets held on public roads, local churches, and courthouses (Sorrells and Simmons 1999:8)...These marketing activities allowed slaves to create and maintain social ties over a region that extended beyond their own communities and neighborhoods. In some cases it appears that enslaved communities were involved in economic relations that completely bypassed the white merchants, owners, and the local establishment [Reeves 2000:12].

Market activities left more traces in the written record than most other aspects of slave life, so they have been widely studied by historians (Schlotterbeck 1995; Sorrells and Simmons 1999). The slave-made pottery found at Manassas and traded throughout the neighborhood has already been mentioned, and it is an excellent example of this kind of work.

People enslaved on smaller farms led rather different lives. They sometimes lived in the basement or attic of the planter's house, rather than in remote quarters, and worked side-by-side with the landowner and any white servants. This makes it more difficult for archeologists to identify their homes and material culture, but evidence can sometimes be teased out.

The early Carters enslaved on a grand scale, and that included Landon II. Documentary evidence of the number of people living at Pittsylvania is contradictory. The first count of enslaved people who may have lived at the plantation is from Landon Carter Sr.'s 1778 will, in which he left Landon Jr. 20 enslaved people plus his "manservant, Will."

Item 18. I do imagine that my three Sons, Robert, Landon and John will be glad at my death to be invested with an absolute property in my Slaves. Moses Will and Jack whom I have heretofore only lent to wait upon them, therefore I give to my Son Robert his man Moses as his absolute property to my Son Landon his man Will as his absolute property and to my Son John his man Jack as his absolute property, especially directing my Trustees as aforesaid only to look upon them only as a Slave in each of my Sons in the division hereby directed to be made, without any Consideration as to their real value.

December the Twenty Second One Thousand Seven hundred and Sixty to my Son Landon, Tom, Harry, Dick, Scott, Joc, Ezo, [illegible], Arthur, Tom, Nelson, Arthur, Sarah, Esther, Peggy, Kate, Fortunes, Kate, Sarah, Priss, Suckey in all twenty Slaves; to the loss of which only he is to stand; and is to have such Increase of them as shall be born after the date before mentioned [Prince William County Will Book (PWCWB) H 1792-1803:477-482].

Table 4 shows the names of all the enslaved people listed as Landon Carter's property in the 1760 will, the 1765 and 1782 personal property tax lists, and the 1801 estate inventory. The table shows that several people seem to appear on multiple lists, especially the first two.

TABLE 4: LANDON CARTER JR.'S ENSLAVED, 1760 TO 1801

LANDON SR. WILL, 1760	TITHABLE LIST, 1765	PERSONAL PROPERTY TAX, 1782	LANDON CARTER JR. ESTATE INVENTORY, 1801
Tom	Tom	Tom	
Harry			
Dick	Dick		
Scott			
Joc	Joe	Joe	
Ezo	Egoe		
[illegible]			
Arthur			
Tom	Tom	Tom	
Nelson	Nelson		
Arthur			
Sarah	Sarah	Sarah	
Esther	Esther		
Peggy	Pegg	Pegg	
Kate	Kate		
Fortunes		Fortune	
Kate	Kate	Kate	
Sarah	Sarah	Sarah	
Priss	Pliss		
Suckey		Sukey	Sukey (Granny)
Will	Willoughby		
	Andrew	Andrew (under 16)	
	Barnaby	Barnaby	
	Beck	Beck	Beck
	Billy	Billy	
	Gawing	Gawen	Gowin
	Nanny	Nanny	
		Abby	
		Abby	
		Alice (under 16)	
		Aly (under 16)	
		Amartal (under 16)	
		Ambrose (under 16)	
		Amos (under 16)	
		Amy (under 16)	Amy
		Archy	Archev
		Ben (under 16)	Ben
		Ben (under 16)	
		Betty (under 16)	Betty and Child Randolph
		Betty (under 16)	Betsy (of Betty)
		Billy	Billy (house)
		Billy (under 16)	Bill
		Billy (under 16)	Bill
		Billy (under 16)	Billy
		Charlotte (under 16)	Charlotte and Child Jack
		Charlotte (under 16)	
		Chriss (under 16)	
		Cowes	
		Cuckora (under 16)	
		Daniel (under 16)	Daniel

LANDON SR. WILL, 1760	TITHABLE LIST, 1765	PERSONAL PROPERTY TAX, 1782	LANDON CARTER JR. ESTATE INVENTORY, 1801
		Diana (under 16)	
		Dinah (under 16)	
		Dolly (under 16)	Dolly and Child Jonathan
		Ephraim (under 16)	Ephraim
		Fanny (under 16)	Fanny and Child Sally
		Garden (under 16)	
		Gawen (under 16)	Griffin
		Gawen (under 16)	
		George	George (waggoner)
		George (under 16)	George
		Hannah (under 16)	Hannah and Child Martha
		Harry	Harry
		Harry (under 16)	Harry
		Hillary	
		Isaac (under 16)	
		Jack (under 16)	Jack
		Jacob (under 16)	
		James	Jamey
		James	
		James (under 16)	
		Jane (under 16)	Janey and Child Clare
		Jenny (under 16)	
		Joe	Joe (blacksmith)
		Joe	Joe
		Judy	Juddy
		Judy (under 16)	Juddy
		Katy (under 16)	Katey
		Katy (under 16)	
		Kerekia (under 16)	
		Letty (under 16)	Liddy
		Luzas	
		Lydia (under 16)	Liddy and Child Eleanor
		Manuel	
		Martha	Martha (yellow)
		Martha	Martha
		Martha	
		Mary	Mary
		Mary	Mary (Island)
		Mehemilia (under 16)	
		Milty (under 16)	
		Mima (under 16)	
		Mimy	
		Mimy (under 16)	
		Molly (under 16)	
		Nancy (under 16)	Nancy
		Nanny	
		Nat (under 16)	Natt
		Parmer	
		Patty	
		Patty	
		Patty	
		Peggy (under 16)	Peggy
		Penny	Penny
		Person	
		Peter (under 16)	Peter
		Peter	
		Peter	

LANDON SR. WILL, 1760	TITHABLE LIST, 1765	PERSONAL PROPERTY TAX, 1782	LANDON CARTER JR. ESTATE INVENTORY, 1801
		Phebe (under 16)	
		Phill	
		Phill	Phil
		Phillis (under 16)	Phillis
		Rafe	
		Ralph (under 16)	Ralph
		Rawley (under 16)	
		Robin	
		Sally	Sally
		Sam (under 16)	Sam
		Sarah (under 16)	Sarah and Child Ben
		Siby	
		Sicily	
		Simon	Simon
		Simon	Simon
		Steph	Stephen
		Sukey (under 16)	Sukey
		Sukey (under 16)	Sukey
		Sylla (under 16)	
		Sylva (under 16)	
		Thaddeus (under 16)	
		Tom (under 16)	Tom (Weaver)
		Tosy (under 16)	
		Ursula (under 16)	
		Vincent (under 16)	Vincent
		Winny (under 16)	Winny (of Martha)
			Paul
			Martin
			Joe (son of Archy)
			Parlow (son of Sukey)
			Paul (son of Billy)
			Nausa (of Billy)
			Nicholas
			Dennis
			Katty (little)
			Maria and Child
			Merideth
			Sally
			Esther and Robert
			Abigal
			Sarah
			Martha (yellow)
			John
			Harriet
			Sally Silvia and Tennison
			Nancy
			Natt
			Tasker
			Gabriel
			Barshabe
			Tolly
			Archy
			Esther
			Arthur
			Talbot
			Kutty
			Mimah and Philander

LANDON SR. WILL, 1760	TITHABLE LIST, 1765	PERSONAL PROPERTY TAX, 1782	LANDON CARTER JR. ESTATE INVENTORY, 1801
			Caroline
			Betsey
			Jammy
			Judith (lubber)
			Moses
			Polly
			Beck
			Judith
			Marshall
			Alfred
			Carlos
			Beck and Child Sarah
			Edmund
			Jose
			Abigal
			Whitley
			Peggy
			Willoughby
			Saunders
			Lavinia
			Nancy
			George
			Buleigh & Child Nancy
			Harry
			Julia
			Hannah
			Joe (yellow)
			Anny and Child Luisa
			Kitt
			Ellzey
			Levi
			__nus
			Tom (Judy)
			Harry
			Jesse
			Sam
			Agey
			Miles
			George (Park)
			Phil (Shoemaker)
			Peter
			Fanny & Child Sally
			Nancy
			Greaston
			Beck
			Joyce
			Natt
(21)	(20)	(121)	(152)

PWCWB H 1792-1803:477-482

Landon Carter was left a total of 21 enslaved workers in his father's will and had enslaved more than 100 when he died 40 years later. The 1782 tax list for Prince William County lists 101 people, 73 of them adults and 48 under 16. This seems too rapid an increase to represent only children born on the plantation, so it is likely that Landon Carter purchased at least 30 enslaved Africans between 1761 and 1782.

The 1784 and 1788 tax lists have lower counts: 23 adults and 42 children in 1784, and 36 adults and 12 children in 1788. Since later documents show that the total number of people Carter enslaved did not decrease, this must mean that some were living elsewhere. Landon Carter owned about 2,500 acres of land along Goose Creek in Loudoun County, and many people may have lived there all or part of the time. These documents appear to show that even if Landon Carter's enslaved were divided between his Bull Run and Goose Creek properties, at least 51 enslaved people lived at Pittsylvania throughout the 1784-1801 period.

Landon Carter Jr. died in 1801. His will mentions 152 enslaved people (PWCWB H:450), but the version of his estate inventory posted online by Gunston Hall lists only 146.

The survival of multiple documents that provide the names of the people enslaved by the Carters provides a chance to examine this community over time; however, there are some issues with these lists. It is not clear who provided the names; perhaps it was the overseer. And could the overseers have confused some of the names, Peggy for Patty or Martha for Mary? They certainly had trouble with the Arthurian name "Gawain," which shows up in various badly spelled versions. If the lists are accurate, they portray a rapidly changing population, with only about 40 percent of the names from 1782 appearing in 1801.

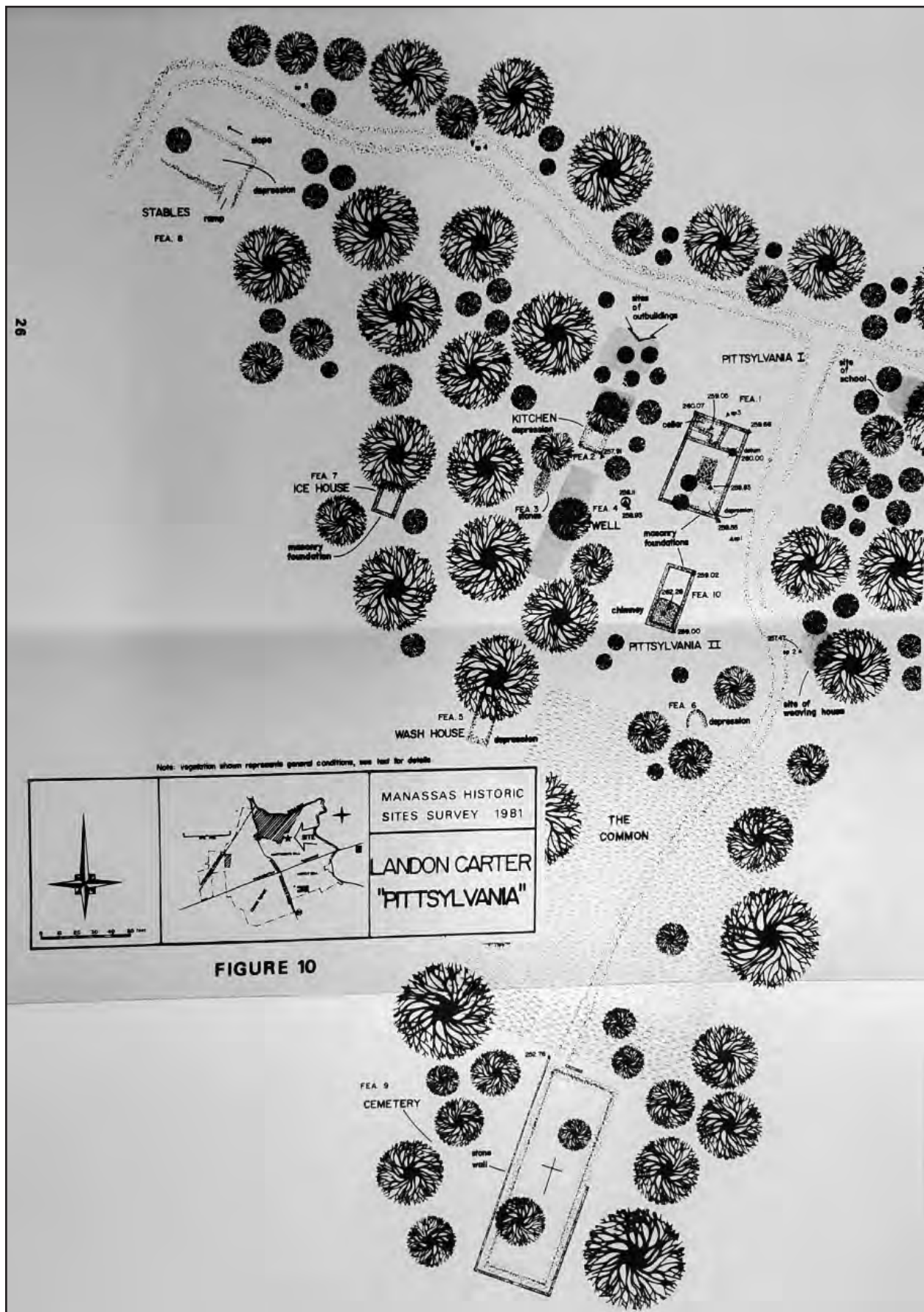
c. Archeological Research

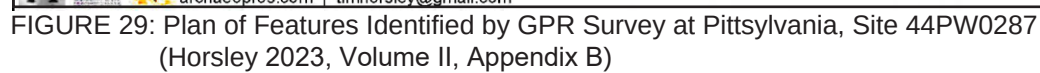
Thomas McGarry (1982) visited the site of Pittsylvania in 1981 and prepared a map of the visible features (Figure 28). Most of McGarry's work in the Park was excellent, but in this case he was somewhat misled by a map, drawn from memory by an amateur historian researching the Carters, that was said to be of Pittsylvania but turned out to be of a different Carter estate (Beasley 2000:64-72). However, this map still identified the main features and provided a good place to start the archeological investigation.

1) Ground-Penetrating Radar

Pittsylvania was extensively explored during the current study. One part of the work was a survey using ground-penetrating radar (GPR) carried out by Dr. Timothy Horsley. One problem was that the site was wooded and there were numerous downed tree limbs, bushes, clumps of small trees, and other obstacles. GPR work is usually done by laying out a rectangular grid and walking straight transects, providing good locational control, and this was not possible at Pittsylvania; nonetheless, worthwhile results were obtained. The absence of leaves on the trees helped in obtaining an excellent GPS signal so that the machine was able to record accurate spatial data even while being steered around obstacles.

The GPR map (Figure 29) suggests that the Pittsylvania I house was larger than had been previously believed. Variations in the reflections within the structure reveal internal walls and a large basement under much of the eastern portion of the building. The entire building measures around 52x46 feet, but the basement does not extend under the full length of the western 11 feet of the building. It was unclear from the GPR survey whether this was part of the original plan or if it indicates a later addition on the western side. The GPR survey also indicated that these western foundations were as substantial as the rest of the house, suggesting those walls do not represent the remains of a porch.





The GPR map also shows that Pittsylvania II, the post-Civil War house, had been mapped too far to the south. The clearest new discovery is the foundation of a building just south of that second house, measuring about 12x25 feet. Feature 14, the building identified by McGarry as a possible weaving shed, showed up clearly, although trees and other obstacles prevented the GPR from defining its dimensions. Another new structure was detected about 25 feet north of Feature 14; McGarry had not noted a structure in that location, nor was anything visible on the surface.

2) Excavations at Locus 1, the Main Plantation Site

WSP carried out archeological testing at the site on three occasions during the current study, in Years 1, 2, and 4. The site was covered with a grid of shovel tests at 50-foot intervals, using 74 tests to cover an area of about 4.2 acres (Figure 30). Artifact density was low; if artifacts that definitely date to after the Civil War are excluded, recovery was just under one artifact per shovel test. This finding shows that the yard around the main house was kept very clean of trash. One discovery made during the shovel testing was a small brick platform, 5x10 feet around, directly in front of the main house and about 100 feet from the front door. Could this have been the base for some kind of statue?

A handful of artifacts dating to the 1700s were found in the depression behind the main house that McGarry identified as a kitchen (Figure 31). These are among the few objects that can be associated with Pittsylvania's era as a grand plantation. Other interesting artifacts were found south of the house, including colonoware (Figure 32), which indicates that enslaved people lived or worked in this area.

3) Exploring the Plantation

Although some of the enslaved people at Pittsylvania would have lived near the main house, it would have been very unusual for the field hands to do so. It was much more common for them to live in remote quarters. This seems especially likely at Pittsylvania, as the plantation measured several miles across. Several searches were therefore made during the project in an attempt to find these quarters. Those carried out at a distance from the main house produced nothing, so the field hand quarters remain to be discovered.

Testing on high ground closer to the mansion house was more productive. On a ridge east of the house, the archeologists noticed a clearing in the woods dominated by a plant community that is often associated with old house sites: Japanese stiltgrass, grape vines, walnut trees, and barberry bushes. Metal detecting in the clearing produced numerous metal artifacts, including tools (Figure 33); however, the three shovel tests dug here did not produce any domestic material. The artifacts included a mix of hand-wrought and machine-cut nails, probably indicating an extended occupation period in the nineteenth century. The hand-wrought nails almost certainly date to before 1820. Since the site is still visible from the vegetation, it was probably some sort of work area into at least the late nineteenth century. The finds include blacksmith's pincers, a saw blade, and a knife blade. Tools such as these are rare finds; farmers used to be very careful with their tools, so archeologists rarely find them. If they date to before the Civil War, as seems likely, the people wielding them were probably enslaved. Could they have been lost during the war, when the plantation was burned and abandoned?



FIGURE 30: Excavating a Shovel Test on Feature 15, Pittsylvania

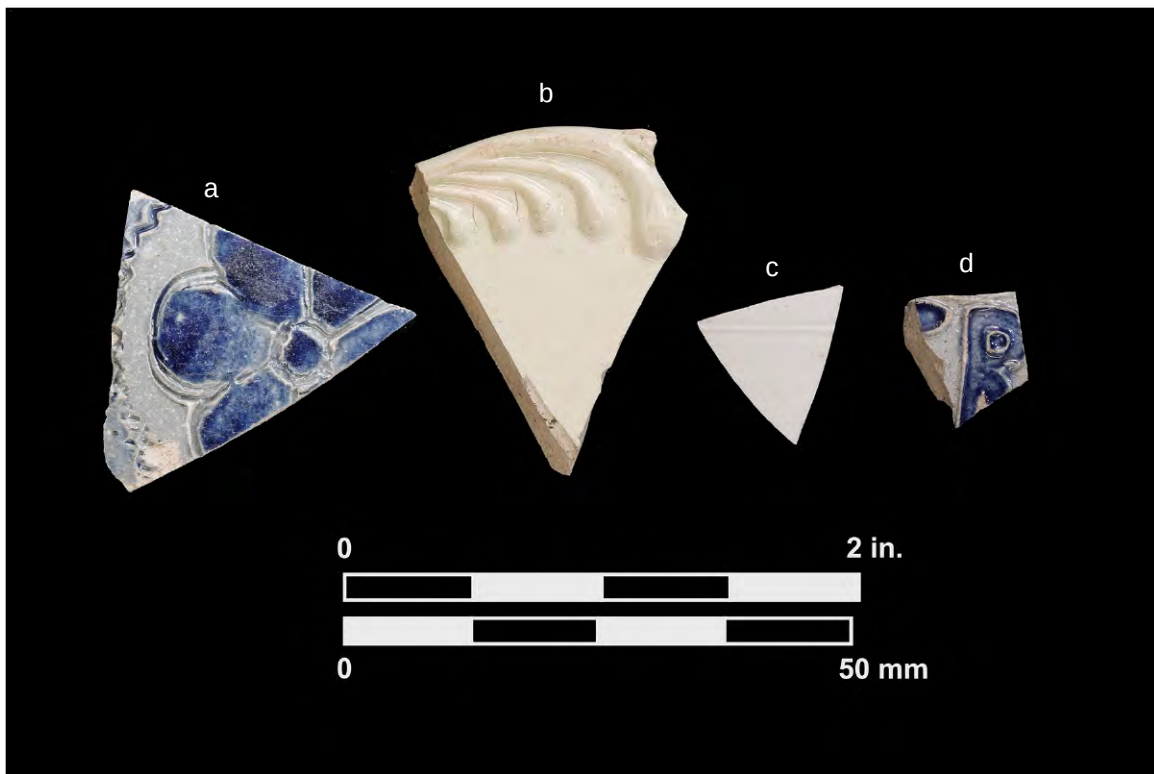


FIGURE 31: Ceramics from Pittsylvania

- a) Westerwald stoneware body sherd (MANA 74583)
- b) Decorated creamware rimsherd (MANA 74549)
- c) White salt-glazed stoneware body sherd (MANA 74551)
- d) Westerwald stoneware body sherd (MANA 74572)



FIGURE 32: Colonoware from Pittsylvania

- a) Body sherd (MANA 72167)
- b) Body sherd (MANA 72186)
- c) Body to base sherd (MANA 72222)
- d) Rimsherd (MANA 72199)



FIGURE 33: Tools from Pittsylvania

- a) MANA 73116
- b) MANA 73147
- c) MANA 73107
- d) MANA 73113
- e) MANA 73144
- f) MANA 73173
- g) MANA 73098

V. BLACK AND WHITE VIRGINIA, 1800-1861

A. CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER THE NEW REPUBLIC

1. *Creating Farms*

TABLE 5: POPULATION
OF PRINCE WILLIAM
COUNTY, 1790 TO 1830

YEAR	POPULATION
1790	11,615
1810	11,311
1820	9,419
1830	9,206
U.S. Census 1800, 1810, 1820, 1830	

The population of eastern Virginia reached a peak around 1800 that it would not surpass until the twentieth century. Prince William County lost about a quarter of its people between 1800 and 1830 (Table 5). The census for this period shows that families of four, five, or even six children were the norm, but the extra children were all leaving the area, joining the great migration of Americans to the west. The free migrants who took this road willingly were joined, under coercion, by enslaved people. The population of Virginia's enslaved African Americans was increasing nearly as rapidly as the population of planters; slave holders exploited the opportunity to profit from the increase in children born to enslaved people by selling "excess" people to planters in newly developing lands. This trade compensated for the decreased importation of new slaves from Africa, which was banned by the U.S. government in 1808. Especially after cotton production became a major industry in the 1820s, the demand for slave labor in the Gulf states was enormous, and tens of thousands of people were uprooted and sold west to meet that demand.

Some of the great planters had who developed Piedmont lands fell deeply into debt, which caused them severe problems after the Revolution. Many had to sell off land to pay their debts. Throughout the eighteenth century only five renters occupied the Lower Bull Run tract, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century, many of "King" Carter's heirs were cash poor and began selling the land (American Public History Laboratory 2003:13). As discussed in Chapter IV.B, the Carters of Pittsylvania also had to sell off much of their land.

These sales by the great planters led to the rise of the middling planter class, families that owned working farms of 150 to 1,000 acres. Communities of free, landowning farmers grew up across the region. Even some free African Americans were able to acquire land. Smaller planters generally enslaved from one to 15 people, and after they came to dominate the region, most enslaved people lived on these small farms rather than on great estates where there were whole communities of African Americans.

2. *Roads and Railroads*

In the nineteenth century development of the present park area was promoted by the intersection of two key roads, the Sudley Road (north-south) and the Fauquier and Alexandria Turnpike (east-west) (Figure 34) (Reeves 2001b:3.1). Sudley, located at the northern border of the park, was established in 1817 (Prince William County Historical Preservation Division [PWCHPD] 2016). Around 1810 the Fauquier and Alexandria Turnpike Company built the turnpike, a new paved road between Fairfax and Warrenton that connected to the Little River Turnpike (Reeves 2000:13). The road was improved in 1823-1825, including the construction of a new stone bridge across Bull Run.

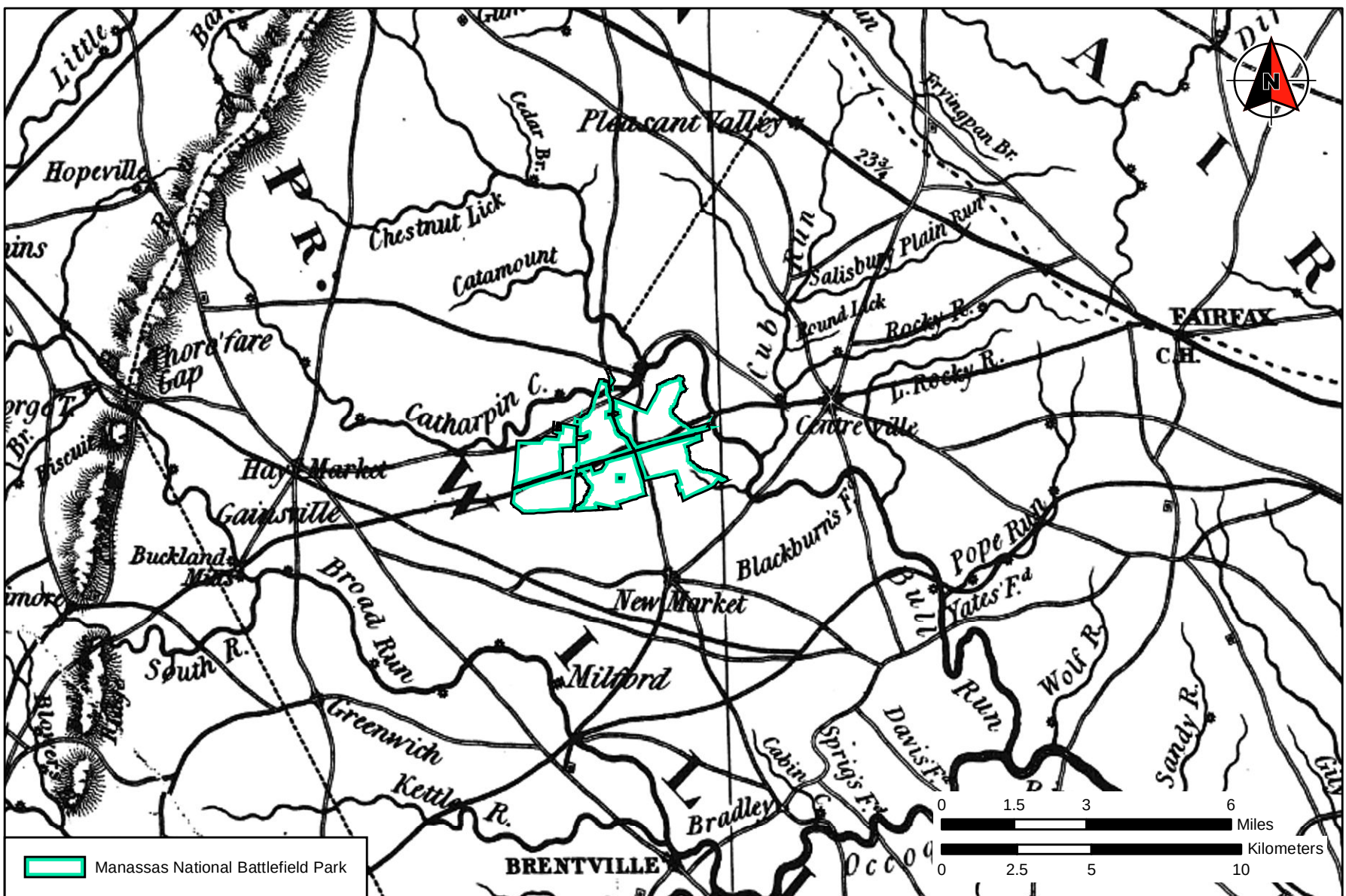


FIGURE 34: Prince William County and the Manassas Battlefield Mapped in 1826 (Boye 1826)

Traffic along these roads provided residents of the park with business opportunities (Reeves 2000:13-14). The roadways were used for herding livestock, transportation of agricultural goods via wagon, and transportation of people via stagecoach, in addition to postal service. The drovers herding livestock stopped at drover taverns with wagon stands. James Robinson, the free black proprietor of the Robinson House, operated a drover tavern on the east side of the park intersection (Parsons 2001). Wagon stands provided support for those transporting agricultural goods. Mary Clarke operated a wagon stand for over 10 years at this historic intersection, on the Stone House property (Reeves 2000:32-33). Subsequent owners of the Stone House, the Matthew (1850-1866) and Starbuck (1866-1870) families, all ran transportation support businesses serving the travelers on these roads.

Taverns were the most lucrative of these roadside enterprises. Tavern operators required a license correlated to their “good standing” in the community and an account of character and suitability to host travelers. John Dogan, of the Dogan House, was a local tavern operator. Tavern keepers had to convince the county court that they were not a menace to the community; the order granting Dogan’s license noted, “the said John D. Dogan is a man of good character and not addicted to drunkenness or gambling” (Reeves 2000:32).

Licensed taverns provided meals to travelers and also sometimes overnight hospitality. They also became social hubs for the community and places to hear local and regional news. Tavern operators of more means could make deals with stagecoach companies to serve as way stations, providing teams of horses for the next leg of the trip and other support (Reeves 2000:14). By 1827 two stage coaches a week were running between Alexandria and the Orange County courthouse. Inland inhabitants now had roads over which they could transport their crops to urban markets and procure the manufactured goods they had come to need. The community known as Gainesville originated as a stage stop on the Alexandria-Warrenton Turnpike (Galke 1992:23; Works Progress Administration [WPA] 1941:71, 167). The Alexandria-Warrenton Turnpike was in full operation by 1828.

In 1850 the General Assembly chartered the interconnected Manassas Gap Railroad Company and the Orange and Alexandria Railroad (Figure 35). The introduction of the railroad provided another important mode of transportation to those who lived in Prince William County’s interior. Construction began the following year, and the Manassas Gap Railroad opened in 1852, running between The Plains, Rectortown, and Markham (Blake and Bowden 1999:22; Galke 1992:23; Harrison 1924:588-592). The unfinished railroad within the northwest quadrant of the battlefield began as a response to the monopoly held by the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. Initiated by local farmers with the intent to connect Gainesville to Jones’ Point, thereby bypassing Manassas Junction and the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, it proved too expensive for its backers, who filed for bankruptcy in 1858. The line was abandoned with only the bed constructed. This unassuming railway bed would play a significant role in the Second Battle of Manassas (Hennessy 1985, 1993; McGarry 1982:63).

Agricultural practices continued to evolve in the nineteenth century, using a combination of traditional European methods, such as crop rotation and manuring, with new technologies. Slavery persisted in Virginia, despite the founding fathers’ ambivalence about this “peculiar institution.” In 1831 Nat Turner led a slave revolt in Southampton County. After it was suppressed, the General Assembly passed punitive laws pertaining to slaves and free blacks in an attempt to prevent any



FIGURE 35: Virginia's Railroads in 1852, Showing Manassas Junction (Vaisz 1852)

further uprisings, and there was “a general hardening of southern public opinion in favor of retaining the institution” (Virginia Department of Historic Resources [DHR] 2001:111). This situation was exacerbated in October 1859 by John Brown’s raid at Harpers Ferry, which was intended to spark a slave revolt. Even the free blacks of the Robinson family experienced animosity from area slave owners.

B. NEW PLANTATIONS

1. *Old Families and New Manors*

Although some older plantations declined in the 1800s, including Pittsylvania, Virginia’s rural economy remained vibrant enough that many new ones were also founded. This included Portici in the southeastern part of the park, where the Ball family constructed a large house around 1820 (Figure 36). This property grew from 742 acres at that time to more than 1,000 acres by the eve of the Civil War. Archeology carried out at the house in the 1980s exposed the house foundations and recovered several thousand artifacts (Figure 37). Besides the main house, the archeologists also identified two small buildings that were probably quarters for some of the 50 people enslaved on the plantation (Parker and Hernigle 1990a). The Portici house burned during the Civil War.

2. *Hazel Plain*

The grandest of the new, nineteenth-century plantations in the park was Hazel Plain, established in 1812 by Bernard Hooe. Today the site is often called Chinn Ridge or the Chinn House, after the occupants of the house during the Civil War. The site is in the southwestern section of the park (see Figure 2). The mansion was situated on the highest point of Chinn Ridge, placed so that its view down the valley of Chinn Branch was unimpaired. It was surrounded by a carefully designed landscape, with vistas to its various outbuildings. The designed landscape includes tree-lined terraces and mature cedars organized in deliberate aesthetic fashion. Historic outbuildings included a carriage house, stables, and a cluster of approximately six slave quarters (McGarry 1982:54-55). The building fell into disrepair and was razed by the NPS in 1950, leaving only the stone foundation (Figure 38).

Hazel Plain is on land that was part of Councillor Carter’s Lower Bull Run Tract. Bernard Hooe purchased the land from Councillor Carter in 1809 and constructed the house by 1815. Hazel Plain was assessed at \$4,000 in 1818, making it as valuable as the Carters’ Pittsylvania plantation (Galke 1992:50). The inventory of Hooe’s estate indicates that his home was well furnished and reflected his affluence and cultured tastes. Among his assets were two shares in the Warrenton-Alexandria Turnpike, which touched the northern border of Brownsville, his 490-acre estate adjacent to Hazel Plain west of Young’s Branch. The estate remained in the Hooe family until 1836. Benjamin Chinn purchased it in 1853 and it remained his property through 1871. “Chinn Ridge” was a landmark in both battles.

According to McGarry (1982), nowhere else in the park was landscaping done on a comparable scale, except at possibly at Pittsylvania, where it is obscured by vegetation. When Bernard Hooe built Hazel Plain, he modified the existing hilltop, which was naturally flat, into a formal organized space, each quarter possessing certain aesthetic and functional values (Figure 39). This formal



FIGURE 36: Portici in 1862, Facing North (NPS)



FIGURE 37: Overhead View of the Portici Foundations Exposed During Excavation (NPS-NCR-RAP n.d.)



FIGURE 38: Chinn House or Hazel Plain, ca. 1940 (HABS 1933b)

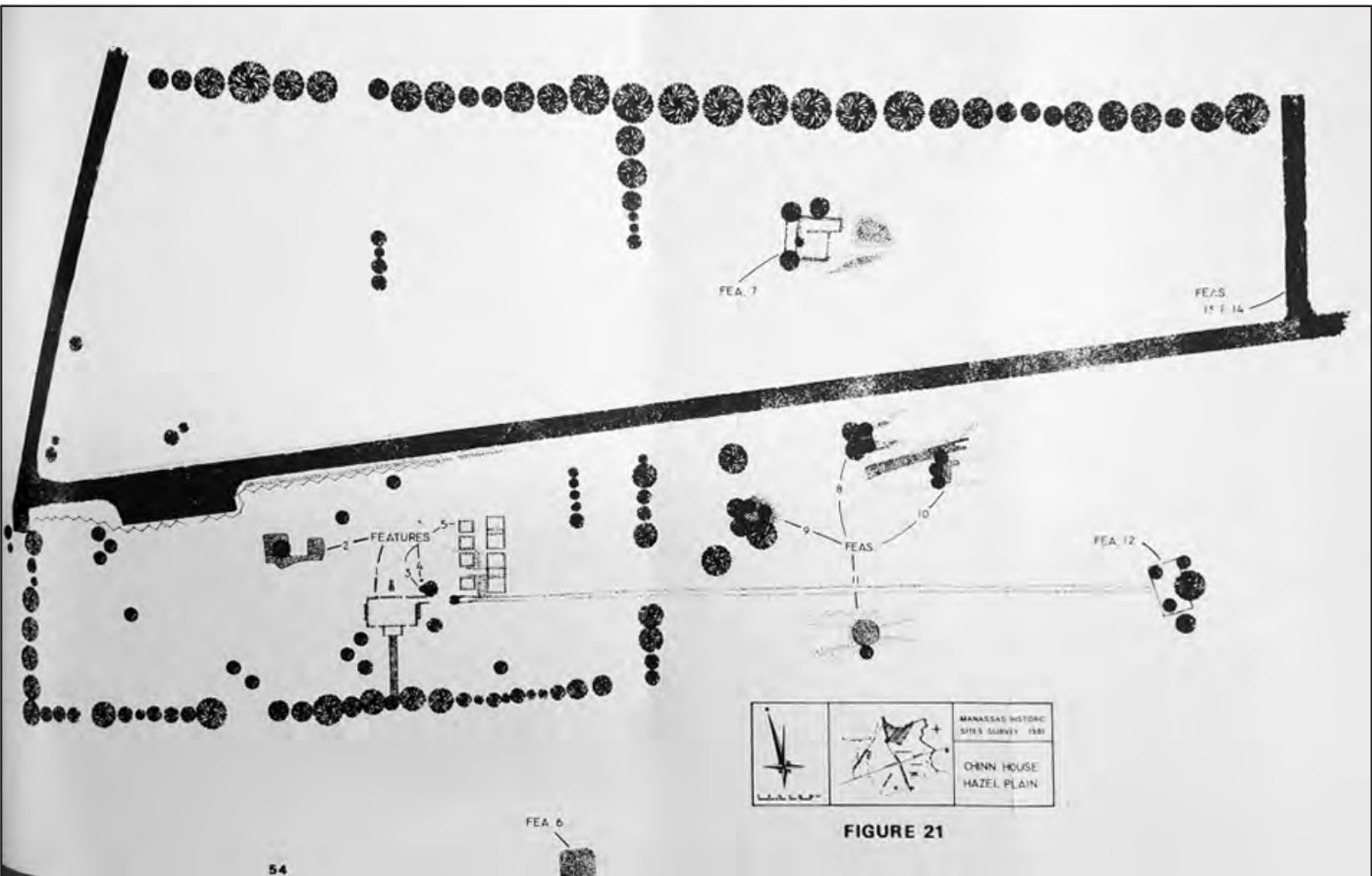


FIGURE 39: McGarry's Plan of Hazel Plain (McGarry 1982)

living area arrangement is the most striking aspect of the site and certainly a noteworthy cultural feature (McGarry 1982:55).

Hazel Plain was one of the first sites at Manassas to receive the attentions of archeologists, as Civilian Conservation Corps workers did some digging on the Carriage House in the 1930s. NPS archeologist Thomas McGarry explored the site in 1981, and he recorded a number of features (Table 6).

TABLE 6: FEATURES IDENTIFIED AT THE CHINN HOUSE (SITE 44PW0008) DURING 1981 SURVEY

NO.	NAME	DESCRIPTION
1	Chinn House	The house site measured approximately 30x47 feet.
2	Carriage House	Location becomes evident by paving stones exposed on the surface. The building has two parts connected by what appears to be a walkway. The larger portion measures 22x28 feet, the smaller 15x16 feet, the whole a maximum of 35x55 feet. It is entirely stone paved.
3	Cistern	A domed, brick cistern adjacent to Feature 4.
4	Well	Well that still features a turn-of-the-century pump.
5	Building	Complex, subdivided into eight units that may indicate a large building rather than two smaller buildings. Specific functions for these buildings could not be determined; possibilities include servants' quarters, storage buildings, or a summer kitchen.
6	Stone Rubble	"Should not exist." Its location, about 280 feet SE of the house, does not fit with presumed symmetry of plantation—should not be in front of the house. Feature measures roughly 35 feet square. A building is shown in this location on the original Harris (1861) map, but not on the published copy (1861b) or the other historical maps.
7	Stables	This was a large building constructed in a semi-subterranean fashion with the ground floor excavated into the hill. The maximum depth of the excavation is more than 6 feet. The lower portion was probably entered from the east and the upper portion from the west. Stone foundations are visible on the surface on the west end and in the interior, and can also be probed along the north and south sides. Two ramps, one on the north and another on the south sides, approach the east end.
8	Ice House/ Springhouse Remains	Building is roughly 19 feet square; difficult to determine accurately as it is heavily overgrown with trees and thick brush.
9	Root cellar	Round, about 27 feet in diameter, difficult to judge accurately owing to the thick understory on the site. Uphill, west of Feature 8 near the gardens, therefore is interpreted as a root cellar.
10	Check dam	SE of Feature 8. On the south side of an elevated road separating the two features. The feature sits in an obvious drain and has a well-defined swale leading from it. It is a pile of rocks meant to reduce the velocity of water runoff.
11	Check dam	Similar to Feature 10.
12	Cemetery	Stones have been vandalized or stolen; none are left.
13	Chinn spring	NE corner of the intersection of the park roads about 1,000 feet NE of the mansion.
14	Slave Cemetery?	In a forest about 200 feet NE of Chinn Spring. The understory is very heavy here and very little can be seen. It is supposedly the slave cemetery of the plantation, although there is no confirmation of this report.

McGarry 1982:55-60

WSP archeologists visited the site during the current study and carried out a shovel testing survey. They re-identified many of the features first found by McGarry (Figure 40). At Feature 6, the stone rubble that McGarry thought should not have been in the middle of the splendid view from the house, testing identified the stone foundations of a substantial building (Figure 41). Rather few artifacts were found, showing that the yard around the house was kept clean of trash. Those that were found dated mostly to the 1810 to 1860 period (Figure 42).



FIGURE 40: Features 3 and 4, Well and Cistern at Hazel Plain



FIGURE 41: Stone Wall of Feature 6 at Hazel Plain

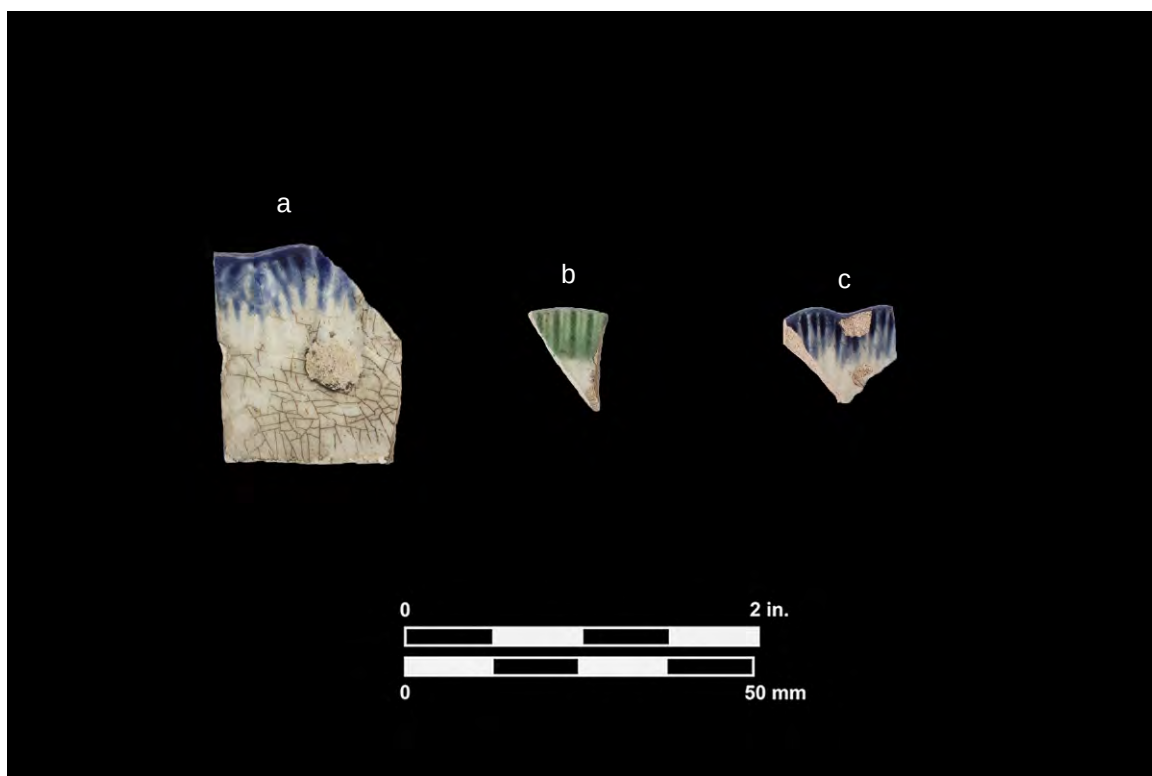


FIGURE 42: Pearlware from Hazel Plain

- a) Pearlware with blue shell-edge decoration (MANA 72258)
- b) Pearlware with green shell-edge decoration (MANA 72259)
- c) Pearlware with blue shell-edge decoration (MANA 72304)

C. NEW FARMS

As the great estates were sold off to middling farmers, many new homes were built across the Piedmont in the 1800 to 1860 period. One of the new farms established in the park in the nineteenth century, Brawner Farm, was discussed in Chapter II Others including Spring Hill/Henry House, Brownsville, Meadowville, Avon, and the Thornberry House.

1. *The Henry House*

The original Henry House, known as Spring Hill, was built around 1812, possibly by Thomas King (McGarry 1982:7). Judging from historical sketches and photographs, the original dwelling was a one-story wood-framed structure that had a side-gabled roof and a brick wall chimney (Figure 43). The house was largely destroyed during First Manassas, which claimed the life of Judith Carter Henry, its inhabitant and said to be the first civilian casualty of the war (McGarry 1982:13).

a. *Property History*

The Henry House was located on Henry Hill in the Lower Bull Run Tract. The individuals associated with the early tenancy of the farm were Joseph Brown and George and John King (father and son). There is a record of John King's purchase of two enslaved Africans in 1801, indicating that he may have been living on the farm at that time. Elizabeth Carter owned and occupied the farm from as early as 1812 until her death in 1822.

By the early nineteenth century, when Elizabeth Carter moved to Spring Hill Farm from her father's Pittsylvania Plantation, the large tracts of land held by the Carter family had been divided into smaller tracts operated as both plantation and leased farms. As was customary for operations of this size, Elizabeth Carter's land was worked by enslaved people; she enslaved 23 people at the time of her death (Beasley 2000; PWCWB L:510-513).

In 1822 the deed to Spring Hill Farm was conveyed to Elizabeth Carter's sister and brother-in-law, Judith and Isaac Henry. The Henry family moved to Spring Hill Farm around 1825. Elizabeth Carter's estate debts were still pending upon Isaac Henry's death in 1829, and Judith Henry would not gain a free and clear title to Spring Hill until 1836, when the property was divided and sold. Judith Henry purchased 100 acres, including the house. Small-scale farming continued at Spring Hill Farm during the Henry occupancy (Hernigle 1991:9).

The Henry family constructed the current house ca. 1870. On June 10, 1865, one of the earliest war memorials, the Bull Run Monument, was erected on the site (Hernigle 1991:9; Parsons and Ravenhorst 2003:92).

b. *Archeological Research*

The post-Civil War Henry house has been extensively restored. As at Brawner Farm, this work was preceded by archeological study. A small dig done in 1991 prior to the installation of new wayside exhibits (Hernigle 1991) investigated two semicircular areas measuring 18 square yards in total. Artifacts recovered include a colonoware pipe bowl fragment and other pieces of ceramic and glass, Civil War militaria, a 1794 Liberty Head penny, and a Halifax projectile point.

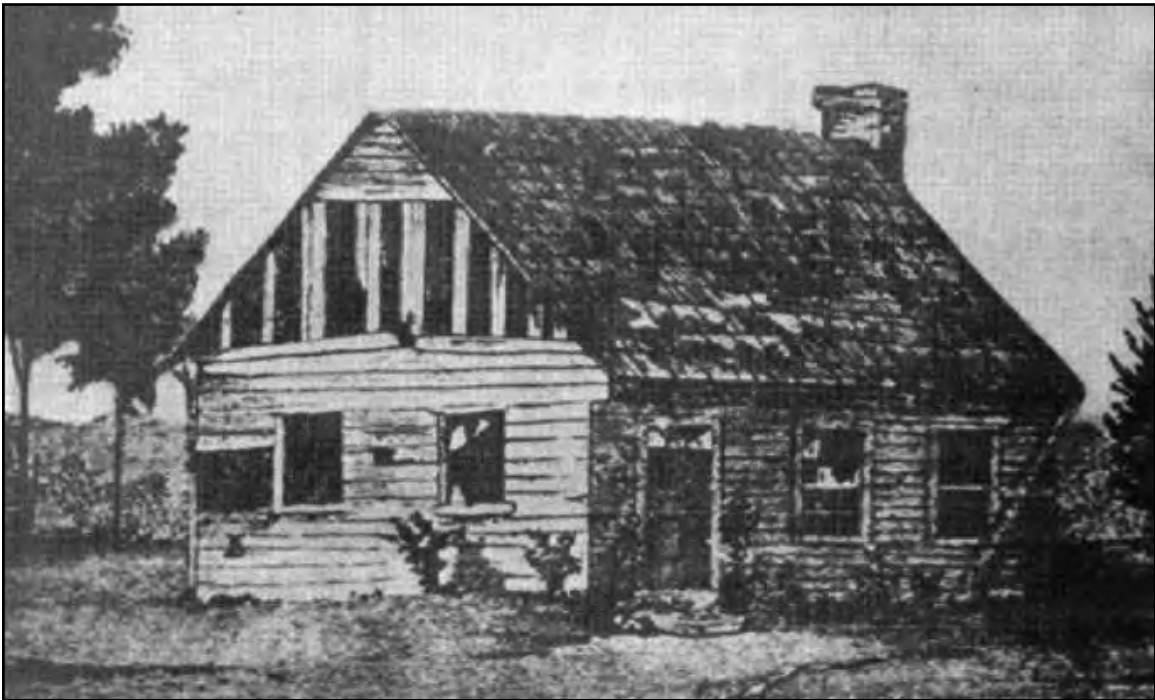


FIGURE 43: Drawing of Henry House in 1861 (Parsons and Ravenhorst 2003)

One of the excavated areas contained a stone foundation that turned out to be part of the original house.

In 2001 NPS archeologist Robert Sonderman carried out excavations around the foundations of the Henry House in advance of emergency stabilization (Parsons and Ravenhorst 2003). Sonderman excavated eight 2x2-foot test units against the inside wall of the foundations and four test units outside the foundation, two of them 3x3 feet and two 2x4 feet. Few features were found, and no clear evidence of the earlier house was identified.

Substantial excavations were carried out for the Henry House in 2002, prior to its restoration (Parsons and Ravenhorst 2003). Eleven test units were dug with a total area of 167 square feet (Figure 44). Several of the units were placed to further explore the sandstone foundation first exposed in 1991. The foundation proved to be essentially complete, measuring 28x30 feet. This was identified as the remnants of the antebellum dwelling at Spring Hill Farm. The dimensions of the house are more substantial than the typical two-room dwelling of that time, but then the Carters were not typical small farmers. Along with a solid southwest corner, traces of the southeast and northeast corner are recorded. In addition, sections of the south and east foundation walls remain.

The base of a large Triassic sandstone chimney was located on the north elevation of the structure. Based on Civil War-era photographs, this chimney appears to have had a double fireplace on the main floor, heating both the east and west rooms of a double-cell, hall and chamber house. The wartime sketches featuring the Henry House support the premise that the house type was a one-and-one-half story two-room hall-chamber plan. The foundations located at the Henry House Site represent a house that had three distinct periods of occupation.

The large quantity as well as the distribution of colonoware ceramics on the site triggered a more in-depth analysis (Figure 45). The determination of the minimum number of unique colonoware vessels was performed through the process of sorting, mending, and comparison of sherds, based on distinctive attributes. The attributes recorded provide information about the form and function of these vessels, how they were made, and what kinds of decisions the potter may have made concerning style and based on technological knowledge. Ten vessels, including shallow bowls, small bowls, large bowls, and deep bowls, and one tobacco pipe, were identified in this analysis. At the Henry House Site the distribution of sherds indicated minimal post-depositional movement. There were no crossmends across proveniences. Almost all of the colonoware was collected from the area around the south foundation wall of the Spring Hill farmhouse.

Colonoware is well known in the South, but it is much more common in sites from the eighteenth century than in places, like the Henry House, that were not occupied until after 1810. Colonoware has been found at other sites in the park with similar dates, including Brawner Farm. It seems that while colonoware was replaced by professionally made, European-style pottery in most places, someone at Manassas kept making it down into the 1840s at least. Despite extensive searching, the workshop of these potters has not been found.

2. Avon

One interesting development of the 1840s and 1850s was the migration to northern Virginia of hundreds of farmers from the Northeast. So many settled in eastern Fairfax County that it was

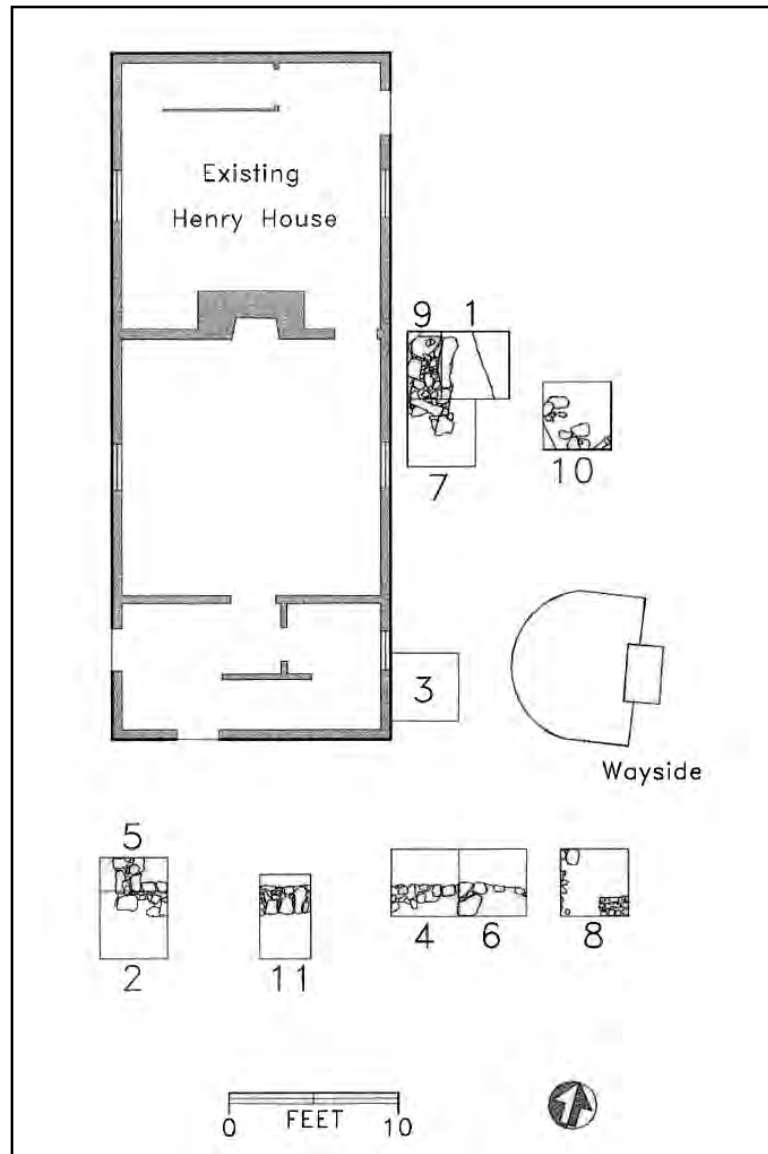


FIGURE 44: Plan of the 2003 Excavations at Henry House, Showing Foundations of the Earlier House (Parsons and Ravenhorst 2003)



FIGURE 45: Colonoware from Henry House Site (Parsons and Ravenhorst 2003)

sometimes referred to as the Jersey Country (Harrison 1924). With land in the Northeast in such short supply, these farming families thought they might be able to earn a profit from exhausted and therefore cheap land in eastern Virginia using advanced methods such as the application of fertilizer and marl. One of these families, the Van Pelts, settled in 1851 on the area that would become part of the Manassas battlefield. Some of these families ended up supporting the North during the Civil War, some the South. Luther Lindsley, who moved in 1852 to what later became Prince William Forest Park, fought for the Confederacy, and two of the Van Pelt sons fought for the Union (Bedell 2004; McGarry 1982).

One Civil War photograph shows the Van Pelt House (Figure 46). Thomas McGarry visited the site in 1981, and he prepared a map of the visible features (Figure 47). The L-shaped sandstone foundations of the house revealed that it was built in sections. The older, west section measured 20.5x19 feet, with a full basement. These foundations rose as high as a foot above the ground surface. The east half measured 24.5x19 feet, without a cellar; taking these two sections together, the main block of the house measured 45x19 feet. The house was flanked by two chimneys. The one in the older part of the house was a massive, traditional construction 7 feet across; the one in the east addition was small, likely for a stove. The L-addition was behind the west section and it measured about 19x17 feet.

Archeologists explored the site during the current project. They re-identified all of the features previously mapped during the earlier study. Portions of the stone foundation walls of the barn were uncovered, and the entire foundation was probed and mapped. The overall dimensions of the barn was determined to be 26.5 feet north-south by 36 to 37 feet east-west. According to the park, the old foundations of the house were pushed into the cellar hole as a safety measure in the later 1980s, at the same time that the concrete cap was placed over the well. However, testing showed that below the surface, the cellar hole and at least parts of the foundations are still present.

The artifacts recovered are a perfectly usual assortment for a nineteenth-century farm; however, a few of the objects appear to be older than the documented occupation of Avon, ca. 1850 to 1930. Pearlware (1775-1840) is commonly found on sites of the 1850s, but the 16 sherds of pearlware recovered make up 41 percent of the refined ceramics on the site. This seems high for a site at which the occupation period barely overlaps with pearlware's period of use. Glazed coarse red earthenware, of which seven sherds were found at the Van Pelt House, is also not common on Virginia sites after 1850. It is possible the artifacts represent an earlier occupation at this location when it was part of Pittsylvania Plantation. The older artifacts are concentrated around the house, so that was likely center of any earlier occupation. This supports the assertion of the WPA (1941) document that a house already stood here by 1851. However, that source also states that this house was "one of the oldest in the county" and that does not match the artifacts recovered, which do not suggest occupation before the 1810s.

3. *The Robinson House*

a. *Property History*

The Robinson family opens an interesting window on antebellum black-white relations of the region. Born free, with a "mulatto" complexion, James Robinson was the son of an enslaver father and his enslaved mistress. Family tradition records that his family was Landon Carter, Jr. of



FIGURE 46: The Van Pelt House from the Stone Bridge, Facing Northwest, Undated but Likely 1862 (NPS)

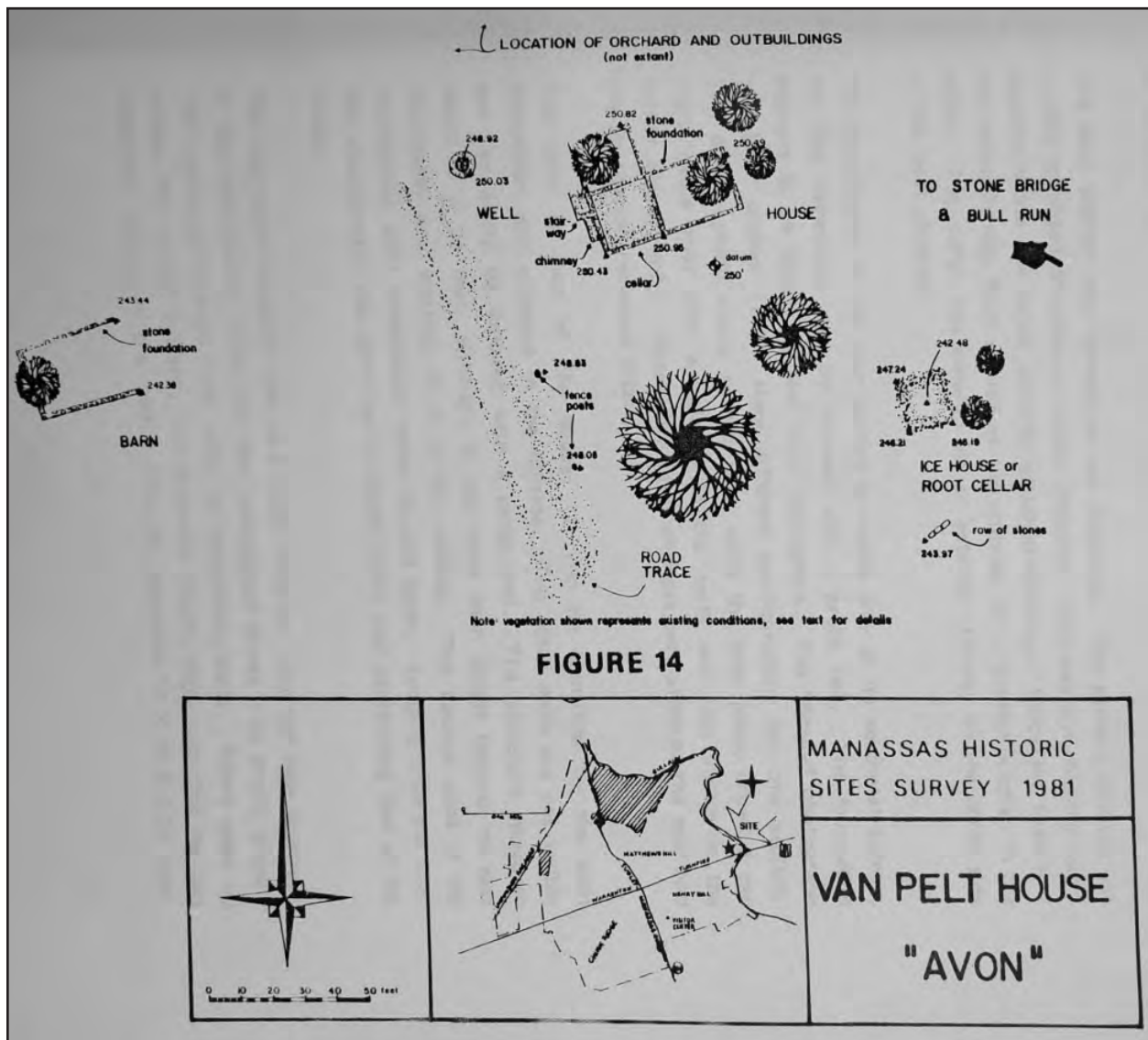


FIGURE 47: Plan of Van Pelt House in 1981 (McGarry 1982)

Pittsylvania, but some historians suspect his father was actually John Lee. At the age of 24, Robinson presented himself before William Moss, the County Court of Fairfax, to file “his registration from Philip D. Dawe Clerk of the County Court of Prince William from which it appears that he was born free in aforesaid County of Prince William. Whereupon at the request of the said James Robinson I have caused him to be registered in my office pursuant to Law. Given under my hand this 12 day of February 1825” (Parsons 2001:35). Although legally free, Robinson had worked in an indentured capacity to support himself until he came of age. He bought land and settled near his family after purchasing 170 acres from John Lee on August 5, 1840, for \$484.94 (Parsons 2001:33). Among the local landowners, it was agreed that “Robinson appears to have had a good business relationship with his neighbors” (Parsons 2001:43). He arranged for his daughter to work for John D. Dogan, proprietor of Rosefield, and Alfred Ball, proprietor of Portici Plantation with his wife Sarah Carter. He also contracted an additional agricultural lease with E.L. and Landon Carter II. All of this happened despite laws that supposedly forbade free blacks to remain in the state after their manumission.

Tax records indicate that no buildings stood on James Robinson’s property until around 1848, which is probably when Robinson built his house. According to the U.S. Census (1840), Robinson was the only member of his household in 1840, but other records show that by 1847 he already had grandchildren: because his partner was Susan, a slave owned by John Lee, the law did not recognize their relationship. John Lee did recognize it, however, and his 1847 will included the following provisions.

Item 8th I give and bequeath to James Robinson a negroe woman named Sucky and her daughter Henny forever.

Item 9th It is my will and desire that my negroe woman Henny, wife of Nathaniel Harris, shall at the end of twelve months after my death be free, and set at liberty by Executors hereafter named.

Item 10th Jemima, the negroe woman who has been my constant waiter attendant, and servant, in consideration of the extraordinary services by her rendered in my service, is at liberty to live with James Robinson, her father or to go to Washington and also her two children, Dianer and Pendleton as she the same Jemima thinks proper so to do without molestation by my Executors herein after appointed [Parsons 2001:40].

Descendants of the Robinsons believe that “Sucky” was Susan, James Robinson’s wife (Parsons 2001:40).

After being driven from their home during both battles, the Robinsons returned and rebuilt. They made a claim to the U.S. government for war losses and eventually received more than \$1,000. The 1870 agricultural census implies that they had a thriving farm. After James Robinson’s death the property was divided into seven shares for his children. The Robinsons retained ownership of the property into the twentieth century.

b. The House

The original Robinson House was built in the 1840s. It was a one-and-one-half-story side-gabled log cottage with a full-width shed-roof sheltered porch entry (Figure 48); one bay was historically



FIGURE 48: The James Robinson House in 1862 (Barnard 1862a)

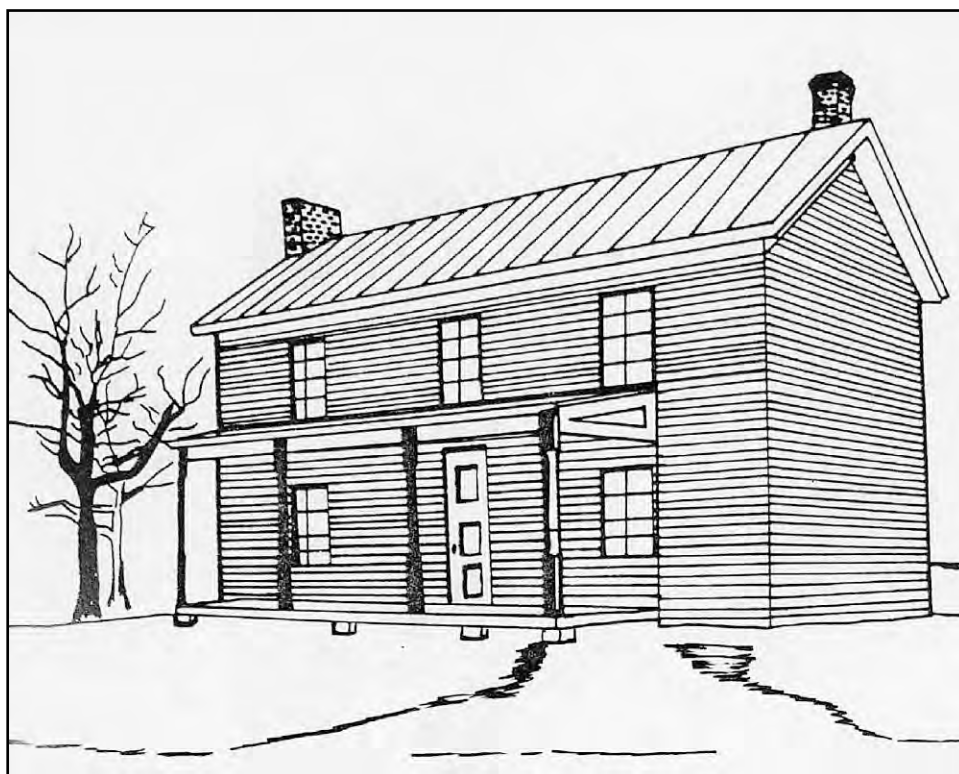


FIGURE 49: Drawing of Robinson House in the Twentieth Century (McGarry 1982)

altered into living space with its own entry. It featured a brick wall chimney. The house survived the war and was later greatly enlarged.

Based on studies of three historical photographs and a 1941 report by architect Frederic H. Fairweather, McGarry (1982) concluded that Robinson House II incorporated Robinson House I. Parsons (2001) inferred that the house was enlarged in the 1870s or 1880s, when a two-story addition was built. The house was remodeled again in 1926, when a new two-story section probably replaced the old cabin. Whether the renovation occurred in one or two episodes, it entailed removal of the original porch and addition of a west one-bay extension. The second story created a new unified structure (Figure 49). This Robinson House II was a two-story frame vernacular structure that sat on a local red sandstone in a roughly coursed rubble pattern. Its wood-framed walls supported a side-gabled roof that featured a brick wall chimney and a brick interior ridge chimney. The three-bay front sheltered porch entry had a shallow shed roof supported by wood columns. The structure was destroyed by arsonists in 1993.

Parsons (2001) thought the wall chimney of Robinson House II (on the east wall of the two-story house) was the original, retained from House I. However, the 1862 photograph, which depicts the south (rear) and east sides of the house, shows the porch on the back of the house and the chimney on the farm lane side—the west side—of the dwelling. This original chimney was located just west of the present foundation, and the wall chimney of Robinson House II was not from the original house. The original Robinson House chimney was on the west side of the house, just west of the present foundation.

c. Archeological Research

McGarry (1982) investigated the Robinson House in the spring of 1981. The site is on the northeast portion of Henry Hill at an elevation of 200 feet. It is surrounded by fields, which are treeless except for fence lines, the slopes of the hill to the east-southeast leading to Young's Branch, and a few scattered trees around the site. The immediate area is flat but soon gives way to rolling hills and lower elevations. The Robinson House Site at that time contained two standing structures, Robinson House II and an associated outbuilding, and seven features (Figure 50; Table 7).

A significant archeological investigation of the Robinson House was carried out in 1995-1996. This study included geophysical survey of the property, oral history interviews with descendants of James Robinson, shovel testing, metal detecting, and test unit excavations. Excavations also located remains of a substantial barn and an ice house. The ice house produced a large assemblage of domestic artifacts dating to the post-Civil War period; minimum vessel analysis of the ceramics showed that at least 176 vessels were represented, including many decorated tea and coffee cups and other refined wares (Parsons 2001).

The archeologists led by Parsons excavated 39 5x5-foot test units around the Robinson House and identified 34 features. Features 6, 12, and 17 were a series of large, flat slabs on the outside of the southwest corner of the Robinson House foundations. They were described as being near ground surface and were identified as a porch floor, or part of a yard feature, such as a patio, associated with the house (Parsons 2001:69, in NPS National Capital Region, Regional Archeology Program 2017:4).

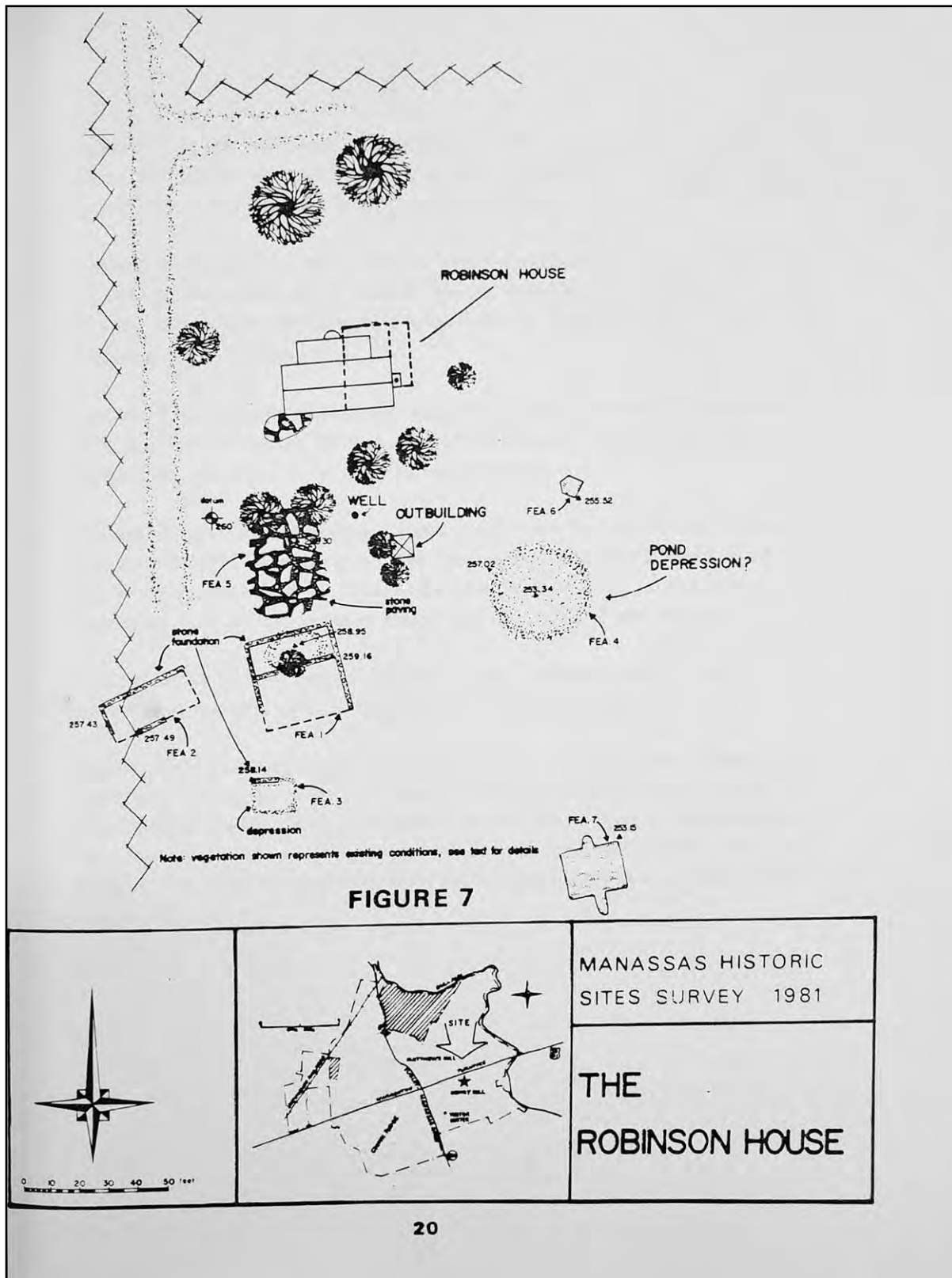


FIGURE 50: Plan of Robinson House Site in 1981 (McGarry 1982)

TABLE 7: FEATURES IDENTIFIED AT ROBINSON HOUSE
 (SITE 44PW0288) DURING 1981 SURVEY

NO.	NAME	DESCRIPTION
1	Outbuilding	It is easily identified by a depression in which a tree grows, and has several sections of exposed foundation. The remainder of the foundation was easily located by probing, except in the center of the depression where the stones probably had been displaced. The foundation measures 30x32 feet.
2	Wall	20 feet west of Feature 1, 15x32 feet. Its stone foundation can still be seen or felt by probing. Today the western two-thirds is bisected by a split rail fence.
3	Outbuilding	South of the house; a row of stones marks the north wall, with a shallow depression defining the remainder of the building. The feature measures 12x15 feet.
4	Large Depression	Large depression about 34 feet in diameter and over 3.5 feet in depth, 55 feet east of the house. A pond is hypothesized.
5	Stone paving	North side of Feature 1. It covers the general area bordering on the feature between the present road and the existing outbuilding. There are also remnants of paving around the southwest door of the present house and west side of the building.
6	Depression	Shallow horseshoe shaped depression measuring 12 feet at its widest and 10 feet in length. There is no proposed interpretation for this feature.
7	Grassy area	A pentagonal shaped, lush, grassy area. There is no explanation for this either, but a privy is hypothesized
8	Potential stable	100 feet southeast of the house; it is a large grassy area measuring 20x16 feet. It has a different growth pattern than the surrounding areas. The differential growth distinction is augmented by two projections of a similar type of growth from the north and south sides. The location and size seem to be appropriate for a small stable.

McGarry 1982:21-22

During the excavations, more than 12,000 artifacts were recovered, representing the whole span of the site's occupation. Minimum vessel analysis of the collection from an ice house used as a trash dump toward the end of the occupation concluded that at least 176 ceramic vessels and 384 glass vessels were represented. The ceramics included full table settings of good dishes, with plates, bowls, teacups, saucers, pitchers, gravy boats, platters, and serving dishes. Many of the glass vessels were jars for home canning. On the whole the collection was what one would expect from any prosperous farm family of the period.

4. Other Battlefield Houses

One way that the Civil War has proved useful to historians is that it led photographers to document hundreds of very ordinary houses because they happened to be in the path of armies. Otherwise, nobody much cared to use a photographic plate to record an image of a farm just like thousands of others, which means that we have very few photographs documenting how ordinary people lived and worked in the 1800s. Other houses on the battlefield for which good photographs survive are the Matthews House (Figure 51) and the Thornberry House (Figure 52).



FIGURE 51: Matthews House in a Civil War Photo (NPS)



FIGURE 52: Thornberry House in 1862 (Reeves 1998a)

a. Matthews House

The Matthews House property was part of Landon Carter, Jr.'s Pittsylvania Plantation and passed to Landon's son Wormley Carter. Wormley's estate was divided after his death in 1815, and the location of the Matthews House appears to have been part of a 125-acre parcel that passed to Ottway Carter (Joseph 1996:3-6). What happened after that is obscure. By 1848 the property belonged to Henry P. Matthew, but no deed for his purchase has been found. In 1850 Matthew purchased 93 additional acres that included the Stone House, which was operated as a tavern. Matthew sold the Stone House property in 1865 and bought 94 acres north of his house from the Carters.

The 1850 agricultural census records that Henry P. Matthew owned 250 acres of land, 200 improved and 50 in woodland. Matthew raised potatoes, buckwheat, hay, wool, and hops. Either there is some kind of error in the census, or Matthew ran a strange farm, because no wheat or corn is mentioned. Wheat and corn are both listed in the 1860 agricultural census, so most likely the 1850 entry is mistaken and Matthews practiced the same sort of mixed-grain agriculture as his neighbors (U.S. Census 1850, 1860).

The Matthews family struggled after the war. Their property shrank to 124 acres, probably because they had to sell off much of it. In 1872 their farm was divided between two brothers, Carson and Martin. The old Matthews House became part of a 39-acre parcel owned by Carson, while Martin built a new house on the other 84 acres. With such a small farm, Carson's family no doubt had trouble making ends meet, so the house probably continued to decline. The house was mapped for the last time in 1904.

The only previous archeological study of the Matthews House was the surface inspection by McGarry (1982). The only features he noted were foundations of the house, barn, an unidentified outbuilding, and a well (Figure 53). Archeologists revisited the Matthews House during the current project. During a surface inspection of the site, the remains of a well or icehouse were relocated as well as the foundation of the house. The ruins of two other former structures were also identified, including a stone foundation of a 10x7-foot outbuilding and the remnant foundation of a possible smaller outbuilding. The study also included the excavation of shovel tests in a grid across the site. The artifacts recovered from the Matthews House represented a fairly typical assemblage for a small farm, but much of the material probably dates to the twentieth century. Most of the bottle glass was machine-made (post 1905), and some pieces of brightly colored pressed or machine-made tableware are more typical of the 1920s than earlier periods. Judging from this material, the house was probably occupied until the Depression of the 1930s, when many rural residences in Northern Virginia were abandoned.

b. The Thornberry House

The Thornberry House, sometimes called the Sudley Post Office, was built around 1843 as the residence of a wheelwright who worked in a nearby shop (which was part of the commercial complex associated with Sudley Mill). Sudley Mill was a custom mill built by the Carter family, but they sold the property in 1835 and it went through several other owners. By 1846 the shop and house were occupied by the family of John Thornberry, a wheelwright born around 1821. The Thornberry family purchased the house and 4 acres of land in 1860. The house was probably used to house wounded Union soldiers during First Manassas.

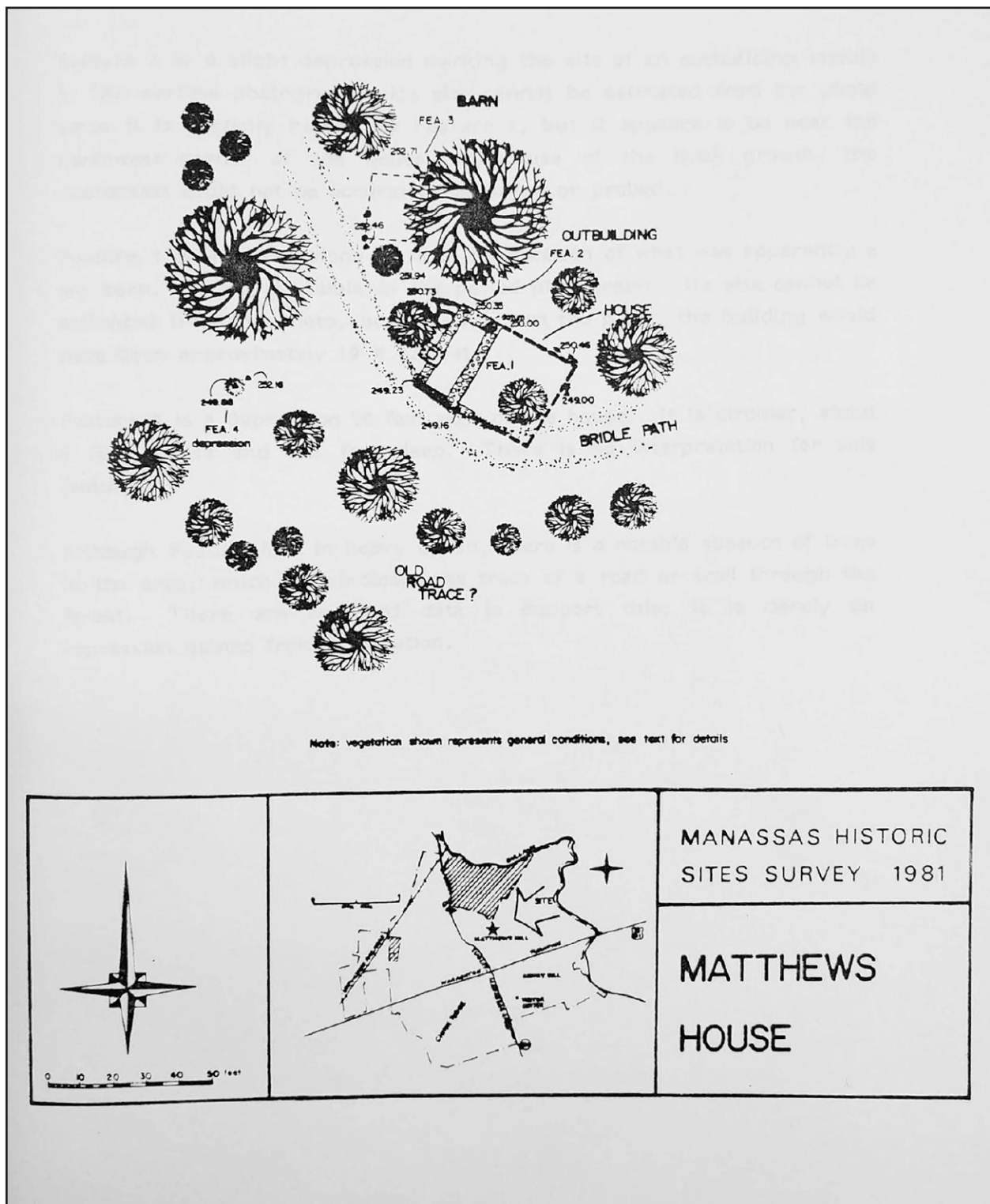


FIGURE 53: Plan of the Matthews House Site in 1981 (McGarry 1982)

Around 1868, Carson and Elizabeth Matthews purchased the property from the Thornberrys; it was around that time that the house became the Sudley Post Office. Carson Matthews died in 1885 but Elizabeth continued to operate the Post Office until her death in 1904. After 1904 Elizabeth's heirs leased the property to tenants; locals recalled that the tenants in the 1910s and 1920s were the African American Davis family. The property was purchased by C.G. Perry in 1935, and then sold to Velma K. Woodward in 1938. Both Woodward and Perry made improvements to the property. The NPS acquired the property in 1966.

In 1997 an archeological investigation was conducted in association with emergency stabilization of the structure (Reeves 1998a) (Figure 54). The resources identified included an early twentieth-century sheet midden located on the east side of the structure, the remains of a kitchen and associated root cellar, and a boiling stand. Only the midden was within the area impacted by the stabilization; the archeologists recovered a 30 percent sample of this deposit in the area where ground-disturbing activities were to take place. The root cellar was also investigated, and 20 percent was excavated.

Fifteen feet to the east of the northern portion of the structure, archeologists identified a boiling stand associated with the Davis household. This feature was completely excavated and recorded. A geophysical survey using GPR radar and metal detectors located an earlier privy hole and an area relating to John Thornberry's wheelwright activities. Two possible outbuilding locations were identified during metal detecting of the property.

Thousands of artifacts were recovered, mostly dating to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They include glass, ceramics, animal bones, clothing-related artifacts such as buttons, clay tobacco pipes, and toys such as marbles and fragments of a tiny tea set. Several precontact artifacts were also found. These included two Late Archaic quartz Halifax points from a concentration 250 feet southwest of the house and two rhyolite points, one a Late Woodland triangle and one side-notched point, which were recovered from units near the house. A number of greenstone flakes were found, possibly from the manufacture of greenstone axes, a feature of the Halifax culture.

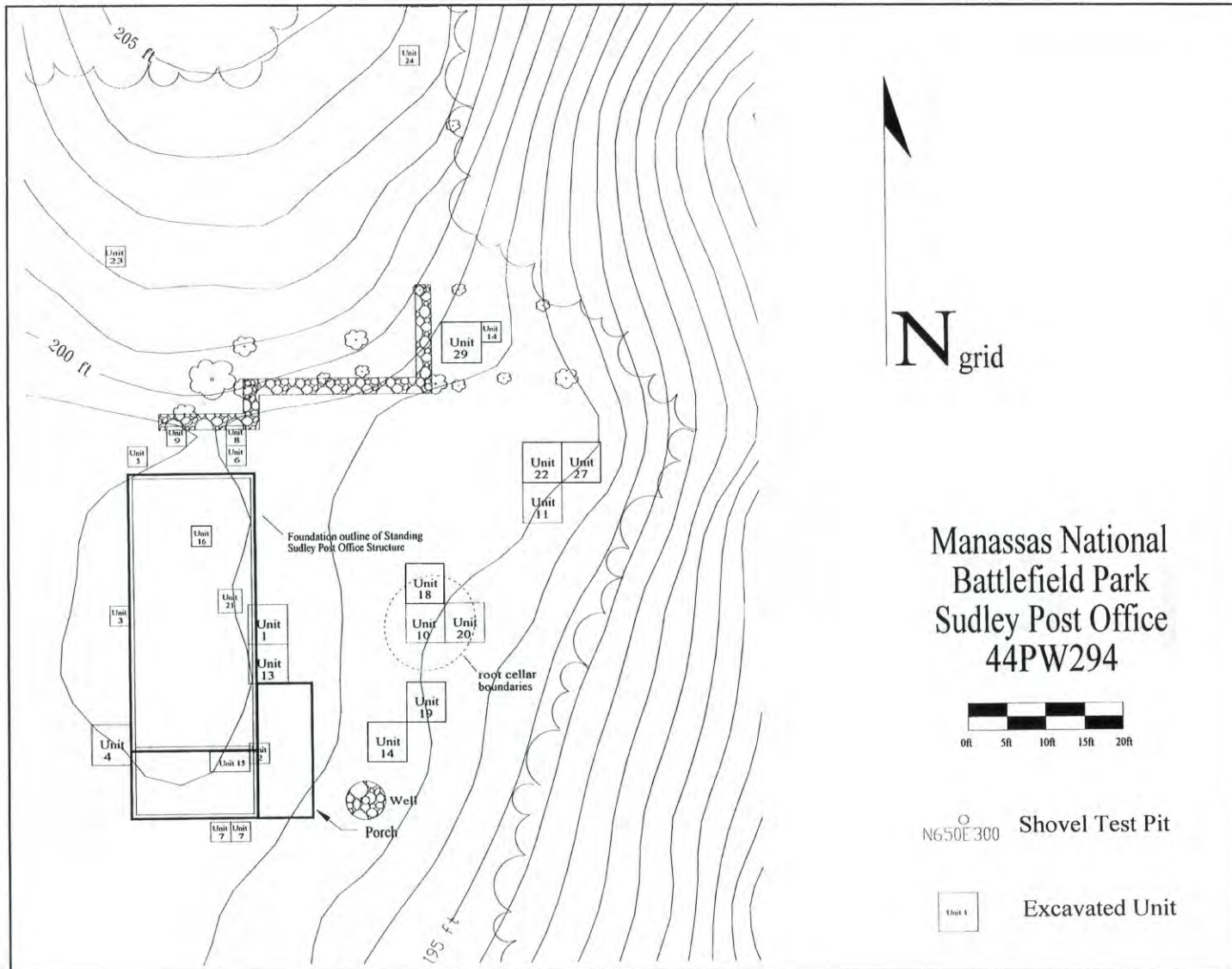


FIGURE 54: Plan of Archeological Testing at the Thornberry House Site (Reeves 1998a)

VI. THE CIVIL WAR

A. FIRST MANASSAS: THE FIRST GREAT AND TERRIBLE BATTLE

As the Civil War got under way in 1861, the small railroad junction town of Manassas suddenly emerged as a place of great strategic significance. The Confederates chose it as the best place from which to block a Federal advance toward Richmond, since it was centrally placed and connected by rail to both the Shenandoah Valley and the Confederate capital.

1. *On to Richmond*

First Manassas was the first of the war's great, bloody battles, fought at a time when many people still thought the war would end in a few weeks. The Northern press and many Republicans in Congress demanded an advance on Richmond, and Lincoln urged Brig. Gen. Irvin McDowell to take his force of volunteers (seasoned with a few U.S. regulars) into the field. McDowell pleaded that his men were not ready, but Lincoln would not be put off: "You are green, it is true; but they are green, also; you are green alike."

In July 1861 McDowell reluctantly prepared his men to advance.

Both the Union and the Confederacy had two armies in northern Virginia. McDowell commanded 35,000 U.S. troops south of Washington, and Maj. Gen. Robert Patterson had 18,000 men in the Shenandoah Valley. Facing them, the Confederates had about 22,000 men under Brig. Gen. P.G.T. Beauregard at Manassas and 11,000 under Brig. Gen. Joseph Johnston in the Valley. McDowell's plan required Patterson to act aggressively enough to keep Johnston's troops occupied in the Valley so the Confederates could not combine their forces against him.

McDowell's army, the largest assembled to date on the North American continent, left its camps near Washington on July 16. Beauregard was well informed of their movements by his own scouts and Confederate spies in Washington. On July 18 Beauregard, satisfied that he was about to be attacked, sent a message to Johnston asking for reinforcements. Patterson had conspicuously failed to put any pressure on Johnston, so Johnston began moving all of his infantry toward Manassas. Three of Johnston's five brigades were with the army in Manassas before fighting got under way in earnest, and they were crucial in the battle.

The Union army reached Centreville on July 18. McDowell reconnoitered and began to plan his attack. He decided to flank the Confederate position on Bull Run to the right, sending one division toward the Stone Bridge and two northward to cross Bull Run (at Sudley Ford) and Catharpin Run (at Sudley Springs Ford). Meanwhile Beauregard, sensing hesitation in the Union army, thought he might surprise them with a flanking attack of his own. He planned to attack across Mitchell's, Blackburn's, and McLean's fords into the Union left (Figure 55).

2. *Matthews Hill: The Morning Phase*

McDowell set a plan in motion at 2:00 A.M. on July 21, sending the divisions of Hunter and Heintzelman north toward Sudley Springs and that of Tyler toward the Stone Bridge. The crossing at Sudley Springs took the Confederates by surprise because, as both Beauregard and Johnston

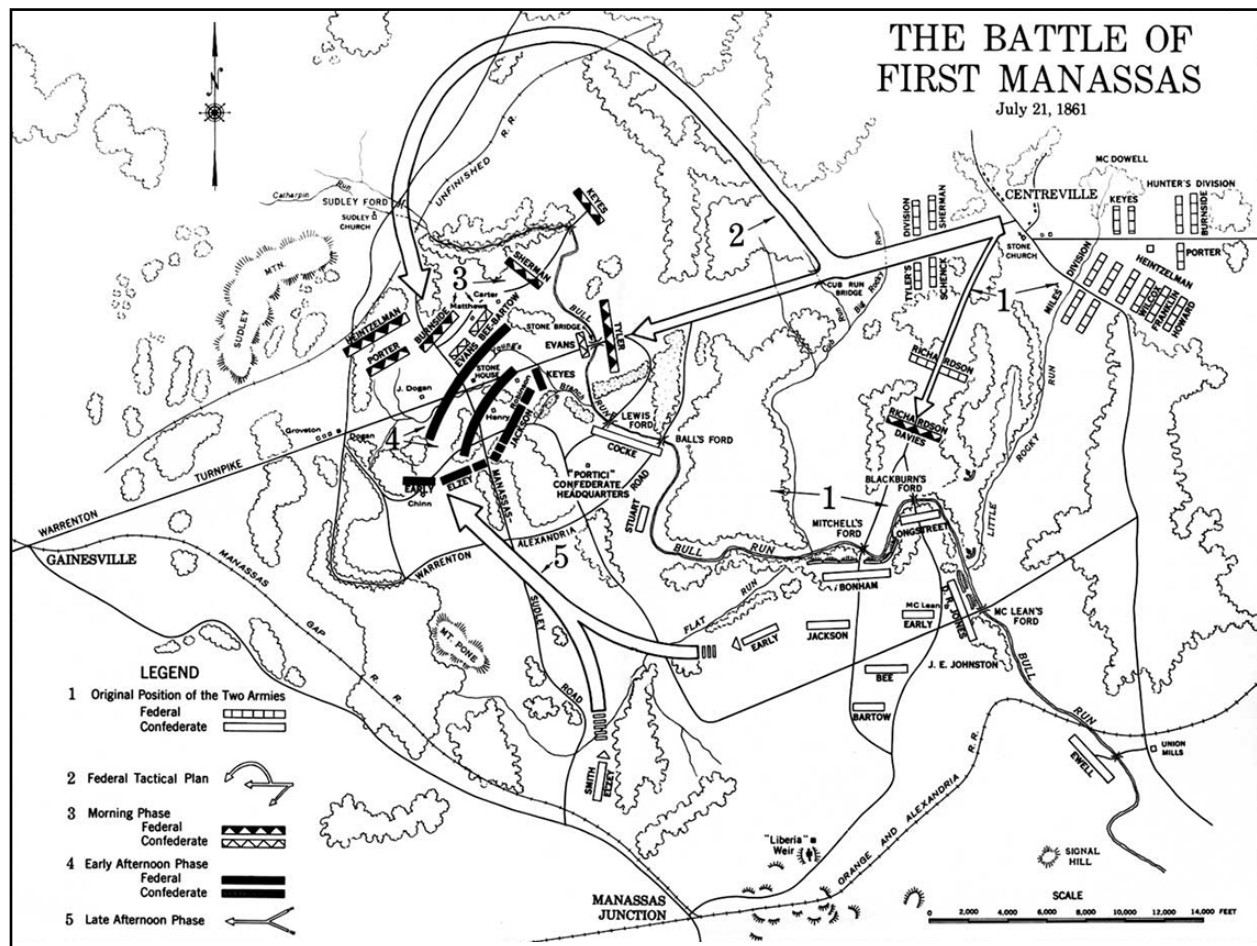


FIGURE 55: Simplified Map of the Fighting at First Manassas (NPS)

complained in their official reports, their scouts had not noted this possible route. Beauregard called it “a tortuous, narrow trace of a rarely used road through a dense wood” (Official Records, United States War Department [O.R.], Ser. 1, Vol. II:488). Because of bad roads and the slow marching of their inexperienced men, the lead elements did not begin fording Bull Run until around 9:30 A.M. When they started marching south, no Confederate troops blocked their march to the Warrenton Turnpike (now U.S. Route 29) and beyond. Responsibility for delaying them would fall on the unit that held the far left flank of the Confederate line, the “demi-brigade” commanded by Nathan Evans.

Evans’s small brigade consisted of only two units, the 4th South Carolina Regiment under Colonel Sloan and the 1st Louisiana Special Battalion commanded by a former “Filibuster” (mercenary) commander named Roberdeau Wheat. Evans had been tasked with assisting in the defense of the Stone Bridge and guarding what is now called Farm Ford, just to the north. Around 3:30 A.M. Evans’s pickets noticed movement among the Federals across the river, and by first light Evans had his men up and in position to resist any attack across Farm Ford.

The Federals across Bull Run, men of Tyler’s Division, did not attack, although they exchanged fire with Confederate pickets and fired the occasional artillery shell toward the Stone Bridge. By 7:30 Evans and Wheat had decided that the Federal activity opposite them was just a feint. Soon thereafter they received a famous message via semaphore: “Look out for your left, you are turned.” Evans took nine companies of men and one cannon toward the Federals advancing south from Sudley Springs. At first he took position near Pittsylvania, thinking the Federals would take the road that would bring them to the rear of the Confederates holding the Stone Bridge and Farm Ford. But it soon became apparent that the Federals were marching due south on the Sudley Springs Road toward Manassas. Evans’s men therefore marched farther west, taking position along the north edge of a wood, with their left flank resting on the Sudley Springs Road (Figure 56).

The lead Federal unit was the Second Brigade of Hunter’s Division under Col. Ambrose Burnside, who described the action like this:

Nothing of moment occurred till the arrival of the division at the crossing of Bull Run, about 9.30 o’clock, when intelligence was received that the enemy was in front with considerable force. The brigade was ordered to halt for a supply of water and temporary rest. Afterwards an advance movement was made, and Colonel Slocum, of the Second Rhode Island Regiment, was ordered to throw out skirmishers upon either flank and in front. These were soon confronted by the enemy’s forces, and the head of the brigade found itself in presence of the foe. The Second Regiment Rhode Island Volunteers was immediately sent forward with its battery of artillery, and the balance of the brigade was formed in a field to the right of the road. . . .

Finding that the Second Regiment Rhode Island Volunteers was closely pressed by the enemy, I ordered the Seventy-first Regiment New York Militia and the Second Regiment New Hampshire Volunteers to advance, intending to hold the First Regiment Rhode Island Volunteers in reserve. But owing to delay in formation of the two former regiments, the First Rhode Island Regiment was at once ordered on the field of action. Major Balch, in command, gallantly led the regiment into action, where it performed most effective service in assisting its comrades to repel the attack of the enemy’s forces. The Second Rhode Island Regiment of Volunteers had steadily borne the enemy’s attack, and had bravely stood its ground, even compelling him to give way. At this time Colonel Slocum fell mortally



FIGURE 56: View from the Confederate Position on Matthews Hill Toward the Union Lines

wounded, and soon after Major Ballou was very severely injured by a cannon ball, that killed his horse and crushed one of his legs. The regiment, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Wheaton, continued gallantly to hold its position.

Soon after, Colonel Martin, of the Seventy-first Regiment New York State Militia, led his regiment into action, and planting the two howitzers belonging to the regiment upon the right of his line, worked them most effectively against the enemy's troops. The battery of the Second Rhode Island Regiment, on the knoll upon the extreme right, was used in silencing the heavy masked battery of the enemy in front, occasionally throwing in shot and shell upon the enemy's infantry, six regiments of which were attempting to force our position. Captain Reynolds, who was in command of this battery, served it with great coolness, precision, and skill.

The Second Regiment New Hampshire Volunteers, under Colonel Marston, was now brought into the field, and rendered great service in defending the position. Colonel Marston was wounded early in the action, and Lieutenant-Colonel Fiske ably directed the advance of the regiment.

Thus my whole brigade was brought into the engagement at the earliest possible moment, and succeeded in compelling the enemy to retire. We were wholly without support, bearing the brunt of the contest, until relieved by Major Sykes, of the Third [Fourteenth] Infantry, U. S. Army, who formed his battalion most admirably in front of the enemy, and pouring in a destructive fire upon his lines, assisted in staggering him. At that moment, after the fight had continued an hour or more, Colonel Heintzelman's division was seen marching over the hill opposite our left flank, and attacking the enemy at that point, the opposing force was soon dispersed. This point being gained, and the enemy retiring in confusion before the successful charge of Colonel Heintzelman's division, I withdrew my brigade into the woods in rear of the line, for the purpose of supplying the troops with ammunition, which had become well nigh exhausted [O.R., Ser. 1, Vol. II:335-336].

Notice that Burnside's narrative is not very well anchored in space, a problem shared by most accounts of the battle. From the other side, Evans described the initial action like this:

The enemy made his appearance in line of battle on the east side of the stone bridge, about fifteen hundred yards in front of my position, and opened their fire with rifled cannon at 5.15 a. m., which was continued at intervals for about an hour. Having my entire force covered by the crest of the hills on the west side of the bridge, I did not return the fire. Observing the enemy had deployed a considerable force as skirmishers in front of his line, and that they were advancing on my position, I directed the two flank companies of the Fourth Regiment South Carolina Volunteers and one company of Major Wheat's Special Battalion Louisiana Volunteers to advance as skirmishers, covering my entire front.

The skirmishers were soon engaged, and kept up a brisk fire for about an hour, when I perceived that it was not the intention of the enemy to attack me in my present position, but had commenced his movement to turn my left flank. I at once decided to quit position and to meet him in his flank movement, leaving the skirmishers of the Fourth Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers, supported by the reserve of two companies, to keep him engaged. I sent word to Colonel Philip St. George Cocke that I had abandoned my position at the bridge, and was advancing to attack the enemy at the crossing of the Warrenton turnpike and the Manassas roads.

Observing carefully the movements of the enemy, I was able to form my line of attack directly in his front, covered by a grove of woods, at about 9 o'clock a. m. Placing the Fourth Regiment on the left, supported by one piece of artillery, Major Wheat on the right, supported by a company of cavalry, I directed my command to open fire as soon as the enemy approached within range of muskets. At 9.15 o'clock my command opened a vigorous fire from their position, which caused the enemy to halt in confused order. The fire was warmly kept up until the enemy seemed to fall back. Major Wheat then made a charge with his whole battalion.

At this juncture General Bee arrived with his brigade to my timely assistance, and formed immediately in my rear, and advanced, covering and relieving my command, and was immediately hotly engaged with the enemy. Colonel F. S. Bartow, with his regiment (Eighth Georgia), came up soon after to the support of General Bee, but the enemy by this time were in such large force that our position was no longer tenable, and I ordered my command, now greatly scattered, to fall back under cover towards the Lewis house. The commands of General Bee and myself were now completely scattered, when we were timely covered by Hampton's Legion and other re-enforcements [O.R., Ser. 1, Vol. II:557].

Evans tells us that his men took shelter in a "grove of woods" but does not tell us where. Colonel Sloan of the 4th South Carolina was more precise, writing that he formed his men:

in line of battle in a ravine, my left resting on the pike road leading from stone bridge by Sudley's Mill, and about two hundred yards in advance of the stone house, and sent out Captain Hawthorn's company as skirmishers in the woods, resting on our right [O.R., Ser. 1, Vol. II:560].

The grove of trees is gone, and there is no longer anything one might call a ravine, but the grove is shown on nineteenth-century maps, and we can probably assume that the ravine was in the low-lying spot where a shallow drainage runs across the road toward the southwest. This allows us to place the 4th South Carolina in the position shown on Figure 56. General Bee did not survive the battle, and there is no account describing the movements of his brigade, but it is generally assumed that both he and Colonel Bartow's Georgians took their positions east of Evans's men.

Although roughly 12,000 Federals were bearing down on a Confederate force that numbered only 3,500 when fully assembled, the Federal troops were arriving in a long column and it took some time to bring that large force into line of battle. The regiments that went in first, the 1st and 2nd Rhode Island, were evenly matched with Evans's men and took heavy losses. As more men arrived, they extended their line to the left and the right, eventually overlapping both flanks of the Confederates and threatening to surround them. The Confederate right, to the east, was anchored in trees and uneven terrain, so it was much less exposed than their left, hanging in open space along the Sudley Road. The Federals therefore pushed forward on their right, west of the road, and as a result the two lines ended up running northeast to southwest, a pattern that would continue in the afternoon fighting on Henry Hill.

The men Evans left at Bull Run must have abandoned the Farm Ford, because around 10:30 A.M. Sherman led his brigade across the ford without opposition. This proved to be decisive in the morning phase of fighting. As we just saw, the Confederate right flank had seemed fairly secure, but when Sherman's brigade appeared out of the woods in that direction, the danger to the Confederate position

was very plain, and at the first volley from Sherman's men, the whole Confederate position began to collapse. The men retreated back across the Turnpike and up Henry Hill, where they took shelter.

Notice that the Federals brought their artillery right up to the front, in line with or even ahead of the infantry. This was military doctrine going back to Napoleon that the professional officers had all studied at West Point. But things had changed since Napoleon's time. Infantry weapons were now much more powerful and accurate, and the result of bringing cannons up to the front was very high casualties among artillerymen. In the afternoon fighting the loss of two batteries of Federal guns that had been pushed too far forward helped turned the tide toward the Confederates.

Artillery should always be placed in the most advantageous positions, and as far in front of the line of cavalry and infantry as possible, without compromising the safety of the guns.

—Napoleon Bonaparte,
Military Maxims LIV

The charge by Wheat's men was reported by Evans and Beauregard but was not emphasized by any of the Federals (although Burnside mentioned "defending" his position). Schreckengost (1999) argued that the attack was made too late to have any chance of success, since by the time it was launched, the Federals had formed a strong line and had their artillery in position. If the attack was made, it certainly failed to break the Union line, although it may have helped to make them cautious.

The Confederates were proud of the stand they made on Matthews Hill; Beauregard described these men as "surely animated by more than human courage." Both sides took significant casualties; however, the morning phase has been overshadowed by the afternoon fighting on Henry Hill, so on Matthews Hill there are few monuments and not nearly as many visitors. The interpretive signs are rather vague, since the exact location of the battle lines has never been identified.

3. *The Afternoon Phase*

Rather than following closely on the heels of the retreating Confederates, the Union troops paused for over an hour to regroup and deploy artillery to bombard the new Confederate position. This fighting was on the Confederate side of Bull Run and miles from the Union position of the night before, and the Union was not able to get many of their men into the fight; some historians estimate that only about half of McDowell's army ever entered the fray. Johnston and Beauregard were better able to concentrate their forces, achieving roughly equal numbers. The Union forces began to attack again around 2:00 P.M. but made little headway, and counterattacking Confederates seized several Union artillery pieces. Fighting also spread to the west onto Chinn Ridge and Bald Hill. There around 4:00 P.M., an attack by two Confederate brigades drove the Federals back.

Around 5:00 P.M. the Confederates launched a general attack. Weary Union troops began drifting to the rear, at first in ones and twos and then by companies and brigades. McDowell tried to rally his men, but they mostly refused to listen, and the Union position began to collapse. McDowell posted a battalion of regulars as a rear guard, most likely at the Turnpike/Sudley Road intersection, and ordered the rest of his men to withdraw. At first the withdrawal was more or less orderly, but it turned to panic and thousands of men simply threw down their weapons and ran for Washington.

The result of First Manassas had a great impact on the course of the war, for a Union victory, followed by the capture of Richmond, might have meant a quick end to the fighting and would

certainly have given it a very different character. The failure of this first Union offensive almost guaranteed a long, bloody war.

4. *The Archeology of First Manassas*

Archeologists have explored both Matthews Hill and Henry Hill in search of evidence from the battle. Work on Henry Hill has been frustrating. Henry Hill was from 1865 on the center of battlefield tourism, and no doubt visitors took away thousands of bullets and other artifacts. The military staged a major reenactment of the battle in 1936, leaving thousands of blank cartridges littering the site. Then the NPS arrived and constructed the Visitor Center and other infrastructure (including replica cannons, which have large magnetic signatures and make it difficult to work near them). Recent efforts have recovered Civil War artifacts from Henry Hill, but they are badly outnumbered by the artifacts from the reenactments and other modern material.

Work on Matthews Hill has been much more productive. Here the situation is complicated by a farm that stood here in the twentieth century, but even so, recovered artifacts include hundreds of bullets and artillery shell fragments and many other artifacts. One concentration of artifacts from clothing and backpacks may show where Union soldiers crashed through the dense underbrush on the edge of a wood lot to deploy in the open field beyond (Reeves 2001a). Other concentrations show where soldiers formed firing lines, and where they came under artillery fire. A group of .69 caliber bullets may trace the movements of the 1st Minnesota, the only regiment on the field known to have used this ammunition (Figure 57). Archeologists have found three buttons bearing the symbols of the Louisiana militia, lost by men of Wheat's battalion when they charged the Union lines (Figure 58).

Information about the battle is contained in the artifacts themselves and where they are found. When archeologists use metal detectors to investigate a battlefield, they always precisely map where every artifact is found, using a unique number to tie each object to the mapped point. Unauthorized metal detecting destroys this information, which is why it is forbidden in all national parks and all other federal property.

B. SECOND MANASSAS

1. *Two Armies Spoiling for a Fight*

The next major Union offensive in Virginia did not take place until March 1862, when Maj. Gen. George McClellan took his army to Fortress Monroe and launched it toward Richmond along the peninsula between the James and York rivers. By the end of May, they were knocking on the door of Richmond's defenses. To defend Washington, the Union had left about 50,000 men in northern Virginia.

After the Union advance stalled in front of Richmond, the new Confederate commander, Robert E. Lee, reinforced by Stonewall Jackson's men from the Shenandoah Valley, attacked the Union army in the battles known as the Seven Days (June 25 to July 1). None of these was a clear-cut Confederate victory in tactical terms, but McClellan withdrew after every one. Seeing that the attack on Richmond had failed, Lincoln ordered McClellan to return to Washington.

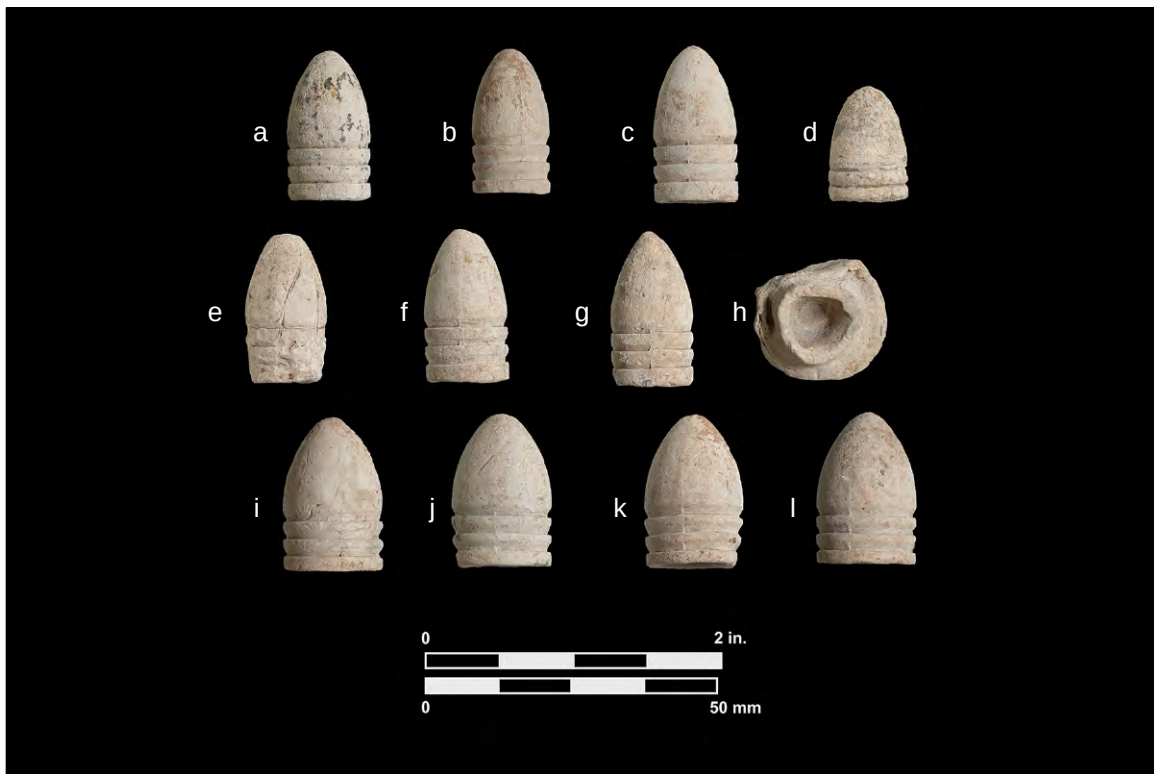


FIGURE 57: Bullets from Recent Metal Detecting on Matthews Hill

- a) 3-ring, .56 cal. (MANA 73893)
- b) 3-ring; .54 cal. (MANA 73952)
- c) 3-ring, .58 cal. (MANA 73907)
- d) 2-ring, .54 cal., possible Burnside variant (MANA 73924)
- e) 3-ring, impacted (MANA 73926)
- f) 3-ring, .58 cal. (MANA 73946)
- g) 3-ring, .58 cal. (MANA 73954)
- h) 3-ring, impacted (MANA 73967)
- i) 3-ring, .69 cal. (MANA 73949)
- j) 3-ring, .69 cal. (MANA 73897)
- k) 3-ring, .69 cal. (MANA 73947)
- l) 3-ring, .69 cal. (MANA 73948)



FIGURE 58: Louisiana Button from Matthews Hill (MANA 74798)

While McClellan was still engaging Lee, on June 26, Lincoln appointed John Pope, who had been a successful leader in the West, as commander of a newly organized Army of Virginia. Pope's new command consisted of three corps (I Corps, II Corps, and III Corps) along with three cavalry brigades. I Corps, formerly the Mountain Department commanded by John Frémont, was now commanded by Maj. Gen. Franz Sigel. II Corps, formerly known as V Corps and Department of the Shenandoah, was commanded by Nathaniel Banks. III Corps, formerly known as I Corps and Department of the Rappahannock, was commanded by Irvin McDowell. Pope's army also included a Cavalry Brigade, commanded by George Bayard.

Lee, sensing that McClellan's attack on Richmond was effectively over, began shifting his troops northward on July 13, beginning with Jackson's and Ewell's divisions. Jackson was now commander of one "wing" of the army, composed of three divisions. James Longstreet commanded the other wing, with five divisions. As soon as the threat to Richmond was gone, Longstreet and Lee followed Jackson north. Jackson tried to drive Pope's men from the line they were holding along the Rapidan River, and a significant battle was fought at Cedar Mountain on August 9. Pope fell back to the Rappahannock River but maintained a strong front. Jackson crossed the Rappahannock at Hinson's Mill Ford and followed a circuitous route through western Fauquier County via Orlean and Salem (now Marshall) before turning east to Thoroughfare Gap in Pope's rear, where he attacked and destroyed the Union supply depot at Manassas Junction. Pope abruptly turned his army northward, hoping to trap and destroy Jackson's force before Lee could reassemble his army. Lee meanwhile hoped to trap and destroy Pope before he was significantly reinforced by McClellan's troops, some leading units of which had already joined Pope.

The result of these maneuvers was the Second Battle of Manassas, fought on August 28-30, 1862. The fighting began when some of Pope's men, searching for Jackson, marched east down the Warrenton Turnpike right past his troops. Jackson, afraid that Pope was withdrawing to Centreville, resolved to draw him into a battle before he could escape the trap that he and Lee were planning. Jackson therefore deployed artillery near Brawner Farmhouse and began shelling the troops marching east along the turnpike. Seeking to silence the guns, Union Brigadier John Gibbon sent one regiment of his Black Hat brigade up the hill. There the men were surprised to find a whole brigade of Confederate infantry advancing toward them, and Gibbon hurriedly deployed the rest of his brigade. The resulting fight lasted until dark and included what Gibbon later called the most intense small arms fire he saw during the entire war.

The next day Pope, realizing that he had found Jackson's force, struggled to bring his own army into position to attack. Jackson took a strong position on the wooded Stony Ridge, behind the berms and cuts that had been built for the unfinished Independent Line of the Manassas Gap Railroad (Figure 59). Pope was appalled to discover that his corps were now scattered, and only Sigel was available to attack Jackson on the morning of August 29. Sigel's attacks were made forcefully in places but were always localized, allowing Jackson to transfer men from other parts of his line to wherever there was danger. Later in the afternoon, Pope launched another attack using fresh reinforcements, including units from McClellan's army, but again the attack was disjointed and made little progress. Meanwhile, Longstreet's men were beginning to arrive.

On August 30 Pope tried again to attack Jackson, even though he had known since the evening before that Longstreet was in the field. However, Porter's assault on the Deep Cut also failed, largely because of devastating fire from massed Confederate artillery. Around 4:00 P.M. Longstreet

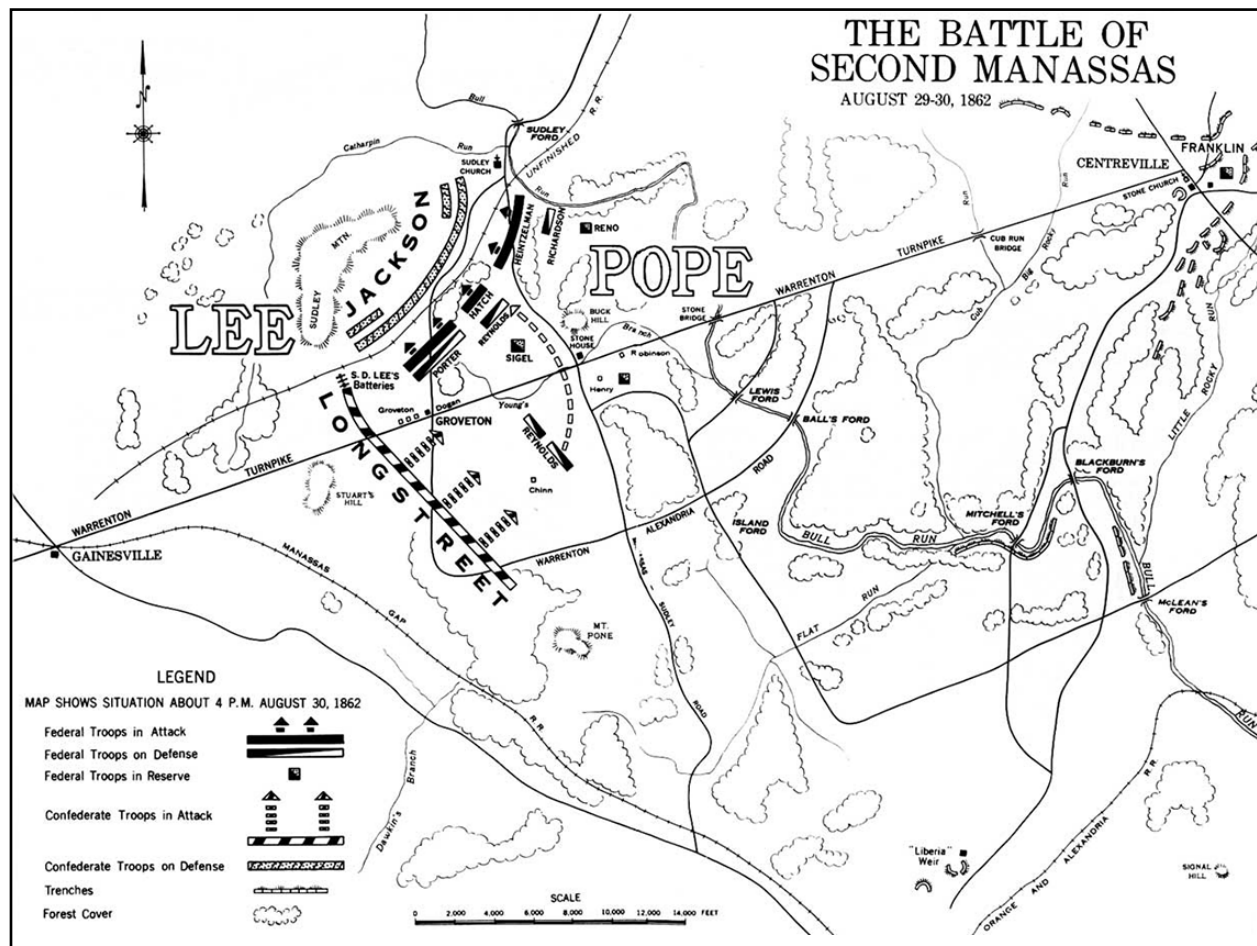


FIGURE 59: Simplified Map of the Fighting at Second Manassas, August 29-30, 1862 (NPS)

finally launched the Confederate counterattack, sending more than 20,000 men forward in a line nearly a mile and a half long. Their objective was Henry Hill, site of the first great Confederate victory of the war. Pope's army, still mostly facing northwest toward Jackson, was further disordered by retreating men from the failed attack at the Deep Cut, giving Longstreet's men a great initial advantage. However, a series of Union commanders, sometimes acting without orders, brought their men into the fray to delay the Confederates, allowing McDowell, Reynolds, and others time to assemble a defense. Federal troops held for a time along Chinn Ridge, then fell back to Henry Hill. There they blunted an attack by Anderson's division, which gave the Union army time to make an orderly retreat across Bull Run toward Centreville. The last fighting of the day took place around 7:00 P.M., when John Buford's Union cavalry prevented Confederate cavalry from crossing Lewis Ford to interfere with the Union retreat.

Second Manassas was a Confederate victory, but it did not fulfill Lee and Jackson's hope of destroying a large part of the Union army. The difference between the two Union retreats showed how much the soldiers had learned in a year of fighting, and therefore how hard it was going to be for either side to win decisive battlefield victories in the future.

2. The Archeology of Second Manassas

Chapter II has already described some of the archeology done on the Second Battle of Manassas, in the discussion on Brawner Farm. Metal detector studies have also been done in two other parts of the battlefield. Survey for a new parking lot near the Unfinished Railroad led to the recovery of 396 Civil War military artifacts from an area measuring less than 200x300 feet, around an acre. This total included 64 fired musket balls and 58 fired bullets, showing that this spot came under very heavy fire (Reeves 2001a). Survey at the other end of the battlefield, near Henry Hill, also produced many military artifacts and signs of intense fighting.

C. METAL DETECTING AT THE DEEP CUT

To show how metal detecting works and what it can show about a battle, it may be useful to consider one case in detail. During the current project, WSP conducted metal detecting at part of the Second Manassas battlefield called the Deep Cut. This survey was timed to coincide with a controlled burn by the NPS. Burning is carried out in the park to keep the landscape looking as it did in 1862. Metal detectors swept the area twice: first a preliminary investigation before the burn, covering the whole 39-acre burn area, and then an intensive investigation after the burn. The intensive investigation focused on the area around the Deep Cut Monument, which appeared to mark the center of the site.

1. Historical Background

The Deep Cut was the scene of a failed Union attack on August 30, 1862, during the Second Battle of Manassas (Figure 60). Second Manassas took place because the two opposing commanders were both trying to attack and destroy one part of their enemy's forces before the whole could combine against them. Union commander John Pope was seeking to destroy Jackson's Corps or "Wing" of the Confederate Army before it could re-combine with Longstreet's Wing, and Robert E. Lee was trying to bring Jackson and Longstreet together to attack Pope's force before it could be substantially reinforced by McClellan's forces returning from the Peninsular Campaign.

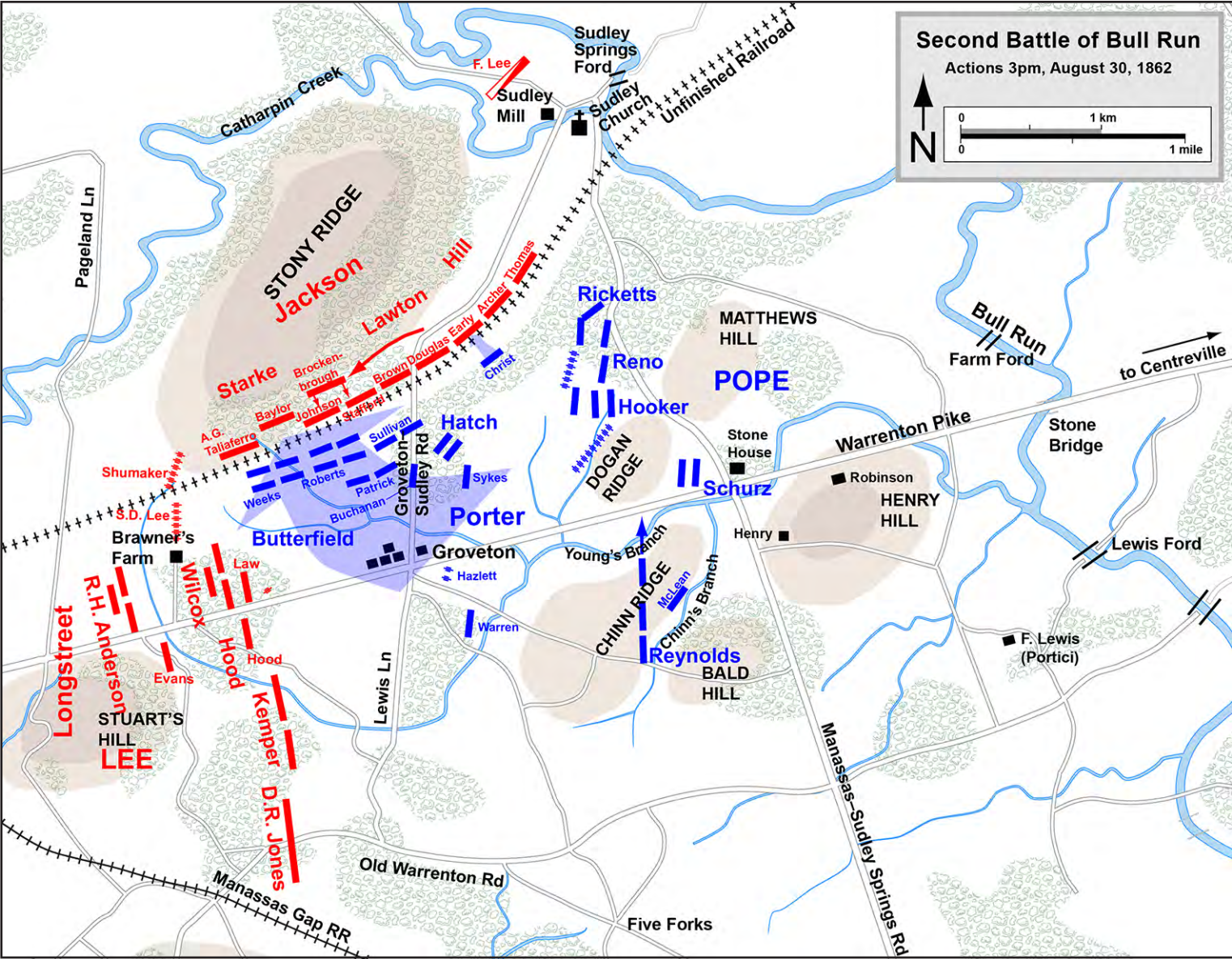


FIGURE 60: Plan of the Deep Cut Attack (Jespersen 2007)

On August 30 the battle had already been raging for two days. Longstreet's force was already in the field, bringing the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia up to its full strength, but they had not yet found a favorable opportunity for attack. Meanwhile there was confusion in the Union command about which Confederate forces were in the field and whether they were planning to attack or withdraw. Pope was determined to force further action and more worried that the Confederates might escape than about what they might do to his own army. He therefore ordered John Porter's Corps to launch an additional attack against Jackson's troops.

Jackson's men were arrayed northwest of the tiny town of Groveton on a wooded ridge behind the Unfinished Railroad, a useful defensive feature because it included sections of raised berm and others of deep ditch. It was a strong position, especially in terms of offering protection from Federal artillery fire; however, in some places the cut or berm was set well back from the brow of the ridge down which it ran, limiting the field of fire of the men taking shelter there. One of these places was the Deep Cut; there the Federals were able to advance within yards of the railroad cut before exposing themselves to Confederate rifle fire. Also, Jackson's Confederates had been defending this position for two days and had suffered serious losses during the fighting of August 29, while Porter's Corps was by contrast relatively fresh.

The attack was led by the First and Third Brigades of Butterfield's division, with support on the right from Hatch's Division. Butterfield's first line crossed the wide, open field between their starting position and the railroad cut but were then met by close-range volleys and came to a halt. Meanwhile, Hatch's men achieved a small breakthrough, driving the 48th Virginia off the railroad. Jackson, concerned about the condition of his line, ordered his old Stonewall Brigade to contain the break and sent a request for assistance to Longstreet.

Butterfield's attack was gallantly made and gallantly maintained until his troops were cut to pieces.

—George Sykes

Maj. William T.C. Grower of the 17th New York Infantry, who led the first wave of the attack, described the action like this:

The men were up in a moment, and we advanced in the same order as before, viz, the Seventeenth Regiment forming the first line, the rest of the brigade supporting us in a column doubled on the center. We crossed the road, the men scrambling over the fence at the other side, and moved forward steadily in quick-time. No sooner had we appeared in plain view of the enemy than he opened a tremendous fire of artillery and musketry on our advancing line. Nothing could surpass the behavior of officers and men, the latter steadily closing up the huge gaps made in the ranks by the terrific fire of the enemy. Placing myself at their head, I now gave the word "Double-quick, charge," and with a mad yell the gallant fellows rushed up the hill to what was almost certain death.

We now reached a sort of plateau, a battery on the summit of the hill playing upon us, while another on the right opened with grape and canister, completely enfilading our position. The woods on our left were full of the enemy's infantry. We seemed entirely without support, being some distance in advance of the brigade. I was compelled to halt, and ordered the men to lie down and commence firing [O.R., Ser. 1, Vol. XII, Pt. 2:478].

Longstreet, who was already in the area scouting for the planned attack when he received Jackson's request for help, later wrote:

Just after reaching my front line I received a message for re-enforcements for General Jackson, who was said to be severely pressed. From an eminence nearby one portion of the enemy's masses attacking General Jackson were immediately within my view and in easy range of batteries in that position. It gave me an advantage that I had not expected to have, and I made haste to use it. Two batteries were ordered for the purpose, and one placed in position immediately and opened. Just as this fire began I received a message from the commanding general, informing me of General Jackson's condition and his wants. As it was evident that the attack against General Jackson could not be continued ten minutes under the fire of these batteries I made no movement with my troops [O.R., Ser. 1, Vol. XII, Pt. 2:565].

Longstreet famously said on another field that he "should know as well as any one, what soldiers can do" and he was right in this case: the Union infantry could not stand the deadly artillery fire they were brought under, and they soon retreated. Major Grower wrote:

I looked around with some anxiety. Most of our officers had fallen, and one-half of the men had been killed or wounded crossing the field and in the charge up the hill. Captains Wilson and Martin had fallen – the former mortally the latter dangerously, wounded. Captains Demerest and Blauvelt were shot dead while nobly cheering on their men. Captain Burleigh was also wounded, and almost his entire company swept away.

We had held the position perhaps fifteen minutes when I was myself placed hors de combat by a Minie ball through the leg. . . . Captain Vickers then assumed command, and I believe was ordered to retire shortly afterward [O.R. Ser. 1, Vol XII, Pt 2, p. 478].

Col. Bradley T. Johnson, who was commanding the Second Brigade of Jackson's Division and led the defense at the Deep Cut, wrote:

Before the railroad cut the fight was most obstinate. I saw a Federal flag hold its position for half an hour within 10 yards of a flag of one of the regiments in the cut and go down six or eight times, and after the fight 100 dead were lying 20 yards from the cut, some of them within 2 feet of it. . . . They failed to take the cut [O.R., Ser. 1, Vol. XII, Pt. 2:667].

Longstreet continued his account:

Before the second battery could be placed in position the enemy began to retire, and in less than ten minutes the ranks were broken and that portion of his army put to flight.

A fair opportunity was offered me, and the intended diversion was changed into an attack. My whole line was rushed forward at a charge [O.R., Ser. 1, Vol. XII, Pt. 2:565].

The failure of the attack at Deep Cut and the disorderly withdrawal of Butterfield's and Hatch's divisions thus set the stage for the great attack of Longstreet's Corps, which drove the Federal army from the field.

The witness with the best view of the attack on the Deep Cut may have been Confederate Brig. Gen. C.M. Wilcox, who was commanding a division in Longstreet's Wing and was positioned just east of the Brawner Farmhouse.

About 3:30 P.M. the enemy's infantry were seen emerging from a wood upon an open field in line of battle, the wood and field being in front of Jackson's extreme right and to the left and rear Featherston's brigade, this field about 500 yards wide and terminating 150 yards from Jackson's line, the ground here rising rather steeply for a short distance and then level to the railroad, behind the embankment of which at this point were Jackson's men. Seeing this advance of the enemy, I repaired at once to the interval between Pryor's and Featherston's brigades. From this point there was an excellent view of the field and not more than 400 yards distant. There was but little to oppose them. They were fired upon by our pickets and skirmishers, but they continued to advance, and, ascending the rise above referred to, came within full view of Jackson's line, and were here received with a terrific fire of musketry at short range. They hesitated for an instant, recoiling slightly, and then advanced to near the embankment. Twice did I see this line advance and retire, exposed to a close and deadly fire of musketry. Seeing a second line issuing from the woods upon the field, I was in the act of ordering a battery to be placed in position to fire upon them when a battery was directed by the major-general commanding to fire upon them, this battery being near the turnpike in an excellent and commanding position. The fire of this battery was most opportunely delivered upon this advancing line of the enemy. They were caught in the open field. The effect of every shot could be seen. A rapid fire of shot, shell, and spherical case, delivered with admirable precision, checked their advance. As the shells and spherical case would burst over in front and near them their ranks would break, hesitate, and scatter. This artillery fire alone broke regiment after regiment and drove them back into the woods.

Seeing these successive lines and regiments of the enemy checked and finally driven back, and yet their front line quite close upon Jackson's line, thus leaving an interval of more than 600 yards between them and the broken retreating lines, I ordered General Featherston to move his brigade by the flank rapidly down the slope in his front, and thus take in rear or intercept the retreat of the enemy that were so closely engaged with Jackson. This order was repeated three times and in the most positive and peremptory manner, but it was not obeyed. At length the front line of the enemy, sadly thinned by the close fire of Jackson's men behind the railway bank, broke and fell back with great precipitancy and disorder, followed by a portion of Jackson's troops. Featherston now descends the slope in his front and joins in the pursuit across the open field. Pryor's brigade was ordered to follow rapidly. . . . [O.R., Ser. 1, Vol. XII, Pt. 2:598-599].

Casualties on both sides were tabulated for the whole battle and in some cases for the whole month, so it is not possible to be precise about losses during the Deep Cut action. Butterfield's two brigades lost about 1,200 men in the battle, including 173 killed, and Hatch's four brigades lost 2,700, including 234 killed. On the Confederate side Johnson's Brigade, which led the defense, reported losing only 120 men, including 18 killed (O.R., Ser. 1, Vol. XII:254, 259, 561). As with all Civil War casualty figures, these are rough estimates and almost certainly low, since some of the wounded died later of their injuries.

2. Archeological Survey

After the controlled burn, when vegetation had been reduced to ash across most of the study area, intensive metal detecting was carried out to search for remains of the fighting. To provide spatial control, a grid of 100-foot squares oriented north-south was established with geographic information system (GIS) technology, and this grid was downloaded onto survey-grade GPS units (Figure 61). The GPS units were then used to place flags in the corners of the 100-foot squares. Tapes pulled along two sides of each square were used to place flags at 25-foot intervals, and the metal detectorists walked straight transects from flag to flag. As the operators swept out an arc of about 5 feet, this provided a 20 percent sample of the study area. More than 200 military artifacts were found during the survey (Table 8).

The first squares selected for survey were on steep slopes west and southwest of the Deep Cut Monument (Figures 62 and 63). This is where the operators making the preliminary sweep reported numerous small signals, which were ignored at the time. When large numbers of Civil War artifacts, especially unfired bullets, were found in that area, it was decided to provide spatial definition for the concentration by creating a transect of squares running from the lower slopes south of the Deep Cut to the wood line north of it, well behind the Confederate line. After that transect had been completed, the survey was extended north along the Deep Cut until time ran out. Figure 64 shows a preliminary analysis of the survey findings. GIS line-of-sight analysis confirms what observers said after the battle, and what can easily be seen by lying down in the Deep Cut: most of the Union approach was blocked from Confederate view, and the attackers did not become visible to the defenders until they were within a few yards of the line. A large concentration of dropped .58 caliber bullets, including 18 behind one rock, was identified south of the monument along slopes that were hidden from Confederate view. This must be the spot where the advancing Federals took shelter until Confederate artillery found the range and drove them to retreat. A New York belt buckle was also

TABLE 8: ARTIFACTS RECOVERED
DURING INTENSIVE METAL
DETECTING AT THE DEEP CUT

ARTIFACT TYPE	COUNT
Bullets	
Dropped	
.58 Caliber, 3-ring	47
.58 Caliber, possible Gardner	1
.54-.56 Caliber	8
.52 Caliber	1
.60 Caliber 3-ring	5
.69 Caliber 3-ring	1
Williams cleaner	2
Enfield	1
Fired	62
Round shot	
Round shot, approx.. 2/3 inch	5
Round shot, small	5
Artillery	
Fuze	4
Sabot	5
Shell fragment, spherical	19
Shell fragment, cylindrical	24
Shell fragment, unspecified	28
Case shot	10
Clothing	
Breastplate	1
Military coat button	3
Collar fitting	1
Metal button	2
Clasp	2
Other Military	
Ramrod	1
Ramrod fragment (possible)	1
Musket worm	1
Percussion cap	2
Non-Military	
Hand-wrought nail (before 1820)	4
Machine-cut nail	10
Machine-cut nail, applied head (1790-1830)	2
Other	76
TOTAL	334



FIGURE 61: Map of Overall Controlled Burn Survey Area (VGIN 2021)



FIGURE 62: Deep Cut Survey Area, Facing Northwest



FIGURE 63: Metal Detecting on the Rocky Slope Where Union Troops Took Shelter

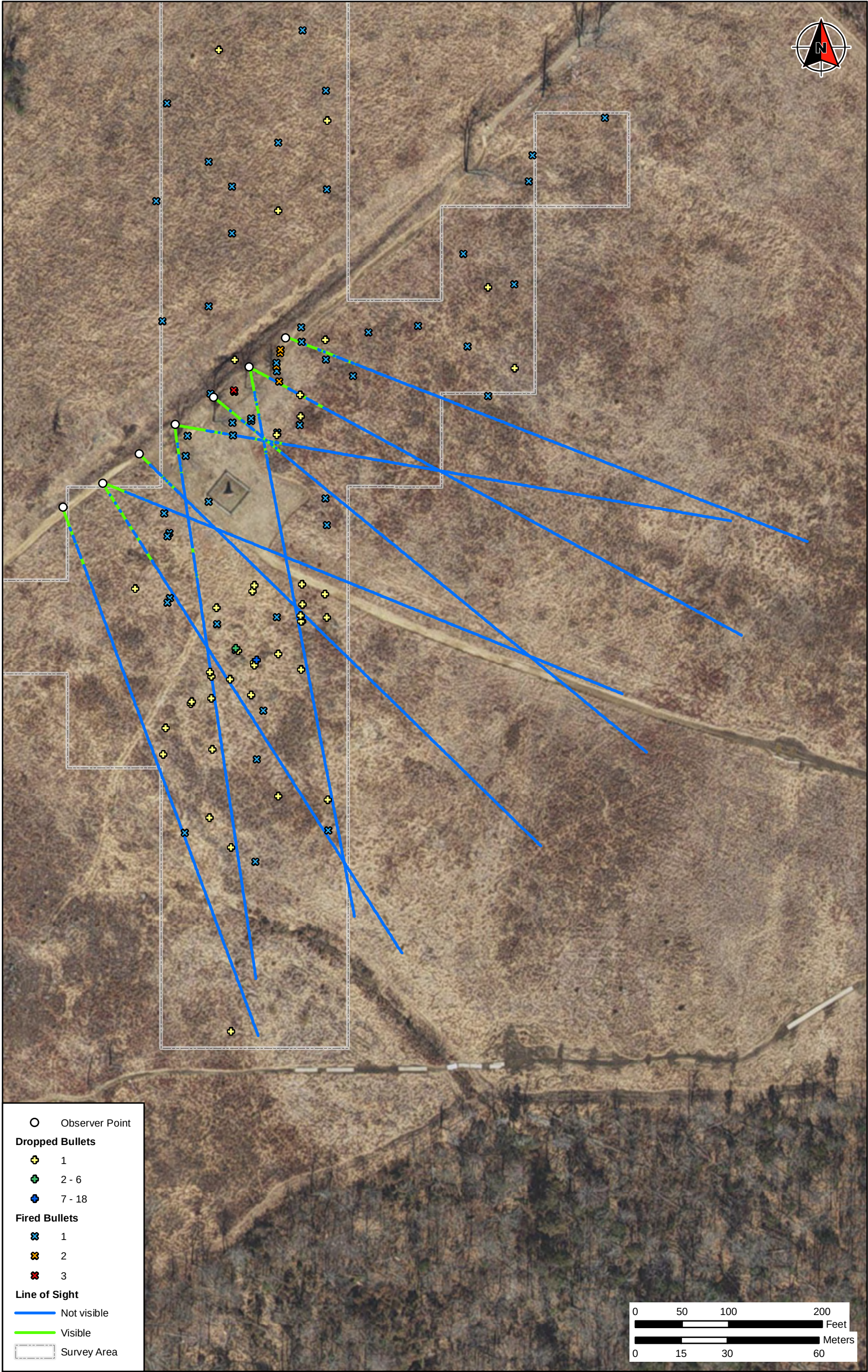


FIGURE 64: Deep Cut Battlefield Line of Sight Analysis (VGIN 2021)

found in this area. Other bullets, as well as artillery shells, were more evenly distributed across the surveyed area (Figures 65 and 66).

3. Discussion

It should first be noted that the methods used in this study were remarkably effective. Metal detecting seemed to be more effective after the controlled burn than when vegetation was present. Also, it seems that at least this part of the battlefield had received little attention from metal detectorists before. This may be because the property was heavily wooded, with dense underbrush, before the NPS acquired it.

It is also interesting, perhaps remarkable, that the various sources available for this fight match up perfectly. The narratives of eyewitnesses are highly consistent, with little of the confusion and rivalry that bedevil accounts of many other Civil War fights (Bedell 2006b), and the archeological evidence confirms that narrative. Also, the Deep Cut Monument seems to be placed near the center of the most intense fighting. Several reasons for the agreement in narratives might be suggested.

- a. The action was straightforward: Federal troops advanced, failed to take their objective, and then fell back approximately to where they began.
- b. Most of the action took place in the open, with long lines of sight.
- c. The Deep Cut itself provided a clear definition to the front line, and a point that men later recalling the battle could use to anchor their memories.

Since the archeological findings agree very well with the documentary accounts, which agree well with each other, the metal detecting did not produce new information that will change interpretation of the battle. On the other hand, the artifacts recovered clearly represent in concrete form the fight at the Deep Cut and connect us to that day; the dozens of bullets dropped by Federal soldiers as they sheltered on the slopes below the Monument are particularly evocative of what those men experienced in that awful hour.

All of this fighting over two battles had a devastating effect on the landscape of the Manassas battlefield. Most of the houses sustained damage, and many were destroyed (Figures 67 and 68). The Stone House and Portici were both damaged after the first battle. The Henry House was heavily damaged in that battle and was subsequently dismantled, probably by Confederate forces encamped in the area in the following months. Pittsylvania and the John Dogan House were destroyed in 1862, and Brawner Farm was so badly damaged that the house was apparently torn down and replaced. The Stone Bridge was also destroyed (Parker and Hernigle 1990b:1). No count has ever been made of the other losses, from sheds and fences to fields of grain, but the damage was catastrophic for the local people.



FIGURE 65: Unusual Bullets from the Deep Cut

- a) 2-ring .60 cal. (MANA 72967)
- b) Confederate Gardner bullet (MANA 72872)
- c) Sharpe's bullet (MANA 72823)
- d) Williams bullet (MANA 72816)
- e) Possible carbine bullet (MANA 72853)
- f) 3-ring, .58 cal. (MANA 72835)
- g) 3-ring, .54 cal. (MANA 72899)



FIGURE 66: Other Military Artifacts from the Deep Cut

- a) Conical artillery shell nose fragment (MANA 72994)
- b) Spherical artillery shell fragment (MANA 72846)
- c) Percussion fuze (MANA 72773)
- d) Artillery sabot (MANA 72923)
- e) Percussion cap (MANA 72962)
- f) Musket worm (MANA 72827)



FIGURE 67: Ruins of Henry House on Manassas Battlefield in March 1862 (Barnard 1862b)



FIGURE 68: Ruins of the Stone Bridge in 1862 (Barnard 1862c)

VII. RECONSTRUCTION AND GROWTH

A. FROM RUINS TO RENEWAL

Prince William County's population fell in the late 1860s, as a result of the war and the flight of people from the devastated parts of the landscape. The battlefield suffered more than most places (see Figures 67 and 68). One historian wrote of this period:

In addition to the wholesale destruction, the elimination of slavery undermined the economic structure of the state. Devising a new economic system alone would have been challenge enough. Defeat made it even more difficult....Virginia was a Military District from 1865 to 1870....Without slaves to work the land and without sons to oversee the work, farmers worked on a much smaller scale in the last quarter of the nineteenth century [Dabney 1971:353-354, in Parker and Hernigle 1990b:26].

Some local residents remembered intense grief over the losses. After Pittsylvania, Portici, and Rosefield were burned by Federal troops, said one resident, "It was like hell had broken through the crust of the earth." Another local remembered "an old soldier born in the neighborhood, speaking of that night, said 'I felt like the Day of Judgment had come'" (Beasley 2000:49).

The agrarian economy suffered not just from the ravages of war but also neglect; many men returning from war were maimed and unable to farm. Now that field workers had to be hired, farmers shifted from labor-intensive tobacco crops to animal husbandry and fruit and vegetable crops better suited for the local economy. Many farmers could not afford to hire workers at all. The average farm size dwindled to 150 acres (Galke 1992:29; Joseph 1996:3.28, in Reeves 2000:19; McGarry 1980:5). Nevertheless, once the wreckage had been cleared, the county experienced a small boom; in the 1870s its population grew by 22 percent. By 1900 the county's population had returned to 1810 levels, before the long decline of the antebellum years (WPA 1941:55, in Reeves 2000:19). Towns grew; Manassas incorporated in 1873, and Haymarket in 1882.

Many new houses were built across the park, and old ones were rebuilt—Pittsylvania II is one example, the rebuilt Henry House (Figure 69) another. Rosefield (Figure 70) and Brawner Farm were also rebuilt.

Industrialization brought further changes:

The advent of the twentieth century brought a number of significant changes to those who lived in rural Prince William County. Steam- and horse-powered farming equipment was replaced by gasoline-powered tractors that were both faster and more efficient. Likewise, horse-drawn vehicles were replaced by trucks and automobiles, which in turn necessitated road improvements. As animal-propelled vehicles diminished in use, tracts of land formerly used to raise livestock feed were re-planted in crops that were intended for human consumption [Galke 1992:36].

Although new jobs in mining, foresting, and tobacco manufacturing, as well as railroad expansion, allowed some of Virginia's white citizens to prosper, the institutionalized racism of the Jim Crow era blocked the economic and political progress of Virginia's African American residents (DHR 2001:112). Blacks had been enfranchised and guaranteed equal rights in the Reconstruction-era



FIGURE 69: The Henry House as Reconstructed After the War and Restored by the NPS



FIGURE 70: Rosefield in 2015, Facing Northwest (Bedell and Raszick 2016)

Underwood constitution, but this theoretical equality, never fully realized in practice, was reversed by the new state constitution of 1902:

The Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1901-1902 created the Virginia Constitution of 1902 and is an important example of post-Reconstruction efforts to restore white supremacy in the American South by disenfranchising large numbers of blacks and working-class whites. Remaining in effect until July 1, 1971, the constitution did much to shape Virginia politics in the twentieth century—a politics dominated by a conservative Democratic Party that fiercely resisted the New Deal, the New Frontier, the Great Society, the civil rights movement, and, with special fervor, federally mandated public school desegregation [Breitzer 2015].

Between 1901 and 1905, the number of black voters decreased from approximately 147,000 to only 10,000 (Breitzer 2015; Reeves 2000:19, 2001b:2.8). Under “the white-dominated political and economic power structure,” African Americans suffered discrimination in every realm, including lower wages and restricted property ownership, reduced school funding, substandard public facilities, and state-enforced segregation (DHR 2001:112).

Despite segregation, African Americans remained central to the economy and society of the park. Archeologists have found and investigated several of their residences.

B. GROVETON

One of the areas explored during the current project was the crossroads hamlet of Groveton. Civil War maps show several buildings in Groveton, and the place was prominent enough that some writers of that era referred to Second Manassas as the Battle of Groveton (Figure 71). An even better map of the structures around the intersection was made in 1878, documented in a surveyor’s sketch (Figure 72). A photograph of the town taken in about 1904 survives, showing the view toward the west (Figure 73). Groveton existed before the Civil War, but most of the evidence about the site, both historical and archeological, dates to during and after the war.

WSP’s study investigated Groveton in several different ways. GPR study was carried out in the southwest corner, to identify building remains there, and shovel test survey was carried out in the southwest and southeast corners. In 2018 the NPS had recently acquired one of the structures on the northwest corner, the Mary Jane Dogan House, and as the house was in need of immediate stabilization, archeology was carried out around the foundations and in the yard to ensure that important resources were not damaged.

1. *The Lucinda Dogan House*

The Lucinda Dogan House stands on the northwest corner of the intersection of the historic Alexandria-Warrenton Turnpike and the Groveton-Sudley Road in Groveton. This house has long belonged to the NPS. Nearby is the Mary Jane Dogan House, a larger frame structure mostly built after the Civil War. Although the two houses belonged to the same family, they have separate histories and separate archeological sites were defined around them.

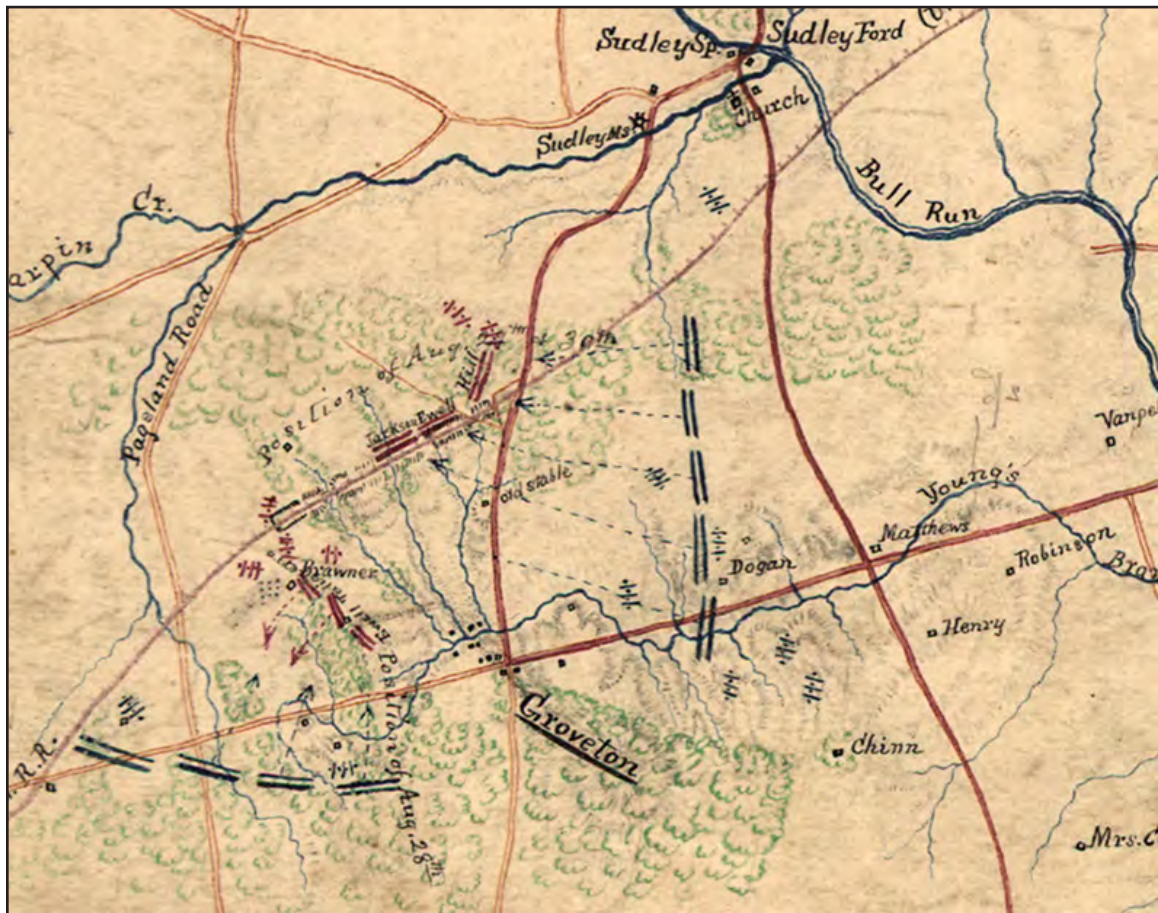


FIGURE 71: Civil War Map of Groveton (Hotchkiss 1862)

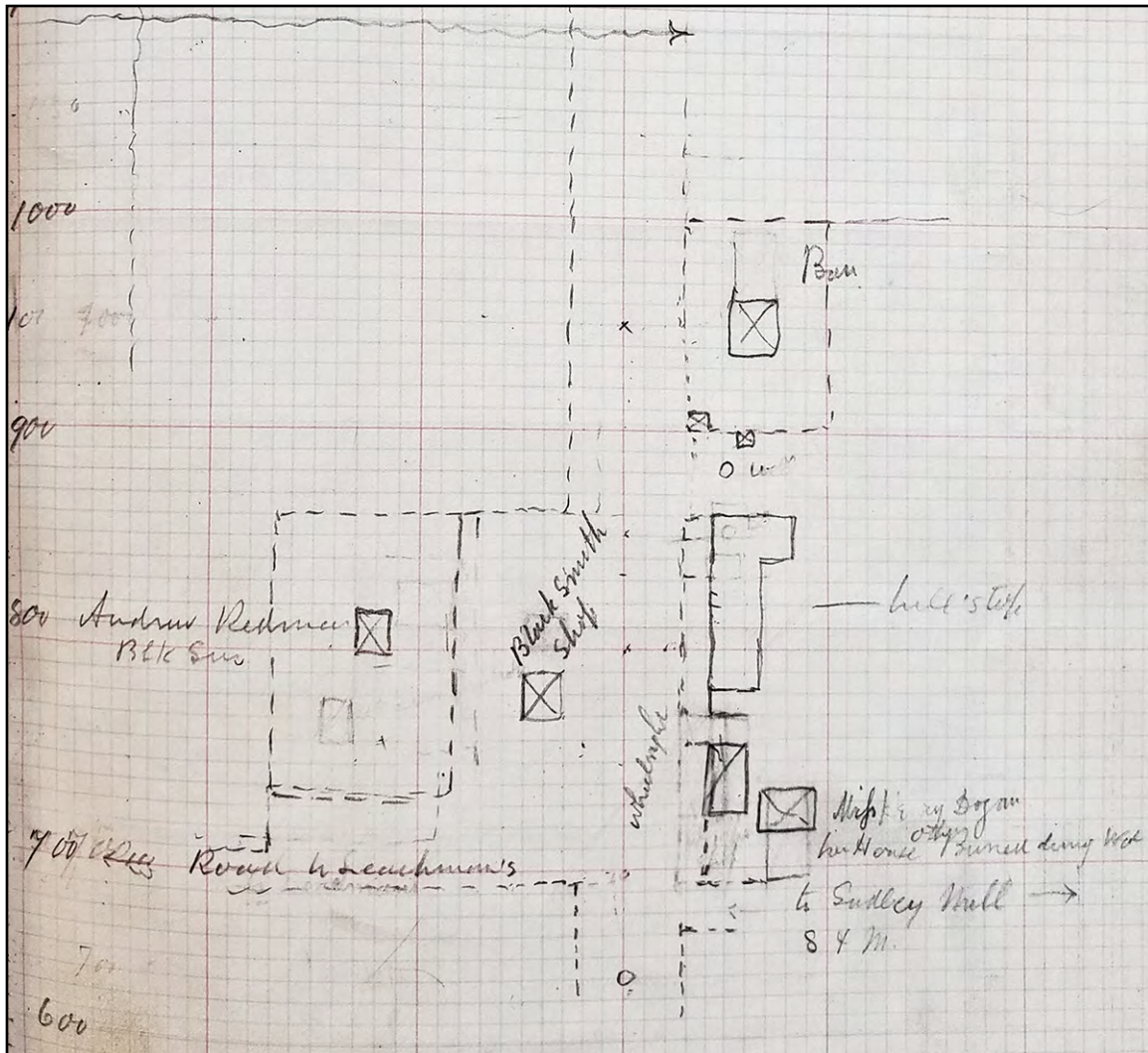


FIGURE 72: Surveyor's Sketch of Groveton in 1878 (NARA n.d.)



FIGURE 73: Groveton from the East, ca.1904 (Stuntz and Stuntz 1998)

The Lucinda Dogan House is a one-and-one-half-story frame vernacular building consisting of two adjoined structures unified through the addition of weatherboard siding and the removal of a historic lean-to addition from the west side of the south section of the house in 1948 (Figure 74).

The Lucinda Dogan House was recorded as part of a Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) in 1933, when it was identified as HABS VA-581 (1933c). Notes on file at the Library of Congress for the resource state:

Significance: Left unit of the Dogan House as one faces it from the East is built of oak logs roughly squared with a modified type of notching. Shurtleff in *The Log Cabin Myth* identifies the type as that used in Virginia for housing slaves or farm help. The right half of the house would seem to be one of the outhouses of William Henry Dogan's "Peach Grove" estate, relocated when the main house was burned on the eve of the Civil War. From a close analysis of Dogan property records in the Court House of Prince William County, reveals three periods of building activity - one, 1817-1819; another 1840-1845, and the third from 1856 to 1860. There is no conclusive answer as to dates of the right half of the structure. In 1881-82 a lean-to addition was made across the west side of the saddle-bag house. The exterior including the log portion was covered in clapboards. In 1948 this non-historic addition was removed [Library of Congress and Dogan 1933].

The Lucinda Dogan House, along with the Mary Jane Dogan House, was part of the Peach Grove property that belonged to William Henry Dogan after the 1840s. This land was part of Pittsylvania until the sale following Wormley Carter's death in 1815. Most likely, the original log cabin had been built ca. 1790 to house the overseer of the Carters' Rosefield Plantation. After W.H. Dogan died in 1854, the 608-acre property was divided among his heirs. His second wife, Lucinda, received 170 acres, which included the manor house. The manor house burned in 1860, and Lucinda moved into what had been the overseer's house. An additional one-room section appears to have been added to the structure at that time; the resulting structure is what we know as the Lucinda Dogan House. Lucinda Dogan lived in this house until 1904 (Figure 75). She died at Paradise Farm (earlier known as Mount Pone) in 1910. That farm, where she had also been born, was located about 2 miles southeast of Groveton.

No archeology has been carried out around this house.

2. *The Mary Jane Dogan House*

a. *Property History*

West of the Lucinda Dogan House is a two-story wood framed I-House known to the NPS as the Mary Jane Dogan House (Figure 76). When this study was carried out, the NPS had only recently acquired the property. The house seems to have built in the 1870s, incorporating an earlier one-room tavern and storehouse likely built in the 1830s (Trieschmann 2004:7-13-7-14). The breaks in the framing are visible in plans of the structure prepared during stabilization (Figures 77-78).

After W.H. Dogan died in 1854, his daughter by his first wife, Mary Jane Dogan, received a property that included the "storehouse and tavern." Mary Ellen Dogan, who later resided in the house, was the wife of Mary Jane Dogan's son, William Henry Dogan III.



FIGURE 74: Lucinda Dogan House ca.1940 (NPS)



FIGURE 75: Dogan Family in 1904 (Stuntz and Stuntz 1998)



FIGURE 76: Mary Jane Dogan House in 2018, Facing Southwest



FIGURE 77: Shovel Test Showing Porch Pier

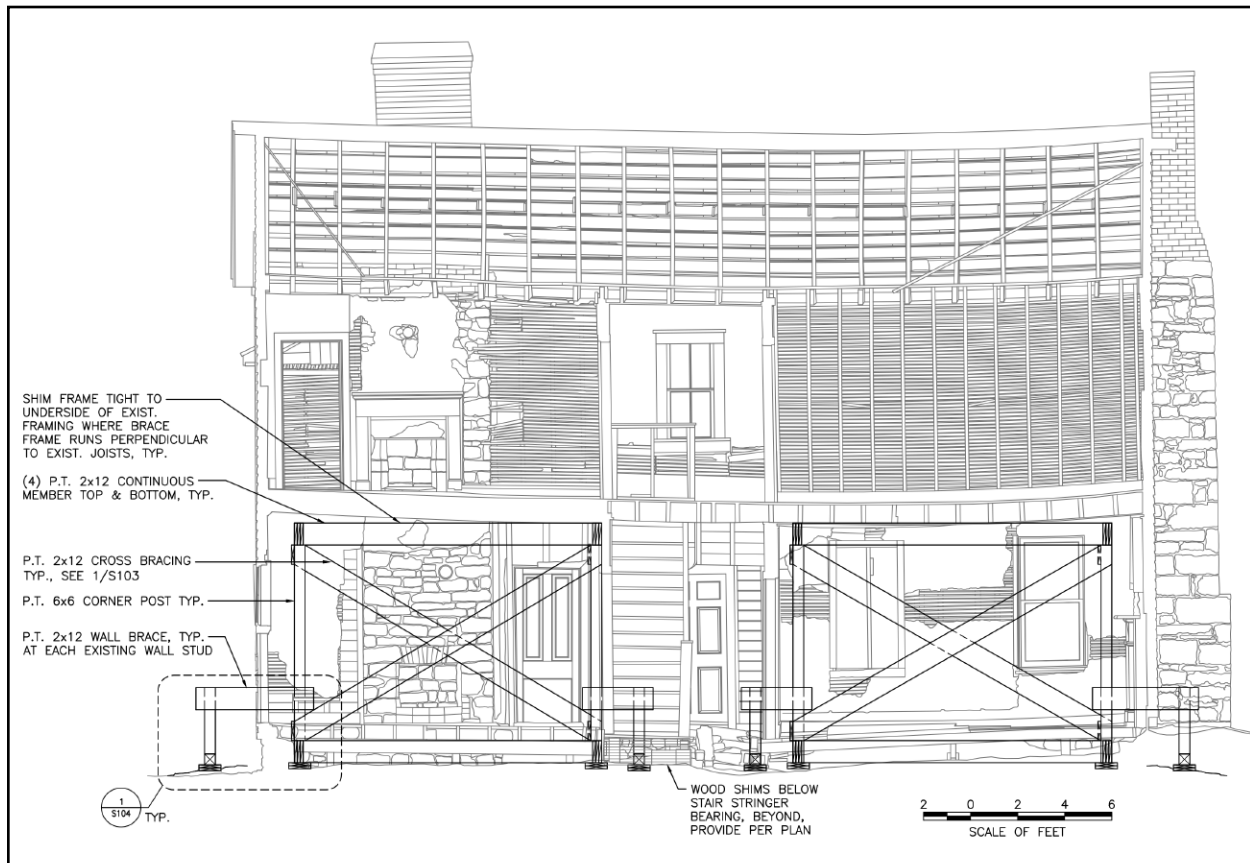


FIGURE 78: Front (South) Elevation of the Mary Jane Dogan House, Showing Framing
(MCC 2000 Architects 2021)

Examination of the standing structure suggests that the storehouse/tavern was a one-room structure with a full basement that now forms an L projecting north from the west part of the main house. That two-story main house was built for Lucinda Dogan in the 1870s. The property also included a wheelwright's shop that stood between the Mary Jane Dogan House and the Lucinda Dogan House, which is shown on the surveyor's sketch.

b. Archeological Investigations

Fieldwork at the Mary Jane Dogan House began with shovel testing around the house at 10-foot intervals. A few others were placed to investigate areas of interest. Two shovel tests 10 feet from the front (south) side of the house both landed on small stone piers 10 feet apart (Figure 79). These presumably supported a porch. No evidence was found of the wheelwright's shop.

A test unit placed along the front of the house failed to find any seam in the foundation, suggesting that the entire front section of the house had been built as a unit. However, excavation of a larger unit by the NPS the following year showed that there was a seam, which WSP's test unit missed by inches. The front section was indeed built in two stages, as the framing suggests. WSP's unit did expose stones placed against the foundation, mortared with soft, nineteenth-century mortar; these stones may have been part of a step that preceded the later porch (Figure 80).

The domestic artifacts from the Mary Jane Dogan Site include pearlware ceramics made before 1840 and two sherds of creamware made before 1820. This suggests that the store/tavern had been on the site for decades before it first appeared in the written record, in 1854. It is possible that these artifacts were associated with the overseer's house that was expanded into the Lucinda Dogan House, but given the distance, that is not likely. A handful of Civil War artifacts were found, which was expected as Groveton was a site of fighting during Second Manassas. Otherwise the material was typical for a site occupied from the 1870s to the late twentieth century (Figures 81 and 82).

During the course of stabilization activity the following winter, the floorboards were removed from much of the house. Taking advantage of this opportunity, two archeological test units were dug, one in each ground-floor room of the 1870 house (Figure 83). More artifacts were found much like those in the yard.

3. Andrew Redman's Blacksmith Shop

The 1878 sketch of Groveton (see Figure 72) shows two structures on the southwest corner: a blacksmith shop and the residence of Andrew Redman. Most of what is known about Redman comes from his obituary, which appeared in the *Manassas Journal* on December 24, 1915; he had died on December 17. Redman was described as "a greatly respected colored man of Groveton" who had been born as a slave of Mr. Frank Lewis; he had continued to work for Lewis after emancipation. (Other sources say Redman had been enslaved by William Lewis of Brownsville.) It seems likely that Redman had been operating a blacksmith shop in Groveton before the war, so the structure shown on Civil War maps is his shop. Some time after the war (it is not clear exactly when), he purchased 2 acres of land at the intersection, including the shop (Galke 1992:123). As the surveyor's sketch shows, he had built a house by 1878.

GPR study of the lot clearly shows Redman's shop; the "intense positive anomaly" is surely his forge (Figure 84). However, evidence of his house was obscured by a later house built on about

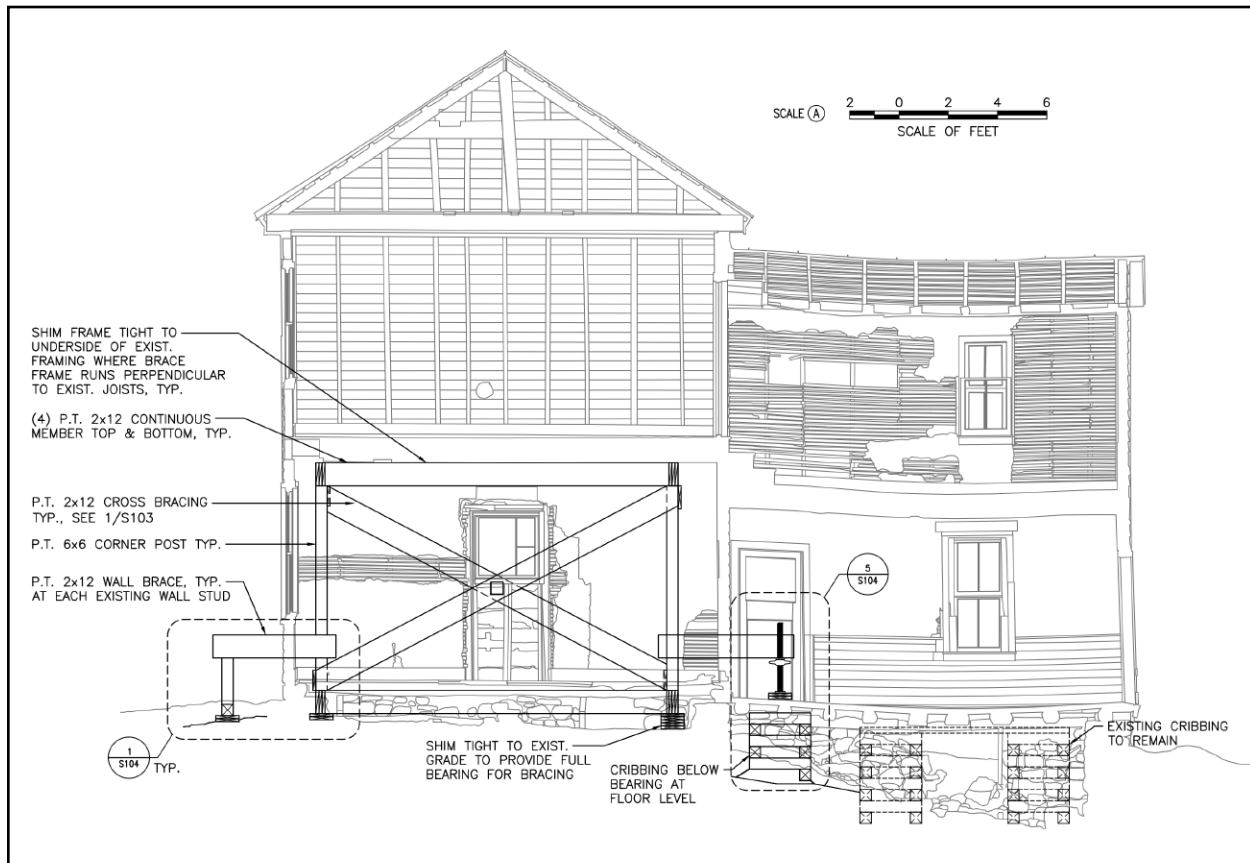


FIGURE 79: East Elevation of the Mary Jane Dogan House (MCC 2000 Architects 2021)



FIGURE 80: Possible Stone Step at Mary Jane Dogan House, Facing North

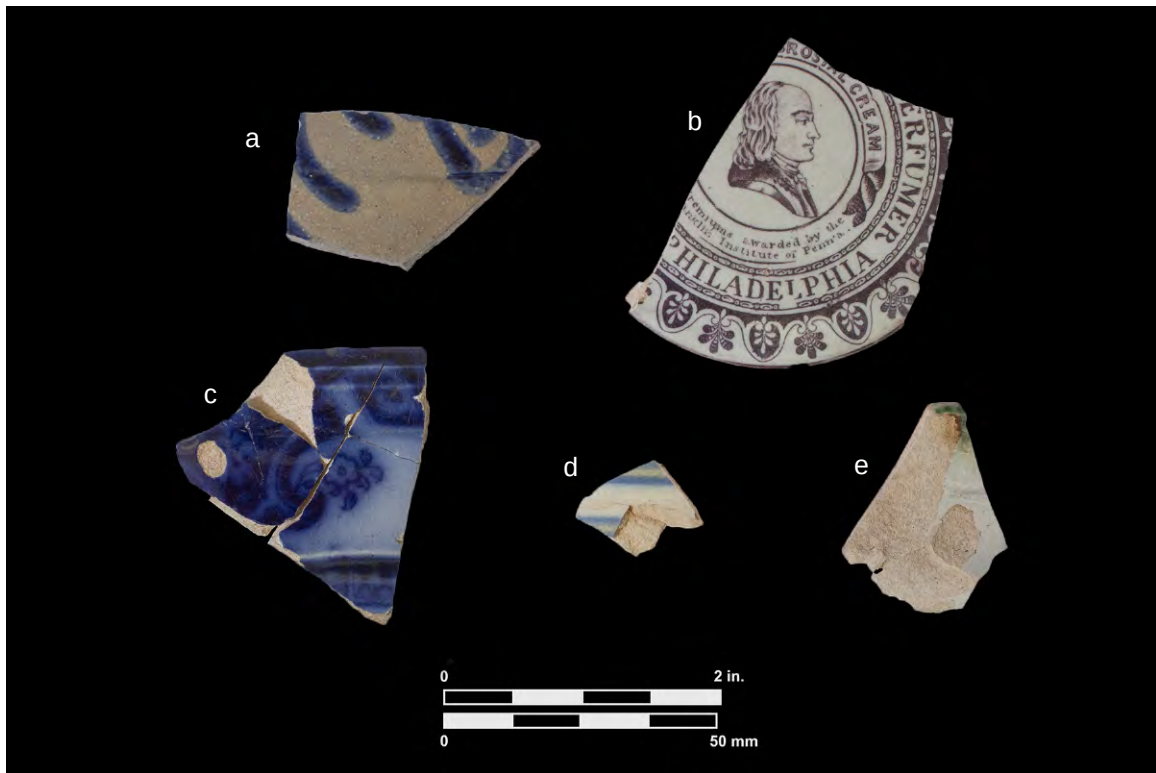


FIGURE 81: Ceramics from Mary Jane Dogan House

- a) Gray salt-glazed stoneware with hand-painted decoration (MANA 72403)
- b) Purple transfer-printed lid fragment (MANA 72533)
- c) Whiteware with flow blue decoration (MANA 72475)
- d) Banded yellowware (MANA 72596)
- e) Pearlware with green shell-edge decoration (MANA 72613)



FIGURE 82: Small Finds from Mary Jane Dogan House

- a) Shell button (MANA 72631)
- b) Glass marble spall (MANA 72399)
- c) Glass bead (MANA 72401)
- d) Iron knife blade (MANA 72592)

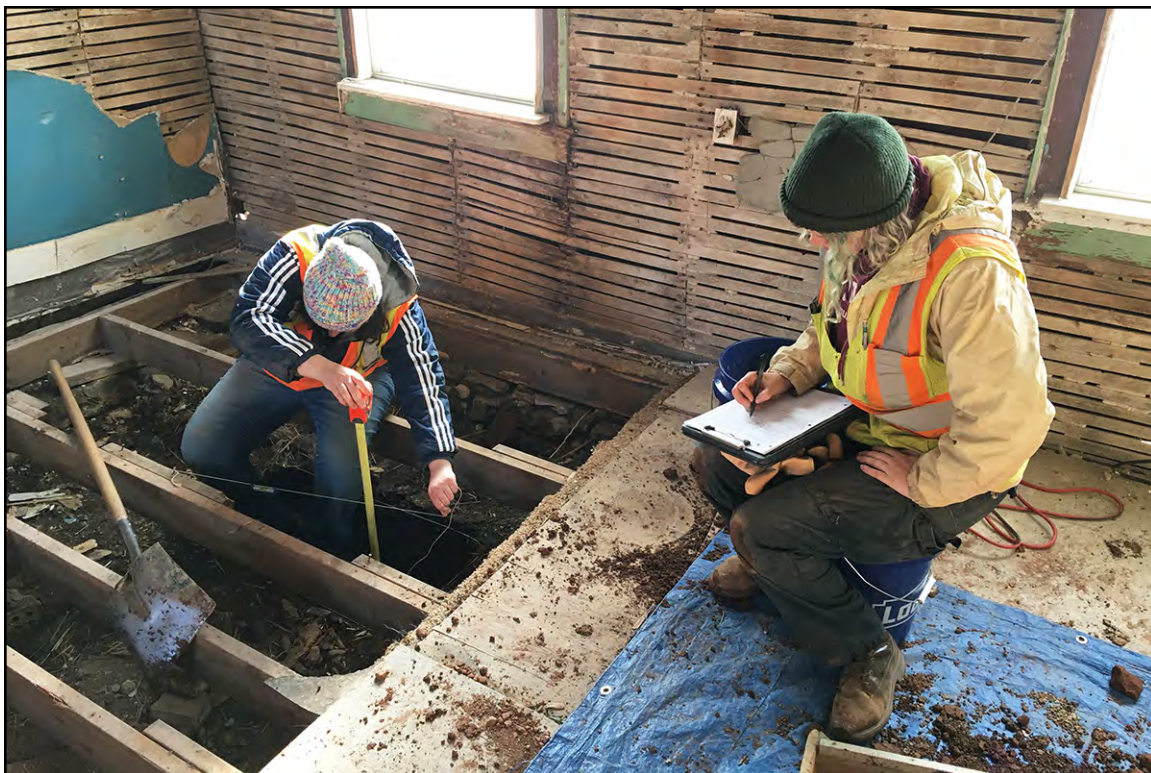


FIGURE 83: Excavating Test Unit 4 at Mary Jane Dogan House

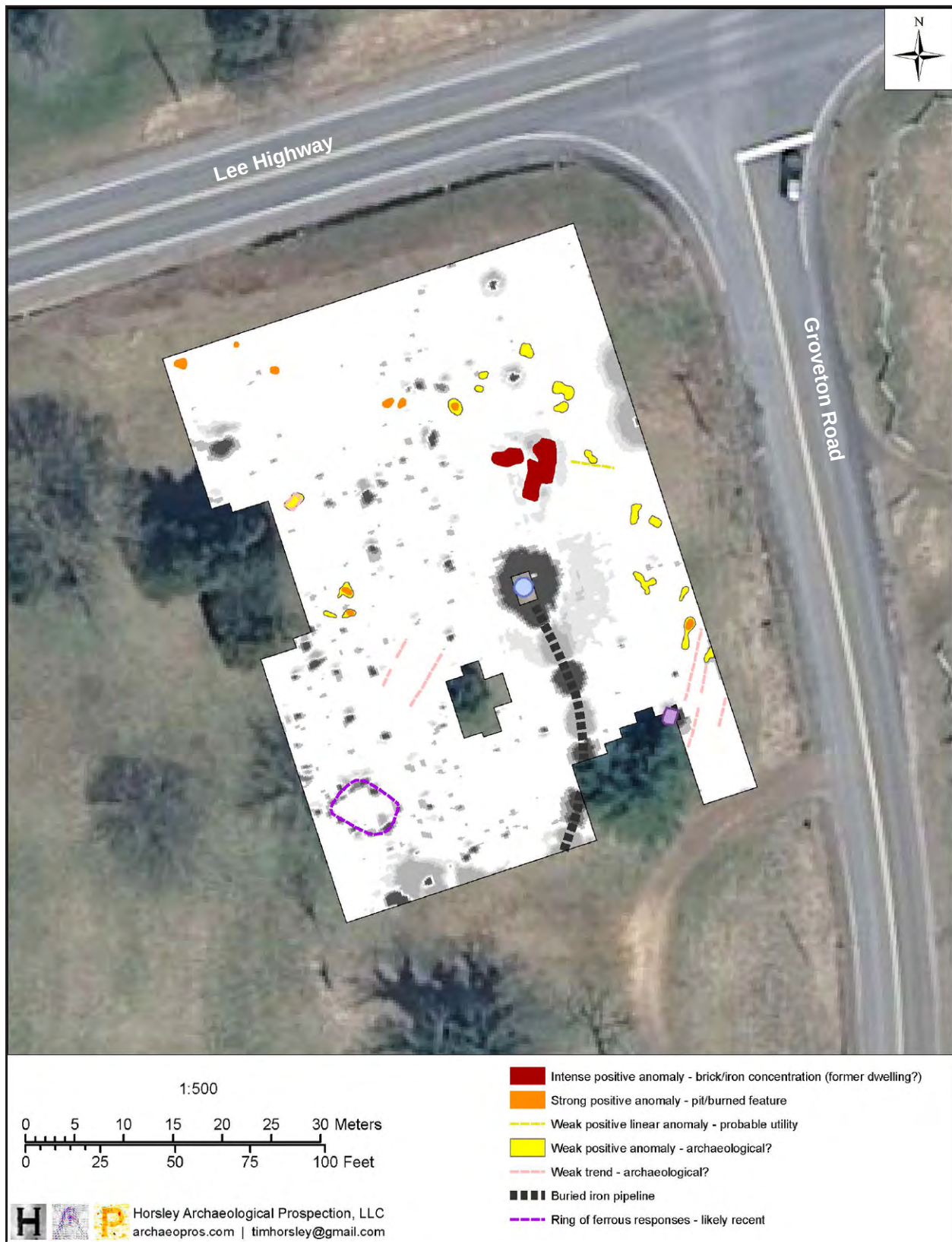


FIGURE 84: Plan of Features Identified by the GPR Survey, Groveton Southwest
(Horsley 2023, Volume II, Appendix B)

the same spot. Shovel test survey produced numerous artifacts that probably date to the Redman period, including ceramics, bottle glass, window glass, and nails. Nothing was found that dates to before around 1850, so the shop was probably established not long before the war. The shop had disappeared before a photograph was taken of Groveton in about 1904 (see Figure 73).

C. THE MAHALA DEAN SITE

In 1862, shortly after the Second Battle of Manassas, Dr. T.T. Ellis was exploring the battlefield when he met a free African American woman named Mahala Dean. The census shows that she was the wife of James Dean (U.S. Census 1870, 1880). It is not certain where the Deans were living in 1862, but within a few years they occupied a farm that stood in what is now an open field between Sudley Road and the Unfinished Railroad.

James and Mahala Dean appear in the U.S. Census for this area in both 1870 and 1880, but not in 1860. The census identified them as black. In 1870 James was said to be 46 and Mahala 36. They had numerous children. In 1870 they listed seven, aged 12 to one year; in 1880 they listed five, aged 16 to three. In both censuses James's profession was listed as farmer. A record from 1876 records the death of Maria Dean, two years old, parents James and Mahala (Binning 2021). James and Mahala Dean do not appear in the deed or will index for Prince William County, so they do not seem to have owned this property. Perhaps they were tenants.

Thomas McGarry explored the site of the Dean farm in 1981. He identified six features: a house, a well, a barn, a walk, a garden, and a field (Figure 85). McGarry measured the cellar hole as 16x22 feet, with an exterior bulkhead entrance measuring 6x8 feet. Maximum depth of the cellar hole was about 2 feet. The cellar hole was surrounded by a larger foundation made of the same local stone used at most houses on the battlefield. This foundation measured 26x45 feet. The relationship between the cellar hole and the larger foundation is not clear. Was the original house enlarged? Or was it replaced by a second house? McGarry also identified a 10-foot-wide driveway edged with stone on the Sudley Road side of the house, with crocuses budding around it. He also identified a dense, rectangular patch of crocuses as a garden.

WSP archeologists visited the site during the current study. They found that the cellar hole is visible as a weed-choked depression. The center of site occupies a level area, but the ground slopes away to the west and south, and part of the site is on that slope. The site was easily found, much as McGarry described it. The cellar hole and well were both clearly visible. The foundations of the house and barn were not visible, nor was the drive. The foundations were found by probing in the locations where McGarry mapped them, and sections were uncovered (Figure 86). The barn was also found to be as McGarry described, with stone foundations delineating upper and lower sections. The lower section is a visible depression roughly a foot deep in the center.

After the visible features had been mapped, archeologists dug shovel tests across the site, beginning with a grid at 50-foot intervals—a total of 23 shovel tests, 15 on the grid and eight to investigate visible anomalies. Only eight shovel tests yielded artifacts, and except for immediately around the cellar, artifact recovery was low. Nails were by far the most common artifacts.

It is interesting to note that but for one chance meeting in 1862, and the chance preservation of one record, the ruins now called the Mahala Dean Site would remain anonymous, another stone foundation to which no name or story could be attached.

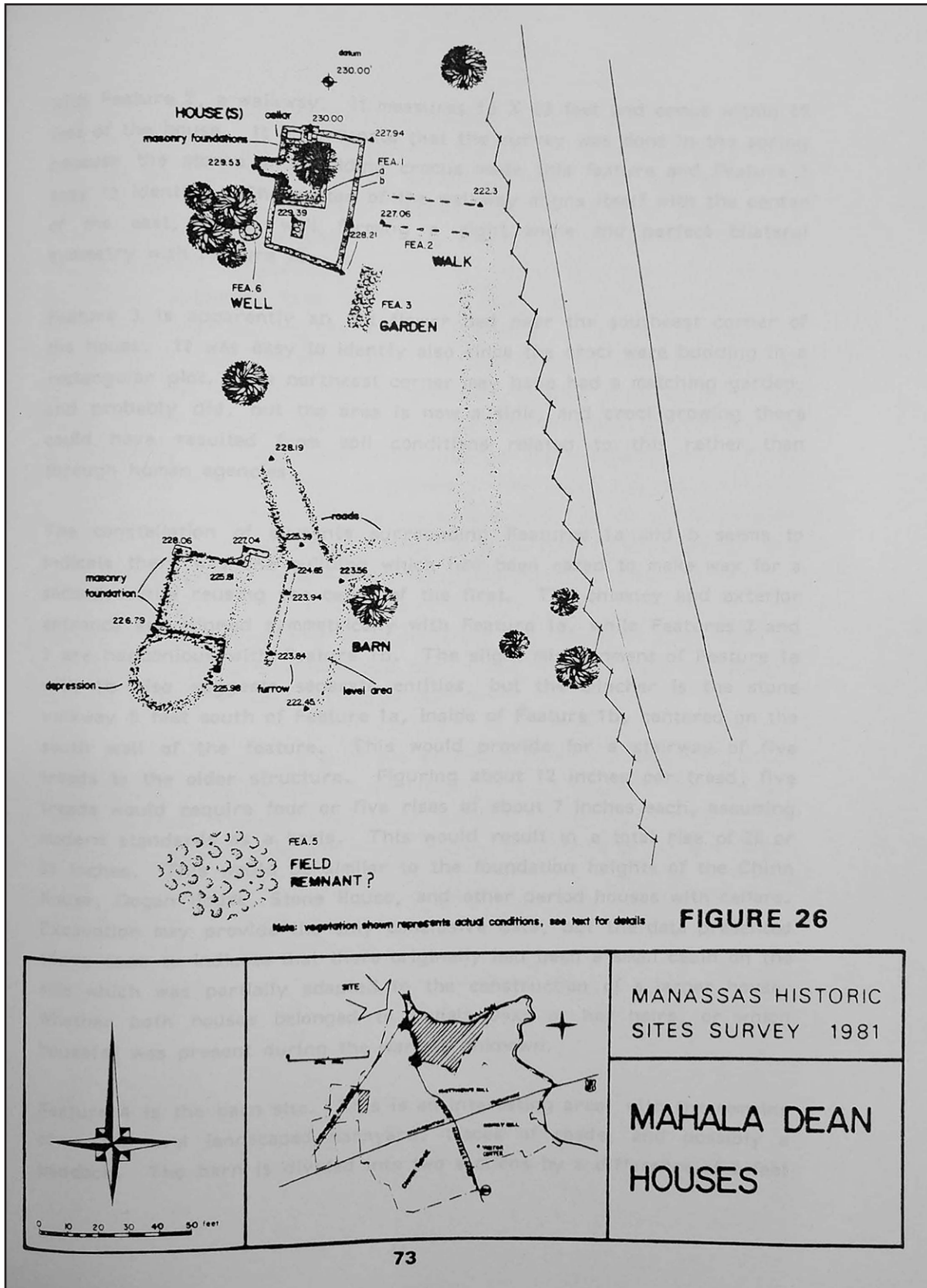


FIGURE 85: Plan of Mahala Dean Site (McGarry 1982)



FIGURE 86: Wall of Mahala Dean House with Cellar, Facing North

VIII. GROWTH, TOURISM, AND PRESERVATION

A. FROM FARMLAND TO PARK

Gazing out across the fields and woods of a national park like the Manassas Battlefield, visitors often suppose they are seeing a landscape little changed since the Civil War. But that effect has been created by decades of effort at preservation and restoration. Some parts of the Manassas Battlefield, like parts of many national parks, were quite recently occupied by modern buildings and other development. In the 1930s a gas station stood on the northwest corner of the U.S. Route 29/SR 234 intersection (Figure 87). The Stone House operated as an inn for decades (Figure 88), and in the 1950s cabins were erected around it. Decades of effort have gone into creating a place where visitors can better imagine the great events of 1861-1862.

Because First Manassas was such a famous battle, it figured in the early efforts to memorialize the war. The first monument on the Manassas Battlefield was erected near the site of the Henry House in 1865 (Figure 89). The commemorative obelisk is fashioned from native red sandstone with an inscribed plaque on the north face. The four corners of the expanded base form bastions on which are stone pedestals. The summit of the obelisk and the four pedestals once held fused 100-pounder Parrott rifle shells; the NPS replaced the shells during its 1976 rehabilitation. The stone monument sits atop a low mound approximately 3 feet high, making the monument's total height about 18 feet (McGarry 1982:14-16). Many other monuments followed over the years (Figure 90).

The first serious efforts to preserve the Manassas Battlefield were made in the 1920s. In 1927 the Manassas Battlefield Corporation completed the acquisition of Henry Farm, making the final payment on the farm that June. The transfer of the farm to the NPS did not occur until February 1940, and the designation of the assembled battlefield land holdings (the Bull Run Recreational Demonstration Area lands and the Henry Farm) as Manassas National Battlefield Park followed on May 10, 1940. The last major expansion of the park occurred in November 1988 with the legislative taking of the Stuart's Hill tract (Zenzen 1998). The 1988 legislation is the most recent change to the park's authorized boundary (but not the most recent acquisition, as the park continues to acquire private inholdings within that boundary). The park has been listed in the National Register of Historic Places since 1966.

B. A PERSON AND A NAME

Early visitors to the First Manassas battlefield met a woman named Maggie Lewis. They recorded nothing about her except that she was black and lived in a "cabin" somewhere between Pittsylvania and the Van Pelt House. Some maps of the battlefield show a structure in a plausible location, near a spring north of Young's Branch (Figure 91). Archeologist Thomas McGarry visited the site in 1981. He found the spring easily and noted an old walnut tree nearby, but he saw no other signs of the site. During the current project, WSP archeologists visited the site and surveyed the surrounding area with shovel testing and metal detecting (Figure 92). In the course of this work, numerous artifacts were found. Some cannot have had anything to do with Maggie Lewis, such as a 1945 penny. However, three sherds of ceramic dishes may date to the 1800s. The most common artifacts were nails, including three hand-wrought nails made before 1820 and 55 machine-cut

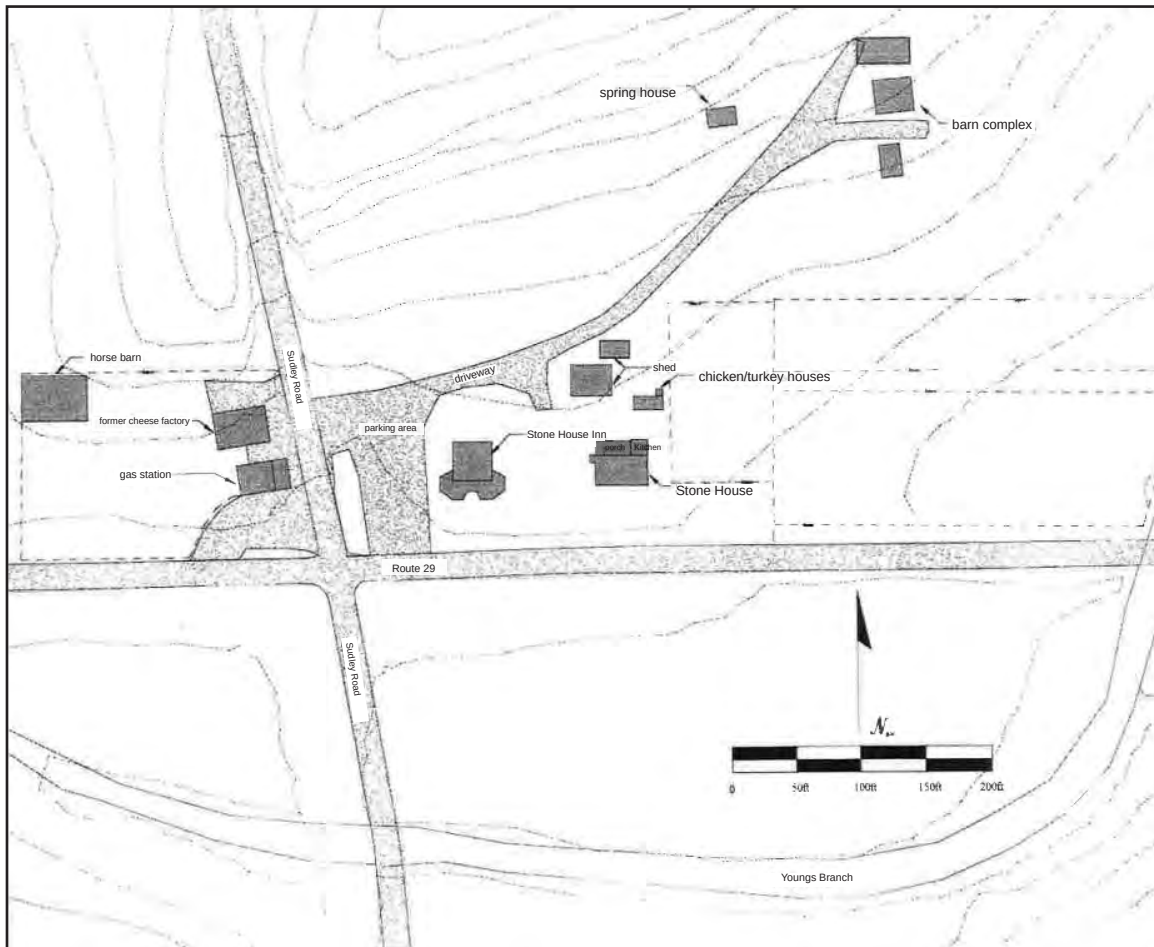


FIGURE 87: Plan of Buildings Around the U.S. 29/Sudley Road Intersection in the 1930s (Reeves 2000)



FIGURE 88: Photograph of Stone House Property in 1903 (NPS)



FIGURE 89: Monument on Henry Hill (Smith and Gardner 1865)



FIGURE 90: Deep Cut Monument (Smith 1865)

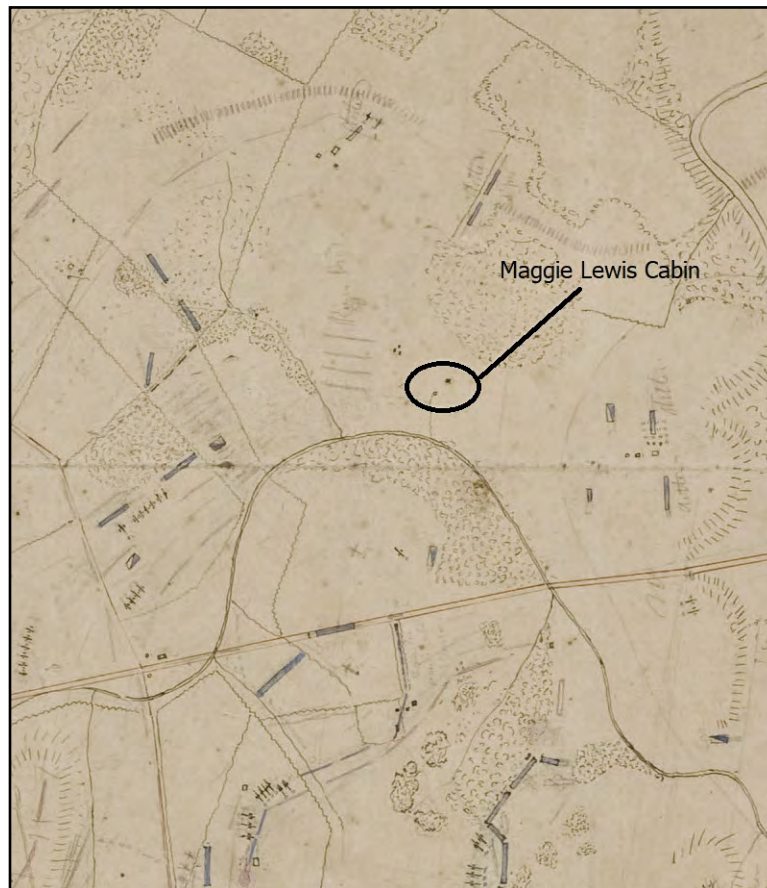


FIGURE 91: Map of What Might Have Been the Maggie Lewis Cabin (Harris 1861)



FIGURE 92: Maggie Lewis Site

nails most likely made between 1790 and 1900. There must have been buildings here. Putting these data together with the historical mapping makes it very likely that the archeologists had found the building shown on Civil War maps. It is not certain that this was the home of Maggie Lewis, but it seems very likely. Civil War mapmakers rarely depicted barns or sheds, so most dots on their maps represent homes, and no other structure that might be her cabin is shown on any map or has turned up in archeological survey.

Does this matter, in the big picture? Maggie Lewis was just one person, her cabin likely a nondescript place like many others. More than a thousand men died during First Manassas or afterward from their wounds, more than 3,000 at Second Manassas. During the whole war more than 600,000 soldiers died, and tens of thousands of civilians. So much is lost, and so many have been forgotten.

And yet do not those losses mean that we should try all the harder to hold on to what can be saved, and what can be remembered? Maggie Lewis was a black woman who lived in a cabin near where a great battle was fought. If that is all we can know of her, then that is still something. If all that remains of her home are nails and potsherds, that is more than nothing.

The mission of the NPS is preservation: preservation of wild places, of monuments, of memories. Manassas National Battlefield Park preserves the site where two famous and important battles were fought, red-letter days in the history of the United States. Archeology has shown that many traces of those battles remain on the landscape: bullets, buttons, soldiers' graves. To walk the battlefield is to experience that history in a powerful way. Yet the 5,000 acres of land protected by this act is valuable in many ways. Many animals and plants thrive there, including rare species. The park also protects a remarkable archeological record, evidence of thousands of human lives across more than 10,000 years. Each of these lives had its own value, and each was in its own way worthy of remembrance. Archeology brings the remains of the human past to light, and helps us to remember those lives, and do honor to the people who led them.

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