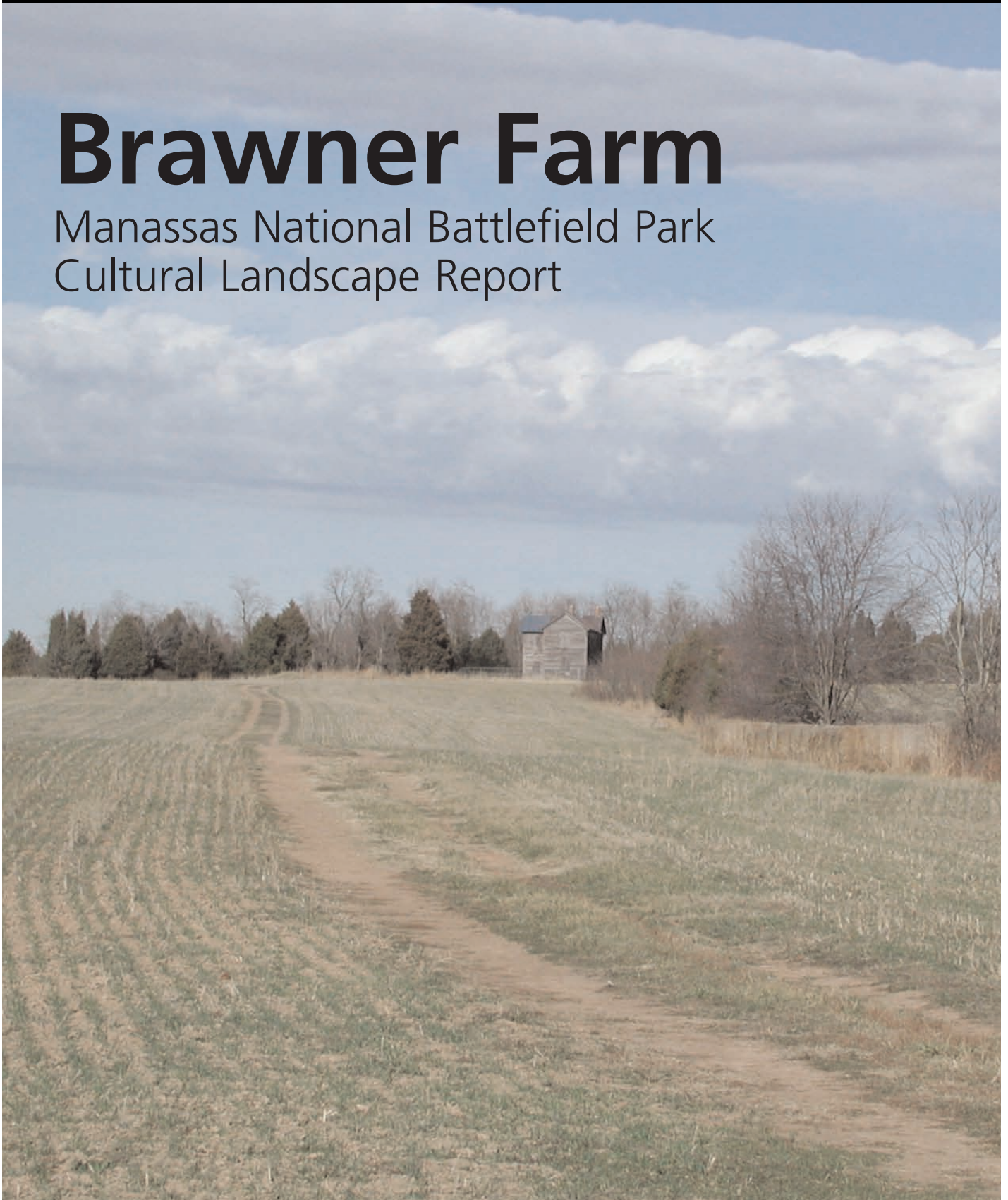
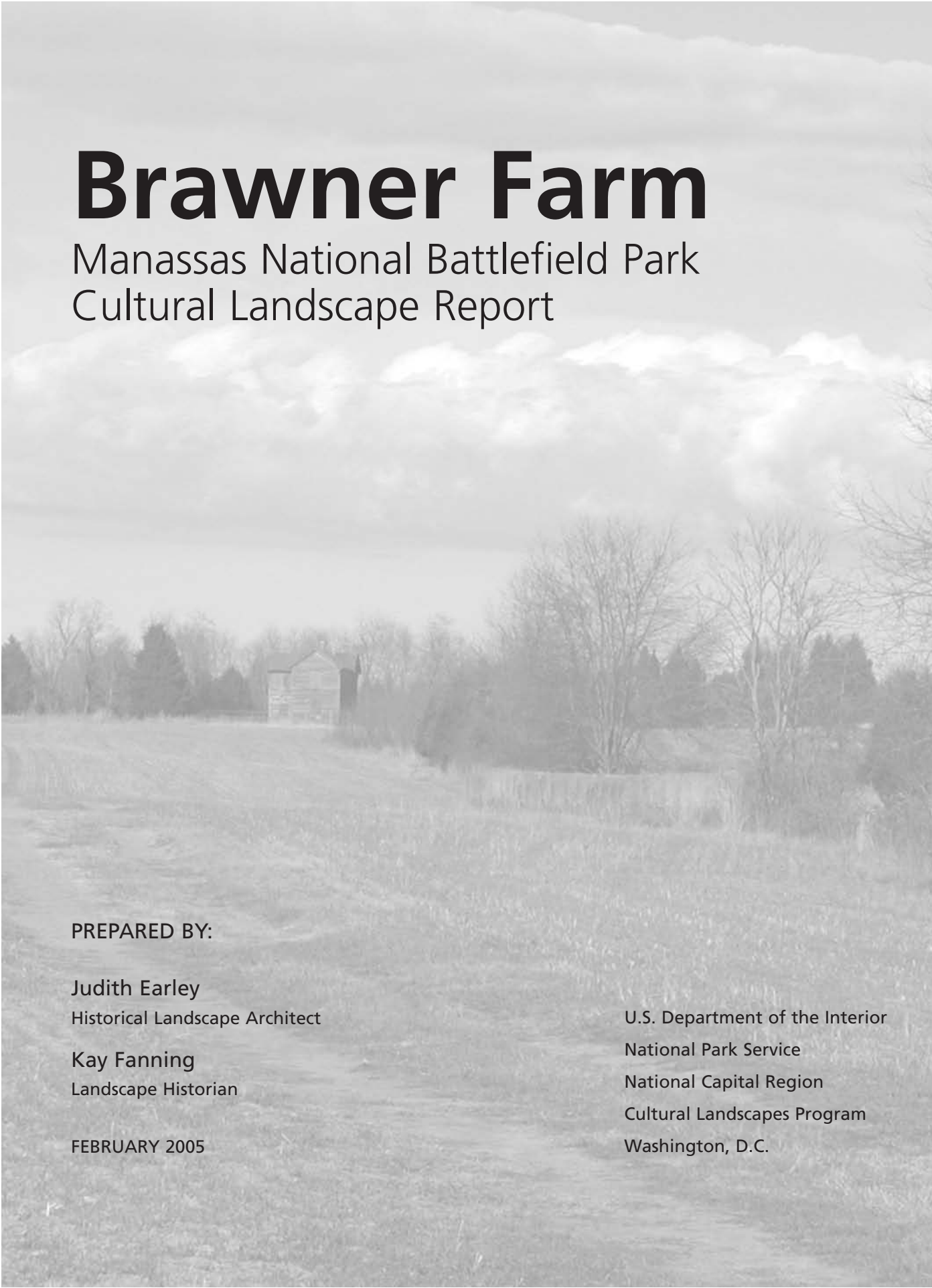




Brawner Farm

Manassas National Battlefield Park Cultural Landscape Report





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Manassas National Battlefield Park Cultural Landscape Report

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FEBRUARY 2005

U.S. Department of the Interior
National Park Service
National Capital Region
Cultural Landscapes Program
Washington, D.C.



Cover Illustration: The house on Brawner Farm, seen from the south along the modern service road to the farm, with the historic farm road at the right. (2001; NCR CLP digital photo).

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Foreword

Most of us have a sense of the distance of 100 yards. Football fans know that 100 yards is the length of a football field. Baseball fans know that the home run fence in most major league stadiums is more than that distance. Track and field fans thrill at watching sprinters cover a little more than 100 yards to determine who is the fastest runner.

Now, imagine thousands of soldiers firing guns at each other over roughly that same distance, with virtually nothing in between for protection. That is exactly what happened at Brawner Farm in the late afternoon and evening of August 28, 1862. Confederate and Union soldiers blazed away at each other until it was too dark to see the other side. The next day, the hundreds of soldiers who were killed in this encounter lay in almost perfect rows, nearly 100 yards apart.

Brawner Farm and the battlefield where this terrible carnage took place are now part of Manassas National Battlefield Park. The evidence of this battle has long disappeared, but the site remains as an important landmark from the Civil War era in American history. Reports from the battle tell us that the Confederate battle lines formed from the corner of the Brawner farm house. From those reports and subsequent archeological evidence, National Park Service historians have been able to precisely locate where the battle took place.

In the nearly century-and-a-half since the end of the Civil War, the landscape of Brawner Farm has changed. Trees have grown up where there were open fields; the fence lines and farm roads have either disappeared or been overgrown with vegetation. So, although we know where this battle took place, it is very difficult for visitors to have a sense of the location from the existing landscape.

Thus, a very important tool for park managers to restore Brawner Farm and the battlefield to what it looked like in 1862 is the Cultural Landscape Report that follows. Using maps, documents, reports, archeology and a wealth of other available information, the team of scholars who prepared this report were able to provide detailed information concerning what the landscape in and around this site looked like those many years ago. Not only is this report a tremendously valuable management tool, it also is a fascinating detective story that has pieced together information that will transport its readers back in time to the Second Battle of Manassas and to rural Virginia 150 years ago.

Robert K. Sutton, Ph. D.
Superintendent
Manassas National Battlefield Park

Acknowledgements

The authors extend their thanks to the Superintendent of Manassas National Battlefield Park, Robert Sutton, and the former Assistant Superintendent, Karen Cucurullo, who both provided guidance at key junctures. Cultural Resources Manager Ray Brown and Museum Specialist Jim Burgess shared their knowledge throughout this project, steering us through the voluminous materials in the park records. Stephen Potter, Regional Archeologist for the National Capital Region, gave us invaluable insights into the effects of both the battle and decades of farming on the farm landscape. Maureen Joseph, Regional Historical Landscape Architect and head of the NCR Cultural Landscapes Program, has skillfully guided us from the beginning of our work.

Careful and extensive review comments were given by all the park and regional staff mentioned above, as well as by John Hennessy, an expert on the Second Battle of Manassas (Chief Historian at Fredericksburg & Spotsylvania National Military Park) and Darwina Neal, Chief of Cultural Resources for the National Capital Region. Tom Vitanza and his Historic Resource Study team from the Historic Preservation Training Center in Frederick, Maryland, generously shared their findings on the Brawner House. Our thanks also to Don Wilson of RELIC, the Virginiana Room at the Bull Run Regional Library, who assisted us with understanding discrepancies in Land Records.

Executive Summary

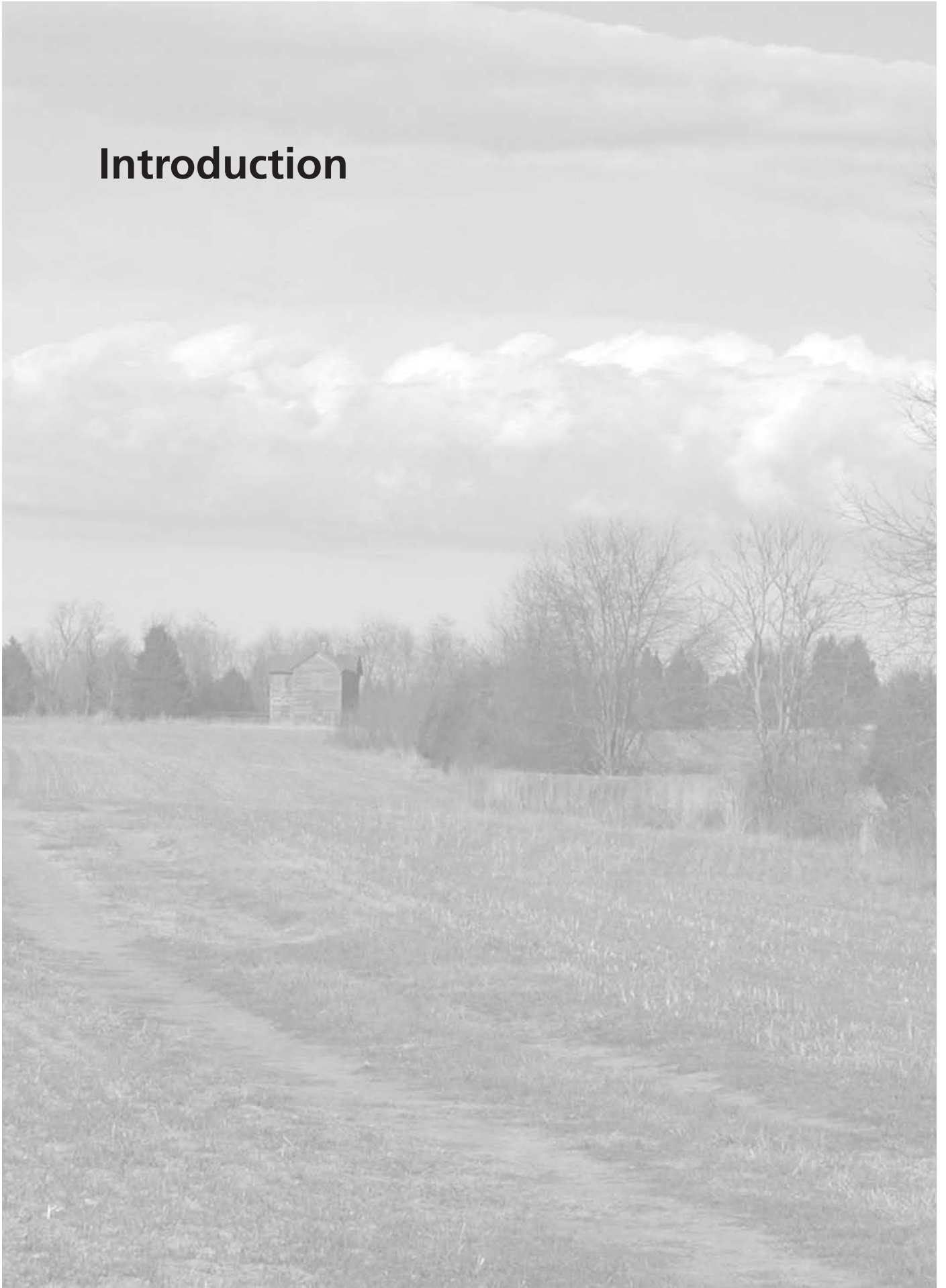
For nearly two hundred years, the Brawner Farm has been an unremarkable property. In the nineteenth century, it lay north of the Warrenton Turnpike (Route 29), situated between the towns of Centreville and Gainesville, near the hamlets of Groveton and Sudley. The land once owned by Robert “King” Carter passed to his heirs and then to a farmer, George Tennille, who built an imposing house on a prominent ridge. Tennille’s relatively early death led to its occupation by tenant farmer John Brawner. Accidents of topography and proximity to key settlements and other man-made features caused the farm to be the locus of the opening engagement of a major Civil War battle.

Though his tenure there was relatively short, John Brawner happened to be occupying the farm in August 1862, during the brief but intense opening conflict of the Second Battle of Manassas and the ensuing struggles of the following two days. And thus Brawner’s name has become linked to a farm he never owned and to a house that it now appears he never occupied.

Writing a Cultural Landscape Report on the Brawner Farm presented an unusual challenge. For two hundred years, with the exception of three violent days, nothing much happened there. Bachelor’s Hall, Tennille’s early nineteenth-century manor house, and the structures that accompanied it are long gone. The remnants of other outbuildings are scant. The Tennille, Douglas, Brawner, and Davis families left few traces on their land or in the public record. Descendants have been difficult to track. There are no historic photographs of the property. The small number of existing historic maps, survey notes, and descriptions record only certain aspects of the site as it appeared on a very few days in 1862 and 1875. The CLR team was left with having to piece together the story of the farm’s two-hundred years of occupation by drawing inferences from studies of other farms in Manassas National Battlefield Park, battle accounts, and the traces continuous farming has left on the land – fencelines, piles of stone, ridges along field edges.

The Brawner Farm Cultural Landscape Report was written over a period of four years. Research began in 2001 and continued through 2002. Several matters then arose which temporarily put completion of the project on hold. Questions about the provenance of the farmhouse led to the development of an intensive Historic Structures Report. Discussions ensued about the future use of the site, and the decision to develop it as a Visitor Contact Station. Resolution of these matters gave the authors direction to follow in development of the preferred treatment alternative. This treatment presents the house as the place from which visitors will begin their exploration of the Second Battle of Manassas battlefield.

Introduction



Introduction

The Brawner Farm is a site of approximately 319 acres which lies in the northwest corner of Manassas National Battlefield Park.¹ The farm was the location of the opening conflict of the Second Battle of Manassas, on August 28, 1862. This brief but intense firefight occurred between Maj. Gen. Thomas J. “Stonewall” Jackson’s wing of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia and a portion of Brig. Gen. Rufus King’s division of the Third Corps of the Union Army of Virginia. Fighting continued on the farm over the next two days of the battle.

The site is referred to as the “Brawner Farm” after the tenant, John C. Brawner, who occupied the farm at the time of the Second Battle of Manassas.² The farm was owned by Augusta Douglas, the widow of George A. Douglas (d. 1856), who had inherited it from his grandfather in 1846.³ An antebellum farmhouse, Bachelor’s Hall, anchored the right of the Confederate line on the evening of August 28, 1862.

Probably because it had been heavily damaged in the battle, the original, large Georgian-derived house appears to have been taken down, and sometime between 1865 and 1895, when William D. Davis purchased the farm, another, smaller structure was built in its place. This second house appears to have been a one and one-half story structure that dated to the eighteenth or early nineteenth century, and was probably moved to the site. In 1904/05, William Davis enlarged this older structure to two full stories and built a new two-story ell to the south. Even though John Brawner probably never lived in any part of the existing house, for convenience this document refers to it as the “Brawner house” and the site as the “Brawner Farm.”

Objectives

The purpose of the Brawner Farm Cultural Landscape Report is to investigate and record the site’s historic and existing landscape conditions, to assess the integrity of the current landscape, and to make treatment recommendations for its future development and interpretation. The 1983 General Management Plan for the park identifies Brawner Farm as the primary interpretive site for the Second Battle of Manassas.⁴ The battle fought here briefly but violently disrupted the uneventful daily life of this small, not very prosperous farm. The CLR attempts to determine what remains of the landscape conditions existing at the time of the war. It also analyzes the historic use of this site as a typical agricultural landscape of the Virginia Piedmont.

Study Boundaries

The study area of this report includes parcels from three tracts: the property north of Route 29 (Lee Highway/Warrenton Turnpike), owned by George and Augusta Douglas and rented during the war by John Brawner (another 21 acres were added at the farm’s northwest corner in 1918 by the Davises)⁵; the 23-acre triangular piece

south of Route 29 (historically part of the Douglas/Brawner farm, and also part of the Davis property until the 1980s)⁶; and a tract of 46 acres located immediately southwest of the Douglas/Brawner farm, purchased by the government from Dorothy Abbott and previously owned by the Swart family. The Swart tract originally formed part of the William Cundiff farm (Meadowville), which lay mostly south of Route 29. The study boundaries encompass about 390 acres. (Exhibit A)

The properties north of Route 29 were included within the 1980 legislated boundary adjustment and were acquired by National Park Service in 1985. The triangular portion of the historic farm was acquired in 1988 along with the Stuart's Hill tract under a legislative taking.

The western edge of the study area is bounded by Pageland Lane. The northern and eastern edges correspond to the boundary of the historic Douglas/ Brawner tract. At the southeast, the boundary line extends below Route 29, then returns to follow the north edge of Route 29 to its intersection with Pageland Lane.

General Description

Manassas National Battlefield Park is a National Park Service unit of approximately 5072 acres that includes the sites of two major Civil War battles: the First Battle of Manassas, fought on July 21, 1861, and the Second Battle of Manassas, fought August 28-30, 1862. The park has been listed on the National Register of Historic Places as the Manassas National Battlefield Park National Register Historic District since 1966. The nomination was revised in 1981 and again in 2004. The entire historic district encompasses approximately 6421 acres, including some land outside the authorized boundaries of the park. Within the authorized boundaries are about 500 acres owned by private individuals and the Commonwealth of Virginia. Additionally, there are a few areas surrounded by park land but not authorized for future acquisition, such as Stonewall Memory Gardens and the Zouave Hills Estates, which thus lie outside the authorized boundary. Most of the park lies within Prince William County, although a few acres east of the Stone Bridge extend into Fairfax County. The stream known as Bull Run borders the park's eastern boundary, separating Prince William and Fairfax counties. A tributary stream called Catharpin Run flows to the north of the park, through the area historically known as Sudley or Sudley Springs. Another tributary stream, Youngs Branch, meanders across the park west to east.

The 2004 revision of the nomination included information on lands acquired since 1981, including Brawner Farm, Stuart's Hill, Portici, and adjacent properties associated with the Second Battle of Manassas, such as areas west of Pageland Lane, portions of Stony Ridge north of the park, as well as some lands outside park boundaries – all lands that were important to the Second Battle of Manassas. The 1981 nomination included the Brawner Farm because it lay within the area authorized for acquisition by the Manassas National Battlefield Park Amendments of 1980 passed by Congress.

Manassas National Battlefield Park is crossed by two highways, U.S. Route 29 (historic Warrenton Turnpike), running east-west, and State Route 234 (historic Sudley Springs Road, also called Sudley Mill Road or simply the Sudley Road), running north-south. These two roads divide the park into four quadrants. The Brawner Farm site is located in the park's northwest corner, adjoining the Lucinda Dogan farm to the east, and Stuart's Hill, the site of Robert E. Lee's headquarters during Second Manassas, to the south across Route 29.

The park encompasses portions of three huge tracts of land patented by one of the wealthiest and most powerful landowners of colonial Virginia, Robert "King" Carter: Great (Upper) Bull Run and Lower Bull Run, both acquired by Carter in 1724, and Middle Bull Run, acquired in 1729. The park's northwest quadrant includes lands from the Great and Middle Bull Run tracts. Together, Great and Middle Bull Run included 41,660 acres, and Lower Bull Run – south of the stream known as Youngs Branch – encompassed an additional 6030 acres. Featherbed Lane marks the historic border between the Great and Middle Bull Run tracts.

Methodology

This Cultural Landscape Report has been prepared by a two-person team from the Lands, Resources and Planning Division of the National Capital Region of the National Park Service: Judith Earley, Historical Landscape Architect, and Kay Fanning, Cultural Landscape Historian. They were assisted by Maureen Joseph, Regional Historical Landscape Architect, and Elizabeth Henderson, National Council of Preservation Education (NCPE) Graphics Intern.

The team conducted field surveys of the study area, and were assisted by the Regional Archeologist and park staff on several occasions. Extensive primary and secondary research was conducted at the following repositories: files and other holdings at the library and Resource Management Office of Manassas National Battlefield Park (soldiers' battle recollections, Brawner Farm files, tract files, aerial photos); Technical Information Center, National Capital Region, National Park Service (LCS field notes, copies of reports on Manassas National Battlefield Park and its holdings); office files, Cultural Landscapes Program, National Capital Region, NPS (office files on Manassas National Battlefield Park cultural landscape projects, also park reports); National Archives and Records Center, Washington, D.C. (copies of war claims from the Southern War Claims commission were obtained from NARA by previous researchers); Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division (Civil War maps); RELIC (the Virginia Room) and other holdings at Bull Run Regional Library, Prince William County (land tax assessments, 1782-1861); County Archives, Prince William County Courthouse (land tax assessments, 1865-1900, deeds and wills, nineteenth century); County Records, Prince William County Courthouse (land tax assessments, 1900-1958).

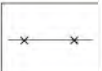
The team analyzed the extensive secondary information existing for Manassas National Battlefield Park: Cultural Landscape Inventories for Northwest Quadrant,

Brawner Farm

Manassas National Battlefield Park

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR — NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

LEGEND

	BRAWNER FARM STUDY BOUNDARY		WOODED AREAS
	PARK BOUNDARY		FENCEROWS
	STREAMS		FENCELINES
	HORSE AND HIKING TRAIL		
	INTERPRETIVE TRAILS		

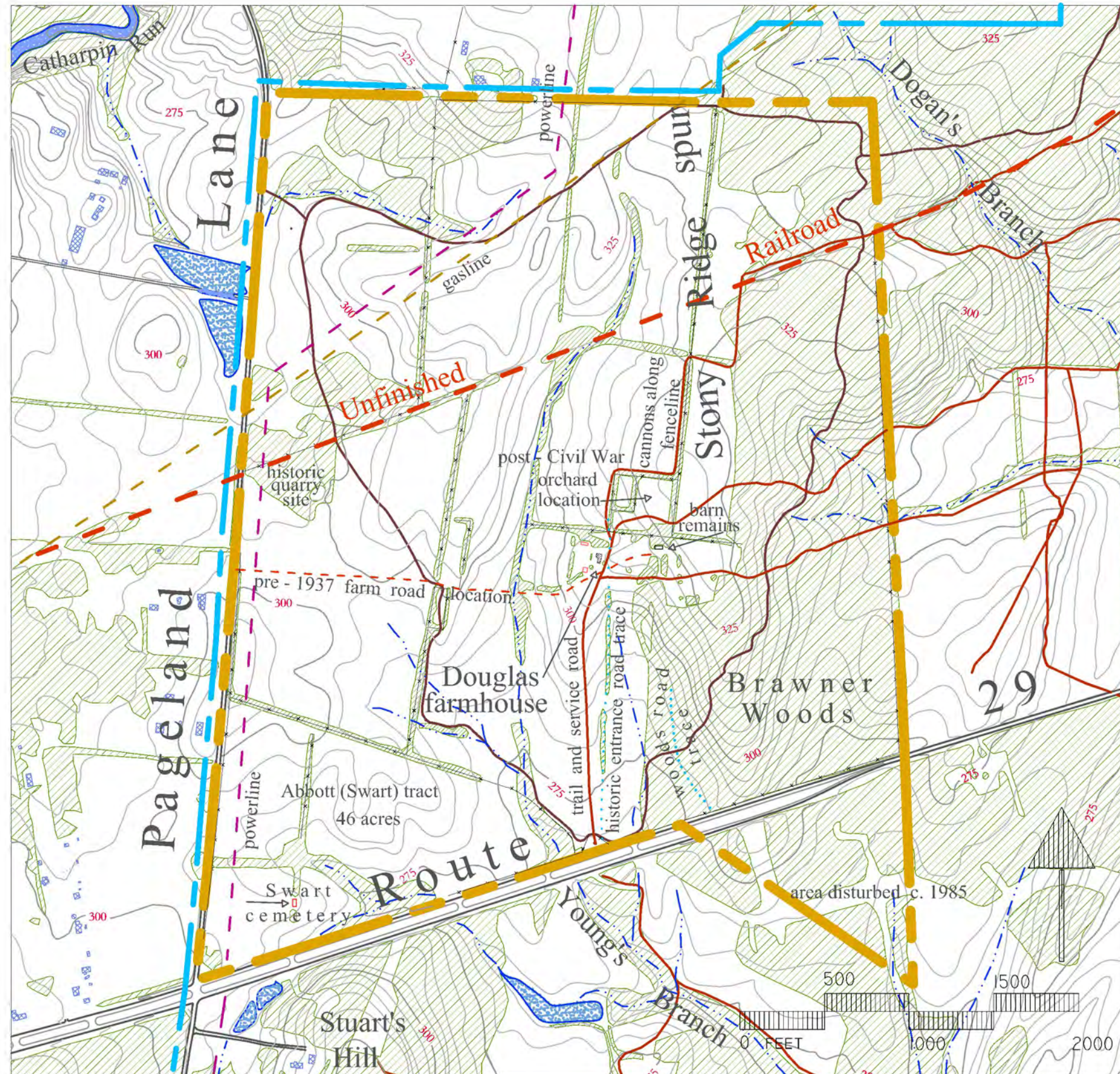


EXHIBIT A

EXISTING CONDITIONS - OVERALL SITE

Information is from GIS produced by Prince William County Office of Mapping and Information, based on 1987 aerials. Trails and fencelines are park data. Aerials from 2001 were also consulted for changes in vegetation.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPES PROGRAM
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION

2006

Northeast Quadrant, and Southern Portion; Environmental Assessments; archeological reports; architectural studies of the house; and the current draft National Register nomination for the historic district. Also examined were reports and studies on the Civil War, the Second Battle of Manassas, and on the battle of Brawner Farm specifically; soldiers' accounts of the Brawner Farm battle; historic and current maps; historic and aerial photographs; state and county histories; agricultural histories and historic agricultural treatises; and studies of farm buildings. Tax, will, and population and agricultural census information for the former owners of the tracts, and John Brawner's War Claim, were reviewed through photocopies in the collections of the Cultural Landscape Program files and in original books and microfilm held at the repositories listed above.

Endnotes, Introduction

¹ The 319-acre figure is the often-quoted acreage for the Brawner Farm. Research conducted for this report at park headquarters and the regional offices of the National Park Service reveals that a truer acreage for the land included within the boundaries of the farm, including a triangular parcel south of Route 29, is closer to 344 acres.

² The first document to refer to the site and the action that occurred there as “Brawner Farm” is Alan T. Nolan’s *The Iron Brigade: A Military History* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1961): see p. 315, endnote 1.

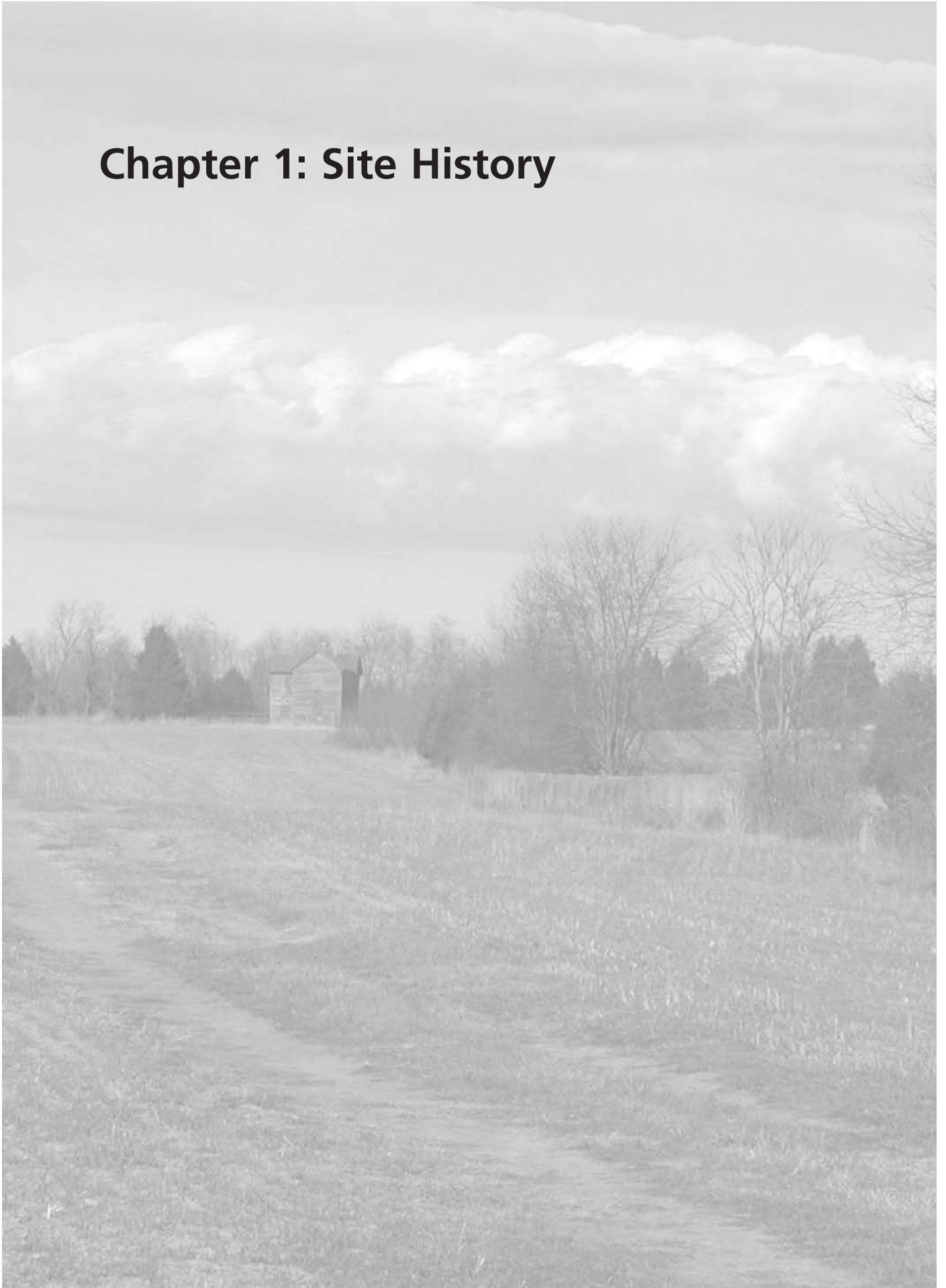
³ The name appears as both “Douglas” and “Douglass” in official documents. “Douglas” is the form used throughout this report because this is the spelling used in the wills of George and Augusta Douglas and in county tax records from the mid-1870s on.

⁴ Ann van Huizen et al., “Development Concept Plan, Environmental Assessment, Manassas National Battlefield Park, Brawner Farm Site” (February 1989): v. Hereinafter “DCP/EA.”

⁵ When the Brawner Farm property was purchased by the NPS in 1985, it included the 21-acre parcel but not 23 acres south of Route 29. A seven-acre right-of-way that was the route of a railroad begun in the 1850s but never completed runs through this part of the farm and has been included in acreage figures given here.

⁶ This parcel had been sold by the Davises to the Marriott Corporation but was eventually acquired by NPS.

Chapter 1: Site History



Introduction

On the evening of August 28, 1862, a violent battle erupted on the small Virginia farm rented by a sixty-four-year-old man, John Brawner.¹ Troops from the Confederacy's Stonewall Brigade and five other brigades faced the Union's Black Hat Brigade (soon to become known as the Iron Brigade) and elements of Abner Doubleday's brigade, standing as close as 80 yards apart on the hill near Brawner's dwelling and firing at each other point-blank for 80 minutes in a battle that has been described as "one of the fiercest firefights of the Civil War."² The battle of Brawner Farm was the opening salvo of the Second Battle of Manassas, which raged over the next two days on lands to the east and south of the Brawner Farm. The Southern victory at Second Manassas opened the way for Gen. Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia to advance into the north.³ The violence of these few hours interrupted the uneventful pattern of life on this quiet farm, briefly transforming it into the fulcrum of the Civil War.

The Brawner Farm has remained in continuous agricultural use from the eighteenth century to the present day. The property rented by John Brawner in the 1860s was a small portion of a vast tract patented in the 1720s by the Virginia land baron, Robert "King" Carter, to his sons and grandsons. The farm lay in the northernmost part of the Carter holdings, which encompassed thousands of acres and stretched over 12 counties. Over the years the original Carter tract was subdivided and passed down through generations of heirs. George Tennille purchased a couple of tracts totaling about 370 acres in the late eighteenth century (see *Appendix A*). The farm remained in the Tennille family for most of the nineteenth century, inherited by Tennille's grandson, George Douglas, and then by Douglas's wife, Augusta, who rented the property to several tenants, first among them John Brawner. In the 1890s the Douglasses's son, Pendleton, sold the farm to William Davis, and it remained in the Davis family until 1985, when it was formally acquired by the National Park Service. Part of the land is still farmed under a hay lease.

Spear points and other prehistoric artifacts have been found near the house. The relatively high elevation of this south end of Stony Ridge and the location of a spring would have made the site appealing to Native Americans. Signs of historic activity can still be seen in patterns remaining on the Brawner Farm landscape, in fencelines and hedgerows, and in lines and piles of fieldstones. The extant house, almost certainly a post-war structure, marks the general site of the original antebellum dwelling, known as Bachelor's Hall. Clustered around the house, particularly to the west, north, and east, lie the foundation remains of numerous outbuildings. Rusted, broken farm equipment still litters the historic farmstead and barnyard.

Pre-European Settlement

In Piedmont Virginia, Native American villages were usually situated along water-courses or near sources of water. Evidence of prehistoric camps and lithic scatters have been found in the park, and evidence of prehistoric use has been found on the Brawner site a short distance from the house. The proximity of a spring would have

made this a desirable location. (See *Analysis and Evaluation: Archeology*.) No other information is available about prehistoric habitation of the area.

Early Settlement, 1700s

The first Europeans in Virginia settled in the Tidewater area of the Coastal Plain. Typically, land in Northern Virginia was granted in patents of 500 to 5000 acres or more. Within three years after a patent was issued, an owner was required to clear at least an acre, build a house, and occupy, or “seat,” his land. The actual resident could be someone other than the owner; planters often bought large parcels and paid for the passage of indentured servants from Europe.⁴

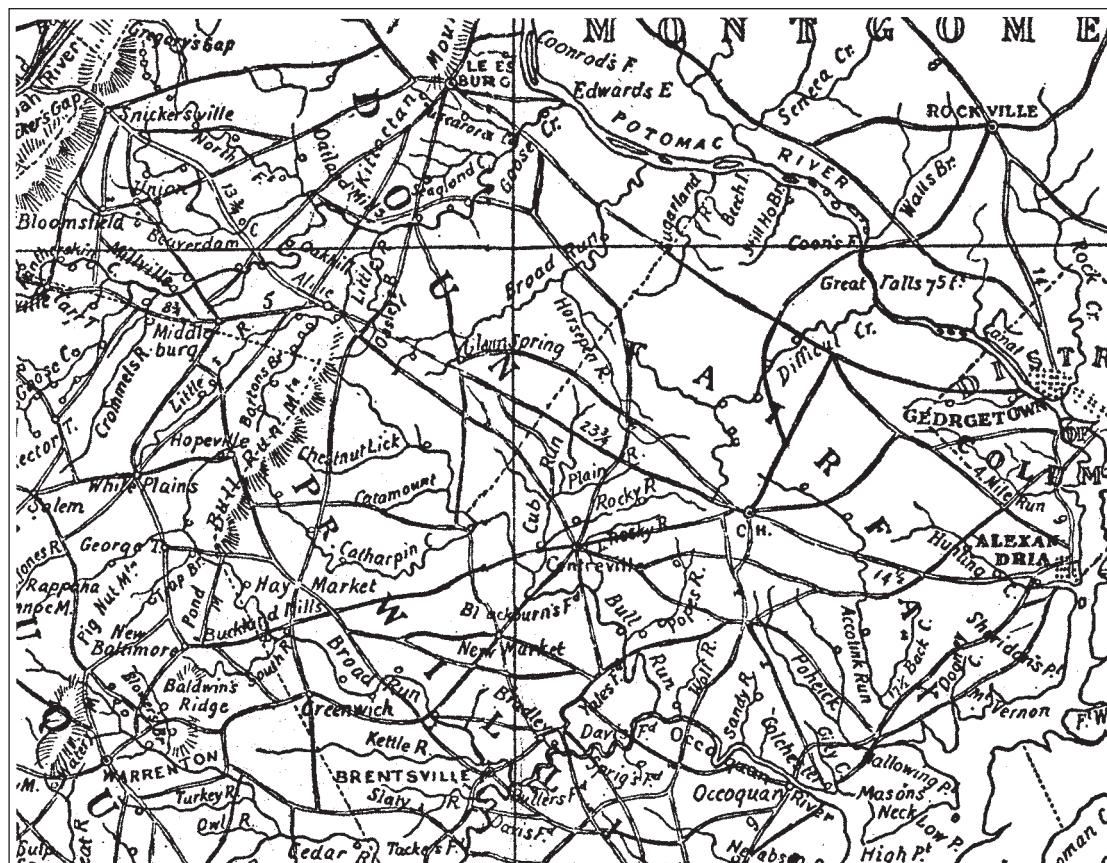
The plantations of the wealthiest men were oriented to major rivers, such as the Potomac and James. These estates had private docks where imported goods could be received and products from the plantation could be loaded directly onto ships bound for Europe. Spurred by exploration and trade with Indians, settlement in Virginia spread west and north along navigable waterways.

The large tobacco plantation formed the economic basis of colonial Tidewater Virginia. Tobacco provided the main source of wealth, although long-term growth of tobacco led to poor crops. It was believed that tobacco damaged the soil through “exhaustion,” or depleting soil of nutrients (however, the cause more likely was an abundance of fungi, nematodes, and other microscopic pests, whose growth is encouraged by monocultures).⁵ Tobacco monoculture also caused the erosion of topsoil, which washed into streams and rivers and was deposited as silt. Depleted agricultural lands were often simply abandoned and subsequently became overgrown by successional vegetation.

Many farmers moved west to the Piedmont, an area which tended to have smaller landholdings and a more diversified economy. While Piedmont farmers grew tobacco for cash, they also raised corn, wheat, and smaller amounts of other grains, such as oats and rye. They probably cultivated orchards for fruit, grew vegetables and small crops of potatoes for home consumption, raised livestock, and harvested timber from their woodlands. The expansion of tobacco cultivation into western areas of Virginia required the establishment of permanent port towns on the Potomac River where the crop could be inspected and stored prior to shipping. The most important of these early port towns was Dumfries, the seat of Prince William County from 1759-1822.

In the early eighteenth century, the future Prince William County – then part of Stafford County – lay in Lord Fairfax’s Northern Neck proprietary. In 1730, the northern part of Stafford County, containing present-day Fairfax, Arlington, Fauquier, and Loudoun counties, was renamed Prince William County. At its southern end, a settlement of Scottish merchants and wealthy Virginia planters was established on Quantico Creek, which extended in a natural harbor for several miles west from its mouth at the Potomac River. The settlement, known as Dumfries, was chartered in May 1749, the same month as the town of Alexandria, located on

Figure 1. A portion of the Nine Sheet Map (1827), showing the Manassas area near the center of the image. Various nearby landmarks include Bull Run Mountain, Catharpin Creek, Haymarket, New Market, and Centreville. (from Harrison, Landmarks of Old Prince William, 1924, reissued 1987)



Hunting Creek, about 20 miles north of Dumfries.⁶ By the mid-eighteenth century, Dumfries had become one of the busiest ports in Virginia, particularly for tobacco. Dumfries competed with other ports for trade from the Shenandoah Valley and the Piedmont counties of Fairfax, Loudoun, Fauquier, and Culpeper, and monopolized trade from Prince William.

Early Virginia roads generally followed existing Indian trails, although they were expanded in areas to provide access to shipping and wharves. The most important north-south road through the Piedmont was the Carolina Road, which ran through colonial Prince William County from the Rappahannock River north to the settlement of Haymarket, then passed east of the Bull Run Mountains to Leesburg. Rolling roads, over which hogsheads of tobacco were rolled to market, were built to follow creeks and ridges. Three main roads connected the inland plantations to the Tidewater ports of Dumfries, Colchester, and Alexandria. From Dumfries, the Dumfries Road ran northwest to the mountains, passing through the Piedmont area of Prince William County, still frontier land in the eighteenth century. A north branch of the road led through Gainesville and Haymarket to Thoroughfare Gap.⁷ (Figure 1)

From the seventeenth century, tobacco dominated Virginia trade and agriculture by virtue of the high price it could command. Pork was also an important export commodity, while corn was favored over wheat as the primary grain crop for human consumption. Slowly, however, from the late seventeenth into the eighteenth century, Virginia saw a rise in the production and export of wheat: “the outstanding economic phenomenon in eighteenth-century Virginia was the change of staple in the Piedmont counties from tobacco to wheat.”⁸ Wheat could be milled into flour, a product more easily transported over land than tobacco.

Immigrant farmers from Pennsylvania moving into the Shenandoah Valley after 1730 brought with them a preference for raising grains, and “their practice spread from one small farm to another across the Blue Ridge and into the Piedmont.”⁹ Grains were an important crop in Loudoun and upper Fauquier counties from their inception, and from there grain production moved south into the Tidewater tobacco lands. A growing English demand for American grain also encouraged its production.

From the third quarter of the eighteenth century, mills were built along watercourses to convert wheat into flour. Mills helped determine the routes along which turnpikes were built. Conestoga wagons hauled wheat to the mills, and then carried the milled flour to markets in the Tidewater. Perhaps the earliest and most important was Chapman’s Mill (later renamed Beverley Mill) on Broad Run in the Thoroughfare Gap. Both Chapman’s Mill and Carter’s Mill at Sudley were probably in operation as early as 1760; Chapman’s Mill may even have been established in the 1740s.¹⁰

By the late eighteenth century, Dumfries had entered a slow and sustained decline. In just a few decades the Dumfries harbor had become filled with silt washed off tobacco farms. Also, the town failed to make the transition from shipping tobacco to shipping wheat. Alexandria, however, realized the importance of this transition in the state’s agriculture, and created improved highways running from the Shenandoah Valley and the Piedmont counties to encourage the transport of wheat flour. Alexandria soon replaced Dumfries as a major port for national and international trade.”

Much of Prince William County from the early eighteenth century was owned by the immensely wealthy Robert “King” Carter (1663-1732), of Corotoman plantation in Lancaster County. One of the most prominent figures in colonial Virginia, Carter served as a member of the House of Burgesses and Acting Governor of Virginia in 1726. He was twice named land agent for Lord Fairfax’s Northern Neck Proprietary, a position which enabled him to secure enormous tracts of land for himself and his family. When he died in 1732, Carter left his heirs over 300,000 acres and more than 1000 slaves, and “his plantation empire stretched from the Tidewater to the foothills of the Appalachians.”¹²

In 1724, King Carter acquired the Bull Run tract in Stafford County, comprised of Great and Middle Bull Run. He patented the tract in the names of two of his sons, including Landon of Sabine Hall, Richmond County, and five of his grandsons. In 1729, Carter purchased Lower Bull Run, south of the stream known as Youngs Branch. Great and Middle Bull Run together included 41,660 acres, while Lower Bull Run encompassed an additional 6030 acres.¹³ (Featherbed Lane today marks the historic border between the Great and Middle Bull Run tracts.) Landon Carter received all of the Middle Bull Run tract.

Before 1723, the year he was named agent for the second time, King Carter had acquired operating Tidewater plantations. Soon after 1723, he surveyed and patented huge tracts of unimproved lands in the Piedmont and the Shenandoah Valley: almost 90,000 acres running up the north-south spine of Prince William County, from south of Brentsville to the head of the Bull Run valley; almost 53,000 acres in Fairfax and Loudoun counties; 58,000 acres above the Shenandoah River; and additional tracts

Figure 2. A portion of the map by John Henry (1770), showing the counties of Virginia at that time and various landmarks. The Carter lands along Bull Run are shown below the Bull Run Mountains near the top of the image. (from Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William*, p. 560)



encompassing two strategically important gaps in the Blue Ridge mountains. Such manorial patents by Carter and his wealthy contemporaries inhibited small freehold farmers from settling in the Piedmont; large proprietors wanted to lease their land, while most settlers hoped to buy, and therefore moved beyond the Piedmont to the valley.¹⁴

However, the Carters succeeded in leasing some of their western Virginia lands to tenant farmers during the first half of the century. Between 1760 and 1770, John and Landon Carter – grandsons of King Carter, and sons of Landon Carter of Sabine Hall – migrated from the Tidewater to the family lands in Prince William and Fairfax counties. (Figure 2) John Carter (1739-1789) settled north of the confluence of Bull and Catharpin runs on a plantation known as Sudley, and began building a large manor house about 1760. Landon Carter II (c. 1738-1801) inherited the Middle Bull Run tract and established the estate known as Pittsylvania (house built 1765).¹⁵

John Carter of Sudley built a large flour mill, the Sudley Mill, along Catharpin Run in 1760. Along with the larger Chapman's Mill on Broad Run in Thoroughfare Gap, the Sudley Mill formed a vital cog in the region's economy, important to internal trade within the colonies and export trade with England.¹⁶ Sudley Mill ground flour brought from three adjoining counties, Fairfax, Fauquier, and Loudoun. Carter may have also built a saw mill at Sudley at this time, and probably a blacksmith's shop and a general store were built in association also.¹⁷

By the end of the eighteenth century, 50 grist and saw mills stood in Prince William County.¹⁸ Small settlements, typically composed of a few dwellings and the shops of merchants and craftsmen, had begun to grow up at crossroads to serve the needs of farmers. The settlement known as Sudley developed around the mill. Another nearby hamlet was New Market. Fords were created along Bull Run where its typically steep and high banks were low enough to permit passage. The two major market towns for Sudley farmers were Alexandria, 21 miles to the east, and Dumfries, 18 miles to the south.

Large landholders dominated agriculture in the Sudley area until the mid-nineteenth century. Most were Carter relatives or descendants; these families included the Henrys, Balls, and Chinns. From the early eighteenth century, the lands around Sudley were gradually cleared of forest cover and cultivated for agriculture, primarily for the raising of tobacco, although other staple crops were grown as well. Slaves provided labor. Grains began to supplant tobacco from the mid-eighteenth century.¹⁹



Figure 3. Portici, built by Spencer Ball in the 1820s. This image also illustrates the variety of fence types used on farms in the Manassas area. (Library of Congress)

In Virginia, two methods were commonly used to manage huge tracts of land: either small plantations, usually about 1000 acres in size, would be established as a basic operating unit to produce a staple money crop, or the land would be divided into tracts for rent. Wooded areas were usually left along streams and in rocky areas. These woodlots formed an integral part of the plantation economy; they provided renewable timber for the construction of buildings and fences, and firewood to burn or sell. The importance of woodlots and orchards to the local economy is apparent from early years.²⁰

Farm roads led from plantation houses to the surrounding tobacco fields, then connected with public roads that ran to commercial districts. Most local roads developed along property boundaries. A north-south road leading to the Sudley Mill ran through the Pittsylvania tract, following the edges of crop fields and woodlands.

Subdivision of Sudley Lands, 1800-1820

Much of the Carter property in the Sudley area was subdivided after 1800, with some land sold outside the family. A number of more modest houses were built on these smaller tracts, generally situated on hilltops overlooking pastures and croplands. These houses include Peach Grove, Meadowville, Portici, Spring Hill Farm, Hazel Plain, Rosefield, and Bachelor's Hall, all of which stood on lands within the present boundaries of Manassas National Battlefield Park.²¹ (Figure 3)

In these years, most farm properties in the Sudley area were organized in a similar manner. Near the main dwelling stood slave quarters and various outbuildings. Each farm typically had an orchard and vegetable garden, areas for livestock, and a family cemetery.²²

The marketing and transport of wheat and other grains required improved roads, and turnpikes were built across the county to connect western farms with port cities.

Figure 4. View of the Stone House from the southwest, March 1862. Note the stake-and-rider fence in the foreground. (Manassas NBP)



The Fauquier and Alexandria Turnpike, begun in 1812, linked the western part of Prince William County with the Potomac River port. Known as the Warrenton Turnpike, the new road spurred development along its corridor and replaced the Warrenton, Alexandria and Washington Road (now Balls Ford Road) as the main route to Alexandria.

The first ten miles of the turnpike ran from Little River Turnpike at Germantown, about a mile west of Fairfax Court House, to Bull Run, located south of Sudley. In 1815, the roadway was extended about two miles west of its intersection with Sudley Mill Road. Within a few years, citizens in the Sudley area registered complaints about its poor condition, saying that travelers were often forced to go through fields and woods to avoid the muddy road entirely. The turnpike company made improvements between November 1823 and October 1824, macadamizing the road surface, building Stone Bridge where the turnpike crossed over Bull Run, and setting up toll gates every five miles. The third toll gate from Fairfax stood south of the intersection with Sudley Mill Road; the Stone House was probably built opposite the road to the north in the 1840s. (Figure 4) Post-and-rail and worm fences, constructed of chestnut, oak, and cedar, ran along the turnpike.²³

By 1827, regular twice-weekly stagecoach runs were begun between Alexandria and the Orange County Courthouse, about 70 miles to the southwest, well beyond the end of turnpike.²⁴ The turnpike had been extended to Warrenton by 1828. The Sudley Mill Road connected Sudley with New Market, less than two miles south of the turnpike. (See Figure 1) Further west, a crossroads village called Groveton

developed at the intersection of the turnpike and the Groveton-Sudley Road, adjoining the outbuildings of Henry Dogan's plantation, Peach Grove.

The turnpike served "three general forms of transport": drovers herded cattle, sheep, and swine, wagons transported agricultural products, and stagecoaches carried people.²⁵ Distinct service facilities grew up to meet the needs of each. Drovers' taverns and wagon stands catered primarily to the needs of animals, while stagecoach taverns provided simple food and lodging for travelers, along with fresh relays of horses. The Stone House may have been built as a tavern. New towns, larger than the crossroads settlements, grew up along the turnpike.

The nineteenth century saw new growth in the Sudley area. The first church, Sudley Methodist, was a brick structure built in 1822. Between 1835 and 1843 a sawmill, a new gristmill, and a miller's house rose on nearby Catharpin Run.²⁶ A store, blacksmith shop, wheelwright shop, and a few dwellings also stood in Sudley. Three roads led to the mill: Sudley Mill Road, Groveton-Sudley Road, and Pageland Lane. Two nearby fords provided passage to lands north of Catharpin Run.

Agricultural Improvements, 1820-1861

The population growth of eastern Virginia dropped rapidly after 1820, in part because of declining agricultural yields caused by soil erosion and exhaustion.²⁷ Many Virginians migrated west into the Piedmont, the Shenandoah Valley, or into the far western part of the state (which, because of disagreement over Virginia's secession, became the separate state of West Virginia in 1863); others left the state entirely for regions further south and west. Virginia's proportion of the country's population also declined: "Until 1820, Virginia had the largest population in the Union, but in that year it fell to second place, and by 1860 had skidded to fifth."²⁸ The population of Prince William County fell, from 11,615 in 1790 to 9,320 in 1830, and the county court was moved from Dumfries to Brentsville in 1822. An agricultural depression followed a financial panic in 1837. The population of blacks, both slave and free, also dwindled. As farms passed down through generations, their size shrank.²⁹ Northern farmers began to emigrate to Virginia since cheap land was available.

Eventually, improved agricultural techniques – deep plowing, crop rotation and diversification, and the addition of gypsum, compost, guano, marl, and other fertilizers – led to a marked improvement in farm productivity. Tobacco became supplanted by grains, primarily wheat, but also corn, rye, and oats. Farmers raised more livestock for meat, dairy products, and wool, kept bees for honey, and planted orchards. Diversification allowed farms to be productive throughout much of the agricultural year. Virginia agriculture began to flourish once again in the 1840s and 1850s.³⁰

Coming of Railways to the Manassas/Sudley Area

As the turnpike had 40 years earlier, the creation of rail lines in the mid-nineteenth century spurred economic growth and encouraged settlement in the Sudley area. While rail transportation lowered the price of transporting goods to market and delivering fertilizer to farmers, it undermined the economic advantages of transporting crops via turnpikes and brought an end to the businesses that served turnpike traffic. In 1836, a rail connection was laid from Winchester to the Baltimore & Ohio line at Harpers Ferry, weakening Alexandria's flour trade, which was dependent on roads.³¹

The first rail line in the Sudley area was the Orange and Alexandria, chartered in 1847, which ran from Gordonsville in Orange County through a village known as Tudor Hall, several miles south of Sudley, to Alexandria. In 1850, the Virginia General Assembly authorized the creation of the Manassas Gap Railroad to connect with the Orange and Alexandria at Tudor Hall, which became known as Manassas Junction.

The Manassas Gap line passed through Gainesville, then on through Thoroughfare Gap in the Bull Run Mountains before terminating at Harrisonburg in the Shenandoah Valley. The rail line provided a route into the valley, and enabled products from the valley to be shipped to the port at Alexandria. Shipping costs on the new line were high, however, and the Manassas Gap Railroad Company began to build their own line, the "Independent Line," to replace the original stretch of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. The new line was to extend from Gainesville to Sudley, where it crossed Bull Run, and then meandered through Fairfax County before terminating in Alexandria, at Jones' Point on the Potomac River.³²

The company acquired lands for the new line in 1854, including an 80-foot-wide corridor passing through several farms near Sudley (among them the Douglas, Dogan, Newman, and Cundiff tracts), crossing the prominent elevation known as Stony Ridge or Sudley Mountain.³³ The grade cut diagonally across the north end of the Douglas/Brawner Farm. Most construction stone was probably taken from quarries along the route, including the small quarry on the Douglas/Brawner Farm. Workers cleared trees along this corridor and built a series of cuts and fills to achieve an even, gradual grade.

The grade was completed to Alexandria in 1858, but soon after the Manassas Gap Railroad Company went bankrupt. It later merged with the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. Work on the railroad bed was abandoned, although the grade was left for future use.³⁴

The importance of the Manassas railroad junction – the "only link to southern supplies" – made it a prime target of military activity during the war. Lee recognized the village's vulnerability and ordered that it be fortified. The Union army's occupation of Alexandria, the terminus of the Orange and Alexandria line, forced Confederate troops to withdraw to Manassas.³⁵

Brawner Farm Site - George Tennille Ownership

Sometime between 1789 and 1800, Revolutionary war veteran George Tennille purchased a patent for 208 acres west of the Henry Dogan lands at the southern end of Stony Ridge.³⁶ In 1800, Tennille bought another 165 acres from Mann Page bordering Catharpin Run.³⁷ Although the two tracts were listed in the 1800 land tax assessments as a single property of 373 acres worth \$846.71, they were not contiguous: the 165-acre tract was located west of Pageland Lane and the 208-acre-parcel was located east of Pageland Lane. This 208-acre tract



Figure 5. Plats of George Tennille's 208-acre tract and his later 180-acre tract have been projected from deed documents and superimposed onto the 1981 aerial. Numbers correspond with angles and lengths of each boundary line. Notations such as "swamp corner" and "mill road" are also taken from the deeds. Owners of neighboring properties were identified for the 180-acre tract as Tennille, Hooe, and Dogan. The locations of the property boundaries are approximate.

became the southern half of the Brawner Farm site. (Figure 5) It is not known if there were then any buildings standing on his land. (Three years later, Tennille acquired a third, 70-acre tract from a man by the name of Feagan. In 1822 or 1823 he bought a fourth tract of 103 acres from Brasfield and Fortune which had no buildings. Both these tracts were in the same area as the first two, but it appears that neither became part of the Brawner Farm.)

There is no clear indication of when a house was first built on Tennille's property, but he is noted in tax records as living on the 373-acre tract by 1815; most likely his home was on the 208-acre parcel. The value of the 373-acre tract remained stable until 1820, a year which saw a sharp rise in value per acre (presumably throughout Prince William County); that year, it increased in value from \$2.27 per acre to \$15. Also in 1820, buildings were first listed as a separate item in the tax records, and the value of the structure or structures on Tennille's 373-acre tract was set at \$1200. About 1821 or 1822, Tennille purchased a fifth tract, of 110 acres, from a man named Newman, directly north of 208-acre tract and valued at \$10 per acre (when it was purchased the Newman tract comprised 180 acres, but by the next year this had dropped to 110). The Newman tract later formed the north half of the Brawner Farm site. It had no buildings. Tennille appears to have sold 10 acres of the Newman tract between 1828 and 1830, reducing that tract to 100 acres. By 1826, buildings worth \$100 had been erected on the tract purchased from Newman, and its per-acre value rose gradually from \$10 to \$11 to \$12 by 1830.³⁸

The valuation for all Tennille's properties remained more or less the same until 1839, when a county-wide reassessment following the depression of 1837 reduced the value of Tennille's land and buildings.³⁹ His five tracts, which had been treated as separate items in the tax records, were now consolidated into one tract of 629 3/4 acres,

worth \$6.25 per acre and with buildings worth \$600. However, this value relative to the rest of the county was still high; it was in the 80th percentile, while the earlier value of \$1200 was in the 70th percentile.⁴⁰

George Tennille died in 1840 and the estate passed as a life interest to his wife, Sarah. An inventory of Tennille's property, dated July 9, 1840, gives his net worth as \$769.75, and shows that he owned a total of 10 horses, a bull and 14 cows, calves, and heifers, 40 sheep, and 39 hogs. The estate remained intact and stable in value until Sarah Tennille's death in 1846. At that time, 322 1/2 acres of the 629 3/4 acre estate, including the \$600 worth of buildings, passed in fee to their grandson, George A. Douglas. Douglas inherited the house with all its furnishings, farming implements, two horses, three cows, 10 sheep, and 10 hogs. He was also left six slaves, four adults and two children.⁴¹

George A. Douglas came from Baltimore County, Maryland, and first appears on the Prince William County Personal Property Tax Rolls in 1841, the land tax assessments in 1847, and the Agricultural Census in 1850. Douglas's wife, Augusta, owned 43 acres within a mile of the Tennille tract. No structures stood on her parcel, and its precise location is not known.⁴²

The value of George Douglas's land and buildings began to fluctuate a couple of years after his inheritance. In 1849, the land had fallen to \$5 an acre and the buildings abruptly lost two-thirds of their value, falling from \$600 to \$200. Assessments then rose back to their previous level the following year before changing once more in 1851, when land values rose to \$7 per acre while the value of the buildings sank back to \$200, rising in 1852 to \$250, where they remained through 1856. Land values remained at \$7 from 1851 through 1856.

Information on the appearance and structure of the original house comes primarily from archeological evidence. It apparently faced south, towards the turnpike, and seems to have been a two-and-a-half-story, double-pile, central-hall house on a stone foundation with two chimneys at either end, suggesting that it was a Georgian-inspired structure. (See *Analysis and Evaluation: Archeology and Buildings and Structures*)

There are today sufficient remains of outbuildings and other features of the landscape surrounding the Brawner house to hypothesize what the farmyard's appearance may have been at the time of the war, during the ownership of Douglas (see *Analysis and Evaluation: Buildings and Structures*). (Figure 6) Apparently a farmyard of an acre or so was established around the house. Several things suggest the farmyard was fenced: the remains of fencelines on west, north, and south sides; the reference to an enclosure in one of the post-battle accounts, and the appearance of what may be an enclosure on the 1937 aerial photograph; and the typical practice among farms in the area of the battlefield. The northern third of the farmyard was a work area where outbuildings serving a variety of purposes were erected. Outbuildings may have included a springhouse (perhaps also functioning as a dairy), a wagon or carriage house, a smokehouse, and a privy. A small, detached structure – possibly a kitchen, slave quarters, or kitchen/slave quarters – stood west of the house.



Figure 6. The Matthews farm, c. 1861, showing what may have been the typical layout of the yards surrounding farm-houses in the Manassas area. Note the stake-and-rider fence in the foreground and the picket fence around the house.. (Manassas National Battlefield Park Library Files – to be determined)

A farm road led from the Warrenton Turnpike past the east side of the house. Several hundred feet to the northeast stood a double-crib barn. A large fenced barnyard may have occupied the land between the barn and the farmhouse.

The Bachelor's Hall farm included 275 acres of improved and 50 acres of unimproved land. The 1850 Agricultural Census records that the farm produced 180 bushels of wheat, 200 bushels of Indian corn, 150 bushels of oats, 30 bushels of Irish potatoes, 10 bushels of buckwheat, 10 pounds of wool, and 100 pounds of butter. (Buckwheat and Irish potatoes were used for human consumption and also for feeding swine.) Douglas owned 22 hogs, 12 sheep, six horses, three milk cows, two oxen, and five other cattle. The farm was worth \$1250, including \$30 of farming equipment. Most likely there would have been a kitchen garden and an orchard near the house; there is cartographic and textual evidence that an orchard stood immediately west of the house, probably behind the detached kitchen.⁴³

George Douglas died in 1856 and Augusta inherited the property. In 1857 she rented the farm to a tenant, John C. Brawner. Augusta Douglas and Brawner never drew up a formal rental contract, but agreed that Brawner would pay an annual rent of \$150 and/or some portion of his harvest (it is not clear whether this was one-third, which seems most likely, or two-thirds).⁴⁴ Augusta Douglas moved three miles down the turnpike to live with her mother in Gainesville. At some point she was married again to a man whose last name was Lynn.

John Brawner, born in Maryland in 1799, had moved to Prince William County in 1806. He and his wife Jane never owned land, but they possessed one slave. They

were living in the Groveton area by 1850. At the time they moved to Bachelor's Hall, the Brawners had five adult children living with them.⁴⁵

The Brawners cultivated most of the improved land of the Bachelor's Hall farm and raised some livestock. By 1860, the farm had 300 improved and 46 unimproved acres. The property value had risen to \$2768, and there was \$100 worth of farming equipment. The Brawners raised 48 bushels of wheat, 300 bushels of corn, 100 bushels of oats, 10 bushels of rye, 12 tons of hay, and two bushels of grass seed. They owned nine swine, nine sheep, four horses, five milk cows, and nine other cattle. A woodlot of about 45 acres was located at the southeast corner of the property. This woodlot – later known as Brawler's or Gibbon's Woods – was to play a central role in the battle of Brawler Farm.⁴⁶

Civil War, 1861-1865

The First Battle of Manassas, 1861

On the eve of the Civil War, the Sudley area had 28 houses, a church, saw and gristmills, shops for a cooper, a wheelwright, and a blacksmith, taverns, a post office, stores and a school. A small cluster of buildings stood at the Groveton intersection. Northwest of Groveton was Peach Grove, the Dogan property, which had a complex of buildings with a small orchard.⁴⁷ (The house had burned in 1860.) Farmers primarily grew grains, such as wheat, corn, oats, and rye. They kept bees and raised sheep, swine, cattle, milk cows, oxen, and horses. Fields were worked by owners and tenants as well as slaves.⁴⁸

On April 17, 1861, the Commonwealth of Virginia passed an ordinance of secession, severing its ties with the United States; and the next month, on May 23, Virginia officially became part of the Confederacy. The opening shots of the Civil War rang out at Fort Sumter, South Carolina, on April 12, 1861. Three months later, the first major land battle of the war was fought about two miles east of the Brawler home, on farms belonging to the Matthew, J. Dogan, Chinn, Robinson, F. Lewis, Van Pelt, and Henry families.

Seeking to advance on Richmond, Federal forces attempted to capture the rail lines supplying the Confederate Army. On July 21, the largest field army ever seen in North America approached Manassas from Washington. At this early stage of the war, both armies were composed of raw, inexperienced troops. The Confederate army under Gen. P.G.T. Beauregard was concentrated near Manassas Junction to protect the vital rail center. They occupied the west side of Bull Run, building fortifications to guard the fords, where the creek's banks did not provide a good defensive position. Bull Run's many fords, however, made the stream difficult to guard effectively.⁴⁹

The Federals planned to cross Bull Run at three points, Sudley Ford, Poplar Ford, and the Stone Bridge on Warrenton Turnpike. Circling around the Confederate left

and crossing Bull Run at Sudley Ford, the main Union column followed Sudley Mill Road south towards Youngs Branch. Rebel troops, however, blocked the Union advance, and battle ensued on the hill near the Matthews farmstead, north of the Stone House at the intersection of Sudley Mill Road and the Warrenton Turnpike. Eventually the smaller Confederate force retreated south, down the hill and across Youngs Branch to the next ridge, where a farmstead belonging to the Henry family stood. Southern troops held a line along the edge of pine thickets southeast of the Henry House, placing their artillery on rising ground in front of their position. Federal troops were positioned on Matthews Hill near the Dogan farm, Rosefield. Advancing to Henry Hill, the Federals' lack of experience became apparent; they lost two batteries and their right began to crumble as the Confederates launched counterattacks on their poorly coordinated brigades. The Union men beat a hasty, disorderly retreat northeast across Bull Run, abandoning most of their equipment and artillery, which the Rebels seized.⁵⁰

Brawner Farm may have provided a local vantage point for watching the battle. One spectator recalled: "we all went out on a high hill now known as the 'Douglas Heights,' from the summit of which we could see distinctly to Centreville When we reached the hill, quite a crowd of neighbors had already collected, watching anxiously the movements of a flanking party of the Yankees."⁵¹

The Second Battle of Manassas, 1862

In the months following the battle, little farming was done near Sudley. Farmers abandoned their fields and went off to fight. Occupying Confederate soldiers cut timber from the woodlots, stole stored crops, and damaged crops still growing in the fields.

The following year, an even larger battle was waged over much of the same ground. The opening conflict of the Second Battle of Manassas broke out on the Douglas farm rented by John Brawner.⁵²

In the summer of 1862, Robert E. Lee and his Army of Northern Virginia had scored a succession of victories in the Virginia peninsula, and had succeeded in keeping the Union army out of Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy.⁵³ Lee then reorganized his army. He divided 70,000 men into 28 brigades under Gen. James Longstreet, seven brigades under Gen. Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson, and two brigades of cavalry under Maj. Gen. Jeb Stuart. They faced three Federal armies – The Army of the Potomac under Gen. George B. McClellan, outside Richmond; the newly formed Army of Virginia, under Gen. John Pope, in Northern Virginia; and an army under Gen. Ambrose Burnside anchored in the James River. Pope had 77,779 soldiers altogether in the Army of Virginia. Of these, 56,000 men were in eight divisions of infantry and two brigades of cavalry totaling three corps under Generals Irvin McDowell, Nathaniel P. Banks, and Franz Sigel.

Lee sought to protect the Confederate supply line, the Virginia Central rail line, and to cut the Union supply line on the Orange & Alexandria. Lee wanted to strike Pope and defeat him quickly before the other Union armies had time to join him.⁵⁴

Pope intended to move south down the Orange & Alexandria line to threaten the Virginia Central, forcing Lee to withdraw men from the defense of Richmond and leaving him open to attack by McClellan. Pope began to consolidate his forces.⁵⁵

On July 12, Federal forces occupied Culpeper, located on the Orange & Alexandria line. Both the Orange & Alexandria and the Virginia Central passed through Gordonsville, 30 miles from Culpeper, so the following day, Lee sent Jackson to occupy Gordonsville before Pope could move there. Jackson succeeded in reaching Gordonsville first, on July 19.⁵⁶

On August 9, Jackson and his men crossed the Rapidan and headed north to attack Pope in Culpeper. Banks advanced his two divisions to engage him. The opposing forces met at Cedar Mountain, eight miles southwest of Culpeper, where Jackson succeeded in pushing back the Union troops under Banks. Upon the arrival of Union reinforcements, Jackson withdrew across the Rapidan and returned to Gordonsville. Since he had not stopped Pope, the Virginia Central line was still vulnerable.⁵⁷

Learning that Burnside and McClellan were moving their armies up the Potomac towards Washington, Lee concluded that Pope would soon be reinforced by troops from the Peninsula. Among the various threats posed by the Union forces, Lee decided to concentrate on Pope before this expected unification, and he moved to Gordonsville with Longstreet's wing on August 15.⁵⁸

At this time, Pope and his army were encamped in Culpeper County, in a V formed by the Rappahannock and Rapidan Rivers, a location that placed them in a highly vulnerable position. The Orange & Alexandria Railroad crossed both rivers, leading north to a Union supply depot at Manassas Junction.⁵⁹

Lee initially planned for the Confederate cavalry to circle north around the Northern army and destroy the railroad bridge at Rappahannock Station, cutting Pope's supply line and allowing the Confederate infantry to attack the Northern army in the V between the rivers. For several reasons, the attack was delayed for a couple of days, until August 20, by which time Pope's army had withdrawn north of the Rappahannock.⁶⁰

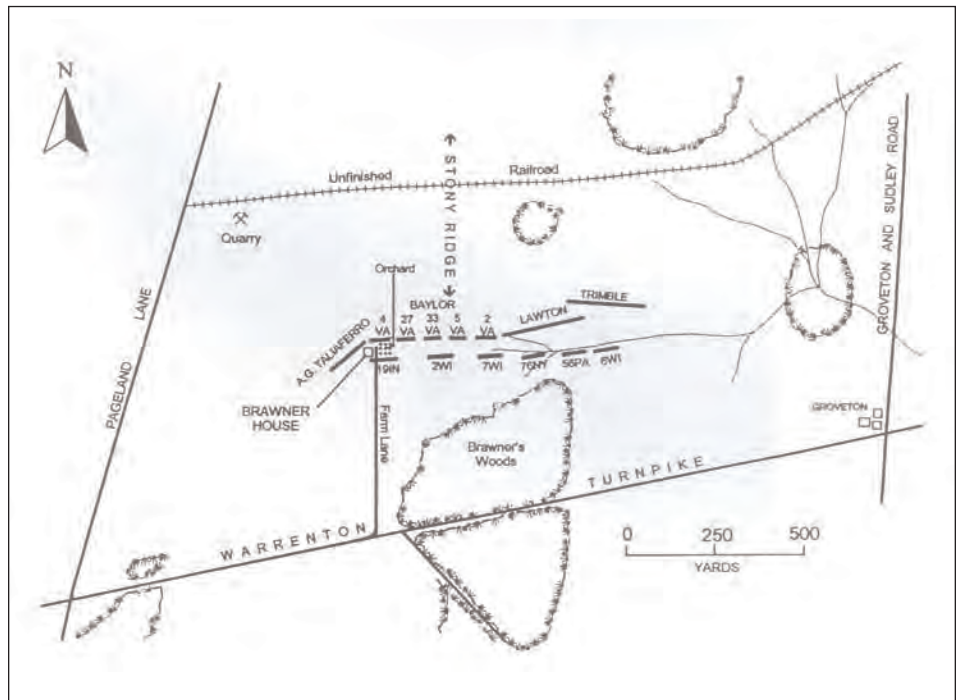
Lee's army then crossed the Rapidan, but were blocked from crossing the Rappahannock by Pope's Federals. Union reinforcements had now begun to arrive, so Lee had to strike quickly. On August 22, Jeb Stuart, with a small contingent of cavalry, circled around behind Pope's Army to destroy the railroad bridge over Cedar Run. They failed in this, although they did capture a dispatch book from Pope's own tent, which gave details of the Northern build up.⁶¹

Even with this information, Pope's army was too large and its position too secure for Lee to hope to defeat it. However, Lee determined to make another attempt to sever the Union's supply line along the Orange & Alexandria railroad, hoping this would draw Pope to the northeast, further from the reinforcements landing near Fredericksburg. Lee divided his army, sending Jackson north on August 25 to cut

Pope's supply line, while Longstreet's brigades continued to hold off Pope's men along the Rappahannock. Longstreet would follow Jackson a day or so later.⁶²

Misleading Pope into thinking he was returning to the Shenandoah Valley, the scene of his recent masterly campaign, Jackson led his 23,000 men on a fast two-day march. They reached Salem by nightfall. On August 26 they turned east, making for the Thoroughfare Gap. Finding the gap undefended by Federals, they moved through, heading east through Haymarket and then to Gainesville, where they were met by Stuart and his cavalry. The combined forces then moved six miles further to Bristoe Station, where they fired on Pope's empty supply trains and destroyed the railroad bridge over Broad Run. In the predawn hours of the next day, Jackson sent two regiments, along with the cavalry, four miles northeast to capture Manassas Junction, and soon followed with two divisions. At the junction, the Southerners pillaged and destroyed the vast store of Union supplies, fought off a couple of attacks by small Federal forces, and burned the railroad bridge over Bull Run. Back at Bristoe Station, Gen. Richard S. Ewell's brigades fought a classic rear guard action when pressed by Pope's advancing Union forces. That evening Jackson abandoned Manassas Junction and directed his three divisions to a position where he could safely wait for Longstreet and the reuniting of the Confederate army.⁶³

THE FIRST DAY OF BATTLE: THE BATTLE OF BRAWNER FARM On August 28, Jackson and his 23,000 men positioned themselves north of Groveton, not far from the battlefield of the previous summer, where they awaited Longstreet. Plans captured that morning from a Union courier revealed that Pope planned to march part of his army down the Warrenton Turnpike, so the location seemed promising for Jackson's goal of drawing Pope into a fight on favorable ground. It was not only familiar territory, but it placed Jackson only about ten miles from Thoroughfare Gap, through which Longstreet would soon pass; it also gave him, if necessary, a clear route of retreat to the north.⁶⁴



The soldiers lay in the woods and fields, concealed behind the Unfinished Railroad, where they were packed close in the heat. A Confederate cavalry officer recalled: "They were packed like herring in a barrel", with their talk and laughter "sound[ing] like the hum of a beehive on a warm summer day."⁶⁵

With his far greater number of men, Pope thought he could easily destroy the divided Southern army. On the 28th, he made a succession of blunders in a search

Figure 7. Map of the Battle of Brawner Farm, August 28, 1862. (Potter et al., 2002)

for Jackson. At first he went to Manassas Junction, where he found only the remains of plunder. Then he heard Jackson was in Centreville and ordered his men to march there. Sigel, Reynolds, and McDowell were to approach the village from the west, along the Warrenton Turnpike.⁶⁶

Several times during the day, Jackson spotted Union troops. About noon, a column of Union troops appeared, marching east from Gainesville, but they turned south down Pageland Lane without passing in front of Jackson's position.⁶⁷ Soon after, a Federal wagon train approached; this also turned south before reaching Jackson's position.

Then a division of 6,000 Union soldiers under Brig. Gen. John F. Reynolds was seen marching east along the turnpike. Col. Bradley Johnson opened fire on them with two 3-inch rifled guns. Supporting the Confederate battery were two Virginia regiments of Johnson's brigade: the 21st Virginia infantry occupied the high ground east of the Brawner farmhouse and the 42nd Virginia were positioned in and beyond the Brawner woods. Eventually, after an hour or more, Union guns and infantry pushed Johnson and his troops back to Groveton.⁶⁸ Reynolds's division then turned south on Pageland Lane.

Nothing more happened until after 5:30 p.m., when another column of Northern soldiers began passing eastward. McDowell's only division in the immediate area was that headed by Gen. Rufus King. This division had turned south onto Pageland Lane and had marched about a mile south of the turnpike when, on receiving new orders, they returned to the turnpike and began marching east towards Centreville and past the Brawner farm. In the lead was the brigade of Gen. John Hatch, followed by Gen. John Gibbon's brigade, consisting of four western regiments, and then a brigade headed by Gen. Abner Doubleday, with Gen. Marsena Patrick's brigade bringing up the rear of the column.⁶⁹

When told that a large number of Union troops were approaching, Jackson mounted his horse and galloped out to observe the soldiers, who ignored him. He dashed back to his command and ordered his officers to prepare their troops.⁷⁰

As Hatch's brigade passed through Groveton, John Gibbon ascended a hill on the north side of the turnpike, just beyond the Brawner Woods, and surveyed the surrounding slopes. To the north he saw teams of horses emerging from some woods and swinging into artillery formation.⁷¹

Confederate cannon fired at Gibbon and his 6th Wisconsin regiment, who hurriedly took cover behind the turnpike's high embankments. Gibbon's battery moved into position and returned fire. A second Confederate battery fired on Doubleday's brigade, and the 76th New York took cover in Brawner Woods.⁷²

Believing he faced only a small detachment of horse artillery, Gibbon decided to capture them. He led the 2nd Wisconsin, "his only veteran regiment," up through Brawner Woods, along a farm road.⁷³ Beyond the woods, the 2nd Wisconsin formed a line of battle and deployed skirmishers who moved quickly through the fields and

Brawner Farm
Manassas National Battlefield Park
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

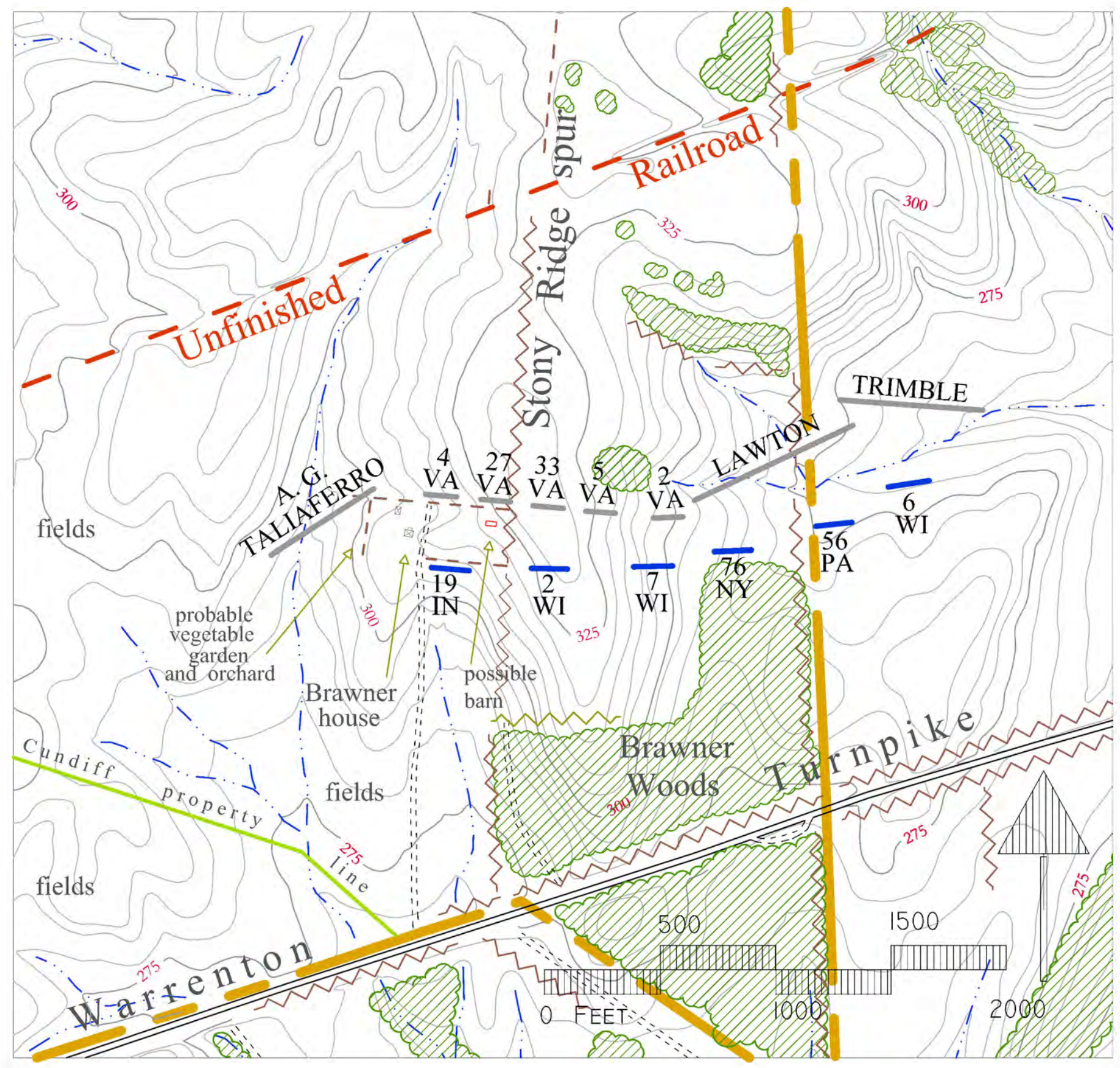
LEGEND

- BRAWNER FARM STUDY BOUNDARY
- STREAMS
- FARM ROADS
- WOODED AREAS
- WORM FENCE
- FENCE, TYPE UNDETERMINED

EXHIBIT B

Battle of Brawner Farm - August 28, 1862

Battle lines taken from Potter et al., "No Maneuvering and Very Little Tactics: Archeology and the Battle of Brawner Farm," Fig. 1: 2. Confederate forces are to the north and Union forces to the south, coming from Warrenton Turnpike. Brawner house, outbuilding, and most worm fences are from Judson's survey notes. Post-battle accounts and existing field evidence suggest the locations of other fences. Barn position is based on extant remains believed to date to antebellum period. Two types of fences in the vicinity of the yard are referenced in post-battle accounts. One account describes a "rotten" worm fence. Another describes a post-and-rail fence.



up the southern spur of Stony Ridge. The cannon had disappeared, but suddenly, from woods a quarter mile ahead, they found themselves confronted by two divisions of Confederate infantry, including 800 men of the veteran Stonewall Brigade, marching toward them in battle formation.⁷⁴

When the Confederates had approached to within 150 yards, the Federals opened fire. The Southerners kept coming, and formed a line at a fence 80 yards from the 2nd Wisconsin, from where they returned fire. As one Confederate soldier recalled: “Within one minute all was enveloped in smoke, and a sheet of flame seemed to go out from each side to the other along the whole length of the line.”⁷⁵

Gibbon called for support. The 19th Indiana under Col. Solomon Meredith took position on the 2nd Wisconsin’s left, angling up the slope toward the Brawner farmhouse. (See Exhibit B & Figure 7) Jackson was slow to give support to the Stonewall Brigade, but eventually sent two Georgia regiments to reinforce their left, where they opposed Gibbon’s 7th Wisconsin.⁷⁶

At dusk, Jackson sent in Trimble’s brigade to join the left of Lawton’s Georgia regiments. Trimble’s men lay on the ground behind a fence, facing the 6th Wisconsin, on the Union right. A 250-yard break separated the 7th and 6th Wisconsin, so Doubleday sent in the 76th New York and the 56th Pennsylvania to close the gap. The front then extended for about half a mile east to west along the slope. Fences provided the “only cover” and soldiers fired over the fences and between the rails.⁷⁷

The final action came as night fell, and centered on the farmyard, where Confederate horse artillery and infantry regiments beat back repeated attempts by the 19th Indiana to gain the ground around the house. The 19th Indiana, on the Union left, scaled a rail fence and ascended the slope, anchoring their left flank on the farmhouse. From about 70 yards ahead, the 4th Virginia of the Stonewall Brigade fired and stopped the Union regiment. The 4th Virginia, on the right of the Confederate line, was positioned behind a rail fence, their own right anchored on outbuildings north of the house. Also firing on the 19th Indiana was the 27th Virginia, on the left of the 4th Virginia, and two batteries in their rear. Stuart’s Horse Artillery under Major John Pelham approached the 19th Indiana’s left. Two companies from the 19th Indiana were pulled out of line and deployed as skirmishers on the left flank, firing when the Confederate guns were within 150 yards. The Southerners fired their two 3-inch rifles until they were forced back.⁷⁸

Three infantry regiments under brigade commander Alexander Taliaferro attempted to get between Stuart’s Horse Artillery and the main 19th Indiana line. Retreating 33 feet to a rail fence, the 19th Indiana prevented Taliaferro’s regiments from gaining the Brawner yard. The Confederates succeeded on their second try, however, and the 19th Indiana then “began a fighting withdrawal back to the edge of Brawner’s woods.”⁷⁹ The battle of Brawner Farm ended in a stalemate about 8:15 p.m.

In spite of Jackson’s far greater numbers, he failed to coordinate his men effectively. The casualties were stunning. One in every three soldiers had been shot; over 1000 Federal soldiers were killed. Confederate casualties were also high: the Stonewall

Brigade lost 40 percent of its men, and the 21st and 26th Georgia each lost over 70 percent.⁸⁰

After midnight, the Federals withdrew south, passing down Pageland Lane toward Manassas Junction. Pope was encamped near the junction, on Bull Run. While Jackson had succeeded in drawing Pope's attention, the Union general continued to make mistakes devastating for the Union cause. He persisted in the belief that the Federals had encountered Jackson and his men as they were retreating from Centreville, and that King's men stood between Jackson and Longstreet. He therefore sent orders to King to remain near Groveton; these were not received, and King and his brigade retreated. Pope ordered Sigel and Reynolds to stay where they were, on Henry Hill, and attack Jackson's men at dawn.⁸¹

Confederate commander William Taliaferro later recalled the action of his troops on that day:

*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.*⁸²

*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 there was no cover, and our men stood in the open field without shelter of any kind.*⁸³

After the battle, the wounded were scattered all across the fields south and east of the Brawner house. The dead lay in lines as they had fallen. Confederate forces had lost more than 1250 troops killed, wounded, or missing, while the Union had lost 1025. Sometime after 9:30 p.m., a party of about 100 survivors of the 19th Indiana returned to the battlefield to collect their wounded. It was a dark, moonless night. Rebel pickets fired on the Union soldiers and forced them to retreat without their men.⁸⁴

Two New York regiments moved east along the turnpike, where they found many wounded comrades. They cared for them before being ordered to relieve soldiers on the field. They returned along the turnpike until they were opposite Brawner Woods. Advancing north through the woods, they emerged and formed a line to command the open ground, and then tried to rest.⁸⁵ Confederate pickets probably held Brawner's yard and house after the battle.⁸⁶

SECOND DAY OF THE BATTLE In the morning of August 29, finding that the Union forces had abandoned their position on his front, Jackson spread his troops more widely, forming a front about a mile-and-a-half long behind the Unfinished Railroad, facing southeast.⁸⁷ West of Pageland Lane, on Jackson's extreme right, two brigades under Jubal Early guarded the flank and were in position to meet the advance of Longstreet's corps. Early deployed the 13th and 31st regiments to picket the front. The two regiments moved south across the turnpike and positioned themselves along the farm lane opposite Brawner Farm; they faced east.⁸⁸

Union forces had been ordered by Pope the previous night to “attack the enemy vigorously at daylight.”⁸⁹ That morning, Pope split his army in two. Franz Sigel's First Corps and McDowell's Third Corps were to strike at Jackson's front.⁹⁰ Fitz John Porter was to move his Fifth Corps and King's division from their location at Manassas Junction to Gainesville to be in position to strike at Jackson's right from behind. The frontal attacks of Sigel and Reynolds were designed to hold Jackson in place.⁹¹

Sigel's troops formed a mile-long line oriented to the northwest. His left division, under Gen. Robert Cummings Schenck, angled west toward Groveton, and linked up to John Reynolds's division of three brigades on Sigel's left. Reynolds's and Schenck's divisions pushed west from Henry Hill early on the morning of August 29. They were not intending to overwhelm Jackson, but to discover the position of his right flank.⁹² They crossed Lewis Lane, continued over ridges and through woods and fields to a point southeast of the Brawner Farm, staying south of the turnpike.

Reynolds sent a battery under the command of Capt. James H. Cooper supported by the brigade of Brig. Gen. George Meade north of the turnpike. Meade's skirmishers initially came under fire from Early's skirmishers south of the turnpike in the vicinity of the Cundiff house but they were driven back. Cooper worked his guns onto the ridge near the Brawner house and engaged in a duel with Southern batteries for half an hour. He then withdrew south of the turnpike.⁹³ This was the only fighting that occurred in the vicinity of the Brawner Farm that day. Confederate batteries continued to be posted on the ridge northeast of the Brawner house throughout the remaining two days of battle, and were essential in turning back the Union assault on Jackson's line the next afternoon.

By 10 a.m. on August 29, Longstreet and Lee had arrived on the battlefield. Lee established his headquarters on a hilltop (Stuart's Hill), south of the Warrenton Turnpike and opposite Brawner Farm. By noon, Longstreet had arranged his men facing east along a north-south axis that lined up with the east edge of Brawner Woods. The line straddled the turnpike and connected to Jackson's right flank at the Unfinished Railroad. Together, Longstreet's and Jackson's wings of the Confederate army formed an oblique angle that was nearly three miles long.

Longstreet's forces maintained a defensive posture throughout that day, repelling two more advances by Reynolds. Lee's decision not to take the offensive on the 29th was based partly on Fitz John Porter's position to the southeast. Lee's view in that direction was obstructed and he could not assess Porter's location or strength.⁹⁴ Meanwhile, Pope awaited Porter's attack on Jackson from the rear, deploying his forces throughout the day with this in mind. But Porter had advanced only a few miles from Manassas Junction, and was nowhere near Jackson's rear. En route to Gainesville that morning, Porter had encountered the extreme right of Longstreet's line and was unable to maneuver around it. Pope did not yet know of Longstreet's arrival on the battlefield.

The Union army also advanced against the center and left of Jackson's line, beginning early in the morning of August 29. The Union attack against Jackson's center –

located east of Groveton Road, in the vicinity of Groveton Woods – was intermittent, for the most part, like the fighting south of the turnpike. The fiercest fighting of the 29th occurred on the Union right, where Union troops repeatedly assaulted the Confederate line. The attack there began in the morning and was renewed in the afternoon. At times the Union assault bent Jackson's line, but never broke through it, partly because Pope did not send in the needed reinforcement.⁹⁵

That evening, Longstreet's Confederates conducted a reconnaissance to discover what Federals remained south of the Warrenton Turnpike and where they were. Meanwhile, King's Union division (now under Hatch) had been ordered to march west in pursuit of the Confederates, who Pope thought were in retreat. The two sides collided near Groveton, where fighting erupted with 20 minutes of intense battle before darkness ended it. The encounter convinced Lee that the Union forces were strong and that he had not located their main position. He called off the attack he had been planning for the next morning. Pope sent orders for Fitz John Porter to leave his position along the Manassas-Gainesville road and march with his corps to the battlefield at daylight. By now Pope was aware of Longstreet's presence, but did not know his position.⁹⁶

THIRD DAY OF THE BATTLE On the morning of August 30, Union forces resumed their attacks against Jackson's front along the Unfinished Railroad, which were repeatedly repulsed by the Confederates. By mid-morning, there had been some sharp skirmishes on the Union's right, but in general, the Union attack was piecemeal. Although Reynolds and Porter warned of the Confederate threat on the army's left, Pope gave this little credence.⁹⁷

Lee's army was arranged as follows: Jackson's men remained behind the Unfinished Railroad as on the day before, with the divisions of Gens. A. P. Hill on the left, Alexander Lawton in the center, and William E. Starke on the right. Longstreet's line extended south from Jackson's right, more than a mile, nearly reaching the Manassas Gap Railroad. Brig. Gen. John Bell Hood's division was astride the turnpike, with Brig. Gen. Cadmus Wilcox's division on his left, near Jackson. Col. Stephen D. Lee's reserve battalion of 18 guns, recently arrived on the battlefield, were positioned on the ridge northeast of the Brawner house, joining an equivalent number of guns from Shumaker's battalion. They filled in the gap between Longstreet's left and Jackson's right.⁹⁸

Pope ordered his entire army forward. Gen. James B. Ricketts's division would lead on the right and Porter would advance on the left, with Hatch, Reynolds, and Sigel in support. Complicating the situation was the fact that Porter had already moved into Groveton Woods and was locked in place by cannon fire from S. D. Lee's artillery near the Brawner farmhouse. Ricketts moved forward, but came under intense artillery fire and was ordered back. Pope now knew that the Confederates were not in retreat. He also was hearing from Reynolds of mounting Confederate movements on the left, positioned south of the turnpike. Reynolds's three brigades and one of Sigel's brigades were sent to Chinn Ridge.⁹⁹

Throughout the early afternoon Porter's troops gathered in Groveton Woods. They would advance to the northwest in the direction of Jackson's right, crossing Groveton Road, and passing through Widow Dogan's pasture. Six hundred yards of open ground lay before them, commanded by S. D. Lee's and Shumaker's guns. The closest artillery support for Porter was a Union battery under Lieutenant Charles Hazlett, positioned south of the turnpike on a ridge overlooking Groveton. Col. Gouverneur K. Warren's two-regiment brigade supported Hazlett. At 3 p.m., with nearly 10,000 troops ready, Porter began what would be the major Union offensive of the three-day battle.¹⁰⁰ What followed was 25 minutes of "some of the most intense fighting of the war."¹⁰¹ The fighting concentrated along a quarter-mile front at the railroad embankment, with the opposing sides less than 20 yards apart at times.¹⁰² In the face of the heavy concentration of Confederate artillery fire on their flank and small arms fire coming from Jackson's troops safely entrenched along the railroad, one by one the Union regiments broke away with depleted numbers, and headed back toward Groveton Woods.

With the results of the failed Union attack obvious to Lee, he immediately issued the orders to Longstreet for a massive counterattack against the exposed Union left.¹⁰³ Longstreet's men drove through the Union ranks, meeting little organized resistance until they reached Chinn Ridge, where for nearly 90 minutes "the most intense and sustained fighting of the battle" took place.¹⁰⁴ After the Confederates took Chinn Ridge, Federals defended their position on Henry Hill from a line along the embankments of Sudley Road. Around 7 p.m., Confederate efforts to seize Henry Hill lost all momentum, and the last of the Union army still west of Bull Run made its retreat.

The Second Battle of Manassas ended with a Confederate victory. Union forces initially withdrew to Centreville and ultimately to the defenses of Washington. In the end, the Union had lost 14,462 troops killed, wounded, or missing and the Confederates had lost 9,474.¹⁰⁵

Most structures which remained standing after the battle were pressed into service as field hospitals for the thousands of wounded on both sides. Most of the dead were buried where they fell; some were interred in mass graves, others were buried individually. The greatest number of burials took place along the Unfinished Railroad and in Dogan's open pasture. Others were concentrated around the Brawner Farm and on Chinn Ridge.¹⁰⁶

A reporter from the *Washington Star* described the battlefield area in 1865:

From Alexandria to the battlefield is one wide area of desolation. Fences are utterly swept away. Here and there a dilapidated house shelters a few squalid inmates and occasionally a small patch of wheat or corn is passed, but the whole face of the country is changed. Scrub oak and pine are springing up everywhere.

The first Bull Run field has been stripped clear by relic hunters except in the matter of horse bones. The battlefield of Groveton, two miles beyond toward Warrenton, is more distinctly marked with traces of battle. Here the shot and shell are thickly strewn, the trees splintered and in many places the forest looks as if having been visited by smallpox.

*The bones of soldiers of both armies are scattered over the fields and one may find enough skulls to build a monument.*¹⁰⁷

A Union soldier left a description of the battlefield:

*an arid plain which seemed interminable, and without a human habitation in sight, no fences or signs of cultivation, only a few stunted, dried down shrubs apologizing for the wasted forests that once stood upon the exhausted soil.*¹⁰⁸

Troops under General Sigel allegedly torched Portici, Rosefield, and Pittsylvania on the same night in late 1862. General Von Steinwehr's division of Sigel's XI Corps sacked and burned the town of Haymarket on the night of November 4 in retaliation for Union pickets being killed by "bushwhackers" – Confederate guerillas. Most livestock of local farms had been killed. After the battles, residents of Groveton and Sudley began to rebuild their damaged or destroyed farmsteads, replanting crops and building new fences. Farmers were forced to further deplete the land's natural resources, taking wood from woodlots to rebuild homes and fences.¹⁰⁹

The South's victory at Second Manassas allowed Lee to extend the war into the North. Following the battle, Jackson moved his troops north to the Little River Turnpike, where they turned east toward Fairfax Courthouse. On September 1, Pope sent Gen. Phil Kearny and Brig. Gen. Isaac I. Stevens to intercept the Confederates. On the grounds of a mansion called Chantilly, they clashed with Jackson's men during a violent thunderstorm. Both Kearny and Stevens were killed. Their troops subsequently withdrew from the battle and rejoined Pope's army on their return to Washington. Lee's army moved towards Leesburg and crossed into Maryland, where it engaged McClellan's Army of the Potomac at South Mountain on September 14 and was defeated by Federal forces at Antietam (Sharpsburg) on September 17.

THE BRAWNER FARM DURING THE BATTLE At the time of the battle, John Brawner was 64 years old. While Union and Confederate troops gathered in his fields and woods, Brawner lingered until his house was shelled in the cross-fire. Depositions filed by John Brawner and his daughter Mary in 1871 to support their claim against losses caused by the Union Army on the day of the battle provide a limited picture of their farm in 1862.¹¹⁰

Brawner recalled that "some officers came up and asked me why I did not leave" but when the skirmish of "artillery and small arms fire" erupted, he fled north with his wife and three daughters. Returning home sometime the next day, he discovered that most of his crops and property had been destroyed. Mary Brawner stated that Union soldiers, under orders from Gen. King, took their corn on the day of the battle, possibly old as well as new corn, of which "they had a small crop growing". Soldiers from both sides also took hay from the fields and barn, and wheat and oats. From the house they took bacon, flour, and three bushels of salt. The Brawners' cow was found dead in the barnyard, presumably killed by soldiers; their hogs were killed, and some had been butchered; and their horse had been shot and killed. The vegetable garden was destroyed, possibly by trampling. Their farming tools had also been destroyed. Brawner stated that the "house was shelled and balls pass[ed]

through the house” but he did not mention other damage and did not file for damages to the structure. This may have been because it was rented.¹¹¹

Brawner maintained that he had been loyal to the Union, although he admitted that two of his sons were fighting in the Confederate Army. Several neighbors supported his claim. However, a black man raised questions about his sympathies.¹¹² Brawner’s claim was rejected.

In spite of their losses, the Brawners – who probably had little money – remained at Bachelor’s Hall for the duration of the war and resumed farming. Mary Brawner described the difficulties they faced:

*Part of the time we were within the Confederate lines. When the southern army fell back we were within the Union lines. That was in 1863. The Union army was passing backwards and forwards all the time after the southern army left. We were not able to cultivate the farm after the first year [of the war]. We raised a small crop in 1862 ... lost at the time of the battle.*¹¹³

Although riddled by bullets, it seems that Bachelor’s Hall still stood. The house was rebuilt at some point after the war on a smaller footprint.

Life in the Sudley Area after the Battles, 1865-1900

The war and its aftermath led to new troubles for Virginia’s agricultural economy:

*When Lee surrendered on April 9, 1865, and ended the war [in Virginia], the resources of Virginia had probably been more thoroughly drained than those of any other of the Confederate States. The country between the Potomac and Appomattox had been subjected to the repeated raids and continuous occupation of the opposing armies, and farms were in a ruined condition, without farming implements and stock. In many cases crops had not been raised for years or had been repeatedly destroyed.*¹¹⁴

In 1865 most of the state’s wheat crop failed; there was a partial failure the following year. Virginia had plenty of land but little money. The value of farms in Virginia dropped precipitately: “land that had brought \$150 an acre before the war could be bought for two dollars.”¹¹⁵ The loss of slave labor also presented a problem, since fewer acres could be farmed. Between 1860 and 1870, the number of Virginia farms of 1000 or more acres dropped from 641 to 317. Some farms were worked by former slaves, now tenants and sharecroppers.

A visitor to the battlefield in 1866 found little evidence of recovery:

The original country roads had passed into disuse; and, the fences being destroyed, only the curious parallel lines of straggling bushes and trees that grew beside them remained to mark their courses. Necessity and convenience had struck out new

roads winding at will over the fenceless farms. We crossed thinly wooded barrens, skirted old orchards, and passed now and then a standing chimney that marked the site of some ruined homestead. . . . I remember not more than three or four inhabited houses on our route.

*In its external features I found it greatly changed. Many of the trees had been cut away. Every fence had disappeared. Where had waved the fields of grass and grain, extended one vast, neglected, barren tract of country.*¹¹⁶

Efforts to commemorate the two Battles of Manassas began shortly after the war's end. In June 1865, the Union Army erected two monuments at the Manassas battlefield, on Henry Hill and at Deep Cut along the Unfinished Railroad. Both were in the form of obelisks and were made of the local red sandstone, cut in roughfaced blocks and set on stepped sandstone bases. In 1866, the federal government moved Union soldiers buried at Manassas to Arlington Cemetery. The following year, the community established Groveton Confederate Cemetery, where 266 or more Confederate soldiers were interred.¹¹⁷ (The cemetery has been maintained by the National Park Service since 1973).

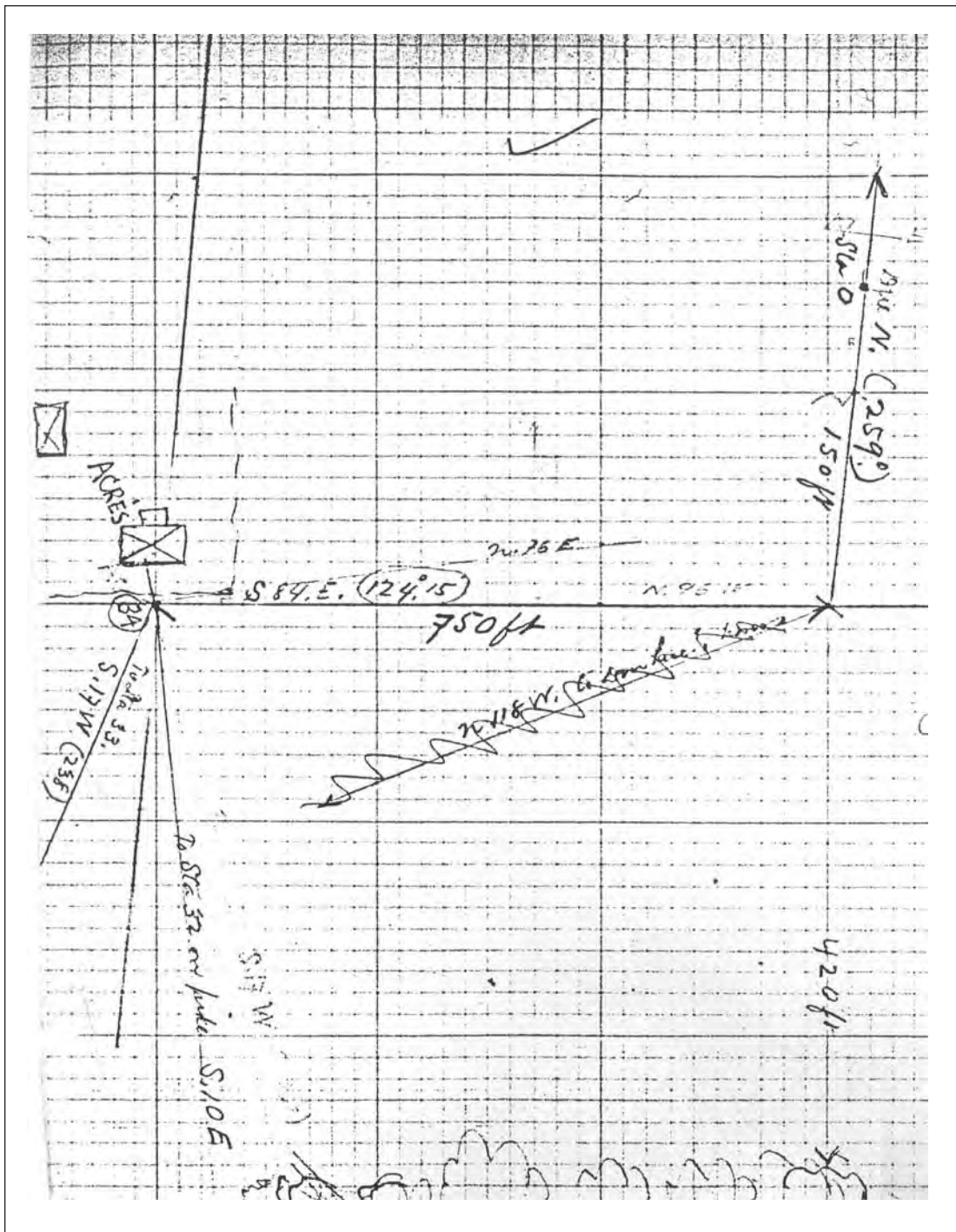
Virginia remained under military rule from 1865 through 1870. The Freedmen's Bureau was established in Virginia on June 15, 1865. The Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867, designated the state Military District Number One. On January 26, 1870, a bill providing for the readmission of federal representatives from Virginia was passed by Congress and approved by President Ulysses S. Grant, marking the end of Virginia's reconstruction.

Recovery in Virginia was slow; little improvement was evident by 1870. The financial panic of 1873 resulted in widespread debt among farmers. An 1877 estimate put the "total monetary losses" of Virginia's inhabitants during the war and Reconstruction at \$457,000,000. The state in that year had fewer than 700,000 white and 500,000 black residents.¹¹⁸

After 1870, the Sudley area underwent rapid change. The Sudley grist mill had survived the war and remained in operation (it was rebuilt at some point between 1884 and 1900). Most farms now were small, only about 150 acres, and most were leased to tenants.¹¹⁹ The Brawner Farm does not appear in the 1870 census. By this time, the Douglasses may have been renting the farm to another family, although it is not known when the Brawners terminated their lease.

Towards the end of the century Virginia agriculture began to improve once more. Crop yields rose, and organizations such as the Farmers' Assembly and the Farmers' Alliance promoted agricultural improvements. In 1900, over 85 percent of the state remained rural, although farms were still smaller than they had been before the war. The large estates of the antebellum years continued to deteriorate, their buildings collapsing, their fields and orchards overgrown by successional vegetation. The majority of roads were "unspeakably bad . . . muddy when wet, dusty when dry," and transportation remained primitive, with most people traveling by wagons.¹²⁰

Figure 8. Notebook sketch by J.A. Judson (Book 3, p. 26) from 1878 of the Brawner house or its replacement, then occupied by Benjamin Akers, misspelled in Judson's notation as "Acre's." The sketch shows another outbuilding behind the house and uses a dashed line around the house on two sides, which may indicate a fence. (National Archives and Records Administration)



The Sudley settlement reached its greatest growth in the late nineteenth century. A hotel had been erected to serve visitors to the mineral spring on Catharpin Run. There was a general store, and the post office was moved from Groveton to "Sudley Spring."¹²¹

Brawner Farm site, ownership of Pendleton Douglas

In 1876, Augusta Douglas Lynn died and left the farm to her son, Pendleton. A simple sketch of the Brawner Farm appears on one of the Warren survey maps produced in 1878 for the retrial of Union Major General Fitz John Porter.¹²² The Douglas/Brawner Farm was now identified as "Acre's" – most likely a misspelling of "Akers," as by 1880 the farm was being rented by a Benjamin Akers.¹²³ (Figure 8) The

maps show post-and-rail fences and the traditional Virginia worm fence running on either side of Warrenton Turnpike and, in some places, along the railroad grade. The Brawner house is depicted as being surrounded by trees.

According to the 1880 Agricultural Census, the Douglas farm included 354 acres, of which 55 were tilled, 75 in woodland, and 224 unimproved. (The land tax assessments for this year, however, state the Douglas Farm contained 319 1/2 acres; the reason for the discrepancy is not known.) Akers raised 300 bushels of corn, 40 bushels of oats, and 126 bushels of wheat. His three milk cows produced 250 pounds of butter and his 27 poultry provided 100 dozen eggs. He also kept three beef cows and seven swine.¹²⁴

The main access road to the house from Warrenton Turnpike still remained. A small wetland had begun to form in the quarry along the Unfinished Railroad grade, making this area unusable for crops or pasture.

By 1891, the Douglas house had become known as Douglas Hall.¹²⁵ In 1895, Pendleton Douglas sold the farm to William M. Davis, who owned it until his death in 1918.¹²⁶ The value of buildings on the property had plummeted from \$400 in 1894 – a worth they had held since 1857 – to \$159. It is not known whether this devaluation reflects a sudden deterioration in the condition of structures on the farm.

Agriculture in the Sudley Area, Early Twentieth Century

The devastation wrought by the Civil War lingered into the twentieth century. Travelers to the Manassas battlefields describe a still-ravaged landscape. In 1904, Clifton Johnson described them in *Highways & Byways of the South*:

Houses were few and far between. Most of them were set well back from the highway, at the end of a lane to which you gained entrance from the main road by a big wooden gate.

Barns were small and unsubstantial, and frequently a few makeshift hovels sufficed instead. Many farmers kept their cows and horses in long, rude sheds, eight or ten feet high, with sides of rails and poles, and the top piled over with straw. There was no pretence that the roof was rain-proof, and the structures looked as if they had been contrived by some primitive race of savages.

Of all the roads that I became acquainted with in this region, the worst was the Warrenton Pike right on the battlefield. At some remote period a vast amount of stone had been dumped on it, and this stone had become more or less mixed with the red clay. (pp. 229-30)

Improvements came gradually. During the 1920s, the farm landscape of nearby Fairfax County was described as being composed largely of small family farms, worked with the help of only a few laborers. The primary emphasis was on growing

grains and producing food for family consumption. Soybeans had been introduced, and farmers raised grasses for pasturage and hay. Dairying was a secondary pursuit. There were numerous commercial poultry farms. Mechanized farm equipment was becoming a common feature of the farm landscape, with the first all-purpose tractor introduced in 1924.¹²⁷

The Davis farm, 1900-1985

The farm enjoyed a brief period of relative prosperity under William Davis. In 1904/05, he enlarged the house, apparently adding a full second story to the existing structure and a large ell in the form of an I-house to the south. The entrance was moved from the south to the new east elevation, facing the barnyard, and a new porch was built here.¹²⁸ Also in this period, the barn appears to have been given a new standing-seam metal roof, and a new orchard was planted east of the house, a short distance south of the barn.

William Davis had died intestate by 1917 and his property was divided among his seven children. One of them – probably his son, Walker – lived in the house, and he continued to farm the land, perhaps with some of his brothers. Few improvements seem to have ever been made to the house or site.

The Davises's continued farming generally kept fields open and hindered the growth of successional vegetation into some historically open areas. The edge of Brawner woods, though, slowly spread into adjacent fields.

Until at least 2004, some of the Davises's farm machinery was still scattered about the property in fields and woods near the house and barn: a seeder and a manure spreader, both rusted and decrepit, lay near the barn; next to the manure spreader was a leather horse collar. The remains of a small wagon lay among trees northwest of the house and parts of an old stove were scattered on the ground nearby.

The property remained in the Davis family for 80 years, until it was purchased by the National Park Service in 1985. The house deteriorated in the decades before it passed out of the Davises's hands. A hole had been chopped in a back room of the house to allow the last Davis residing in the house to dump trash there. Another trash dump containing twentieth-century debris can be found on the site of what may have been a nineteenth-century springhouse or spring basin (although the most recent archeological investigation found that this appeared to be a natural feature¹²⁹).

Early Attempts at Battlefield Preservation, 1901-1940

Private efforts to memorialize the dead on the Manassas battlefields increased in the early twentieth century. In 1903, the 7th Georgia Infantry installed approximately six battlefield markers on private property around the battlefields. The following year, the Bull Run Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy erected a monument at Groveton Confederate Cemetery. The State of New York placed granite monuments honoring three different volunteer regiments in 1906 near

Groveton, south of Warrenton Turnpike and east of Lewis Lane (now Groveton Road). In 1914, a stone was brought from Massachusetts to mark the spot where Col. Fletcher Webster was killed on the Chinn farm.

Attempts to preserve the Manassas battlefield were begun by a local man, a lawyer and Union veteran, George C. Round (d. 1918). In 1901, Round proposed that the United States purchase the land around the Union monuments and acquire easements to allow visitors access to them. He was most interested in four particular parcels of land, including the Lucinda Dogan property and the Unfinished Railroad grade. Round arranged for a proposal providing for the acquisition of about 200 acres of the battlefield to be introduced into the U.S. House of Representatives. Although this never went beyond subcommittee hearings, Round continued trying to rally veterans groups in support of establishing a commemorative battlefield park.¹³⁰

In 1904, the Manassas battlefield became the setting for the first peacetime military maneuvers ever staged on American soil when the Army held training exercises over a mock field of battle extending from Bull Run to Thoroughfare Gap. Meant to highlight “the inadequacies of the military’s logistical and subsistence departments,” the Army based these training exercises on the actions of the Manassas battles.¹³¹

George Round conceived of marking the 50th anniversary of the Battle of First Manassas, July 21, 1911, with a special commemorative event. The Manassas National Jubilee of Peace brought together Union and Confederate veterans for a poignant reunion, and inspired similar gatherings, notably at Gettysburg in 1913.

In 1912, Congress held hearings on legislation to create a Manassas Battlefield, and the following year the War Department was authorized to appoint a board to survey the site. The report issued by the survey board advised restoring and maintaining the 1865 federal monuments and purchasing the Henry and Dogan family lands on which they stood.

A small commercial center, including a post office, dry goods store, cheese factory, and filling station, grew up in the early twentieth century around the intersection of Warrenton Turnpike and Sudley Road, near the Stone House. During the 1920s, the Virginia highway department made extensive improvements to the historic Warrenton Turnpike. They regraded and realigned the road, repaved the stretch within Prince William County with concrete, and changed the name to Lee Highway; the road is now more commonly known as U.S. Route 29. The importance of Sudley as a community center diminished as new motor roads passed it by. Small businesses – gas stations, frozen custard stands, and hot dog stands – sprouted up along Route 29, further undermining the importance of the historic crossroads hamlets.¹³²

Across the country, serious efforts to save lands of national significance began in the early 1920s. In the Washington area, the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) worked to establish a Confederate Battlefield Park at Manassas, which they hoped would become “the most beautiful memorial Park in all the land.”¹³³ They purchased the Henry Farm in 1921 and focused their early efforts on visitor education. The federal government offered the services of a landscape architect. The Sons of Confederate

Veterans worked closely in battlefield preservation efforts with the Manassas chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The SCV formed the private Manassas Battlefield Corporation in 1921 to raise funds for and to administer a Manassas Battlefield Confederate Park at Henry Hill.

The first historic sites study ever authorized by the federal government was a survey of all American battlefields conducted by the War Department in 1926. The survey assigned each site a rank, and deemed the Manassas Battlefield worthy of being designated a national monument. In spite of this, Manassas failed to be included among the 14 parks added to the War Department's holdings between 1926 and 1933.¹³⁴

In the 1930s, a concerted federal effort was made to purchase lands associated with the First and Second Battles of Manassas. The Bull Run Recreational Demonstration Area (RDA), formed in 1935 on battlefield lands, was one of 46 RDAs established nationwide to provide recreational lands near urban centers on agricultural fields deemed too poor or exhausted for continued farming. Property was purchased with funds from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). Personnel to acquire lands and plan development were also funded by New Deal program money.¹³⁵

The first land purchase for the Bull Run RDA encompassed 171.72 acres in 1936; the proposed maximum area was about 10,000 acres. Eventually, the Bull Run RDA was transferred to the National Park Service, which developed master plans to guide the preservation and interpretation of the sites of both Manassas battles. National Park Service historians researched war records and prepared landscape restoration plans.¹³⁶ Since RDAs were also intended to provide subsistence farmers with new employment, the NPS hired unemployed men through the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the Emergency Work Conservation program (created in March 1933 and soon renamed the Civilian Conservation Corps [CCC]) to clear the ground, stabilize historic structures, control erosion, and begin restoring the battlefield landscape using natural resource conservation techniques.

A reenactment of the First Battle of Manassas was held on its 75th anniversary, July 21, 1936. (A second reenactment of First Manassas was held on the Henry Farm in July 1961.) In 1937, the Acting Director of the National Park Service, Arthur E. Demaray, stated that the NPS would acquire only the most important sites for the Manassas Battlefield: Henry House (owned by the Sons of Confederate Veterans), Chinn House, Stone Bridge, Van Pelt House, Stone House, and Sudley Mill. Adjacent lands that had been cultivated at the time of the battles would be allowed to remain in private ownership, unless their future development plans proved incompatible with the park's mission.¹³⁷

In August 1939, the Army staged a second massive training event, the "largest peacetime maneuvers in history", concurrently at Manassas and in New York State. The Manassas maneuvers were "designed to test the effectiveness of a new streamlined organization of modern, mobile infantry against the traditional World War I organization."¹³⁸ It is not clear how many sites were disturbed by the maneuvers.

Manassas National Battlefield Park, 1940-1980

The Sons of Confederate Veterans agreed in February 1940 to transfer their 128 acres on Henry Hill to the National Park Service. They imposed two restrictions: the government had to allow the erection of a statue to Stonewall Jackson by the state of Virginia and had to build a museum. On May 10, 1940, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes created Manassas National Battlefield Park out of the combined lands of the Manassas Battlefield Confederate Park and the Bull Run Recreational Demonstration Area. Some wooded areas were cleared to represent the historic conditions during the battle.¹³⁹ The two requirements of the SCV were soon fulfilled: an equestrian monument to Jackson was dedicated on Henry Hill in 1940, and a new Visitor Center (loosely based on Robert E. Lee's Arlington House) was completed nearby in 1942. The NPS then purchased several more key sites of both battles: the Lucinda Dogan house at Groveton in 1948, the Stone House, at the intersection of Route 29 and Sudley Mill Road, in 1949, and the three New York monuments and the surrounding land in 1958. In April 1954, Congress defined the park's potential boundaries.¹⁴⁰

For the suburban areas surrounding Washington, the 1950s and 1960s were a time of rapid physical change. Farmlands were developed into suburban bedroom communities. Many open pastures and farm fields were allowed to succeed to woodland.

At mid-century, a complex of buildings still stood at the Groveton crossroads. At the northwest corner was the 1860s overseer's house, the Lucinda Dogan house, and the former tavern, while a single house stood at the southwest corner. The NPS removed the deteriorated Chinn House, one of the few remaining Civil War-era structures, in 1950. In 1951, the 85.6-acre Stonewall Memory Gardens was established on private land immediately northwest of Groveton.

In 1955-56, the NPS instituted its ten-year Mission 66 program to expand park lands and upgrade facilities nationwide. The Mission 66 project undertaken by Manassas National Battlefield Park aimed to add properties associated with the Second Battle of Manassas. Within a few years the park had acquired Deep Cut and Battery Heights (1958), Buck Hill (1959), and Stone Bridge (1961), and restored the Stone House and the Lucinda Dogan house – the only two Civil War-era buildings remaining in the park – to their appearance in the 1860s. After purchase, most of the post-Civil War structures still standing on these lands were demolished.¹⁴¹

The NPS began interpretation of the Second Manassas battlefield by clearing a narrow view corridor along the railroad grade near Deep Cut and building an interpretive trail following the grade's approximate alignment. At some points the trail was moved off the bed because of poor drainage or erosion of the embankment, or to more closely relate to battle lines.

Boundary Expansion and Interpretation of Second Manassas, 1980-2004

The battlefield park was designated a National Register Historic District in 1966. By the end of the 1960s, the NPS had started to seek legislation to curb development pressures facing the battlefield park. A Boundary Expansion Law (Public Law 96-442), instituted on October 13, 1980, allowed for the addition of nearly 1500 acres. The law required owner consent before purchase, “so long as the land continued to be used in fashion similar to its use in September 1980.” Key parcels were identified, among them the Portici (Wheeler) estate, lands lying east of Stone Bridge, and the Brawner Farm. The National Register nomination was revised in 1981 to include all land within the 1980 authorized boundary. Following a further boundary expansion in 1988, the National Register nomination for the historic district was revised to include the added park land as well as adjacent lands outside the authorized boundary. The revised nomination was completed in 2004.

A General Management Plan completed in 1983 identified the Brawner Farm property as a primary interpretive site for the Second Battle of Manassas. The farm had been incorporated into the park under a 1980 legislated boundary adjustment, and was formally purchased from the Davis family in May 1985. The house, in poor condition, had been vacant since 1978.

Even after the boundary expansion, however, several historically significant areas still remained outside the park’s authorized boundaries: Sudley Church; Stuart’s Hill, just south of Brawner Farm across Route 29; and several commercially zoned tracts near the intersection of I-66 and Sudley Road.

In recent years, the park has faced a number of development pressures around its boundaries. The most immediate threat to the integrity of the Second Manassas battlefield arose in the late 1980s, when a 558-acre tract including Stuart’s Hill, the site of Robert E. Lee’s headquarters during Second Manassas, became the centerpiece of an intensive, national preservation battle. The Hazel/Peterson development firm purchased the tract with plans to erect a mixed-use development known as the William Center. Land had been subdivided and partially regraded, and some roads and utilities had already been installed, when Congress intervened and halted work. President Ronald Reagan signed Public Law 100-647 on November 10, 1988, enabling the William Center tract to be added to Manassas National Battlefield Park.

In 1989, a draft Development Concept Plan and Environmental Assessment for Brawner Farm was prepared. The document was intended to govern future visitor use and resource management, but its completion was suspended following the legislative taking of the Stuart’s Hill tract, which raised additional park development issues for the western part of the park.

The draft study had been inspired by the continuing interpretive problems the park has faced because of the overlapping sites of the two battles. First Manassas has traditionally received greater interpretive emphasis. Since Brawner Farm is one of

several Second Manassas battle sites located entirely off the first battlefield, park management has sought to develop Brawner as the primary interpretive site for Second Manassas.

The Development Concept Plan considered providing an audio-visual program at some facility at the Brawner Farm to give an overview of the battle, and making the site the first stop on a Second Manassas driving tour. It attempted to identify the location, type, and scale of development necessary for interpretation of the Brawner site, and to assess potential environmental impact. The four alternatives presented variety of routes for visitor access and roads and different uses for the house. Proposal A, the recommended alternative, provided a new access road off Warrenton Turnpike and a new parking area west of the house. The existing house – assumed to be post-bellum – would be torn down, and the antebellum foundation stabilized and interpreted. In a second phase of construction, a comfort station would be built near the parking area along with an interpretive shelter housing a media program.¹⁴²

Several other reports on the Brawner site have been written since the property's acquisition. Another development concept plan, encompassing both Brawner Farm and Stuart's Hill, was initiated about 1993; this was abandoned following the announcement by the Walt Disney Corporation of its proposed theme park, Disney's America, to be built near Haymarket. The concern that Disney's arrival in the area would have park-wide ramifications led the National Park Service to begin revising the Manassas GMP, rather than complete a planning document for the Brawner Farm/Stuart's Hill area alone. Some of the information gathered for this DCP was eventually incorporated into the environmental assessment for the relocation of Virginia Power's powerlines.

A number of archeological studies have been carried out, and are discussed below in *Analysis and Evaluation: Archeology*. Three major studies have been undertaken on the house: A 1985 "Historic Structures Report on Douglas Hall" concluded that the extant house was the antebellum Bachelor's Hall. In 1987, a second study determined that the house was, instead, primarily a post-bellum structure that had included certain antebellum features from Bachelor's Hall or another structure within the framing of the northern section. A far more thorough study than either of these, titled "Historic Structure Report Addendum," was carried out by a team from the NPS Historic Preservation Training Center in 2002. Their major discovery (similar to but more definitive than the conclusion of the preceding report) was that the northern block of the house incorporates a one-and-one-half story structure that dates to the eighteenth or very early nineteenth century.

A report on troop movements during Second Manassas was completed in 1985. In 1998, powerlines extending across the Brawner and Stuart's Hill tracts were shifted to the west to improve the historic battlefield views from both tracts. The corridor for the powerlines was cleared of trees; on Brawner Farm this affected only a few fencerows and a patch of woods near the historic quarry. New trees were planted at intervals along the corridor's edges.¹⁴³

Endnotes, Chapter 1: Site History

¹ The most valuable sources for this history have been Fairfax Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William: A Study of Origins in Northern Virginia in Two Volumes* (1925): p. 25; Kathleen A. Parker, “An Archeological Assessment of the Brawner Farm House” (December 1989); Maureen Joseph, Northeast Quadrant, Cultural Landscape Inventory, Manassas National Battlefield Park (National Park Service, July 1996); Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant, CLI, MNB” (National Park Service, July 1996); Mia Parsons, “Southern Portion, CLI, MNB” (National Park Service, July 1996); Laura Trieschmann, E.H.T. Tracerics, “Manassas Battlefield National Register Historic District Nomination” (Manassas National Battlefield Park, National Park Service, draft, 2004); and Stephen R. Potter, Robert C. Sonderman, Marian C. Creveling, and Susannah L. Dean, “‘No Maneuvering and Very Little Tactics’: Archaeology and the Battle of Brawner Farm (44PW452)” (Regional Archeology Program, National Capital Region, National Park Service, draft, 2001). While the draft document by Potter et al. was used in the preparation of this CLR, the essay has subsequently been published in “Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War”, ed. Clarence R. Geier and Stephen R. Potter Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2001).

² Potter et al., 1.

³ Gaff 1985; Hennessy 1993: 168-93; Potter et al., 2-3

⁴ Patricia Parker, “The Hinterland,” 60.

⁵ G. Terry Sharrer, “Biological Thought in Eighteenth-Century Agriculture,” in *Magnolia, Bulletin of the Southern Garden History Society* (Vol. 16, Winter 2000-2001): 1+; also Patricia Parker, “The Hinterland,” 67.

⁶ Some historians believe a tobacco inspection station may have been built in the Dumfries area as early as 1713; see Patricia Parker, “The Hinterland,” 62-63.

⁷ Harrison, Chapter 27, and 453ff.

⁸ Harrison 397.

⁹ Harrison 401.

¹⁰ Harrison, 405ff; Johnson et al., 32.

¹¹ Harrison 410.

¹² D’Anne Evans, *Prince William County: A Pictorial History* (Norfolk, Virginia: Donning, 1989): 34. See also Carter L. Hudgins, “Robert ‘King’ Carter and the Landscape of Tidewater Virginia in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Earth Patterns: Essays in Landscape Archaeology*, Eds. William M. Kelso and Rachel Most (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990): 59-70.

¹³ Trieschmann, nomination draft (2004): Sec. 8, p. 53; Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 2.

¹⁴ Harrison 229-47ff.

¹⁵ Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 4. See also Elizabeth Harrover Johnson, E.R. Conner III, and Mary Harrover Ferguson, *History in a Horseshoe Curve: The Story of Sudley Methodist Church and Its Community* (Princeton: Pennywit Press, 1982): 32; and Matthew B. Reeves, ed., *An Archeological and Historical Investigation of Stone House* (44PW298) (Occasional Report No. 16, Regional Archeology Program, National Capital Region, National Park Service, June 2001): 2.1.

¹⁶ Johnson et al., 32.

- ¹⁷ E.R. Conner, II, “Sudley Mill at Sudley Spring,” *Echoes* 7 (September 1974): 75, 76; Matthew Reeves, e-mail to Maureen Joseph, September 16, 1997.
- ¹⁸ Reeves, *Stone House*, 2.2.
- ¹⁹ Reeves, *Stone House*, 2.1-2.
- ²⁰ Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 3.
- ²¹ Trieschman, nomination draft (2004): Sec. 8, p. 36; Joseph, “Northeast Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, pp. 2ff; and Reeves, *Stone House*, 2.5
- ²² Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 5.
- ²³ Reeves, *Stone House*, 2.2, 2.4; Parsons, “Southern Portion CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 4.
- ²⁴ Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 4.
- ²⁵ Reeves, *Stone House*, 2.4, 2.5. Reeves probably obtained his information from Francis Wilshin, “The Stone House: Embattled Landmark of Bull Run” (National Park Service, March 21, 1961): 72.
- ²⁶ Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, page 5; Trieschmann, draft nomination (2004): Sec. 8, p. 55.
- ²⁷ Virginus Dabney, *Virginia, the New Dominion: A History from 1607 to the Present* (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1992 1971): 276, 279.
- ²⁸ Dabney 276.
- ²⁹ Janice Artemel, “1880-1840,” in *Fairfax County, Virginia: A History* (Fairfax: Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, 1992): 261.
- ³⁰ Dabney 276, 279-280; also Artemel, 156ff, and Reeves, *Stone House*, 2.2.
- ³¹ Artemel 266; Reeves, *Stone House*, 2.6-2.7; Harrison 410.
- ³² Harrison 25, quoted in Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 11.
- ³³ The company apparently awarded money to adjacent property owners for damages occurring during construction. Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 11.
- ³⁴ Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 11; Trieschmann, draft nomination (2004): Sec. 8, p. 55.
- ³⁵ Reeves, *Stone House*, 2.8.
- ³⁶ Kathleen A. Parker, “Archeological Assessment,” 1, referring to PWCo Plat Book, 2:4. Tennille first appears in PW Co Personal Property Tax Records of 1784 and Land Tax Records of 1795. See also Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 2.
- ³⁷ Kathleen A. Parker, “Archeological Assessment,” 1, referring to PWCo Plat Book, 1:41.
- ³⁸ The Brasfield and Fortune tract was valued at \$15 per acre.
- ³⁹ This is according to conversations in 2002 with Don Wilson, Virginiana Librarian at the Bull Run Regional Library, Prince William County Libraries, in Manassas.

⁴⁰ Bedell, John, The Louis Berger Group, Inc., “Archeological Investigation for 2nd Manassas Tour Development, Brawner Farm Site (44PW452), Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia, Year 1 Summary” (June 2004): 3; hereinafter referred to as “Berger 2004”.

⁴¹ George Tennille’s Will, *Will Book O*, 1833-42, p. 443ff; Inventory, *Will Book O*, 1833-43, p. 468ff; Prince William County Archives. His will refers to the grandson, George A. Douglas, as one of their “three children.” Tennille’s relative prosperity may be surmised by the fact that he left his “three children” a total of 15 slaves. The slaves left to Douglas were named Harrison, George, Maria, and Nelly, who had two sons, Robert and John.

⁴² Kathleen A. Parker, “Archeological Assessment,” 2, referring to PWC Land Tax Roll L4.

⁴³ Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 8.

⁴⁴ John Brawner’s war claim (1871, p. 1) mentions only the payment of \$150. His daughter Mary’s war claim (1871) states: “A widow lady, Mrs. Douglas, owned the place. The terms upon which he rented were, that he was to have a third of what he raised.” This seems to be a high rent, especially considering the relatively poor quality of the farm land. Cecil Lewis Gray writes in *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* that one-half harvest on good land is reasonable; *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1933).

⁴⁵ 1850 Agricultural Census and Kathleen A. Parker, “Archeological Assessment,” 2.

⁴⁶ Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sect. 3, pp. 9-11.

⁴⁷ Hotchkiss map, showing 1862 battle.

⁴⁸ Trieschmann, nomination draft (2004), Sec. 8, p. 54-55.

⁴⁹ Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, pp. 11-12.

⁵⁰ Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 12.

⁵¹ This is from the typescript of a letter, published in 1874, written by a local woman identified only as “Florence”; the letter is in park files. It was called to the authors’ attention by Jim Burgess, Museum Specialist, who also recalls seeing other references to residents watching the battle from near Groveton. A good view would also have been obtainable from Stuart’s Hill (Munroe’s Hill).

⁵² Potter et al., 1. Potter warns about the solipsism of battle recollections. Most accounts of this battle agree but there are occasional differences on specifics. Potter’s reconstruction is based on the work of historians Alan Gaff (1985) and John Hennessy (1985, 1993) supplemented by primary sources, such as soldiers’ accounts from the *Official Records*. (Potter et al., 6)

⁵³ The primary source for the discussion of the two months preceding the Second Battle of Manassas has been Shelby Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative History, Fort Sumter to Perryville* (New York: Random House, 1986 1958). Also consulted was John Hennessy, “The Second Battle of Manassas: Lee Suppresses the ‘Miscreant’ Pope,” *Blue and Gray Magazine* (August 1992): 11+.

⁵⁴ Foote 587-588.

⁵⁵ Foote 597.

⁵⁶ Foote 589.

⁵⁷ Foote 597-604.

⁵⁸ Foote 605.

⁵⁹ Foote 606.

⁶⁰ Foote 606-607.

⁶¹ Foote 608-609.

⁶² Foote 610-611.

⁶³ Foote 615-619.

⁶⁴ Hennessy 1992, 28.

⁶⁵ Hennessy 1992, 21.

⁶⁶ Quoted in Hennessy 1992, 21-22.

⁶⁷ Hennessy 1992, 21-22.

⁶⁸ Potter et al., 7.

⁶⁹ Potter et al., 7, and Hennessy 1992, 22.

⁷⁰ Hennessy 1992, 22.

⁷¹ Hennessy 1992, 22.

⁷² Potter et al., 7, and Hennessy 1992, 22.

⁷³ Hennessy 1992, 22.

⁷⁴ Potter et al., 8, and Hennessy 1992, 22.

⁷⁵ Quoted in Hennessy 1992, 22; also see Potter et al., 8.

⁷⁶ Potter et al., 8; Hennessy 1992, 22-23.

⁷⁷ Hennessy 1992, 23.

⁷⁸ Potter et al., 8.

⁷⁹ Potter et al., 9.

⁸⁰ Hennessy 1992, 25.

⁸¹ Hennessy 1992, 25.

⁸² Confederate division commander William B. Taliaferro, *Battles and Leaders*, vol. 2, p. 510.

⁸³ William B. Taliaferro, *Official Records* Ser. I, Vol. XII, pt. 2, p. 657.

⁸⁴ “The commander of King’s 3rd Brigade, Brigadier General Patrick, recalled 16 years later that ‘it was in this ground, up to this house, and from about here (Douglas’s house), during the night and until one o’clock perhaps – I could not say exactly – when we were engaged in caring for those that were wounded.’” Patrick’s information was secondhand. (Potter et al., 9)

⁸⁵ Potter et al., 9-10.

⁸⁶ Potter inferred this from soldiers' accounts. Potter et al., 10.

⁸⁷ Hennessy 1992, 25; Brian Morris, Ian J. W. Firth, and Susan P. Bratton, "A Cultural Heritage Landscape Restoration Report for the Stuart's Hill Tract, Manassas National Battlefield Park." USDOJ, NPS, National Capital Region, 1993, 64.

⁸⁹ Hennessy 1992, 25.

⁹⁰ Morris et al., 64.

⁹¹ Morris et al., 67.

⁹² Hennessy 1992, 26.

⁹³ Hennessy 1992, 26; Morris et al., 64.

⁹⁴ Morris et al., 63.

⁹⁵ Hennessy 1992, 26-27.

⁹⁶ Hennessy 1992, 31, 46.

⁹⁷ Hennessy 1992, 47.

⁹⁸ Hennessy 1992, 47.

⁹⁹ Hennessy 1992, 47-48.

¹⁰⁰ Hennessy 1992, 49.

¹⁰¹ Morris et al., 3.

¹⁰² Hennessy 1992, 50.

¹⁰³ Morris et al., 61.

¹⁰⁴ Hennessy 1992, 54.

¹⁰⁵ DCP/EA, 6, 9.

¹⁰⁶ Joseph, "Northwest Quadrant CLI," Sec. 3, p. 16.

¹⁰⁷ "Rambler," Sunday *Star* June 11, 1914, abstract from file of Star for June 1865, quoted in Joseph, "Northwest Quadrant CLI," Sec. 3, pp. 17-18.

¹⁰⁸ J. Harrison Mills, *Chronicles of the Twenty-First Regiment, New York State Volunteers* (Buffalo, NY: J. Harrison Mills, 1887): 256, quoted in Trieschmann, nomination draft (2004), Sec. 8, p. 65.

¹⁰⁹ Joseph, "Northwest Quadrant CLI," Sec. 3, p. 21.

¹¹⁰ John C. Brawner, Claim No. 1335, filed April 27, 1871, and Mary B. Brawner, filed June 15, 1871, with Commissioner of Claims, U.S. War Department; National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. Discussed in Joseph, "Northwest Quadrant CLI," Sec. 3, p. 21, and Kathleen A. Parker, "Archeological Assessment," 3, both claims reproduced in Appendix B; Parker thinks it possible that they exaggerated their losses.

¹¹¹ Kathleen A. Parker, “Archeological Assessment,” 2, and Mary Brawner claim in Appendix B.

¹¹² Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 22.

¹¹³ Kathleen A. Parker, “Archeological Assessment,” 2, and Appendix B.

¹¹⁴ James Hamilton Eckenrode, *The Political History of Virginia During the Reconstruction* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1904, reprint 1966 Peter Smith, Gloucester Mass.): 26, quoted in Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 21.

¹¹⁵ Dabney, *Virginia, the New Dominion*, 357.

¹¹⁶ J.T. Trowbridge, *The South: A Tour of Its Battle-fields and Ruined Cities, a Journey through the Desolated States and Talks with the People* (Hartford, Connecticut: Stebbins, 1866): 84-85, quoted in Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 23.

¹¹⁷ Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 17; Trieschmann, nomination draft (2004), Sec. 8, pp. 66-67.

¹¹⁸ Dabney 357, 416.

¹¹⁹ Reeves, *Stone House*, 2.8

¹²⁰ Dabney 443.

¹²¹ Conner 77.

¹²² Joseph, “NW Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 25. The farm appears in the maps produced by the Warren Surveys of 1878, drawn by War Department surveyors for the court martial retrial hearings of Union Major Gen. Fitz John Porter. Accused of insubordination, Porter was court-martialed and cashiered, but won reinstatement through the retrial.

¹²³ Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 25. In the Warren Survey notes, “Acres” is noted as living at the former Brawner (Douglas) house. Maureen Joseph, Regional Historical Landscape Architect, believes that “Acres” is a misspelling of “Akers.”

¹²⁴ Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, pp. 26-27. The National Censuses of 1870 and 1880 included Agricultural Schedules. The 1880 schedule was the more detailed, providing information on farm use.

¹²⁵ Kathleen A. Parker, “Archeological Assessment,” 3, PWC Land Tax Books 1880-81, 1882-1895; PWC Deed Book 40:250-251.

¹²⁶ Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, pp. 31- 32.

¹²⁷ Elizabeth Brown Pryor, *Frying Pan Farm* (Fairfax County: Office of Comprehensive Planning, 1979): I, 5, II, 22, 36.

¹²⁸ Kathleen A. Parker, “Archeological Assessment,” 3, PWC Land Tax Books 1904-1905, 1906-1907

¹²⁹ Berger 2004, 13.

¹³⁰ Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 33.

¹³¹ Trieschmann, nomination draft (2004), Sec. 8, pp. 68-69, cites Mike O'Donnell, *At Manassas, Reunions, Maneuvers, and Reenactments* (Mechanicsville, Virginia: Rapidan Press, 1986): 4-13.

¹³² Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 34.

¹³³ Joan Zenzen, *Battling for Manassas: The Fifty-Year Preservation Struggle at Manassas National Battlefield Park* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998): 15.

¹³⁴ Zenzen 17.

¹³⁵ Kathleen A. Parker, “Archeological Assessment,” 141.

¹³⁶ Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 33.

¹³⁷ Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, pp. 33-34.

¹³⁸ Trieschmann, nomination draft (2004), Sec. 8, p. 72.

¹³⁹ Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 35.

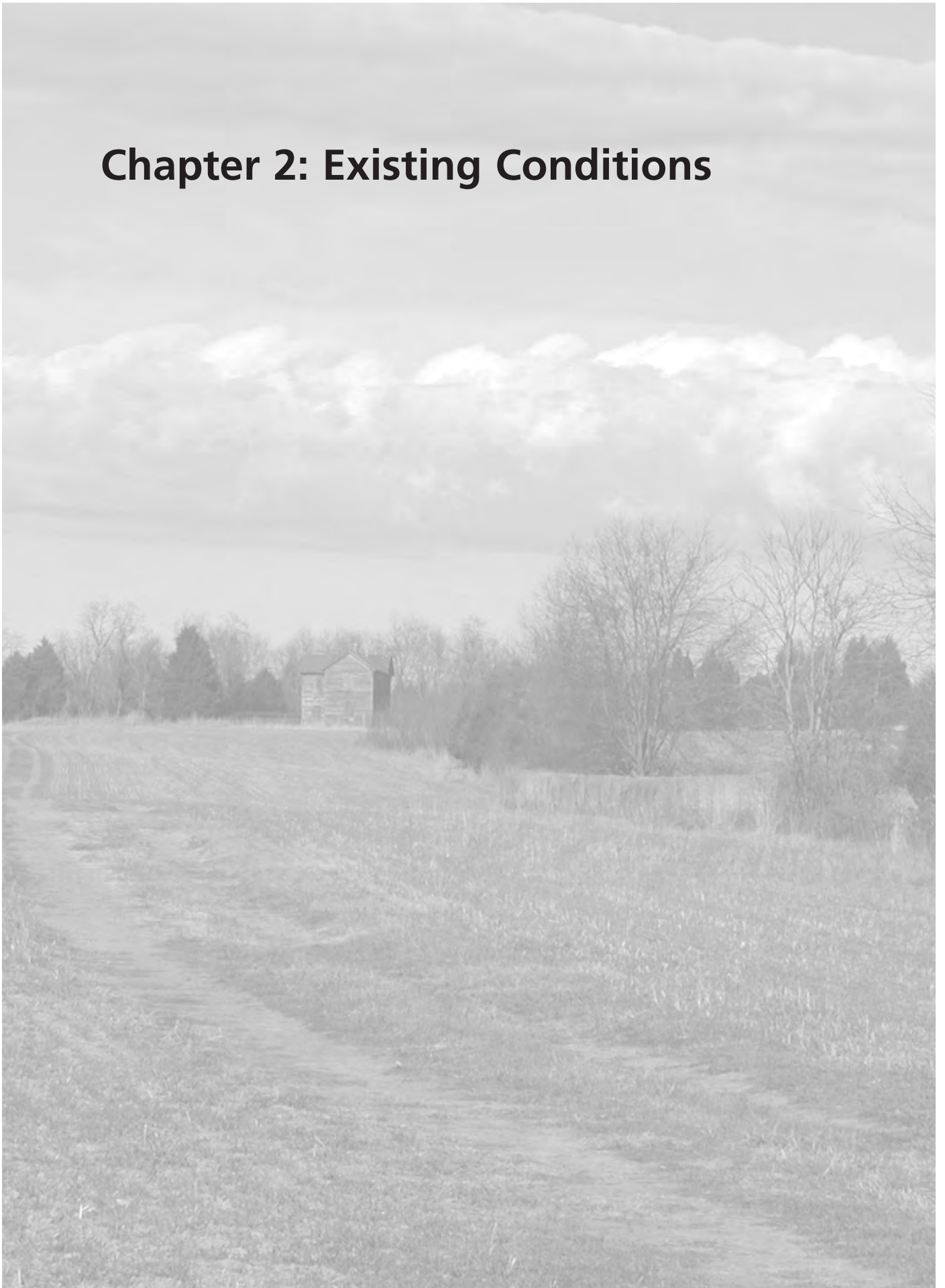
¹⁴⁰ Trieschmann, nomination draft (2004), Sec. 8, pp. 72-73.

¹⁴¹ Trieschmann, nomination draft (2004), Sec. 3, p. 36.

¹⁴² In the “Development Concept Plan”, Alternative B presented a new access road running from Pageland Lane to a high point north of the railroad grade, a staffed interpretive building, and removal of the house; the antebellum house would then be “ghosted.” Alternative C also recommended an access road from Pageland Lane leading to a parking lot west of the house, which would be rehabilitated for use as an interpretive center. Alternative D recommended continuing existing operations with no development. Manassas National Battlefield Park, “Development Concept Plan, Environmental Assessment, Manassas National Battlefield Park, Brawner Farm Site” (February 1989).

¹⁴³ Manassas National Battlefield Park, “General Management Plan, Environmental Assessment for Power Line Relocation” (May 1994). Aerial photograph, c. 2001.

Chapter 2: Existing Conditions



Existing Conditions

Primary Historic Features

Today, the Brawner Farm site retains a surprisingly large amount of evidence of its historic agricultural use. Most of the site is covered by fields divided by fencerows. Some of the fields are under hay lease; the rest are periodically mowed by the park staff. Trees, shrubs, and other vegetation have grown up along the fencelines, giving them visual definition. Successional vegetation also grows along several intermittent streams which drain the property. Most of the Brawner site drains into an intermittent stream which bisects the property north to south, lying west of the house. This is the headwater tributary to Youngs Branch. (See Exhibit A)

The existing farmhouse, built partially on the site of the original house, and the historic farmyard and barnyard area stand at the south end of Stony Ridge. The Battle of Brawner Farm was fought in this location on August 28, 1862.

A forested area, the historic woodlot known as Gibbon's or Brawner Woods, still occupies the site's southeast corner. Although it has expanded beyond its historic northern edge, the extent of the original woodland is still evident because of its age and species composition. Other indications of the historic limits of Brawner Woods are the stone piles found in the northern section of the woodland, marking land that had been previously cleared of most trees. A younger woodland has grown up along the east boundary of the property. About 20 acres of the woodlot lie south of Route 29. In the southwest corner of the site lie the 46 acres of the Swart (or Abbott) tract, historically part of William Cundiff's Meadowville farm and never part of the Brawner Farm. This mostly open tract has several thick lines of trees along fence-lines, a twentieth-century house site, and a small twentieth-century walled cemetery.

The Brawner Farm property has agricultural soils which are classified as fair, fair-to-poor, and poor, including two types of the soil known as "Jackland," a plastic clay that provides poor drainage. Jackland soil covers about 50 acres on the eastern half of the site, around the farmhouse and extending along the lower end of ridge. Today, as a result of mowing, several native grasses and other herbaceous plants, typical of the tall grass prairies west of the Appalachian mountains, grow throughout the site, particularly on these Jackland soils.

A set of high-tension powerlines run through the property along its western boundary near Pageland Lane. North of the Unfinished Railroad, the powerlines angle off to the northeast, parallel to an older underground gas line. These powerlines replace one that was formerly situated closer to the farmhouse.

The Brawner Farm site is usually approached from a small gravel turn-off along Route 29 (the historic Warrenton Turnpike), used for parking. A modern worm/stake and rider fence defines the boundary between turn-off and farm. Visitors enter fields that are west of the historic woodlot, to the right. A horse and pedestrian trail that loops around the property leads into the woods from the south end of the field, near Route 29. To the left, or west, is the wooded drainage that runs through the property and feeds into Youngs Branch. Ahead, to the north, the land gradually

slopes up to Stony Ridge. A dirt-and-gravel service road leads to the farmhouse, about one-quarter mile to the north. Parallel to the service road on the east is the sunken trace of the historic eighteenth- or nineteenth-century farm road, now overgrown with trees and shrubs.

Most visitors probably follow the service road up to the house, the site's most prominent landmark. The road is also used by farm and park vehicles. The house and farmyard are situated on the southern end of the Stony Ridge plateau, which spreads out to encompass much of the northern half of the Brawner tract and runs another two miles to the northeast.

The current house was almost wholly built by William M. Davis in 1905, partly on the site of the antebellum house constructed by George Tennille in the early nineteenth century. The Davis house incorporates a one-and-one-half-story structure dating from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century in its northern block. The lack of any firearms damage to these timbers suggests that this structure was moved to the site sometime after the battle. The mothballed house is in poor but stable condition; numerous stones are missing from its on-grade foundation and boards have been removed from its exterior walls to permit study of the framing. The chain-link security fence surrounding it encompasses a portion of the historic yard area.

To the east, the farmyard is open, but in the yard areas north and west of the house, trees – primarily black locusts, cedars, and hackberries – grow in lines and clumps. (Exhibit C) Stones from the foundations and piers of numerous historic outbuildings are found in the yard areas north and west of the house, beneath the trees and in open stretches. The most significant and most readily identifiable of these remains is a brick-and-stone foundation from a structure which may have been a detached kitchen, located due west of the house. Trees grow along the yard's western fenceline and on both sides of a swale that marks the northern boundary of the yard. Historically, a spring may have risen in this swale. About 400 feet from the house, at the northeast corner of the yard, are the foundation and collapsed superstructure of a nineteenth-century barn.

The trace of the historic farm road continues north past the house, passing close by its east façade, the section added by Davis. The road trace is mown in this section, and is clearly visible as a ground depression. It is used as a trail leading to the fields and interpretive sites to the north.

Faint traces of another farm road, which led to the house from Pageland Lane, can be read in the landscape. These include fencing near the intermittent stream and a slight embankment near the yard's southwest corner. Until recently a remnant of this road could be discerned as the mown path that crossed the field east of the house, passing between the barn remains and the mid-twentieth-century orchard (special mowing no longer delineates this bit of farm road). It is likely that a farm road passed in front of the barn in much the same location during the nineteenth century.

An interpretive trail begins east of the house, where a couple of waysides are located. It proceeds east over the southern terminus of Stony Ridge and onto the Dogan farm, following the position of the extended Union line on the evening of August 28, 1862. The trail loops back to the house along a route north of and roughly parallel to its first part, tracing the Confederate line during that opening battle. Another trail moves north, following the historic road trace past the house and along the edge of the post-Civil War orchard, to where cannons mark the positions of Confederate artillery. An interpretive wayside interprets how this position was used in the fighting of August 30, 1862.

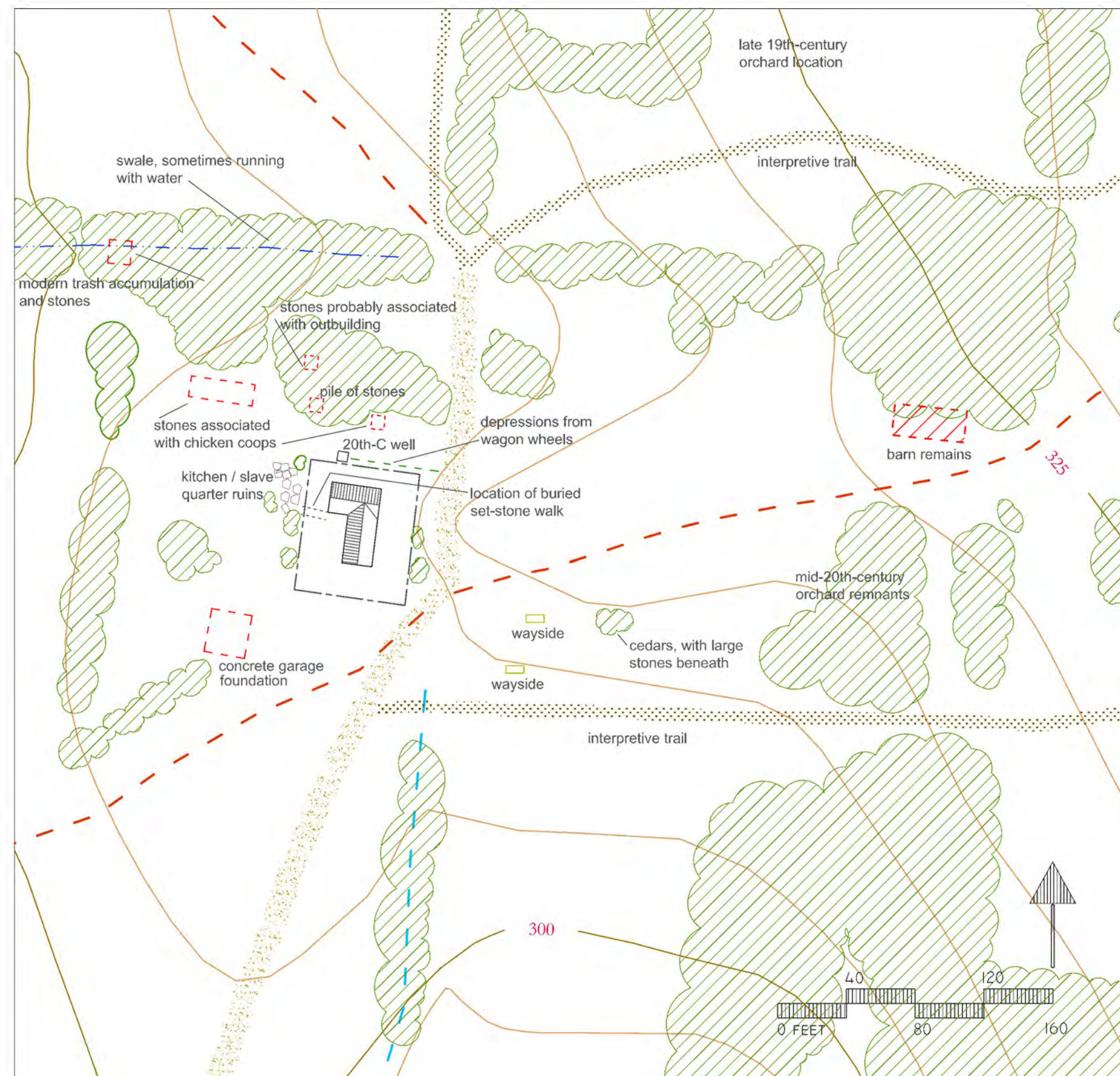
Trail Passage through the Site

From the foot of Stony Ridge, the bridle/hiking trail leads through Brawner Woods, circumnavigating the site. The trail begins near Route 29 and leads from the southeast field directly into the historic woods. Stone edgings, culverts, and gravel have been added to the trail in areas. The trail passes east and north through the woods, ascending the southern prong of Stony Ridge. It is possible to discern changes in historic land use through observation of the way stones are disposed across the ground. Areas with irregular, natural distribution suggest the land was never disturbed. A prominent zigzag line of stones probably indicates the former location of a worm fence. North of this line, stones have been gathered into piles, probably reflecting some farm use that required the passage of vehicles; this may have been an area where hogs were allowed to forage, an interpretation supported by the presence of a wooden structure in this area which was likely a hog shelter. There is evidence of fencelines within the woods – barbed wire lying on the ground or wrapped around fence posts or tree trunks.

Originating 100 to 200 feet east of the trail, and crossing it at a point about 400 feet into the woods, is the sunken bed of a historic road, probably the road mentioned in soldiers' accounts along which Union troops advanced from the turnpike through the woods on the evening of August 28. Its entrance into the woods at Route 29 is clearly discernable, although in that location the highway's grade is now much higher than that of the historic Warrenton Turnpike.

As the trail ascends Stony Ridge, evergreens appear where successional growth is filling in previously open areas. A social trail leads over to the house. Eventually the trail crosses the grade of the Unfinished Railroad. From here, a visitor can follow a trail adjacent to the grade west to fields in the northern half of the site, or follow the grade east off the site to Deep Cut, or continue along the trail north, finally leaving the woods at the northeast corner of the site, near the gas line.

A trail then runs across the northern fields. These fields are kept open by periodic mowing. The trail runs parallel to the route of the powerlines and passes by fencerows dominated by red cedar. Approaching Pageland Lane, the trail turns to the south, leading through dense vegetative growth around the historic quarry area before entering more fields west of the house and north of the Swart tract. Here the trail begins to angle back to the southeast, crossing through fields and fencerows, and passing over the headwater tributary of Youngs Branch before returning to the service road.



Brawner Farm

Manassas National Battlefield Park

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR — NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

LEGEND

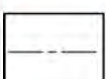
-  FARM ROAD
-  INTERPRETIVE TRAILS
-  TRACE OF HISTORIC ENTRANCE ROAD
-  TRACES OF FARM ROADS THAT DATE TO 1937 OR EARLIER
-  CHAIN LINK FENCE

EXHIBIT C

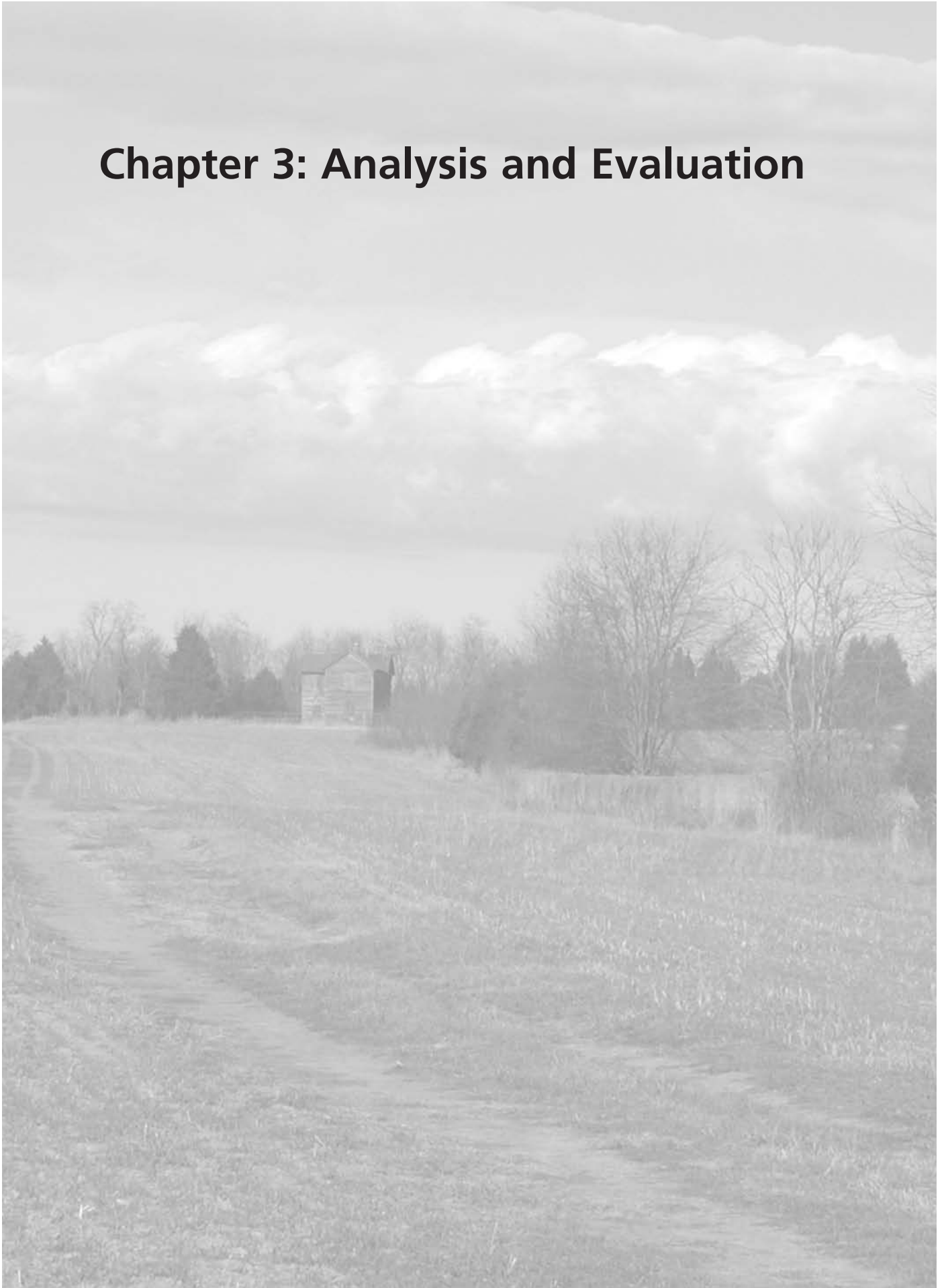
EXISTING CONDITIONS - YARD

The yard surrounding the house and extending east toward the barn is defined on three sides by trees (or fencerows) that follow former fencelines. The current entrance road meets the trace of the historic entrance road near the southeast corner of the house. It is crossed by and leads to traces of farm roads known to have existed, but for which only faint evidence now remains. The age of the collapsed barn is yet to be determined. The remains of a kitchen/slave quarter is marked by many large stones, some of which are a fallen chimney. Various outbuildings have disappeared, leaving only stones or earthen marks. A concrete foundation marks the location of a 20th-century garage. Interpretive trails lead through the battleground area east and north of the house and two waysides are positioned east of the house.

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NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION

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Chapter 3: Analysis and Evaluation



Analysis and Evaluation

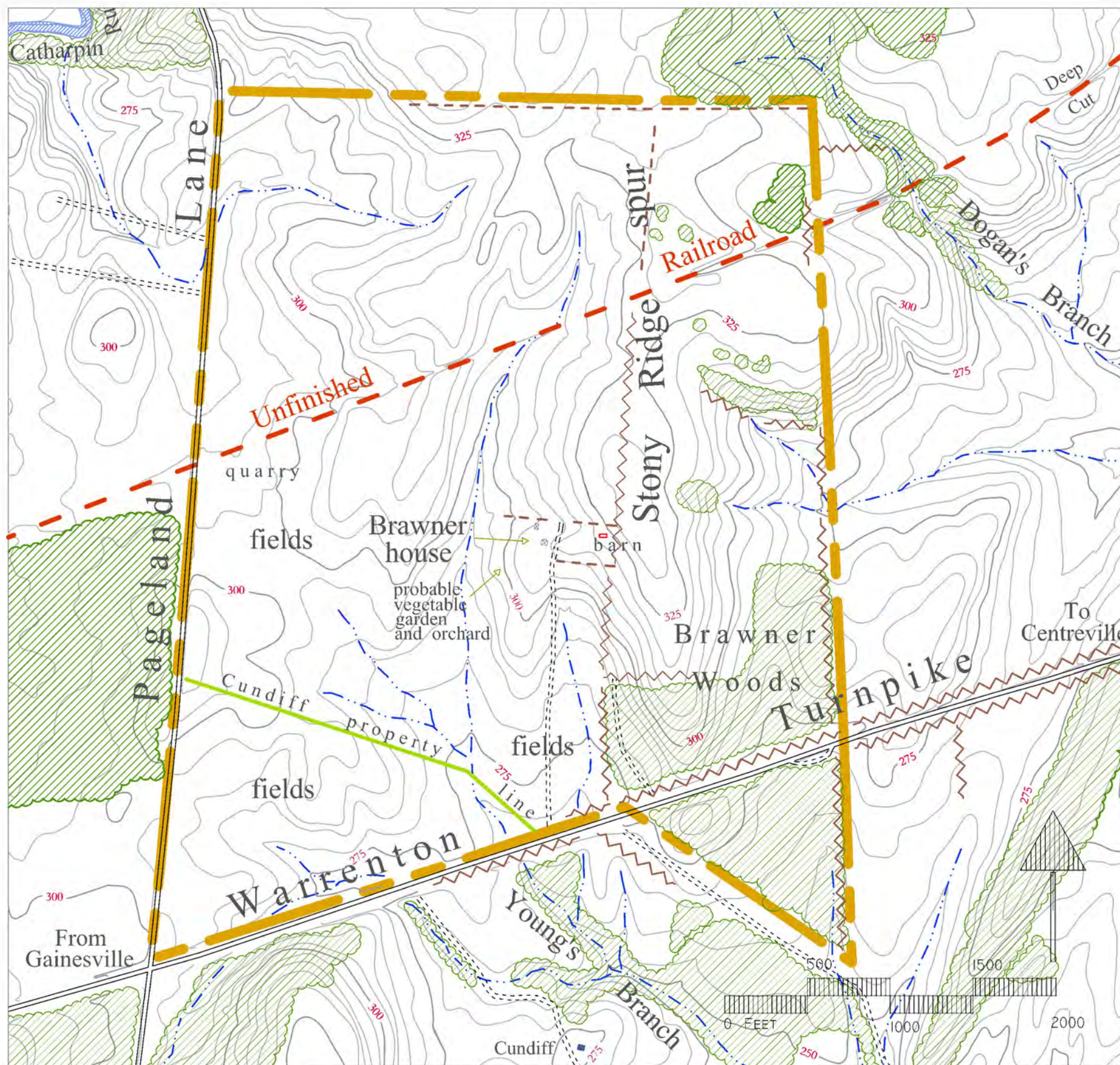
This section of the report compares the findings of the site history with the existing conditions in order to identify which extant landscape characteristics and associated features have historical significance. The integrity of each characteristic is evaluated within the context of the landscape as a whole. This process is the groundwork for establishing the period of significance, and for identifying a framework against which all changes in the landscape can be compared. It is an important step for developing appropriate and relevant treatment strategies.

Period of Significance

Brawner Farm lies within the National Register Historic District of Manassas National Battlefield Park. The site is significant under Criterion A, broad patterns of history, related primarily to the Civil War, but also to settlement and development of the area as an agricultural region; Criterion B, for association with Confederate General Thomas J. “Stonewall” Jackson, whose fame rose with the successful outcome of this battle for the Confederate side; and Criterion D, for its ability to yield important information about the battle and about the character of the farmstead. The period of significance is 1800 to 1905. The period begins with 1800, by which year owner George Tennille had purchased the land where the first farmhouse was built. It ends with 1905, when William Davis had finished construction of the current house, occupying the same location as the earlier house. The most important event within these years is the Civil War, 1861-1865, and particularly the Second Battle of Manassas, fought from August 28-30, 1862.

Evaluation of Integrity

The agricultural way of life that defined Brawner Farm until about the mid-twentieth century, although never very prosperous, preserved the landscape of the battlefield to a large degree. Today, historic patterns of agricultural use are clearly evident in the landscape’s fencelines, fields, and woodlands. The historic woodlot, which figured significantly in the first day of the battle, still exists, although greatly expanded. The farm’s historic spatial organization – a pattern of fields marked by fencelines – is probably unchanged from the historic period, although now the fencelines are thick with trees and natural succession has invaded many of the formerly open fields. The farmhouse that existed at the time of the battle was by 1905 replaced by another house. It stands partly on the foundation of the original structure. Although some of the existing house fabric may be 200 years old, but those parts appear to have been brought to the site after the Civil War. Nevertheless, the house and the remnant yard features provide a central focus for this part of the battlefield that saw the opening engagement of the Second Battle of Manassas. The historic farm road that led from the Warrenton Turnpike to the farmhouse, barn, and other structures is still visible, although it was abandoned and a different alignment on slightly higher ground was used for the past half century. In the following subsections, each of the landscape



Brawner Farm

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LEGEND

	BRAWNER FARM STUDY BOUNDARY		WORM FENCE
	STREAMS		UNDETERMINED FENCE TYPE
	FARM ROADS		
	WOODED AREAS		

EXHIBIT D

Historic Conditions (1)

Information for this map has been assembled from multiple sources. Post-battle accounts, especially the *Official Records*, provide the location of fences near the Brawner house. The locations of other fences are based on J. A. Judson's notes for the Warren maps (1878) and on field observation. McDowell's map (1877) shows the fields. John Brawner's war claim mentions a vegetable garden and J. Hotchkiss's map (1862) shows an orchard, also referred to in post-battle accounts. Vegetation on the south side of the Warrenton Turnpike comes primarily from the *Cultural Landscape Restoration Report: Stuart's Hill Tract* (1993). The Brawner house footprint and the position of the nearby structure also come from Judson's notes. The possibility of an antebellum barn in the location shown is based on extant barn remains, but these have not yet been archeologically dated. Topography and road locations are from GIS produced by the Prince William County Office of Mapping and Information, based on 1987 aeriels.

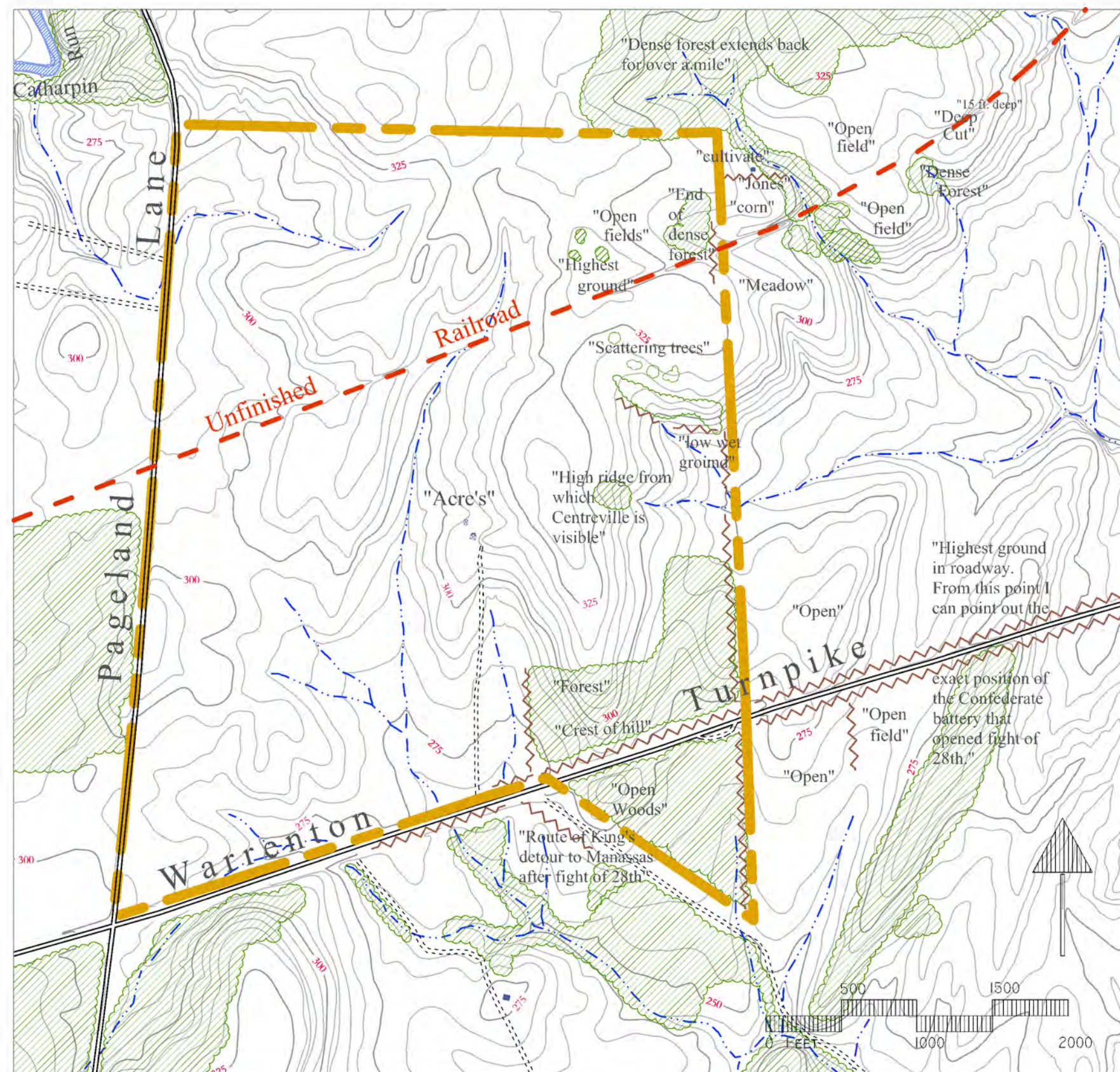
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Brawner Farm

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LEGEND

- BRAWNER FARM STUDY BOUNDARY
- STREAMS
- FARM ROADS

- WOODED AREAS
- WORM FENCE

EXHIBIT E

Historic Conditions (2)

This second map showing historic conditions highlights information that comes from the notes of J. A. Judson. Judson was one of two surveyors who assisted Gouverneur Kemble Warren, Major of Engineers for the Army, in mapping the Manassas battlefield in 1878. Measured surveys of 29 interconnecting transects were taken of the battlefield and recorded in notebooks before preparing the maps. The surveys recorded changes in elevation along the transects, described adjacent features, and took compass bearings. One transect was run along the Warrenton Turnpike. Only those fences recorded by Judson are shown here. The quoted notations are Judson's (Book 3, pages 4-6, 24, 34, 35, 39 and 40). The location of vegetation on the Brawner Farm and to its north and east of it are from Judson. The Brawner house and outbuilding are also from Judson. He wrote the name "Acre's" alongside the house -- most likely a misspelling of the name Akens, for Benjamin Akens, who was then renting the farm (Book 3, page 26). Other vegetation and the location of farm roads come from other maps, primarily those prepared for the *Cultural Landscape Restoration Report: Stuart's Hill Tract* (1993).

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characteristics and their associated features are analyzed to determine which of them are historic, have integrity, and contribute to the significance of Brawner Farm. (Exhibits D & E support discussion throughout chapter.)

Archeology

Over the last 15 years, a number of archeological investigations have been carried out at the Brawner Farm, site 44PW452. In 1987-1989, several related historical, archeological, and architectural research projects were undertaken to determine if any portions of the existing house dated to the time of the battle. Also in July 1987, a metal detector survey was made of a section of the battlefield lying east of the house. Testing of the historic roadbed was undertaken in March 1990. Further investigations were made of the battlefield in 1994 in an attempt to locate evidence of firing lines.

A preliminary architectural investigation in 1985 had concluded that the current house is the antebellum Bachelor's Hall. Further archeological investigation of the Brawner Farm site were begun in May 1987 to determine whether the current house was the one standing at the time of the battle. Surveyors also sought the location of exterior chimney footings, wells, and outbuildings associated with the war-era house. These investigations revealed that the existing house is not, in fact, Bachelor's Hall.

Architectural features associated with the antebellum era include rubble from an outbuilding west of the house that may have been destroyed during the battle, and portions of the west, north, and east foundation walls of the original house, Bachelor's Hall. Bachelor's Hall measured approximately 24 feet north-south by 31 feet east-west. It had no cellar; cut sandstone and fieldstone footers rested in a shallow trench. Three chimney footings were found, two on the east side and one on the west. Any traces of the chimney which presumably stood to the northwest have been destroyed by tree roots. Two stone piers were found along the north foundation wall.¹ Another feature discovered during the 1987 excavations was an antebellum trash pit southwest of the house containing artifacts dating from c. 1750-1850.²

Concurrently with the 1987 excavations, a team from the National Park Service Williamsport Preservation Training Center carried out an architectural investigation of the house. They found the remnants of an earlier house existing within the shorter, east-west leg of the ell.³

Taken together, the archeological and architectural evidence suggests that Bachelor's Hall was a two-and-a-half story house with a pair of chimneys at either end and a central-hall double-pile plan, a Georgian-derived vernacular house.⁴ It appears likely that Bachelor's Hall was so damaged during the battle that it was taken down after the war and a new structure erected on the site. This house may have been the late eighteen/early nineteenth-century structure recently discovered within the north block of the existing house; it appears this would have been moved to the site from another location.⁵

Archeological testing of the historic road trace was carried out in March 1990 to ascertain its presence and condition. Two two-foot by 30-foot trenches were dug across the trace, one near Route 29, and the other a short distance south of the farmhouse, where the trace is slightly sunk below grade and overgrown with scrub red cedar trees and other vegetation. The first trench revealed no archeological evidence, indicating that the historic roadbed in the lower part of the field had been largely obliterated by agricultural activity and erosion. In the second trench, sandstone fieldstones were visible lining the roadbed and sides of the road. Soil stratigraphy indicated very poor drainage beginning at about one foot below ground surface. The historic road probably became sunken as a result of erosion from continual use and poor drainage; fieldstones provided some stability. The southernmost 150 feet of the road has been overlaid by deposits of eroded soil, but the remaining portion up to the house – about two-thirds of the whole – remains in fairly good condition, being protected from further soil erosion by the red cedars and vegetation.⁶

In July 1987, a metal detector survey was undertaken in an attempt to locate the battle line of August 28, 1862. The survey area, measuring 50 feet east-west and 20 feet north-south, was placed at the approximate location of the fence behind which Stonewall Jackson's brigades stood. Of the 107 objects recovered, six were related to the battle. These findings, along with information provided by a local relic hunter, suggested that the survey area might be the northwestern edge of the battle line.⁷

More than 100 Civil War military artifacts were found during further archeological investigation of the battlefield in 1994. Forty probably came from the Brawner Farm battle or from other military activity during the Second Battle of Manassas. More than 60 were found in the topsoil layer, "indicating that they were deposited later in the war since the house probably acted as a magnet" for troops who crossed over the farm for the remainder of the war.⁸ These excavations revealed evidence for the locations of the 19th Indiana's first firing line and the picket line of the 21st New York. The 1994 excavations hold important implications for "future efforts to define other tactical positions, particularly the 19th Indiana's second firing line behind the post-and-rail fence."⁹

Currently, in 2003-2004, archeologists from the Louis Berger Group are conducting an intensive investigation of the Brawner Farm site, paying particular attention to the yard area west of the house. The summary of their first year's work (June 2004) presented evidence supporting the Parker study's conclusion that the current structure was erected after the battle.¹⁰ It found less support for other conclusions made by the Parker report. The Berger investigation also examined the remains of the large outbuilding west of the house, and found evidence of storage pits near this structure. It found no indications of an orchard in the west yard, as suggested by the Hotchkiss map, but noted that such evidence might be transitory.



Figure 9. View of Stony Ridge from the south/southwest, looking towards the Brawner farmhouse. (2001; NCR CLP digital photo)

Topography

The Triassic Lowlands portion of the Piedmont within which Manassas National Battlefield Park is situated includes gently descending upland ridges with level upland topography as well as broad bottomlands." The agricultural residents of this area sited their farmsteads and manor houses on the hilltops, while roads generally were placed on somewhat lower ground. Both types of terrain were important during the two battles of Manassas: the hills for reconnaissance and the lower ground for movement and sometimes for cover.

On August 28, 1862, General Stonewall Jackson arrayed his army near the eastern foot of Stony Ridge, behind the Unfinished Railroad grade, which provided both high ground and concealment. Arriving at the battlefield on August 29, 1862, General Robert E. Lee set up his headquarters on Monroe's (now Stuart's) Hill, from which he could direct the action. Armies of both sides placed their artillery pieces on ridges, which offered expansive views. Road embankments and other modifications of the topography were used for cover and concealment during battle. When the Confederates opened fire from the high ground on Brawner Farm on the afternoon of August 28th, Rufus King's men found cover along the embankments of the Warrenton Turnpike. Grading for the Manassas Gap Independent Line (Unfinished Railroad) modified the terrain along much of its length. Along its excavated cuts and embanked fills, which then were sharp and prominent, Jackson's forces found fortification and cover.

Historic topography

From the lower ground at its southern end, the land of Brawner Farm rises gradually to form the broad upland known as Stony Ridge. The range in elevation across the property is less than 75 feet, beginning at about 275 feet along the natural drainages near Route 29 and increasing to about 340 feet on Stony Ridge. The southern tip of Stony Ridge is located on the east side of the property, with a small arm extending into Brawner Woods. The ridge broadens to encompass most of the northern half of Brawner Farm, and continues north/northeast for about two miles. Brawner Farm is bisected north to south by an intermittent stream that is the main tributary to Youngs Branch. The farmhouse is located at the southern end of the higher ground at an elevation of about 320 feet. (Figure 9) Behind the house, the yard slopes

Figure 10. View from the waysides located in the field east of the house, looking to the northeast. (2002; NCR CLP digital photo)



slightly to a dry ravine that drains during wet weather west to the intermittent stream. The combatants of the August 28, 1862 battle lined up opposite each other on the southern end of Stony Ridge east of the Brawner farmhouse. The battle lines formed perpendicular to the ridge. On the section of the battlefield just east of the farmhouse is the crest of a small rise. (Figure 10)

The unfinished Independent Line of the Manassas Gap Railroad is a feature that was intimately related to topography, sited to require the minimum amount of earth manipulation over its length. Where it crosses Manassas National Battlefield Park, it lies mostly along the eastern foot of Stony Ridge, except on Brawner Farm, where it crosses the southern end of the ridge. Cuts and embankments were necessary to create a gradual roadbed, and are as high or as deep as 15 feet in places within the park. Across most of Brawner Farm, the roadbed is at grade or on a low berm, except for a major 15-foot-deep cut located on the farm's east side, and another, more shallow cut west of the intermittent stream. There is a stretch of about 500 feet on Brawner Farm, near the midpoint of the Stony Ridge spur, where the road should have continued as a cut portion, but does not. Archeological study is needed to determine what lies below the ground here – whether the section was cut and later filled in, or whether for some reason it was never cut.

Topography Today

There has been little change to the historic topography of Brawner Farm, but the contours of the land have become less distinct as forest vegetation has spread. Many minor, culturally produced changes in the three-dimensional relief of the land aid in reading the historic landscape. Dirt roads become eroded after years of use, and



Figure 11. Years of cultivation have left a distinct ridge, a foot or more in height, marking the field edge along the east side of Brawner Woods. (2002; NCR CLP digital photo)

their traces can often be discerned by subtle topographical differences. Sometimes even the width of a wagon axle is readable, as with the road trace through Brawner Woods. Cultivation leaves marks upon the land as well: a plowed field may be lower than an adjacent unplowed field, the location of an old fenceline may remain as a gentle berm, and the furrows of a plowed field may be readable for decades or longer. (Figure 11) Many such signs are found throughout the Brawner Farm. Dating them is a complicated task. Some, such as a bermed fenceline, may mark land use patterns present during the time of the battle, while others developed during the twentieth century.

CONTRIBUTING FEATURES

- Stony Ridge

Spatial Organization

The house and various farm buildings of the Brawner farmstead were located toward the center of a rectangular tract, at the southern end of Stony Ridge, near a natural spring and north of Youngs Branch and the Warrenton Turnpike. The farm's out-buildings were grouped near the main house. A small orchard and a vegetable garden were probably both situated west of the house, and a barn and barnyard to the east. The house faced Warrenton Turnpike and the property was flanked on the west by Pageland Lane. A road led to the farmhouse from the turnpike. It proceeded in a straight line, ascending the 35-foot elevation to the house, and appears to have passed just east of the house, possibly between the barnyard and house yard. A woodlot, located at the southeast corner of the property, extended to the south side of the

turnpike. At the southwest corner of the site was a 46-acre parcel that belonged to William Cundiff, whose property, Meadowville, lay mostly on the south side of the turnpike. These property divisions were created when the Warrenton Turnpike was built in c. 1815, with its alignment drawn through existing properties.

Open and wooded land

Agricultural censuses of the mid-nineteenth century indicate that the approximately 350-acre Brawner Farm was primarily cleared land, with 50 unimproved acres in 1850 and 46 in 1860, nearly all of which were kept as a woodlot.¹² Grain crops, such as wheat, corn, and oats, were grown; hay meadows were mown. The small quantity of grain produced suggests that only about 50 or 60 acres may have been growing grain in any one year. Additional acreage was in hay meadow. The Douglasses harvested 30 tons of hay in 1850 (about 30 acres), but the Brawners cut only five tons in 1860. Thus, the majority of the land seems to have been in pasture or was lying fallow.¹³

Field patterns

Fields and other enclosed areas were separated by fences (discussed in more detail under Small-Scale Features). The number of separate fields, meadows, and pasture areas at the time of the Civil War can only be surmised. The 1877 McDowell map shows three large fields on the west and south sides of Brawner Farm.¹⁴ Two fields are south of the Unfinished Railroad and one is to its north. The map is a very rough translation of the farm's layout. For instance, there is no suggestion of the angled line that divided William Cundiff's 46 acres from the Brawner Farm, which surely would have been reflected in field divisions. Judson's sketches from 1878 give portions of fencelines, but only on the eastern half of the property. The first truly reliable depiction of field patterns on the Brawner tract appears on the 1937 aerial photograph, which shows many of the same fencelines that are found today, some of which were also shown on Judson's survey sketches. The fencelines enclose ten or a dozen fields, including two on the Swart or Abbott tract (formerly the Cundiff property) at the site's southwest corner.

Spatial organization of the yard in the nineteenth century

Beginning in the eighteenth century, aristocratic Virginians embraced the Georgian idea of balance and symmetry in the design of buildings and the arrangement of features in relation to the house. Those who aspired to greater status followed the lead of their wealthier neighbors. It is possible that Bachelor Hall and its various outbuildings were laid out with such ideas in mind. Its location on rising ground and the straight line of the farm road are evidence of a formal character, yet the yard was probably not symmetrical – it appears to have been wider on the west than on the east – and the position of the road as it passed on the east side of the house also lacked symmetry.

Civil War-era maps, battle accounts, and survey of the landscape today all give clues about the location of features in the vicinity of the farmhouse. Because landscape features can persist for such a long time, the 1937 aerial photograph has also been used as an indicator of the nineteenth-century landscape. Hotchkiss's 1862 sketch, McDowell's 1877 map, and the 1878 Warren maps (including Judson's 1878 sketch-books) provide limited but important details.¹⁵ Hotchkiss's map shows a small

orchard on the west side of the farmhouse (differing from prevailing notions about its location). The area covered on McDowell's map is so large that the Brawner farmhouse is simply rendered as a dot. Another dot just north of that one indicates another structure. The two dots are enclosed by a square shape suggesting a yard. Judson's sketch is drawn at a much smaller scale, and shows the post-bellum house, oriented east-west, with a small, centrally positioned rear addition and another smaller structure, oriented north-south, about 30 feet northwest of the house. A dashed line is used to indicate the yard, but because the image was drawn near the edge of the sheet, only the east half of the yard is shown. The Warren map, depicting conditions as he believed them to be in 1862, shows the house surrounded by trees on all sides.¹⁶ This depiction is a conventional representation of a farmstead, used on many maps of this era, and cannot be relied upon as a true depiction of the vegetation in the Brawner yard.

Battle accounts suggest the locations of two rail fences east of the house, between which a significant part of the battle of August 28th was fought. These fences may have marked the north and south edges of the barnyard. There is also reference to an "inclosure" and orchard near the house and outbuildings behind the house.¹⁷ The enclosure may have been a fence around the yard, around an orchard, or around some other area, perhaps the vegetable garden. Both John Brawner and his daughter, Mary, referred to a "barnyard" in their claim for damages suffered during the war, but did not place it in any particular location.¹⁸ A barn foundation about 400 feet northeast of the house may be the foundation of the antebellum barn. The barn continued to be used in the twentieth century and was given a new tin roof sometime before 1937. Although the antebellum orchard has been generally thought to have been on the east side of the house, the Hotchkiss map depicts it on the west side.

The yard and its vicinity in the twentieth century

By 1937, if not before, another road led to the farmhouse; this one began on Pageland Lane and crossed the west fields, south of the Unfinished Railroad. Near the west boundary of the farmhouse yard, the newer road angled northeast toward the barn, crossing the original farm road. The west and north edges of the yard are visible in the 1937 aerial. The driveway, as it passed east of the house, probably acted as the boundary between the house yard and barnyard. The south line of the yard is less certain; presumably it lay north of the newer farm road from Pageland Lane.

Looking at the 1937 aerial, a possible southern boundary could be created by drawing a line through the point where the new road crossed the old road. This line can be extended to form the southern edge of both the house yard and the barnyard. Today, fencerows mark the north and west edges of the yard, which are probably the yard's historic edges. The distance from the house to the west edge of the yard is about 125 feet. It is about the same distance from the house to the north edge. On the east side, the distance between the house and the farm road or driveway (which in this section probably lies in its original location) is about 35 or 40 feet. The south edge of the yard is more difficult to define, but was probably only about 60 feet from the south facade of the antebellum house. Using these dimensions, the house yard would have been approximately an acre in size.

An orchard of several acres, likely planted early in the twentieth century when the Davises purchased the property and made other improvements, was located north of what presumably was the barnyard. Another, smaller orchard or group of fruit trees was planted south of the barn probably in the mid-twentieth century. Currently, the best idea about the location of an antebellum orchard is that it was situated to the west/southwest of the house, not east or northeast as was previously believed. Further discussion of the orchard is found in the analysis and evaluation of the vegetation.

Overall spatial organization today

The Brawner Farm tract still comprises mostly open fields planted in hay or grass or simply mowed periodically to control succession. The property is scored into rectangular sections by fencelines that are nearly the same as those present in 1937 and earlier. The grade of the Unfinished Railroad, and the line inscribed by the intermittent stream (headwaters of Youngs Branch), form other divisions. All these lines and boundaries are today visually more emphatic than in the nineteenth century because of the trees that have grown up along them. (Figures 12-16)

The rebuilt farmhouse (1905) occupies the location of the antebellum house and utilizes some of its foundation walls. More woodland exists today than in the historic period: 46 acres were reported in 1860 and today there are more than 100 acres. The cleared rights-of-way of the gasline and powerline create other straight lines across the property. The most irregular lines found on the property are the intermittent stream and the edges of successional woods where they have expanded out from established fencelines.

Natural Systems and Features

Geological substrate

Manassas National Battlefield Park is situated within the Triassic Lowlands, a portion of the Piedmont that is also called a Triassic basin. This distinctive geological province is one of a series that border the eastern front of the Appalachians.¹⁹ The basin in which the Manassas battlefield is located is the Culpeper basin. It underlies parts of Fairfax, Loudoun, Prince William, Fauquier, Culpeper, Madison and Orange counties. A much smaller Triassic basin is found in the area of Richmond, Virginia, and another, the Danville basin, begins in Campbell County and extends into North Carolina. Although called Triassic Lowlands, these remnants of ancient inland seas comprise both uplands (hills and ridges) and lowlands (stream corridors and floodplains), like the rest of the Piedmont. Typical of the Culpeper basin and the Piedmont as a whole, Manassas National Battlefield Park has a rolling topography.

Triassic basins are distinguished by their sedimentary bedrock of sandstone and shale, which differs from the igneous granite and gneiss and metamorphic rock that underlies the majority of the Piedmont. In some areas the basins are threaded with sills or dikes of diabase, a basaltic stone formed when molten lava intruded into and hardened along cracks within the sandstone. Subsequent weathering left the more resistant diabase exposed as areas of higher relief. Bull Run Mountain, about ten miles west of the park, is a diabase formation, as is Stony Ridge and Stuart's Hill. Diabase



Figure 12. View of fields, the road trace, and the farmhouse from near the edge of Brawner Woods. (2002; NCR CLP digital photo)



Figures 13-16,
Left to right:

Figure 13. Fields northeast of the house. (2002; NCR CLP digital photo)

Figure 14. Field edges in the north fields, looking northwest. (2001; NCR CLP digital photo)



Figure 15. The northern boundary of the property, looking northeast. The gas line right-of-way cuts through the woods beyond the Brawner property. (2001; NCR CLP digital photo)

Figure 16. The lower end of Stony Ridge. The Union and Confederate lines were drawn across this field. (2002; NCR CLP digital photo)

sills are often bordered by bands of metasiltstone, thermally metamorphosed sedimentary rock, which is also more resistant to weathering than the surrounding Triassic-age sandstone. Such bands of metasiltstone are up to 1500 feet wide.²⁰

A prong of Stony Ridge runs east of the Brawner farmhouse into the Brawner Woods. The high ground on Brawner Farm, sometimes referred to as Douglas Heights and located about 500 feet north of the Brawner house, is on this ridge. The line of battle of August 28, 1862 stretched across this southern terminus of Stony Ridge, across some small drainages on its eastern slope, and onto the rolling pasture of the adjacent Dogan farm. Stony Ridge broadens out to encompass much of the northern half of the Brawner tract, and continues another two miles to the northeast. There it descends rapidly to Catharpin Run, a stream that flanks the north and west sides of the ridge.

The areas of Manassas National Battlefield Park not underlain by diabase or metasiltstone have a bedrock of Newark Group siltstone, a red to purplish-brown, iron-rich, calcareous siltstone interbedded with silty shale and arkosic sandstone.²¹ Apparently little of the red and golden Triassic sandstone used for the foundations of the Brawner house and barn and in the construction of other historic structures in the battlefield area forms the geological substrate of the immediate battlefield area. However, the sandstone undoubtedly came from a nearby quarry. Blocks of diabase cut to build the ramps for trestles along the Unfinished Railroad are found within the woods on Battery Heights and may have been quarried close by. Locally gathered large fieldstones supported the sides of cuts and fills for the Unfinished Railroad.

Figure 17. The drainage swale feeding into Young's Branch. The swale is located in the field occupying the southeast corner of the site. (2001; NCR CLP digital photo)



Gravel and stone was quarried on Brawner Farm from a pit located just south of the railroad bed near Pageland Lane. The proximity of this quarry to the rail line suggests that it originated when the railroad grade was being constructed.

Streams and wetlands

Most of the Brawner property drains into Youngs Branch. (Figure 17) A smaller area of about 80 acres drains northwest to Catharpin Run (also known as Little Bull Run). The main headwater tributary to Youngs Branch is found on the Brawner Farm tract. An intermittent

stream flanked by a narrow band of wetlands, it lies to the west of the house and bisects the property north to south. Another tributary, also bordered by wetlands, is located on the southwest corner of the site and joins the headwater tributary north of Route 29. Two smaller drainages flow south out of Brawner Woods; one crosses the east front field and the other is within the woods. Tributaries to Dogan Branch, which also flows into Youngs Branch, are located within the successional woods on the east side of the tract. Youngs Branch drains a 3000-acre watershed, most of it within the park. The stream follows a sinuous course eastward, curving north and south of Route 29 before emptying into Bull Run, on the eastern boundary of the park. The park lies within the larger watershed of the Occoquan River, into which Bull Run flows.²²

Springs

A dry ravine lies about 140 feet north of the farmhouse on the Brawner tract. It is probable that somewhere within this ravine is the spring that provided the domestic water supply for the farmstead during the nineteenth century. There may be evidence that some structure, perhaps a springhouse, straddled the ravine northwest of the house, or this may be a natural feature. At some point during the twentieth century, a well was dug about 20 feet from the rear of the house and became the new water source.

Siltstone areas are potentially good sources of underground water. Two aquifers occur on the Brawner Farm and Stuart's Hill tracts.²³

Soils

Soils that have weathered in place from the underlying rock make up the vast majority of the soil types found on the Brawner tract.²⁴ More than half of the soils on the tract are the residuum of diabase and metasiltstone bedrock.²⁵ Metasiltstone and diabase, in particular, are difficult agricultural soils; they have a high clay content and tend to be waterlogged during wet periods and impermeable when dry.

Little of the soil on the Brawner tract is classified as good agricultural soil. The best is located on the fields between the house and the highway and on the western half of the property. These somewhat better soils are silt loams derived from siltstone and sandstone and are considered fair or fair-to-poor agricultural soils. Crops such as corn and wheat may be grown on them, but their best use is for permanent sod crops (hay or pasture). The soils of the Brawner Farm have hindered park management efforts to maintain the open fields through hay leases and other agricultural practices.²⁶

The 1877 McDowell map seems to corroborate the soil survey. The map shows crops growing on the western half of the Brawner property and south of the farmhouse. An aerial photograph from May 1937 shows the fields in front of the house to have been cut recently, and stacks of grain, possibly winter wheat or hay, gathered into shocks. It is difficult to determine from the aerial where other fields were located and how much of the land was left uncultivated as pasture or meadow.

The most difficult agricultural soil on the Brawner tract is the Jackland soil, a type that is weathered from diabase. A very plastic clay (claypan) forms the subsoil layer

Figure 18. Natural distribution of stones in Brawner Woods; view towards the eastern woodland edge. (2002; NCR CLP digital photo)



and produces what is termed a perched water table. The soil has a high shrink-swell potential and is slow to drain. This kind of soil can be wet in spring and fall, which interferes with seeding and harvesting operations.²⁷ Jackland soil is best used for permanent sod crops.

The Jackland soil type occupies about 50 acres of the farm. It is found in the immediate vicinity of the Brawner farmhouse, in the area east of the house near the barn, on a wide swath of Stony Ridge north of these structures, and on the narrow end of the ridge that extends into Brawner Woods. The Jackland soil type extends north of the line of the Unfinished Railroad. This section of the railroad grade appears never to have been dug, and the difficulty of working this soil type could be the reason why it was left until the last. It also seems likely, given the problems of tilling, that the areas where Jackland soil has been mapped would have been put into pasture or hay soon after the land was first cultivated. Jackland soil is also found east of the barn area and extends south along the southern end of Stony Ridge into Brawner Woods. Based on maps and aeriels, this fairly level southern tip of Stony Ridge appears to have been open land at the time of the battle.

Although difficult to cultivate, Jackland soils were probably the most favorable sites for the development of the extensive natural savannas and grasslands commented on by early explorers and settlers into the Triassic plain. These areas were more like the tall grass prairies west of the Appalachians, and today species are found here that are disjunct from their typical range and unlike those found in most areas of the Piedmont. Such grasslands had probably remained open because of frequent fires, both naturally occurring fires and fires set by Indians, which traveled unobstructed across the gentle terrain.²⁸

Cobbles and boulders characterize the soil type found along the west slope and part of the east slope within Brawner Woods. This soil has also weathered from diabase. Similar cobbly soil is found on the side slopes and top of Stuart's Hill. These soils were generally impractical as cropland, and historically may have been maintained as woodland, but they also could have been adapted for pasture or for woodland grazing by livestock, particularly hogs. Isolated piles and lines of fieldstone found within Brawner Woods and on Stuart's Hill suggest such activity.²⁹ (Figure 18)

Cobbly soils are not the stoniest ground located on the farm. Bedrock outcroppings, referred to simply as "rocky land" in the county soil survey, are also found. An area of less than 20 acres of rocky land is located on the east side of the property, north of Brawner Woods and near a stream that drains to Dogan Branch. Another patch

of rocky land is located on the north edge of the property, west of the midway point along that property line. Both areas are covered by deciduous woods.

Land Use

The Brawner Farm site has been used for only a few purposes over the last 200 years. It is not known whether the 208 acres owned by Mann Page were cleared and farmed by him. That tract was part of the larger estate amassed by George Tennille, and the key portion of the later Brawner Farm. Tennille farmed at least some of the current parcel. His grandson, George A. Douglas, may have briefly farmed the land before his death, after which his widow, Augusta, leased it to farmers John Brawner and Benjamin Akers (it is not known if there were other tenants). The Douglasses's son Pendleton sold the property in 1895 to William M. Davis, who also farmed it. After Davis's death in 1918, some of his heirs continued to farm the land through the 1970s.

The Brawner Farm, therefore, remained under continuous cultivation from about 1800 through the 1970s. The nature of the soils made it most suitable for such crops as grains and hay, and these, in fact, constituted the majority of crops grown here.

Since acquisition by the National Park Service in 1985, the farm has served as a key site in the interpretation of the Second Battle of Manassas. Visitors also come to walk or ride along the approximately four miles of trails which cross the property. Some study the Brawner Farm battle; others hike or walk their dogs. About 72 acres of the land is mown under a hay lease.

Circulation

A turnpike, a number of secondary roads, farm lanes, an operating railroad, and a railroad that was never completed helped form the neighborhood, and brought travelers, wagon drivers, and rail shipments through the area. These transportation features, along with the open plains of this agricultural district and its location near the dividing line between North and South, also contributed to its becoming the site of two battles of the Civil War.

Historic roads and major transportation features

Sudley Road (also called Sudley Mill Road and Manassas-Sudley Road) is probably the oldest of the roads that pass through Manassas National Battlefield Park. It was a branch of the Quantico Road, also known as the road from Dumfries. The "north tine" of the Quantico Road passed through what became Brentsville, Gainesville and Haymarket, and crossed over the Bull Run Mountains by way of Thoroughfare Gap.³⁰ Sudley Road connected the Bull Run tracts of the Carters and their mill on Catharpin Run to the main Quantico Road and the port at Dumfries. Before the Warrenton and Alexandria Turnpike was built, beginning in 1815, the main east-west transportation route for the Bull Run area was the Warrenton, Alexandria and Washington Road. It crossed Sudley Road at New Market, several miles north of

Tudor Hall, which became Manassas Junction. Another of the oldest roads through the area was the Carolina Road, also known as the Shenandoah Road, a major Indian trail, located west of the Manassas battlefield. The towns of Leesburg, Haymarket, and Fayetteville were located along this road, which ceased to be an important transportation route by the mid-nineteenth century. It corresponds in places with today's US 15. These roads can be traced on the 1827 Nine Sheet Map.³¹ (See Figure 1)

WARRENTON TURNPIKE AND PAGELAND LANE Within 20 years of the date George Tennille first purchased land that would later be rented to John Brawner, the Warrenton and Alexandria Turnpike (today Route 29) had been constructed through the Bull Run area, and it cut through the southeast corner of his property. At the time of Tennille's purchases, the only road that bordered the property was Pageland Lane, described on the deed for his 208-acre parcel as "Mill Road." The deed notes that there were "maple saplings in [the] mill road," suggesting that it was not heavily traveled. The small junction of Groveton, a mile to the east, probably grew up where the turnpike crossed an existing local road – now Groveton Road or Featherbed Lane – which also led to the Carter mill at Sudley.

The growth of a grain-based economy in Northern Virginia made mills an important part of the rural infrastructure.³³ The location of mills determined the routes of the turnpikes in the same way that the location of tobacco rolling houses had determined the routes of the first roads in the Tidewater. Wheat grown in the Piedmont and the Shenandoah Valley was hauled to the mills in Conestoga wagons drawn by six-horse teams, converted into flour, and then hauled on to market at tidewater.³⁴ About four miles west of George Tennille's property on the Warrenton Turnpike was the town of Buckland Mills, located on Broad Run. By the mid-nineteenth century, Buckland's flour mills were larger than the mill at Sudley. Chapman's Mill, located at Thoroughfare Gap, like Sudley Mill dated to the mid-eighteenth century but was larger. Traffic from each of these mills must have rolled across the Warrenton Turnpike to Alexandria.

UNFINISHED RAILROAD In 1851, the Orange and Alexandria Railroad was completed through Prince William County and reached south to Orange County. Its depot in the area, five miles south of the New Market crossroads, was named Tudor Hall (renamed Manassas Junction after the connecting Manassas Gap Railroad was completed to Strasburg in 1854). A few years later, the Manassas Gap Railroad was chartered to recapture for Alexandria some of the wheat trade from the Shenandoah Valley that had been lost to Baltimore. The new line connected with the Orange and Alexandria line at Manassas Junction, passed through Gainesville and Haymarket, and crossed the Bull Run Mountains at Thoroughfare Gap and the Blue Ridge Mountains at Manassas Gap. The line relied on the tracks of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad to complete the journey to Alexandria markets. Seeking independence, the company began its own line to Alexandria, which was referred to as "the independent line." Although graded for much of its length, strained finances curtailed completion of the line.³⁵ A graded roadbed was left, commonly referred to as the "Unfinished Railroad." Alternately formed as cut and embanked sections, or running level with the terrain, the Unfinished Railroad crossed the Brawner Farm in a northeasterly direction and continued to Sudley, where a bridge would have carried

it across Bull Run had the railroad been completed. The Unfinished Railroad did not serve as a circulation route during either battle, but it was employed as a fortification by troops during the Second Battle of Manassas.

Circulation Features during the Second Battle of Manassas

During the Second Battle of Manassas, public roads were used as reference points and paths of deployment. Infantry and artillery also used farm roads and advanced through fields and woods, climbing or dismantling the fences they encountered. The Warrenton Turnpike was one of the major thoroughfares of the battlefield. It served “to orient and transport the troops of both armies.” Throughout the three-day battle, the turnpike “provided the path for the Federals’ lateral movements and defined the line of battle from which they advanced to the north.”³⁶

The railroad depot at Manassas Junction had a strategic importance in the early years of the Civil War. The Confederates initially sought to maintain control of it, and the Union forces tried to wrest it from them. The Manassas Gap Railroad was less a circulation feature during the Second Battle of Manassas than it had been during the battle of the previous year. In August 1862, the Independent Line (Unfinished Railroad) helped shape the Confederate line of battle and marked the edge of the area where Gen. Thomas J. “Stonewall” Jackson rested his troops.

The only road on Brawner Farm mentioned in battle accounts was the road through the woods.³⁷ The farm road leading from the turnpike to the farmhouse also existed and can be seen on the Warren maps. The Warren maps show Lewis Farm Lane south of Brawner Woods, used by Rufus King’s division in the early morning after the battle of the 28th as they retreated to Manassas Junction. The location of Pageland Lane can also be seen on these maps. In his sketches for the transect along Warrenton Turnpike, J. A. Judson depicted the elevational changes of the road, the gullies alongside it, the fences that flanked it, and the changing pattern of fields and woods that bordered it. He showed a small turnoff on the south side of the turnpike opposite the southeast edge of Brawner Farm.

Changes to Circulation

ROADS During the mid-1920s, the Virginia Highway Department realigned and regraded the Warrenton Turnpike, paved it with concrete, and gave it the new name of Lee Highway (now Route 29; Figure 19). Its vertical alignment was modified to create a less hilly road, with the result that some sections through the battlefield were cut



Figure 19. Traffic on U.S. 29, looking east; the south edge of Brawner Woods is visible at the left. (2001; NCR CLP digital photo)

Figure 20. View to the farmhouse from the south. The trace of the historic road is visible as a line of trees at the right; a modern graveled service road runs parallel to it at the left. (2001; NCR CLP digital photo)

Figure 21. A farm road, dating from 1937 or earlier, runs south of the barn ruins. In recent years, park staff has mowed this route for use as a trail. (2002; NCR CLP digital photo)



below their historic grade and others were filled to a higher grade. Lee Highway was widened sometime after 1956. Where it passed through what was then the limits of the park, it remained a two-lane road, but outside park boundaries it became a four-lane road with a grassy median. Since neither the Stuart's Hill tract nor Brawner Farm were then part of the park, the section of the highway that bordered these tracts was also widened. The State Highway Commission took 3.77 acres of the Brawner Farm for the road widening. The road was widened to the south so that the

west-bound lanes on the north side of the road follow the approximate alignment of the original road, while the median and east-bound lanes were located in what was then field and woodland edges.³⁸

During the 1960s, construction of Interstate 66 divided Pageland Lane south of Stuart's Hill. Pageland Lane was realigned to turn east and meet Groveton Road, and sections were paved for the first time.³⁹ Its grade along the west boundary of Brawner Farm was probably made more level, creating the embankments that exist today.

ROADS ON BRAWNER FARM Information about the farm roads is largely drawn from twentieth-century aerial photos. Digitized maps provided by park staff have also been consulted. Some of the routes through the farm seen on the aerials and maps are no longer used. The road from the turnpike through Brawner Woods is not represented on any historic documentation; its location has been based solely on field survey.

The main farm road from the turnpike to the Brawner farmhouse continued in use until the mid-twentieth century. Exactly when it was abandoned in favor of an adjacent, but slightly higher location, is unclear. By 1981, as indicated in the aerial of that year, the farm road had been shifted a little west of its original location.⁴⁰ (Figure 20)



Figure 22. This 1981 aerial photo of the Brawner farm site provides evidence that the farm's entrance road had been shifted slightly west of its original location by this time (roads not visible at this scale). It also shows that the farm lane from Pageland Lane was probably less used. The photo clearly shows the field divisions, marked by hedgerows, and the difference between deciduous (lighter) and coniferous (darker) areas of woods. The farmstead is visible in the center of the photo. (1981; NCR CLP digital photofile.)

A second access from the public roads to the farmhouse was in use before 1937 – possibly much earlier. It crossed the west fields and the intermittent stream in a straight line from Pageland Lane. In front of the house it angled slightly to the north-east, crossed the farm road from the turnpike, and ran past the barn.⁴¹ (Figure 21) The farm road from Pageland Lane is not well defined on the 1981 aerial and may no longer have been in use by then. However, its entrance on Pageland Lane is visible on the aerial. (Figure 22) The road through Brawner Woods that Gibbon's regiment followed on the evening of August 28, 1862 likely continued in use into the twentieth century. Its connection to the Warrenton Turnpike was probably altered when the turnpike was regraded and its vertical alignment altered in the 1920s.

Figure 23. The trace of the historic farm road runs by the east side of the house; this view is looking north. (2002; NCR CLP digital photo)



Farm road: The present alignment of the farm road from Route 29 (also referred to as the entrance road or service road) merges with its old alignment near the southeast corner of the house and continues north past the east façade of the house. (Figure 23) This part of the road is maintained simply as compacted earth with some gravel. The road alignment is clear within the farmyard, but fades after it passes through the north fenceline. In former years, as evidenced by the 1937 aerial, when farming was more active, an extension of the farm road ran diagonally through the field north of the house and crossed the Youngs Branch headwaters. Park trail maps from the early 1990s still show that section of the road. At one time it may have provided access to Pageland Lane.

Farm road trace: The trace of the older alignment of the farm entrance road is visible just east of the new entrance road. At its northern end, it is sunken as much as two feet below the grade of the surrounding field and is filled with many species of successional vegetation. In 1990 archeologists studied the road trace, digging two trenches across it. The trench at the north end revealed large sandstone fieldstones lining the sides and bed of the road. The evidence from the second trench, nearer Route 29, suggested that the road there had been obliterated by agricultural practices and erosion.⁴²

Woods road trace: A trace of the road through Brawner Woods that Gibbon's forces used at the onset of the Battle of Brawner Farm can be seen in the woods. It is a narrow, slightly sunken route, on which the standard historic axle width of four feet eight inches can be measured. The road angles slightly to the northwest and disappears at a zigzag line of stones that may have marked the northern end of Brawner Woods at the time of the Civil War.

Field roads: Various other old farm roads can probably be found on the property. One may have been discerned during field survey in the successional woods north of Brawner Woods. Typically, farm vehicles ran along the edges of farm fields.

TRAILS The Brawner Farm contains 2.6 miles of hiking trails and two miles of bridle trails. (Figure 24) The current farm road, or service road to the farmhouse, also serves as a trail from a small gravelled parking area on Route 29.⁴³ As recently as ten years ago, the trail/service road divided near the house, with one branch leading into the north fields and another turning east and running past the barn remains. These sections of the trail (and farm road) have been modified or are no longer in use. The trail from the parking area now connects with an interpretive trail east of the house that follows a course more or less equivalent with the Union



Figure 24. A trail for horseback riders and hikers runs across the Brawner Farm site and through Brawner Woods. (2001; NCR CLP digital photo)



Figure 25. One of the park trails interpreting the Second Battle of Manassas cuts through a fencerow east of the house. (2002; NCR CLP digital photo)

line during the battle of August 28, 1862, and returns along the Confederate line. (Figure 25) The main trail also proceeds north, past the twentieth-century orchard, to the line of cannons along a fenceline on Stony Ridge. From there, the trail connects with another that proceeds along the line of the Unfinished Railroad to Deep Cut.

A bridle trail, which is also a hiking trail, runs in a wide loop around Brawner Farm and crosses several of the other trails. This loop can be reached from the gravel parking lot by heading east into Brawner Woods.

The older powerline right-of-way on Brawner Farm was .85 miles long and encompassed approximately 25 acres.⁴⁴ It was shifted to the western edge of the property in 1998. (The length and acreage of the new powerline have not been calculated for this report.)

UNFINISHED RAILROAD The railroad grade was recognized in early preservation efforts as one of the important features of the battleground.⁴⁵ An interpretive trail for

Figure 26. View west along the Unfinished Railroad Grade from the Deep Cut trail crossing, west of the Brawner Farm. (2001; NCR CLP digital photo)



the Second Battle of Manassas has been located along it. (Figure 26) However, since Brawner Farm was not yet part of the park, the trail did not include the section of the grade that traversed the farm. Today, the west end of the trail to Deep Cut, which runs along the Unfinished Railroad, is located on Brawner Farm, near the northeast corner of the property.

Views and Vistas

Views were critically important to the outcome of the battles of Manassas, particularly of Second Manassas. Ridges provided vantage points for reconnaissance. The position of Confederate artillery along Stony Ridge north of the Brawner Farm allowed them a view of Groveton and of Stonewall Jackson's right flank along the Unfinished Railroad grade.

The Second Battle of Manassas began when Jackson's forces, concealed on the higher ground of Stony Ridge, opened fire on Union troops marching east on the Warrenton Turnpike. From Douglas Heights, the high ground on Brawner Farm on the southern end of Stony Ridge, the Confederates had a clear view of the road, obstructed only by Brawner Woods to the southeast. (Figure 27) At dawn on August 29, following that first battle, Jackson repositioned his men behind a one-and-one-half-mile length of the Unfinished Railroad, facing south and southeast. Arriving at 10 a.m. that morning, Lee's and Longstreet's men extended the Confederate line another mile-and-a-half to the south, creating a three-mile line in the form of an oblique angle.⁴⁶ Fighting continued over the next two days, mostly occurring on the Cundiff Farm (Stuart's Hill tract) south of the turnpike, and on Jackson's left flank and center of his line along the Unfinished Railroad. As part of the Confederate line, on August 30th Col. S. D. Lee positioned his guns on Stony Ridge, a little north of the Brawner house, facing east. The view took in Lucinda Dogan's fields and pastures



Figure 27. View south to Route 29 from the farmhouse. Stuart's Hill is visible in the distance to the right. The line of trees to the left marks the trace of the old farm road. (2001; NCR CLP digital photo)

spreading north to the Unfinished Railroad and south toward Groveton, where the turnpike intersected with Groveton-Sudley Road. The view may have extended as far as Centreville, about six miles east.⁴⁷ Col. Lee described the view from Stony Ridge:

*It was an admirable ridge over a quarter of a mile, generally overlooking the ground in front of it for some 2,000 yards. This ground was occupied by several farms, with cornfields, orchards, fences, etc. . . . being quite undulating. Opposite the top of the ridge and distant about 1,300 yards was a strip of timber with quite a fall of ground behind it. Between this strip and General Jackson's right, along an old railroad. . . was an open field.*⁴⁸

This view and the one to the turnpike are the most important interpretive views of the Brawner Farm.

Two others are also critical to understanding the action on Brawner Farm. Gen. Robert E. Lee set up his headquarters on Stuart's Hill on the late morning of August 29th. From there, he could see the Brawner Farm, and beyond it the Unfinished Railroad.

Finally, also visible from Brawner Farm is the area of Thoroughfare Gap, where James Longstreet's Confederates gained control of the mountain passage on the evening of August 28 as Jackson was tempting King's division at Brawner Farm. This view is best obtained in the area of S. D. Lee's position. The relationship between these two events is key to understanding the Confederates' success at the Second Battle of Manassas.

Historic Views and Vistas

The view toward Route 29 from the vicinity of the farmhouse remains much as it was in 1862, but the view from Stony Ridge to the east is now obscured by the

Figure 28. The view towards Lucinda Dogan's farm, now blocked by successional vegetation, from the field north of Brawner Woods. The battle line of August 28, 1862, extended across this area. (2002; NCR CLP digital photo)



Figure 29 The view from the battlefield west to the house and southwest to the ridge-line. (2001; NCR CLP digital photo)



successional woods that have grown up along the east side of Brawner Farm. (Figure 28) Similar woods have spread across what were Lucinda Dogan fields south of the Unfinished Railroad. Around 1970, the NPS cleared trees to create a narrow vista from Deep Cut to the Groveton-Sudley Road. Another vista was cut in the mid-1990s from Stuart's Hill to the Brawner Farm through woods that had grown up on the north slope of Stuart's Hill.⁴⁹

The 1983 General Management Plan recommended the removal of trees from 305 acres within the battlefield. Two-hundred seventeen acres were to be cleared within five years and the final 88 in later phases. The majority of this clearing was to be done along the east side of Brawner Farm and across the adjacent Lucinda Dogan property.⁵⁰

Other Views

The view across the western portion of the battlefield is still largely unobstructed. (Figure 29) Concern about the interference of the powerline owned by Virginia Power with views from Stuart's Hill to the Brawner Farm, and the powerline's proximity to the main interpretive area for the Second Battle of Manassas on Brawner Farm, prompted its relocation to the west side of the property. Trees were planted in the buffer zones along the new powerline to further conceal it.

Vegetation

The vegetation of Brawner Farm, like the rest of the Manassas National Battlefield Park, consists of "open fields, fencerow woodlands and thickets, and patches of secondary forest on a rolling landscape."⁵¹ About one-third of the study area is forested. The forest communities represent several stages of evolution, from old abandoned fields to mature forests, with a resulting high species diversity.⁵² The indigenous upland vegetation of this ecological region is described in the Virginia Natural Heritage Inventory as consisting of "various oak and oak-hickory communities . . . [whose] composition varies considerably with landscape position and substrate. Old fields undergoing secondary succession are generally characterized by Virginia pine (*Pinus virginiana*), eastern red cedar (*Juniperus virginiana*), and fast-growing hardwoods such as tulip poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera*)."⁵³

At the time of the Second Battle of Manassas, about 85 percent of the Brawner Farm was open land and the percentage of woodland was relatively small. Not all properties in the area had as little woodland as the Brawner Farm.⁵⁴ The Brawner Farm's openness may have resulted from the ecological character of this particular site, which at one time may have been part of a natural grassland.⁵⁵

Vegetation in Historic Period

WOODLAND The Warren maps and related survey notes by J. A. Judson are the best record of wooded and open areas of the Manassas battlefield in 1862. They differentiate graphically between deciduous and coniferous forest cover. Coniferous woodland is depicted in a few locations on the wider battlefield but not at all on Brawner Farm. In addition to his sketches and measurements, Judson often wrote a brief phrase in his survey notes describing the character of a particular area. From these sources, and from soldiers' recollections, the historic location, extent, and, to some degree, the character of the wooded areas on the Brawner Farm can be pieced together.

The Warren maps (including Judson notes) show one large wooded area and several small ones on Brawner Farm.⁵⁶ (Figures 30 & 31) The large woodland is shown southeast of the farmhouse, bordering the turnpike. In the Agricultural Census of 1850, the Douglasses claimed 50 acres of unimproved land (generally meaning woodland), and in 1860 the Brawners claimed 46 acres. Most, perhaps all, of these acres were the woods on the southeast part of the property. The figure probably included some of the wooded acres south of the turnpike as well. According to the Warren

Figure 30. Detail of revised G.K. Warren map, "Battle-Grounds of August 28th, 29th, and 30th, 1862." (National Archives Record Group 77, G-281-9)

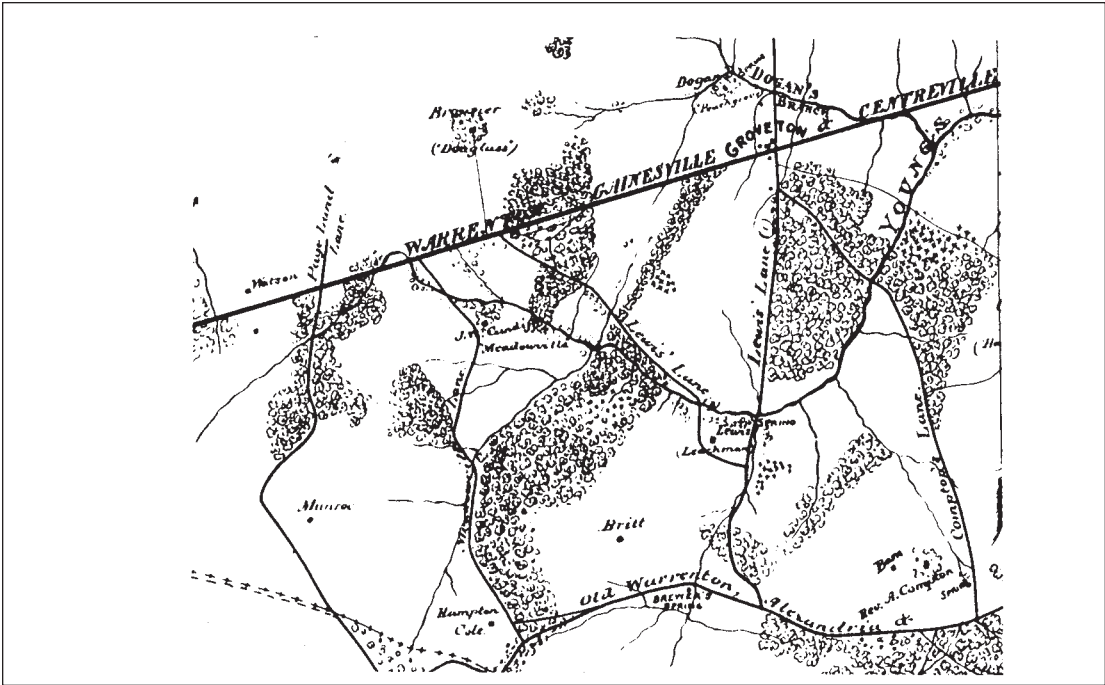
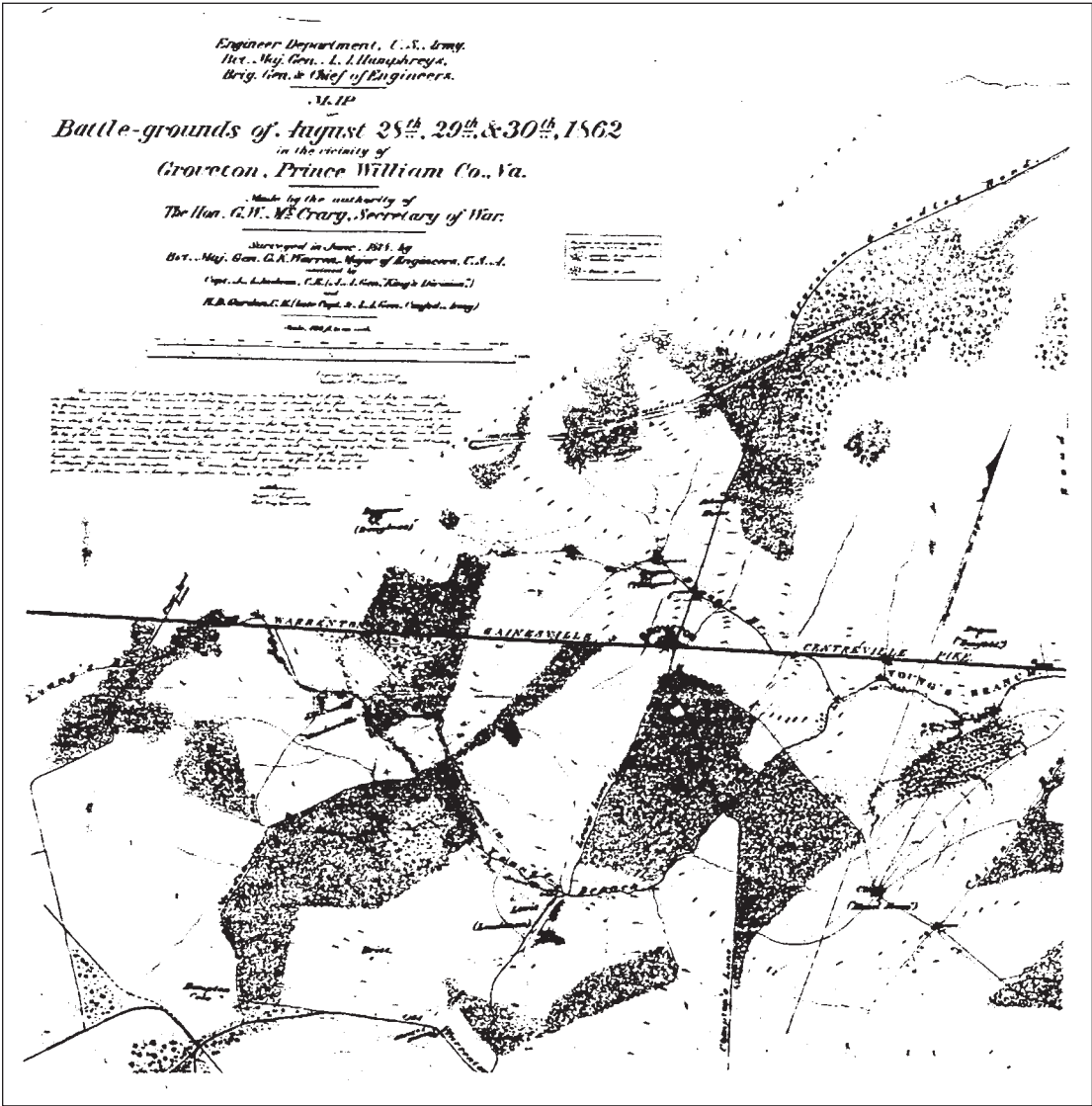


Figure 31. G.K. Warren Map, "Battle-Grounds of August 28th, 29th, and 30th, 1862." (National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 77, G-281-2)



maps, three smaller clumps of woods were located on the east side of the property, another encircled the house, and one other bordered a tributary to Youngs Branch near the turnpike.⁵⁷ The maps and notes do not give complete information for the northern edge of the property or the west side.

BRAWNER WOODS The woods through which the Union column passed on the evening of August 28, 1862, when Confederate artillery opened fire on them, extended north and south of the turnpike. The section to the north of the turnpike is referred to by park staff and historians as Brawner or Gibbon's Woods. Brig. Gen. John Gibbon wrote that the Union column had moved along the turnpike only a short distance from its resting position west of Pageland Lane when they passed "through a strip of heavy timber which extended across the pike." After passing through the woods, he "reached a gentle rise on the north of the pike [Battery Heights] and paused to look around."⁵⁸ From that point Gibbon saw Confederate guns coming into battery to his left. Within a short time he ordered the 2nd Wisconsin to move forward through the woods toward the Rebel batteries.

As seen on the Warren maps, Brawner Woods had the shape of a backwards L.⁵⁹ The main body of the woods ran east to west along the turnpike and a narrow leg of the woods extended to the north along the eastern boundary of the property. Judson's survey line for the turnpike measures the south side of Brawner Woods as approximately 1570 feet east to west (the distance between the fences that bounded it on east and west sides).⁶⁰ Judson locates the northern boundary for the east side of the woods 300 feet south of where two headwater tributaries (minor streams) of Dogan Branch met. He shows the width of this section of the woods as about 400 feet.⁶¹ The northern boundary on the west side of the woods was closer to the turnpike, but where the line fell exactly remains a question.⁶² Col. Solomon Meredith's description of the movement of his regiment, the 19th Indiana, through the woods and into position within the Union line of battle (Meredith's was the regiment nearest the Brawner house) gives some idea of the extent of the woods on the west side:

*I formed my line of battle in the road, marched through a piece of woods some three hundred yards, [and] came into open ground gradually rising for about three or four hundred yards. . . . On arriving on the top of the hill [we] crossed a fence, and marched about two rods, when I halted the regiment.*⁶³

It is possible that he came out of the woods short of the northern edge, but that seems unlikely. His statement suggests that once out of the woods, the distance to the line of battle was as far or farther than the distance through the woods. Presumably he would have been moving through the west side of the woods to get to the Brawner house.

Some soldiers' accounts refer to features within the woods or to the character of the terrain crossed. Almost certainly, the regiments that formed the Union's line of battle crossed through different sections of the woods and emerged in different locations. The 2nd Wisconsin followed a "woods road" through Brawner Woods, accompanied part of the way by General Gibbon.⁶⁴ The 7th Wisconsin, the third regiment sent into battle, crossed several fences en route through the woods.⁶⁵

When they emerged from the woods “the rebels opened upon us with a terrible infantry fire,” which suggests that the 7th Wisconsin came out of the woods near the line of battle, i.e., on the east side where the woods were the longest.⁶⁶ One soldier (either of the 56th Pennsylvania or the 76th New York) mentioned a “gradual ascent” through the woods.⁶⁷

WOODED AREA SOUTH OF THE TURNPIKE When it was built, the Warrenton Turnpike cut through what was later the Brawner woodlot, dividing a previously uninterrupted forested area. The composition of the woods south of the turnpike apparently was different on its east and west sides. Judson describes the east side as a “fine oak forest,” and the west side as an “open forest free of the usual undergrowth.” The open woods without undergrowth suggests a grazed woodlot.⁶⁸ Both sections were on the Brawner Farm.

WOODED AREAS NORTH OF BRAWNER WOODS Several patches of woods were located north of Brawner Woods. Judson shows a small stand of about five acres at the top of the southernmost of two tributaries to Dogan Branch.⁶⁹ This stand of trees would have been just a little northeast of the Brawner house and barnyard. It may be the “piece of woods” Hennessy says the skirmishers of the 2nd Wisconsin had reached when they ran into the main line of Rebel infantrymen.⁷⁰ Another, larger wooded area was located north of the second tributary, beginning about 500 feet above where the two tributaries met on the eastern boundary of the property. That stand extended about 500 feet to the west, and was probably longer east to west than it was north to south. Judson shows the stand thinning out into “scattering trees” along the north edge at a point about 1000 feet south of the Unfinished Railroad grade.⁷¹ The shape Judson draws for the southern boundary of this wooded area is similar to the shape of the southern boundary of a deciduous woods in that location seen on the 1937 aerial. The two tributaries, which can be found on maps today, assist in placing these wooded areas on a current map.

These two patches of woods, particularly the larger one, may have been the woods mentioned in many accounts of the battle. According to Lt. Nathan Rollins of the 2nd Wisconsin Infantry:

*Rebel infantry poured from the woods by thousands. We were precisely on the brow of the hill in an open field. For an hour and 15 minutes the most terrific fire imaginable was kept up. The hilltop, the valley, and the wooded side of the hill beyond was a continuous sheet of flame.*⁷²

In two different parts of his after-battle report, Confederate Brig. Gen. William B. Taliaferro mentions the woods where his division concealed themselves before the battle began. Col. William S. Baylor’s Stonewall Brigade arrived in the vicinity of the Brawner Farm at about 5 p.m. with the rest of Taliaferro’s division and took position on the right of the division line. They formed “in the edge of woods overlooking an open field in the direction [of] and near the Gainesville pike.”⁷³ About an hour later the brigade moved forward into the open field and formed the line of battle. In another section of the record, Taliaferro repeats the description: “[a]t this time our lines were advanced from the woods in which they had been concealed to the open

field.”⁷⁴ Alternatively, the woods referenced may have been the larger woods farther back on Stony Ridge.

In his notes, Judson draws the outline of one other clump of woods on the northeast side of the Brawner Farm. He identifies this small section of woods, just north of the Unfinished Railroad, as “[e]nd of dense forest.” On another page he marks the same forest, noting [d]ense forest extends back for over a mile.”⁷⁵ This “dense forest” extended east and north in the direction of Sudley, covering the east slope of Stony Ridge and, in some areas, bordering and crossing to the south of the Unfinished Railroad. It was in these woods that Jackson concealed his men at various times during the three days of the battle.

OTHER WOODED AREAS The Warren maps also show a clump of trees surrounding the Brawner farmhouse, depicted in a manner often used by map makers for farmhouse surroundings. That there were trees in the vicinity of the house is supported by Gen. Gibbon’s reference to a “yard full of trees.”⁷⁶ The Warren maps do not show the orchard. The clump of trees around the house may have represented the orchard combined with other trees.⁷⁷

Finally, the Warren maps show a small wooded strip bordering the tributary to Youngs Branch at the southwest corner of the study area within Cundiff’s (later Swart’s) property. Little information about the west side of the Brawner property is found on any of the Civil War-era maps, but any other woods would have been only small patches, since so much of the farm was reported in 1850 and 1860 as improved land.⁷⁸

Fencelines

Fences were probably kept clear of woody growth, judging by the relatively small number of trees found along them when the first aerial photo was taken in 1937.

The Brawner Orchard

Historians and park staff have generally believed that the Brawner orchard was located to the east of the farmhouse, but it is more likely that it was west or southwest of the house. Evidence for this is found in a Jed Hotchkiss map (1862), which shows the orchard on the west.⁷⁹ (Figures 32 & 33)

Accounts of the battle contain the following references to the orchard from Confederate and Union perspectives:

Confederate

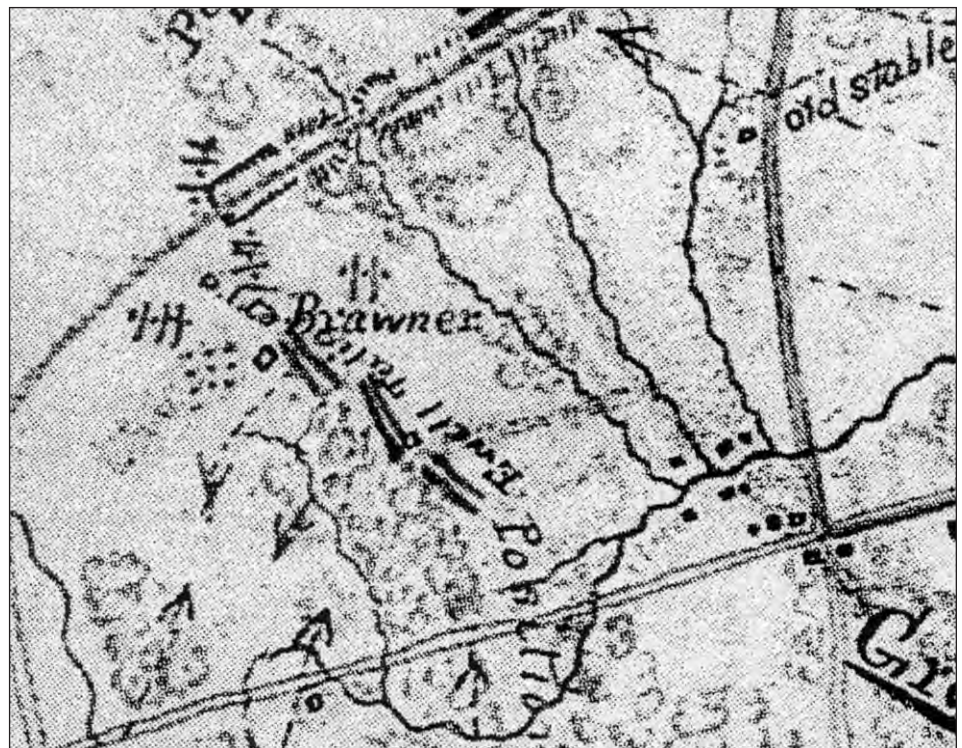
*[M]y command was advanced through the woods. . . until it reached a commanding position near Brawner’s house. . . . By this time [Gen. William B.] Taliaferro’s command . . . was advanced from the woods to the open field. . . until it reached an orchard on the right of our line.*⁸⁰

At this time our lines were advanced from the woods in which they had been concealed to the open field. Twice our lines were advanced until we had 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

Figure 32. Jed Hotchkiss, "Sketch Showing Positions of Second Corps, Army of Northern Virginia, August 26 to September 2, 1862." (Hotchkiss Collection, Civil War Map Collection, Geography and Maps Division, Library of Congress, H109)



Figure 33. Detail of the Brawner Farm from the Hotchkiss sketch map. A grid of dots, signifying an orchard, is visible to the left, or west, of the house. (Hotchkiss Collection, Civil War Map Collection, Geography and Maps Division, Library of Congress, H109)



edge of the orchard, while the enemy held the orchard and inclosure next to the turnpike. To the left there was no cover and our men stood in the open field without cover of any kind. . .

The Third Brigade, commanded by Col. A.G. Taliaferro, twenty-third Virginia regiment, advanced splendidly under fire of the enemy; occupied the farm-houses and orchards on the right of our lines; held these against every effort of the enemy to dislodge them, and ultimately drove the enemy from the orchard and field beyond the turnpike.⁸¹

Union

Should the enemy get possession of this house, and yard full of trees, he would entirely flank my line. . . .⁸²

The left of Gibbon's Brigade found protection in some measure in a large orchard, while the right of Doubleday's brigade found rest and shelter in the woods.⁸³

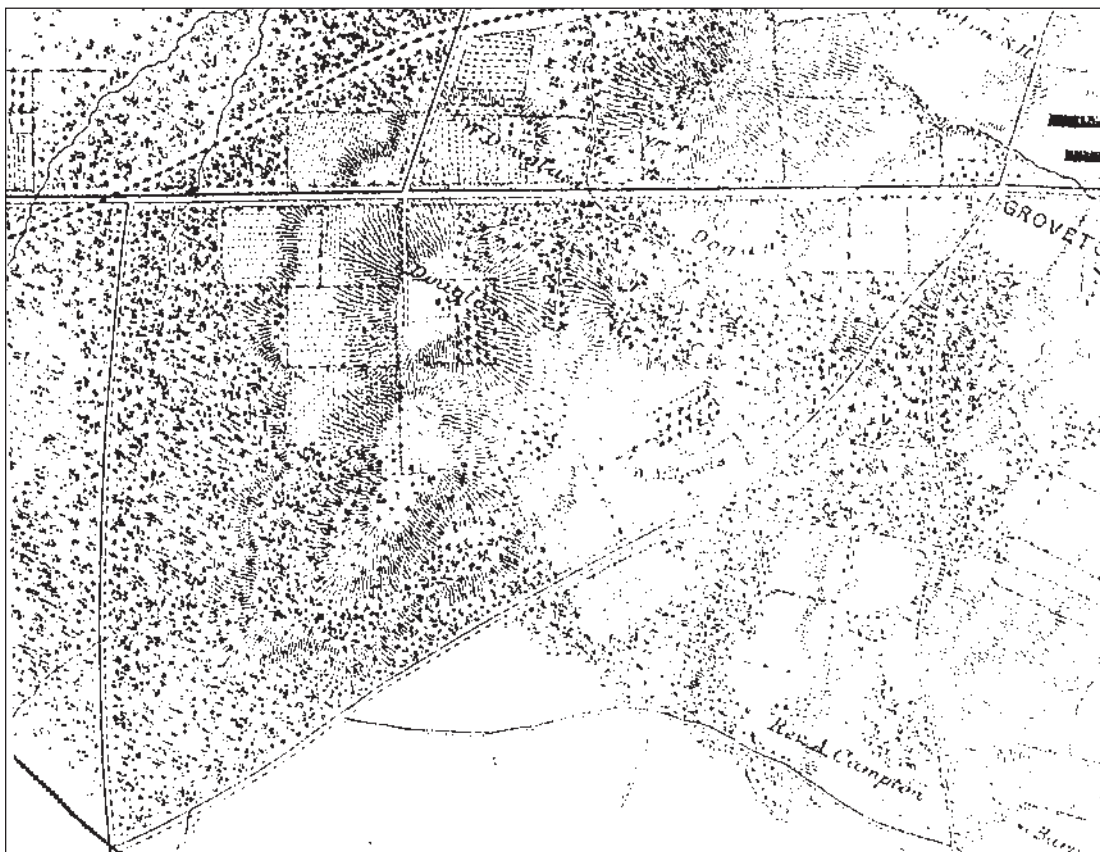


Figure 34. A portion of the Irvin McDowell map, "Map of the Battlefield of Bull Run Virginia, July 21, 1861." The Brawner or George A. Douglas farm, misidentified as the "W. Douglass" farm, is located north of the straight line depicting the Warrenton Turnpike. A second "Douglass" farm – another misidentification – shows the location of Stuart's Hill. (Civil War Maps Collection, Geography and Maps Division, Library of Congress, No. 572)

Reference to the orchard appears in only a few battle accounts, and elements of these statements remain unclear. None precisely states which side of the house Col. Taliaferro was on. It is unclear where exactly the "inclosure next to the turnpike" was. Was it the yard, the orchard, the vegetable garden, or some other feature? It is possible that the fields between the house and turnpike were fenced and could have been called an enclosure. Even Brawner Woods was fenced on several sides. "Next to the turnpike" is a relative measure; it could mean literally right next to the turnpike or the quarter mile from the turnpike where the house stood. Some historic documents do not record the orchard. The McDowell map (1877; Figure 34) and the

Warren maps and survey notebooks give some details of the Brawner Farm, but show no orchard. No orchard production is reported by John Brawner for 1850 or 1860, and he does not report losses for an orchard on his war claim, although he lists his crops, livestock, furniture, and farm implements. Later, Benjamin Akers does not report orchard production on the farm in the 1880 census.⁸⁴

There are a number of factors that could account for failure to report or show the orchard. There appears to have been minimal reporting of orchard production by all local people in the agricultural census for 1850 and 1860.⁸⁵ The orchard on the Brawner Farm may have belonged to Augusta Douglas, not John Brawner. Thus, Brawner would not have been able to report it on the censuses or his war claim. For instance, his war claim omits mention of damage to the house or fences, which were owned by Augusta Douglas.⁸⁶ In all likelihood, the orchard was a small one. By the 1880 agricultural census, when Akers specifically states no orchard production, the orchard could have simply been too small to mention, or so damaged from the war as to not have any production to report. With regard to the lack of representation of an orchard on the McDowell or Warren maps, it should be noted that the Warren maps do not record orchards on any of the farms, even those where McDowell shows them. Judson's notebooks can not be looked to for all features, since their concern was with what lay along the surveyed transects. The McDowell map was drawn at a very broad scale; it may have only shown the larger orchards and overlooked a small one.

CHARACTERISTICS OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY ORCHARDS Antebellum orchard production in the Manassas area was fairly limited; the number of orchards and their size increased after the war. Apple and peach trees were grown both before the war and after, but apple trees probably predominated in both periods.

Shortly before 1820, there was a revival of fruit cultivation in the South, part of a general agricultural reform movement. Many planters set out new orchards for home use and began to consider the possibility of commercial production. The foothills of Virginia and North Carolina were recognized for their excellent apple production.⁸⁷ After the Civil War, rural areas of the South faced an acute labor shortage, due partly to the emancipation of slaves, but mostly as a result of the disabling or death of a large population of young men. This resulted in a switch to less labor-intensive agriculture. Orchard and vegetable crop production increased, while the cultivation of fields for grains decreased. These changes were supported by the growth of nearby urban markets.⁸⁸

Nineteenth-century apple trees were “standards,” that is, they were fairly tall trees, different than modern orchard trees, which are grafted onto dwarf stock. Until the early nineteenth century, most orchards were comprised of seedling trees (whose fruit was generally used to make cider), but, as nurseries and pomological societies began to appear by 1830-1840, grafted varieties on standard rootstock became available. Trees were generally left unpruned during this period. Nineteenth-century orchards were also more tightly planted than they were by the early twentieth century. Spacing between trees may have only been 25 to 30 feet, as opposed to later, when they were spaced 40 feet apart.⁸⁹

The Brawner orchard was probably less than an acre, smaller than some in the vicinity. It probably had both apple and peach trees and may have had apple varieties (i.e., grafted trees that produced dessert apples). The orchard may have been planted sometime between 1820 and 1840 by George Tennille or in the 1850s by his grandson, George Douglas.

Vegetable Garden

Farmers in the nineteenth century relied on the produce of their own vegetable garden. It would have been located close to the house, perhaps on the same side as the kitchen. The Brawners claimed damage to their garden as a result of the battle. Mary Brawner testified that the garden “was all trampled down . . . and the vegetables destroyed.”⁹⁰

Open Fields Historically

While extensive prairies once flourished in parts of the southeast Piedmont, today they are one of the rarest ecosystems in the United States.⁹¹ Early explorers and settlers in these sections of the Piedmont encountered a mosaic of forest, oak savanna, and grassland. These natural savannas and grasslands, more like the tall grass prairie west of the Appalachians, had developed during a drier period and were maintained by fire (both natural fires and those set by Indians), the grazing of animal herds, and local soil characteristics.

In Virginia, such grasslands were associated with the Triassic-plain. Manassas National Battlefield Park is situated within the Culpeper Basin, a Triassic age basin. Within this area, land known locally as “Jackland,” with plastic claypan soils weathered from diabase, was probably the most favorable for the development of grasslands.⁹² The Brawner Farm, which probably has 50 acres of Jackland soil and a larger area with a diabase substrate, very likely had some areas of natural grassland when settlement occurred in the mid-eighteenth century.

With the onset of plowing, fire suppression, and the cutting of trees from savannas and forest, the original mosaic of grassland, savanna, and forest gave way to plowland, pasture, and woodlot. Tobacco was probably the first crop grown on land in the Manassas area, but by 1800 wheat had become the dominant crop. Corn was the primary grain for over a century in Virginia, used both as human food and for animals. It continued to be an important crop, and farmers usually devoted an equal acreage to corn and wheat. (An acre of land generally could produce three times the quantity of corn as wheat.) Oats were introduced when planters in the Tidewater began keeping saddle horses.⁹³ Thereafter it was one of the grains raised, but it was planted on fewer acres than either corn or wheat. Rye was not commonly raised in the Piedmont. Buckwheat was grown for a period, but seldom shows up on agricultural censuses after 1850.

The 1860 Agricultural Census provides the best picture of the farming operations at the Brawner Farm near the time of the battle. The Brawners reported 48 bushels of wheat, 300 bushels of corn, 100 bushels of oats, 12 tons of hay, and five bushels of potatoes. In comparison, ten years earlier, the Douglasses had produced 180 bushels of wheat, 200 bushels of corn, 150 bushels of oats, five tons of hay, and 30 bushels of

Figure 35. This 1937 aerial photo of the Brawner Farm site shows Brawner Woods, the second orchard, and fencerows. North is at the top. (NCR CLP digital photo, scanned from photo in collection of Manassas National Battlefield Park)



potatoes. The acreage required for total yields in 1850 and 1860 was probably similar – not more than 80 acres and probably less. (See also *Spatial Organization*.) Thus, the majority of the Brawner Farm land may have been pasture, which would have been a good use, given the character of the soil. In 1850, George Douglas had more animals than his tenant, John Brawner, had in 1860. Douglas owned six horses, three milk cows, two oxen, five other cattle, 22 swine, and 12 sheep, while Brawner owned four horses, three milk cows, no oxen, nine other cattle, nine swine, and nine sheep.

John Brawner planted less in 1862 than he had in 1859 (1860 Agricultural Census). In her testimony supporting his war claim, his daughter Mary reported: “We were not able to cultivate the farm after the first year [of the war]. We raised a small crop in 1862.” In his claim, John Brawner stated that 22 swine had been taken or killed, which was more than the nine he had reported to the census in 1860.⁹⁴

Judson records that there were “open fields” on the east side of the Brawner Farm, north and south of the Unfinished Railroad, and he marked the field west of the “leg” of Brawner Woods as “open sloping ground.”⁹⁵ The 1877 McDowell map shows three large fields along Pageland Lane, west of the Brawner farmhouse, and extending south of the farmhouse. No crops are marked.

In 1904, when military maneuvers were held at the Manassas battlefield, corn (but no wheat) was being grown on the Brawner fields fronting the turnpike and on the fields between Pageland Lane and the house. The fields north of the Unfinished Railroad and to the east of the house appear to have been pasture. The Swart family also raised corn on the southwest corner of the study site at this time.⁹⁶

Vegetation in 1937

WOODED AREAS The 1937 aerial, the first fully reliable depiction of the entire Brawner Farm, shows the pattern of fields and woods on the Brawner Farm 75 years after the battle and 60 years after G. K. Warren’s 1878 survey and maps of the battlefield.⁹⁷ (Figure 35) By 1937, the area between Brawner Woods and the two smaller woods south of the Unfinished Railroad had completely filled in with successional forest. The deciduous part of the woods, the section that was Brawner Woods in 1862, had taken on more of a U rather than L shape by this time. Conifers filled in the center of the U (this section may have been the site of post-war logging) and spread in a wide swath to a fenceline more than 1000 feet to the north and also to the east boundary of the property. The west section of the woods had advanced north, closer to the farmhouse, and appears to exhibit a later stage of succession, with both deciduous and coniferous trees. The rest of the newly forested land was coniferous. The new woods enclosed the two small patches of woods noted by Judson. These older sections are discernable as deciduous woods in the 1937 aerial. The new successional woodland comprised an area that was about 50 acres in size. The aerial also shows a small patch of woods just above the Unfinished Railroad in the northeastern field that is connected to an extensive forest beyond the Brawner Farm. This is the patch described by Judson as “end of dense forest” in 1878. The rest of the northeastern field was still open in 1937.

Other small areas of woodland not recorded on the Warren maps are seen on the 1937 aerial, and had probably developed since 1878. One is the small woodland at the quarry site, just below the Unfinished Railroad on the western property boundary. Another is located at the northern boundary near Pageland Lane. Its location corresponds with a patch of “rocky land” shown in the soil survey.⁹⁸

Fencerows

Lines of trees had begun to form along the edges of some fields by 1937, but other fencelines had only a few trees spaced some distance apart. The trees seem to be largest in places along the Unfinished Railroad. Trees with some space between them had begun to grow along the main fenceline east of the barn and of the new orchard. The Swart (formerly Cundiff) property line was defined by a line of trees for much of its length. Undoubtedly, the pioneering species was the red cedar, which is the dominant fencerow tree today. Two or three other fencelines exhibit a small amount of tree growth.

Later Orchards

The 1937 aerial shows an orchard situated northeast of the house and barnyard. It is a fairly large orchard of several acres with more than 100 trees planted in a square formation. It may have been planted sometime after the Civil War or after 1904, the year the property was sold to the Davises. Its location may have led to the belief that the antebellum orchard stood in this vicinity, but the location is not consistent with accounts of the battle. By 1937, this orchard was already showing signs of decline. Vacancies within the lines of trees can be seen on the aerial photograph.

Vicinity of Farmhouse

If there were any fruit trees remaining at this time from an antebellum orchard, they would be hard to recognize in the 1937 aerial. The distribution of trees around the farmhouse does not much resemble the patch of trees shown on the Warren maps. In the aerial, several trees form a line that extends diagonally to the southwest, along what might have been an edge of the yard and just north of where a garage is located. Other trees dot the yard on the west side. A clump of about a half-dozen trees is seen northwest of the house, just east of where a structure (probably a chicken coop) stood when the property was purchased by the National Park Service in 1985. The aerial shows several trees along the driveway east of the house. In the northeast corner of the yard, near the new orchard, there appear to be more trees. Hardly any trees are seen along the swale or ravine that forms the north edge of the yard (where the spring that served the house in the nineteenth century may have been located), nor are there trees along what is assumed to have been the western boundary of the yard.

There appear to be no trees near the barn in 1937, but a few grow to its south, either within the barnyard or along a fence. More clumps of trees appear further south, where today some large hackberries (*Celtis occidentalis*) grow. The beginning of a successional stand of red cedars is also seen jutting into the field near the northwest corner of Brawner Woods.

Open Fields

The Davises continued to farm the land until sometime around 1970. It is not known

how much acreage they cultivated, or when they last cultivated fields; Museum Specialist James Burgess recalls seeing corn growing in the southern fields, between Route 29 and the house, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and speculates that the fields could have been leased or worked by other members of the Davis family.⁹⁹ The northeast field began to be released to succession in the latter part of this period, between 1937 and the mid-1970s.

Existing Vegetation

WOODED AREAS Woodland on the project site today accounts for more than 100 acres; the exact figure is uncertain. Fencerows create additional wooded acreage.

MATURE WOODLAND Brawner Woods is a relatively mature woodland of approximately 35 acres approaching old growth status.¹⁰⁰ It is classified in the Virginia Natural Heritage Inventory as a basic oak-hickory forest because it occurs on a substrate of diabase and metasilstone, which weather into basic rather than acidic soils. This is an uncommon to rare plant community in Virginia.¹⁰¹ The community is recognized by the presence of white oak (*Quercus alba*), eastern redbud (*Cercis canadensis*), bottlebrush grass (*Elymus hystrix*), and cliff muhly (*Muhlenbergia sobolifera*). Other dominant species of the Brawner Woods canopy are post oak (*Quercus stellata*) and hickories (*Carya* spp.). Flowering dogwood (*Cornus florida*) is found in the understory. This patch of forest has persisted continuously since the Civil War, although selective cutting has taken place at least once.¹⁰²

Directly south of these woods, across Route 29, is another mature forested area that, historically, was part of the Brawner Farm and continuous with Brawner Woods. The woodland here is slightly less dry, and is characterized by white oak, white ash (*Fraxinus americana*), pignut and mockernut hickories (*Carya glabra* and *tomentosa*), and tulip poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera*). The understory contains dogwoods and viburnum (*viburnum* spp.). Road cuts for the William Center project, halted in 1988, have disturbed this woodland, and grassy areas are present where the canopy was opened.¹⁰³

CONIFEROUS AND MIXED WOODLAND Woodland stands with a large number of coniferous trees represent a natural pre-climax stage in this region. (Figure 36) They have developed from once open areas – either agricultural fields or clearings within the deciduous woodlots.¹⁰⁴ Several successional stages in the development of these stands can be seen in the project area. Stands made up mostly of red cedar, early in the successional order, have claimed much of the northeast field. (See Figure 28) Elsewhere in the belt of trees on the east side, Virginia pine predominates. The 2001 aerial, a color photograph, is especially helpful in distinguishing between these two conifers, and thus between early succession (red cedar) and a later stage (Virginia pine).¹⁰⁵

The deciduous stands recorded by Judson in 1878 are found within the coniferous belt of trees on the east side of the property. By 1981, these stands had expanded beyond their earlier extent and they continue to spread.¹⁰⁶ The northwest side of Brawner Woods, a mixed deciduous and coniferous stand in 1981, has become more predominantly deciduous today.

Figure 36. Red cedars grow along the edge of Brawner Woods, here seen from the hiking trail. (2001; NCR CLP digital photo)



Figure 37. Successional growth along the western edge of Brawner Woods, looking north towards the house. (2001; NCR CLP digital photo)



A stand of scattered young blackjack oaks (*Quercus marylandica*) is found on the east side of the property, near the Unfinished Railroad. The occurrence of this species indicates very dry conditions, as its other common name, “barren oak,” implies. Large pin oaks (*Quercus palustris*) are also found in the northeast section of the property, indicating poor drainage and possibly constituting a small depression wetland.¹⁰⁷

To screen views of powerlines that were relocated from a position near the center of the Brawner Farm to its western edge, the park planted a 100-foot-wide buffer of trees along both sides of the new powerlines in the late 1990s.

Fencerows

By 1981, fencerows had filled in and thickened along field edges, and these have continued to develop over the last 20 years. (Figure 37) The primary species of these linear woodlands is the eastern red cedar, but sumac (*Rhus* spp.), persimmon (*Diospyros virginiana*), various oaks, and poison ivy (*Rhus radicans*) are also found. Flowering dogwood is a frequently occurring tree in the fencerows on the northern part of the property. Japanese honeysuckle (*Lonicera japonica*) and multiflora rose (*Rosa multiflora*), both invasive non-native species, also grow in these habitats.

Brawner Road Trace

The old farm road leading from Route 29 to the house on the Brawner Farm was abandoned sometime before 1981. The road trace is depressed for part of its length. Red cedars, sumac, and various deciduous trees and herbaceous plants mark where the road was located. (Figure 38) At its northern end is a dense thicket of black locusts (*Robinia pseudoacacia*).

Floodplains and Other Wetlands

A narrow floodplain borders the intermittent stream that bisects the Brawner property. The floodplain appears to have been mostly bare of trees in the 1937 aerial, except for the section of it near Route 29. Where the stream bends near the north end of the property, a large tree can be seen on the 1937 aerial. It



Figure 38. A variety of successional vegetation has grown up along the historic farm road trace, seen here looking east from the modern service road. (2001; NCR CLP digital photo)

is undoubtedly the exceptionally large swamp white oak (*Quercus bicolor*) found there today. Other bottomland species like pin oak are also found within the floodplain. A few American holly (*Ilex opaca*) are found at the bend of the stream and within one of the areas of deciduous woods on the east side of the property.

Because of the nearly level upland topography and widespread hardpan soils, small depression wetlands not associated with streams frequently develop on upland interfluves (areas between drainages) of this region. Although no “upland depression swamp” has been reported on Brawner Farm, some species associated with that community, such as pin oak, sedges, and other water-tolerant forbs, are found in the northeast section.¹⁰⁸

Orchards

Sometime after 1937 – probably in the 1950s or 1960s – the Davises planted another, smaller orchard just south of the barn, within what might have once been part of the barnyard. Some of these trees may have been plums. All have since died, although some are still standing. There may have been two periods of planting in this orchard, as one of the trees has a fairly large trunk, while the others were young when they died.

One tree remains alive in the large square orchard northeast of the farmhouse first seen in the 1937 aerial. It appears to be an apple tree.

Vegetation in the Vicinity of the Farmhouse and Barn

A chain-link fence, installed by park management to protect the house, surrounds the house and encloses a space about 75 by 90 feet. Grass that is mown periodically grows within the fenced area. There are no trees within this enclosure. Many trees are located within the former farmhouse yard. A couple of locust trees and another species – perhaps an ash – mark the edge of the driveway on the east. There are no trees directly south of the house, the side facing Route 29. The diagonal line of trees on the southwest, seen in the 1937 aerial, is still apparent, made up of a number of large red cedars. The largest number of trees is found in the western and northern

Figure 39. A view from the south of the farmhouse and the surrounding yard area. The majority of the trees are red cedar and black locust. (2001; NCR CLP digital photo)



sections of the yard. (Figure 39) Most of these are black locusts that practically comprise a monoculture. Many are dead and have fallen over, some are dying, and young ones form little groves. Young hackberries grow in close proximity to the dying locusts, presumably following them in vegetative succession. A line of about four red cedars runs north-south, a little east of where the detached kitchen/slave quarters was located. A thicket of brambles grows over dead locusts in the northeast corner of the yard. Red cedars, locusts, hackberries, and probably some cherry trees (*Prunus serotina*) mark the western edge of the yard. The northern edge, along the dry ravine, supports a very thick fencerow. In places, cedar trees grow on both sides of the ravine. The predominance of black locusts around the house is curious, but perhaps explainable. Black locust is one of the deciduous trees in Virginia that is an early colonizer of vacant land. Other deciduous pioneer trees include tulip poplar, red maple and ash. The large number of black locusts here may have something to do with the diabase substrate and the Jackland soil on which the house is situated. Locust groves are found on Bull Run Mountain, also a diabase formation, in areas that were probably clearings in the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁹ Black locusts were also planted as shade trees in the nineteenth century, and it is possible they were planted here. However, their tendency to pioneer in soil conditions such as these suggests that planting was not necessary.

The fencerows to the north and east of the nineteenth-century barn foundation are thick with red cedars and other trees. A dense grove of red cedars is located behind the barn where there may have been a paddock in the twentieth century. The orchard just south of the barn is an impenetrable thicket of vines. Japanese honeysuckle is especially vigorous. To the south of the orchard is a small clump of open woodland with several large hackberries growing out of piles of stone. The ground they are growing in appears to have been disturbed and is located near the head of

a drainage swale that runs through the field east of the driveway. South of this small woods is a dense grove of red cedars spreading out from the northwest tip of Brawner Woods. The grove is separated from the woods by an area about 25 feet wide in which grass and young oaks grow.

Open Fields Today

A majority of the Brawner Farm is grassland, with about 72 acres managed under a hay lease agreement. The rest of the open land (about 150 to 200 acres) is mown periodically by the National Park Service. In some fields, the presence of a large number of red cedar seedlings indicates that succession to coniferous woodland would be rapid if they were not mowed. Other woody species that appear in these old field communities are dogwood, red maple (*Acer rubrum*), sumac, sassafras (*S. albidum*), locust and brambles (*Rubus* spp.).¹⁰²

Although artificially maintained, these grasslands are of special interest since they may provide valuable clues to the composition of similar resettlement communities as well as serving as refuge for rare plants. Many of these grasslands are strikingly pristine examples of native grass associations, particularly the association of Indian grass (*Sorghastrum nutans*) and little bluestem (*Schizachyrium scoparium*). The field north of Brawner Woods and east of the barn site and several fields on the north end of the property are some of the best examples of this grass community on the Brawner Farm.¹⁰³

Many of the Northern Virginia Triassic region's rare plant species are associated with habitats underlain by diabase or metasilstone, such as is found on the Brawner Farm. The Triassic basin historically supported a number of plants now considered rare by the state of Virginia. These have managed to persist in similar but artificially maintained openings, particularly powerlines, undisturbed railroad and roadside rights-of-way, and abandoned fields. Brawner Farm supports populations of Appalachian quillwort (*Isoetes appalachiana*), hairy beardtongue (*Penstemon hirsutus*), and marsh hedgenettle (*Stachyspilosa* var. *arenicola*), which are classified as rare or very rare in Virginia.¹¹²

CONTRIBUTING FEATURES

- Brawner Woods
- Woods south of Route 29
- Three stands of deciduous woods north of Brawner Woods that have persisted since the Civil War
- Open fields – although not composed of the same species, they preserve the historic pattern of open land.

Buildings and Structures

Extant Farmhouse

It is not certain when the first house was built on the Tennille property. Tennille is recorded in the Prince William County Land Tax Assessments as living on his property by 1815. At this time he owned two tracts, one of 165 acres and the other of 208

acres. Although the two tracts were listed as a single property of 373 acres, they were not contiguous: the 165-acre tract was located west of Pageland Lane, while the 208-acre parcel was located east of Pageland Lane and south of the other tract. This 208-acre tract became the southern half of the Brawner Farm site and is probably where Tennille had his dwelling. The value of Tennille's buildings was first listed as an aggregate sum in the assessments of 1820, at which time he was credited with structures worth \$1200. The records do not specify the number, type, or location of his buildings, but they almost certainly would have included a dwelling. Recent archeological examination of the earliest extant house foundations on the site suggest that this structure could not have been built before 1825.¹¹³

The current house on the Brawner Farm site stands over the foundation of an antebellum structure, which must be the original house, known as "Bachelor's Hall."¹¹⁴ (Figures 40 & 41) It is likely that this house sustained considerable damage during the battle and that sometime between 1865 and 1905 it was demolished and replaced with another structure, perhaps a one-and-one-half story structure dating from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century that was moved to the site from another location. This second house then appears to have been incorporated into a much larger dwelling constructed in 1904/1905, which is the house that still stands today.

The foundation of the original house measures about 31 feet long east-west and 24 feet wide north-south. It was probably a central hall double-pile structure designed in a manner that was a vernacular derivation of the eighteenth-century Georgian style of domestic architecture. The front elevation faced south, towards the Warrenton Turnpike. The house stood on a foundation made of diabase fieldstone set in a shallow trench. There were four chimneys, two on either end.¹¹⁵

John Brawner noted in his 1871 War Claim that the house was "shelled" and that balls were passing through it. The military activity Brawner describes as witnessing would have been sustained during the fire which occurred on August 28, when Brawner was still in the house, before he fled to a neighbor's for safety. The more intense fighting raging around the house later in the day must have inflicted even heavier damage. It seems probable that Bachelor's Hall, while it may have been patched enough to have been made habitable, must have been seriously damaged and would have had to have been rebuilt or replaced soon after the war.

The second house was probably the late eighteenth/early nineteenth structure that had been built into the north block of the existing house. This second house was oriented in the same way as the original house, with the façade facing south. From the second-floor plate down, this northern section is a braced timber frame with hand-hewn sill plates and corner posts, and vertically sawn studs, joists, and knee braces connected with mortise and tenon joints. The use of hand-wrought nails and pit-sawn timbers suggests the early date, and the presence of marriage marks to align timbers indicates that the structure retains its integrity, rather than being made of re-used parts. The absence of projectiles and projectile holes are evidence that this structure would not have stood on this site during the battle.¹¹⁶ The smaller house rested on a foundation of diabase blocks, probably taken from the earlier foundation, and cut sandstone blocks, and was set in a somewhat deeper trench.



Figure 40. The existing farmhouse, oblique view of the south and east elevations. (2001; NCR CLP digital photo)

Figure 41. A plan view showing the 1987 excavations of the area around the farmhouse. (1987; from Kathleen A. Parker, "An Archeological Assessment of the Brawner Farm House," December 1989, p. 4)

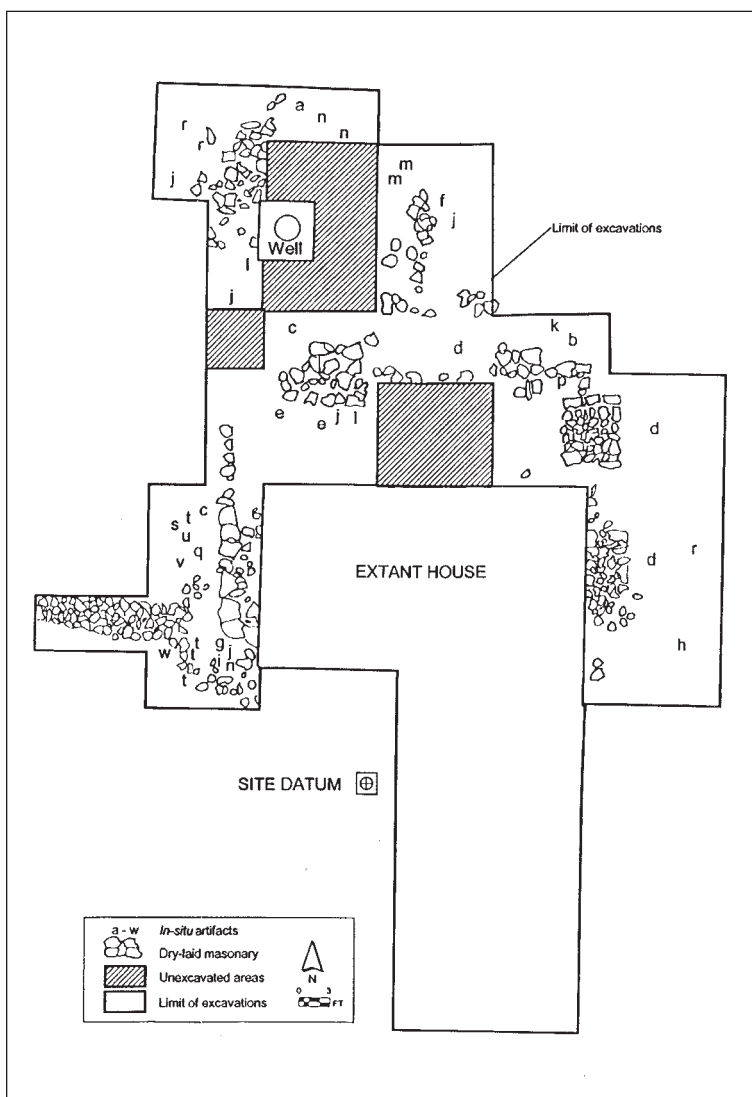




Figure 42. The house's north block, to the right, seen from across the historic road trace, incorporates a late-eighteenth or early-nineteenth-century structure that was probably moved to this site at some time between 1862 and 1904. (2002; NCR CLP digital photo)

William M. Davis bought the property in 1895 from Pendleton Douglas and in 1905 he enlarged the house considerably. Davis added a second story over the one-and-one-half story structure, an ell in the form of a two-story, two-bay I house extending to the south, and a porch on the ell's east side. The main entrance was moved from the south to the east elevation of the new ell, facing the farm road rather than the turnpike. (Figure 42) This expansion eliminated key features of the postwar house, so that it is no longer possible to determine the original type or location of windows and doors, the type and width of siding, or the pitch of the roof or its construction.¹¹⁷

Architectural features associated with the Brawner houses included rubble from an outbuilding that was probably destroyed during the battle, and the west, north, and east foundation walls of the original house.¹¹⁸ The locations of most outbuildings are not known. They were probably of wood-frame or log construction.

Outbuildings

Scattered around the farmhouse on the Brawner site can be found the foundation remains of several outbuildings. Most are concentrated north of the house, an area overgrown with a dense cover of weedy successional trees and brambles. It is possible to discern the location of these structures, the materials of their foundations and perhaps their walls, and their approximate size, and to hazard a guess about their possible function. Existing evidence has allowed the study team to assemble a general picture of the evolution and pattern of this farm landscape. The number and condition of the outbuilding remains around the house and particularly to the north suggest that the farmyard would be a promising area for further archeological work. Because the remains are scanty, this introduction provides an overview of the most common types of historic vernacular farm structures to assist future researchers of the Brawner Farm.¹¹⁹

By the mid-nineteenth century, the southern farm landscape had become characterized by the large number of outbuildings used for the production and storage of food and other work and storage purposes. Specialized structures were erected for different activities or for the processing of particular crops, and the appearance of structures varied accordingly. Outbuildings were sometimes used to define the boundaries of a farmyard. The major types of outbuildings – such as kitchens, smokehouses, and privies – were often placed behind the house, which was oriented to the road.¹²⁰

Typically, the yard between house and outbuildings was the farm's work space, and was treated as an extension of the kitchen and laundry. Wells were prominent features. They were sometimes covered by shelters to prevent debris from falling in the water, and to protect the rope and pulleys used to draw up water if it lay deeper than about 70 feet. If water was closer to the surface, it might be raised by a weighted pole known as a "well sweep" or by a mechanical pump.¹²¹

By the early eighteenth century, it had already become customary on plantations for a kitchen to be housed in a separate structure removed from the main house. There seem to have been two main types of kitchen: a single room, often constructed of frame or log, with a masonry chimney at one end (a type found from Virginia to Texas); and a two-room building with fireplaces located in the center or at either end.¹²²

Smokehouses were a nearly ubiquitous feature of the southern farm landscape and possessed a symbolic significance reflecting the central role pork played in the southern diet. Salted meat would be hung in the structure and smoked for several days, remaining there in storage until needed. Most Virginia smokehouses were square buildings, probably two stories high, with pyramidal roofs, a single door, and vent holes but no windows. Their floors were "invariably bare earth with a shallow pit in the center to hold fire."¹²³ Square smokehouses were usually made of lumber, stone, or brick rather than log.

Other types of outbuildings on southern farms might include dairies, springhouses, and icehouses. Dairies were cool, well-ventilated structures where milk was placed in pans to let the cream rise. In the Chesapeake region, dairies were often paired with smokehouses, and like smokehouses were usually square buildings with pyramidal or gable roofs. However, dairies were not common in the South, where milk production was relatively low.¹²⁴ In the trans-Appalachian South, dairy products were usually stored in a springhouse, a "rectangular masonry building with a gable entrance" constructed over a spring to provide cool storage for foods.¹²⁵ The floor was always made of "stone, brick, cement, or some other tight, impervious material."¹²⁶ Icehouses also were sometimes built. Freestanding icehouses varied greatly in form, and many were built partly or wholly underground. By the early twentieth century, mechanical refrigeration began to supersede the icehouse.

Large barns were seldom found in the South, where the mild climate led farmers to believe that livestock and produce did not typically need shelter. Most barns were small single-crib structures made of logs, although Piedmont farmers favored

double-crib barns. Separate granaries were sometimes built, usually rectangular structures with no openings that were elevated on piers to protect their contents from animals and ground moisture. Corncribs, log structures for the drying and storage of ears of corn, were occasionally built.¹²⁷

On many farms, smaller farm animals were housed in their own structures, “generally. . . smaller, undistinguished rectangular buildings with shed or gable roofs.”¹²⁸ Chicken coops were rarely found in the South, since people tended to let chickens roost wherever they pleased. However, as poultry became more important to the American farm economy, they were sometimes housed in coops. By the late nineteenth century, coops tended to be large, well-lit, well-ventilated structures, although these were soon supplanted by open-fronted buildings that allowed fresh air to freely circulate. Necessary interior features of chicken coops included horizontal roosts, nesting boxes, a feeding area, and a place for dust baths.

Sheep generally required more care and protection than other types of livestock, so they were often given a separate shelter, with a yard attached for exercise and feeding encircled by “strong and tight” fencing, “one of the most important aspects of the sheep fold.”¹²⁹ At first these shelters were “windbreaks or temporary enclosures”; later, sheep barns were built.¹³⁰ Hogs were housed in pens placed at some distance from the house because of their odor and the abundance of flies they attracted. The basic requirements for hogs were protection from the cold and an enclosed feeding yard. Pens had simple interiors, with an aisle to allow access to troughs and pens built to hold one or two pigs each.¹³¹

Other miscellaneous structures on farms stored crops, firewood, and farming implements. Cellars were commonly built for the storage of vegetables and canned food in dark, cool conditions.¹³² Privies – placed close but not too close to farmhouses – were tall and narrow wooden structures with roof ventilators and decorative ventilating cut-outs. Wood construction allowed privies to be moved for the occasional cleaning of the pits beneath.

BRAWNER FARM OUTBUILDING REMAINS *Outbuilding foundation:* The land around the extant Brawner Farm house almost certainly was used as a farmyard. The 1985 Historic Structures Report recorded a single standing outbuilding and one collapsed outbuilding northwest of the house and the twentieth-century garage to its south.¹³³ Presently, the remains of approximately 10 buildings can be found on the north, west, south, and east sides of the house, with the greatest concentration lying to the north. Most of the remains are footers made of hand-formed brick or of cut blocks of the local Triassic sandstone.

Landscape features and structural remains define the farmyard on the south, east, north, and west. To the south, the land slopes down. Only the remains of the twentieth-century garage and road trace are found here. To the east, an older road trace runs past the east elevation of the house. (Figure 43) This elevation became the façade after the 1905 enlargement of the house, and it faced towards the barns,



Figure 43. After the 1904/1905 enlargement of the house, the façade faced east towards the farm road. The trace of this road is visible on the right. (2002; NCR CLP digital photo)

agricultural fields, and the twentieth-century orchard. Defining the northern boundary of the farmyard is a damp, linear depression in the ground, resembling a streambed, that is overgrown with trees. The weedy growth that characterizes the area just north of the house stops here, and beyond the depression is an open field. Numerous remains of outbuildings and farm machinery are found in this northern part of the historic farmyard. West of the house lie additional outbuilding remains and fencelines.

The last three standing outbuildings were removed by the National Park Service in the early 1990s.¹³⁴ These were most likely twentieth-century structures, but they may have reused the sites and materials of previous outbuildings. About 140 yards north-east of the house stood the remains of a dilapidated wood-frame shed about ten-feet high, with a gable roof, a wood-frame doorway facing south, and a single window opening on one side.¹³⁵ The building had no foundation but stood on stone footings. About 25 yards northwest of the house was a deteriorated rectangular wood frame structure with an asymmetrical gable standing-seam metal roof. This structure also stood on corner stones placed directly on the ground. In the south elevation were three large wood-framed openings and in the east was a wood-framed doorway. Wooden partitions divided the interior into three sections roughly equal in size. The east and western compartments had wooden shelves attached to the north wall. The surveyor believed the structure had been a chicken coop.

Southwest of the house are the concrete foundation remains of a twentieth-century garage which would have been large enough for perhaps two vehicles. The remains stand about one-foot high. The trace of a road, dating probably from the early twentieth century and leading from Pageland Lane to the barn and the fields beyond, passes south of the garage remains.

Archeological research has revealed the remains of two set-stone walks and a stone paving of unknown purpose. One walk led due north from the rear entrance; its date and destination are not known. The most recent investigation shows that this walk did not extend north of the original 1987 excavation.¹³⁶ A second walk, built after the 1904/05 reconstruction of the house, led along the west elevation of the house and then directly west, presumably to a structure. A stone paving, with one section made of flat and another of rounded stones, extended beneath the 1825 foundation at the house's southwest corner.

The structure directly west of the house was most likely a detached kitchen, a slave quarters, or a structure that combined both uses. (Figure 44) A large pile of hand-formed brick suggests the fallen remains of a chimney stack, the base of which measured approximately five by ten feet. Foundation stones remain largely intact along the south and west sides. The building appears to have been a rectangular structure, measuring about eighteen feet by twenty-two feet and oriented north-south, with its entrance opposite the house and the chimney facing the entrance.

Evidence of two pits, perhaps a storage pit and a root cellar, has been found north and northeast of the kitchen/quarters. Lying on the ground just east of the kitchen rubble is a slab of sandstone, measuring about three feet by four feet and six-inches thick. (Figure 45) This may have been a step or threshold stone moved from an entrance to the antebellum house.

Figure 44. A large pile of stone and brick rubble marks the site of an outbuilding west of the farmhouse. This may have been a kitchen, a slave quarters, or both. This view is from the west. (2001; NCR CLP digital photo)





Figure 45. This large slab of sandstone may have served historically as the threshold of a farm building. (2001; NCR CLP digital photo)

Northwest of the house, at a point which may have been the corner of the farmyard, is a seep located in the linear depression or swale. In recent decades this was used as a dump and there is still a large pile of debris lying here, mostly bottles and cans but also hand-molded brick and hand-shaped stones possibly remaining from an earlier structure. Stones set on the ground define the corners and partial outline of a square around the seep and dump, suggesting a structure once stood here. This may have been the site of a springhouse (although recent archeological investigation suggests it may, instead, be a natural feature; see Berger 2004, p. 13).

Also to the northwest, although closer to the house, are the sandstone footing remains of the structure identified as a “chicken coop” on the Virginia landmarks survey. Discernable on the grass north of the remains is the drip-line of the building, a linear gully in the soil, now covered by grass. Immediately to the east of these stones are more footing remains of a second structure. These are much larger stones, suggesting that, while this may have been an extension of the “coop,” it was more likely an earlier, separate structure.

Due north of the house, a distinctly circular and damp area can be seen on the ground surface. It was thought that this might represent a privy or other historic feature. Recent archeological investigation has ruled out the possibility that the feature was a privy and suggests that the depression may represent a tree fall.¹³⁷

North of the house is a capped well. Northeast of the house is a large pile of hand-molded brick covered by briars. The bricks do not appear to form any recognizable structural remains.

Figure 46. The ruined superstructure of the doublecrib barn is located a few hundred feet northeast of the farmhouse. (2002; NCR CLP digital photo)



Figure 47. The remains of the barn's sandstone foundation. (2002; NCR CLP digital photo)



A hundred yards northeast of the house can be found the foundation remains of a barn, which clearly appears to have been a double-crib barn, possibly antebellum. (Figures 46 & 47) The foundation, constructed of large sandstone blocks, has been filled with dirt. A covered passage ran between the two cribs. The barn remnants measure 18 by 36 feet, and the interior appears to have been divided into three 12-foot long sections. Directly east of the barn are the remains of a wooden structure which has both wire and machine-cut nails. This may have been either a separate building or an attached structure.

Remnant structure in the Brawner Woods: Within the woods some distance south of the barn stands a remnant wooden structure, probably built in the 1940s or somewhat earlier as a shelter for the hogs which rooted in this area of the woods.



Figure 48. This ruined structure in Brawner Woods is probably a twentieth-century hog shelter. (2002; NCR CLP digital photo)

(Figure 48) The long, linear structure was oriented east-west and was open to the south, enclosed by a wall on the long north end and on the sides. Some of the sills and supports remain, along with a portion of the rear wall. The shed roof sloped down to the north and was covered with standing seam metal. The remains of the roof and other wall and roof debris lie on the ground nearby. A few hog thigh bones and cattle vertebrae were found in this area.

VIRGINIA ELECTRIC POWER COMPANY LINES The huge towers of high-tension powerlines erected and maintained by the Virginia Electric Power Company (now Dominion) run through the Brawner Farm property, closely following the west and north boundaries. The lines were moved in 1998 from its previous location, which passed nearer to the house. The lines were moved to reduce the impact on views to and from the Brawner Farm site. Trees were planted adjacent to the powerlines to screen them from view of the battlefield, but most of these trees have died. The usefulness of such a screen would, in any event, have been limited.

CONTRIBUTING FEATURES

- 1904/1905 farmhouse
- barn remnant
- Brawner house remnant
- outbuilding remnants and foundation remains

NON-CONTRIBUTING FEATURES

- Virginia Power powerlines

Small-Scale Features

The most common small-scale features of rural America in the 18th and 19th centuries were fences. Made of wood or stone (and barbed wire after 1867), fences reflected the character of the land on which they were built. They edged fields, lined the sides of roads, and separated one work or use area from another. Along with roads, fencelines created linear divisions in agricultural regions.

Laws regulated fences in Virginia and the other colonies. The Virginia Act of 1632 provided that “every man shall enclose his ground with sufficient fences or else to plant upon their own peril.” Another Virginia Act in 1646 defined a “sufficient fence as one four and a half feet high and substantial down to the bottom.” The stipulation that the bottom of the fence be “substantial” was necessary for keeping pigs out.¹³⁸ During initial settlement of the colonies along the Eastern seaboard, animals were given free range. At that time, the area of crop land was relatively small and easier to enclose than the range. Laws required the enclosure of livestock sooner in other parts of the country than in the South, where animals continued to be allowed to wander, eating what they found, well into the nineteenth century. Hogs were generally well fed on the roots and mast of the oak-hickory forest of the Piedmont; cows probably fared less well. The fencing and maintenance of pastureland, and a greater emphasis on the keeping of livestock, was part of the agricultural reform movement that began to be advocated in the South sometime around 1820 and gradually influenced agricultural practices over the next half-century.

The most common fence built in Virginia was the Virginia or worm fence, a zigzag line of split rails laid one on top of the other.¹³⁹ A variation on the typical worm fence was the addition of stakes and riders. In this type, eight-feet-long stakes were wedged into the ground and locked over the topmost horizontal rail. Higher than the ordinary worm fence, stake-and-rider fences could be six foot tall. Photographs of the Manassas area dating to the Civil War show some stake-and-rider fences in which the top rail or “rider” sits in the fork of a branched post made from a sapling about four inches thick.

Each section of a worm fence joined the next at a 120-degree angle. Since the area within these angles on either side of the fence was impossible to cultivate, they grew up in weeds and woody vegetation.¹⁴⁰

In some areas of Virginia, the presence of fieldstone led to the construction of stone walls, but not in the part of Prince William County where the Manassas Battlefield is located. When fieldstone was cleared from fields in the vicinity of Manassas, it was moved to the side, accumulating along field edges or along worm fences (taking on the zigzag pattern of the fence), or was collected into piles. Some of the oldest fencelines on the Brawner Farm are recognizable by lines of field stone within present-day fencerows. Not all parts of the Brawner property were equally stony, and thus the lack of stone in a fenceline cannot be taken as clear evidence of its more recent origin.

Documentary Evidence of Historic Fence Types

Fences in the Manassas area were recorded in photographs and surveys made around the time of the Civil War, and are evidence of types that were found locally, if not specifically on the Brawner Farm. In his 1878 survey, Judson notes “rail fences” along one section of the Warrenton Turnpike (there were generally worm fences along the turnpike), represented by use of a dashed line rather than the zigzag line used for the worm fence.¹⁴¹ Judson’s “rail fences” may have been post-and-rail fences or board fences. Post-and-rail and board fences appeared later than the worm fence and were more laborious to build, as holes had to be dug for the posts. They required less timber than a worm fence and, because they were straight rather than angled, took up less space. The post-and-rail fence consisted of split rails mortised into upright posts. Mortising the posts was also a time-consuming task, and the posts were generally made from a substantial piece of cedar or black locust to delay the need to repeat the work. Board fences used posts and dimensioned lumber, and were only built after the advent of dimensioned lumber in the nineteenth century and the perfection of nail mills to produce nails in large quantity.¹⁴² The term “rail fence” may have been used by contemporaries to mean either a worm fence or a post-and-rail fence, since both used rails; however, where Judson notes them he uses a different symbol than the zigzag line he denotes worm fences by.

A photograph believed taken at Groveton in the 1870s shows what appears to be a board fence along the turnpike. The posts seem to be square and the horizontal members look like boards, although not of uniform widths. The fence in this photo is whitewashed or painted, which was typical for board fences.¹⁴³ Board fences, post-and-rail fences, or picket fences were probably all used to define the yard around an antebellum house. A photograph of Portici, one of the plantation houses of the lower Bull Run Tract, taken in March 1862, shows both a board fence and a post-and-rail fence separating the house and outdoor kitchen from what appears to be a slave house just outside the fence. A stile traverses the fence, providing access to the house and kitchen from the direction of the slave house.¹⁴⁴

The Warren maps and Judson’s survey notebooks record some of the fences on the Brawner Farm. Judson’s survey of the Second Manassas battlefield begins roughly where the Brawner Farm road met the turnpike, and therefore his notebooks do not give information about any part of the farm west of that point. A worm fence shown at the south end of the front field continues along the south edge of Brawner Woods. There is also a worm fence running north-south along the west side of Brawner Woods, and another worm fence along the east side of the woods, which was the east boundary of the property. A fence is also shown south of the turnpike along the east edge of the triangular woods that were part of the Brawner tract. No fence is shown between the north edge of that woods and the turnpike. In this set of sketches, Judson concentrates on areas adjacent to the turnpike, and does not show how far the north-south fences extended on the Brawner Farm.

In the 1878 survey and recorded in Judson’s notebook, a transect line was run from a point due east of the Brawner house across the battleground of August 28, 1862.¹⁴⁵

Accompanying notations described the elevational changes and the general character of the land along this line. Judson also drew plan-view sketches of parts of the tract along the northeast side. In one of these he showed a worm fence along the east property line that extended about 800 feet beyond the north end of Brawner Woods and crossed a drainage swale (the headwaters of Dogan Branch). The fence turned west and angled slightly to the north, probably to remain on the high ground above a headwater tributary. This east-west fence would have been located about 1000 to 1200 feet south of the cut of the Unfinished Railroad. Another worm fence is shown at the north end of the tract along the east boundary. It crossed an embanked section of the Unfinished Railroad, continued to the northeast corner, and turned east, moving outside the tract. These are the only fences Judson depicts on the property. Judson's sketch does not show a fence along the north boundary of the Brawner Farm. Because the landscape detail that he provides is so precise, each of these features can be plotted on a map today.

In Judson's sketch of the Brawner farmhouse, there is the suggestion of a fence around the farmhouse yard.¹⁴⁶ He drew a dashed line on the east and south sides of the Brawner farmhouse, probably indicating a straight fence. No line is drawn on the north side of the yard and the west side falls outside the page. (It should be remembered that Judson's survey represents the conditions he encountered in 1878.) There is also mention of an "inclosure" in some proximity to the farmhouse in an account by Gen. Taliaferro, but it does not tell us the type of fence or where it was located.¹⁴⁷

Many soldiers referred to fences in their accounts of the battle of August 28, 1862. Some soldiers remembered crossing a fence that bordered the road in the vicinity of Battery Heights. Another soldier spoke of fences the men crossed within the woods.¹⁴⁸ There is reference to a fenceline that flanked the northern edge of the woods.¹⁴⁹ One fence of note was the one near the Brawner house behind which Confederate soldiers formed their firing line. One infantry soldier of the 19th Indiana described the fence that the Confederates used to protect themselves:

*[T]hey were on the other side of those old fashioned Virginia fences constructed by digging postholes and setting rather heavy fence-post[s] in them, mortised for receiving proportionate heavy rails. That fence with its broad rails formed a pretty good breastworks, together with the number of hayricks that were ricked up inside the fence.*¹⁵⁰

If this soldier's memory is correct, then apparently there was a post-and-rail fence near the Brawner house, probably along one or more sides of the barnyard.

The 1937 aerial photograph provides the first reliable image of the entire Brawner property. (See Figure 35) Overall, the fencelines seen in the photograph are very similar to those found today. Their visibility on the aerial is enhanced by the trees that had begun to grow up along them. Excluding boundary fences, the number of fencelines across the property probably numbered fewer than ten. The major north-south fenceline followed the west edge of Brawner Woods, extending to the north boundary of the property. Another north-south fenceline was located on the west side of the intermittent stream. It began at the Swart (Cundiff) property line and extended north to the Unfinished Railroad. A north-south fenceline can be seen

within the Swart tract. Presumably it ran the length of the east property boundary, though only a short section of it can be seen on the aerial. Other field divisions ran east-west and included the line of the Unfinished Railroad. The railroad grade met an east-west-running fencerow a little north and east of the midpoint of the property. There the two slightly angled lines – the Unfinished Railroad angling to the northeast and the fenceline slightly northwest – formed an oblique angle of about 140 degrees, a shape that is readable on all the later aerials as well.

A line that delineates the northern boundary of the property is also visible on the 1937 aerial. Presumably there were fencelines along Route 29 and Pageland Lane, but these are not visible on the aerial because few cedars had yet begun to grow along them. It is also likely that the fencelines which Judson notes along the east and west sides of Brawner Woods were still in existence, particularly the one on the east side, which marked a property boundary. In 1937 the fencelines were, on the whole, much less vegetated than today, when they have become narrow lines of woodland.

Later Fence Types

Barbed wire was invented in 1867 and initially used mostly in Western states. It is found along most of the fencelines at the Brawner Farm today. According to another study prepared for the park, barbed wire may have been used in the Manassas area as early as the 1870s.¹⁵¹ Several different kinds of barbed wire are found on the Brawner Farm: single strand, double strand, and an unrusted galvanized type. The wire is usually attached to cedar posts, either by large metal hook-like staples or nails. Sometimes the barbed wire is simply wound around the posts. The cedar posts vary considerably in their size across the site; some of the largest may well be the oldest. Some of what appear to be newer posts are shaped from young cedars, about four inches in diameter. Their limbs have been lopped off, giving them a knobby appearance.

Woven-wire or mesh fences can also be found along some fencelines, such as the one west of the house, which may be the west fenceline of the antebellum yard. Woven wire was introduced in the early 1880s. Generally a six-inch mesh, 42 to 52 inches high, this wire was used to keep out small animals and to enclose sheep, among other purposes.¹⁵² In this location it may have been used to protect a vegetable garden.



Figure 49. A fenceline located north of Brawner Woods. (2002; NCR CLP digital photo)

Existing Fencelines

Fencelines today are much like the ones seen in the 1937 aerial. There appear to be a few additional divisions, but they may have also existed in 1937 and are not readable on the aerial photograph. By the time the 1937 aerial was taken, most of the fencelines on the Brawner Farm were becoming fencerows, marked by a row of trees. (Figure 49) Today these fencerows have grown larger. They usually comprise a single row of trees, predominantly red cedars. Extending throughout most of the



Figure 50. This zigzag line of stones in Brawner Woods, running from the bottom right of this photo, probably indicates the location of a historic worm fence. (2002; NCR CLP digital photo)

fencerows are vestiges of former fences, usually barbed wire, sometimes supported by fenceposts or incorporated into the trunks of trees which have grown up around them. In 1994 a section of the main north-south fenceline on Stony Ridge was cleared of most of its vegetation in preparation for a new wayside explaining the positions of Confederate artillery, crucial to the last day of the battle.

FENCELINES MARKED BY STONES Two zigzag lines of stones mark the location of old worm fences on the east side of the property. They are probably found in this location because it is where stone naturally littered the ground or was close to the surface, which is not the case in all sections of the farm. These are probably among the earliest fencelines on the property. One flanked the west edge of Brawner Woods, which has now migrated beyond the former field edge and fenceline. The line of fieldstones is located about 20 to 40 feet within the present edge of the woods. Occasional cedar fenceposts and strands of barbed wire also mark this line. The fenceline continues as a linear woodland (or fencerow) beyond the present northwest edge of Brawner Woods, all the way to the northern property boundary. The zigzag line of stones continues beyond Brawner Woods within this fencerow.

Field survey has disclosed a second zigzag line of stones running east-west within Brawner Woods. (Figure 50) The line begins near the west edge of the woods, about 900 feet from Route 29, and moves uphill to the east. Strands of barbed wire are also found along this fenceline. The line probably marks the historic northern edge of the west section of Brawner Woods.



Within the woods and certain fencerows it is not uncommon to find large trees surrounded by the stones of the fenceline. One such tree is a white oak, with a diameter at breast height of about four feet, found along the west edge of Brawner Woods. (Figure 51)

Other fencelines on the east side of the property may also have occasional stones along them, but no others have been found that exhibit the zigzag pattern left by vanished worm fences.

STONE PILES Piles of stones can be found within Brawner Woods and in the band of coniferous and deciduous woods along the property's east boundary. (Figure 52) Like the stones found in fencelines, some of these are quite large, up to two or three feet in diameter. Others are only a foot in diameter, and there are smaller stones as well. The stone is probably diabase, although there may also be sandstone and metasilstone. The piles themselves can be 10 or 15 feet in circumference. Often trees grow out of the piles; some of the trees appear to be very old.

Figure 51. A large white oak tree grows along the historic west boundary, within the historic fenceline, of Brawner Woods. Regional Archeologist Stephen Potter provides scale. (2002; NCR CLP digital photo)

Figure 52. One of the many stone piles in Brawner Woods. (2001; NCR CLP digital photo)



Other Small-Scale Features

QUARRY SITE Two stone platforms and stones with drilled holes are found at the quarry site on the west side of the property. The quarry provided stone for the roadbed of the Unfinished Railroad.¹⁵³

FARM IMPLEMENTS AND MACHINERY Several rusted pieces of farm machinery are scattered in the vicinity of the farmhouse, near the barn foundation and within nearby fencerows. Some of these have been identified and include a manure spreader, a wood-sided wagon, and a seed drill. (Figure 53)

DUMPSITES Several twentieth-century dumpsites can be found in some proximity to the house. One is located in the dry ravine behind the house. Another is in a ravine in the northwest corner of Brawner Woods.

THE SWART FAMILY CEMETERY Associated with the family that occupied a farm on the Stuart's Hill tract from 1894 until 1968, the small Swart cemetery is located on a slight elevation overlooking Route 29. The Swart farm included this 46-acre parcel north of Route 29, which was created when the Warrenton Turnpike was built in the early nineteenth century. At the time of the Civil War the property belonged to William Cundiff; it was never owned by the Douglas or Davis families.

A stuccoed wall about three feet in height and formed of rounded cobbles encloses a rectangular plot, oriented north-south, with a gate in the long side facing towards Pageland Lane, several hundred feet to the west. The wall has capstones, and individual stones are set at the corners and in pairs in the centers of the long sides. Within the cemetery are the graves and headstones of four members of the Swart family, all of whom died in the twentieth century.



Figure 53. An abandoned twentieth-century seed drill, lying in a fencerow near the ruins of the barn, gives evidence of historic farming techniques on this long-cultivated site. (2002; NCR CLP digital photo)

CANNONS Five reproduction Civil War cannons on the Brawner Farm site represent the position of Confederate Col. S. D. Lee’s artillery on August 30th, 1862: three Confederate iron six-pounder guns and two model 1841 six-pounders modified to resemble Napoleons (sometimes called “false Napoleons”). They are positioned on Stony Ridge, on the west side of the main north-south fenceline, facing east toward Groveton and Deep Cut.

WAYSIDES Waysides installed by the National Park Service give information about the Second Battle of Manassas, particularly the battle that was fought on the Brawner Farm on August 28, 1862, and the role of S.D. Lee’s artillery on August 30.

CONSTRUCTED AMENITIES ALONG THE TRAILS The National Park Service has built benches, culverts, crossings, and a hitching post along trails.

CONTRIBUTING SMALL-SCALE FEATURES

- lines of stones
- stone piles
- platforms and drilled stones at quarry

NON-CONTRIBUTING SMALL-SCALE FEATURES

- wire fences
- modern worm fence along Route 29
- farm implements and machinery dump sites
- Swart family cemetery
- reproduction cannons
- waysides
- constructed amenities: benches, culverts, crossings, hitching post

Endnotes, Chapter 3:

Analysis and Evaluation

¹ Potter et al., 4, 5; Kathleen A. Parker, “Archeological Assessment,” 5.

² Some other conclusions reached by the Parker team have since been questioned by the 2003 Louis Berger Group archeological team.; See John Bedell for The Louis Berger Group, Inc. “Archeological Investigation for 2nd Manassas Tour Development, Brawner Farm Site (44PW452), Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia, Year 1 Summary.” June 2004.

³ Potter et al., 6.

⁴ The Georgian period is considered to have ended about 1800, but vernacular versions of the style persisted.

⁵ Stephen R. Potter, e-mail to Fanning, Sept. 14, 2004; Potter et al., 6; Elizabeth S. Sasser, “Brawner Farm House Historic Structures Report, Addendum to the Architectural Data Section” (1989; unpublished report on file, Manassas National Battlefield Park): 5.

⁶ Research Archeologist, Manassas National Battlefield Park, e-mail to Stephen R. Potter, Regional Archeologist, NCR/NPS, re: Brawner Farm historic road trace (April 5, 1990; copy in CLP office project file for Brawner farm). Two historic images confirmed the position of the historic farm road: a battlefield map from 1862 and an early twentieth-century aerial photograph. The excavation was carried out because the park wanted to fill in the lower stretch of the twentieth-century dirt road (located just west of the historic road trace) with gravel to create a parking area south of the modern stake-and-rider fence. The memo noted that this proposed action would not affect the historic road site.

⁷ See Kathleen A. Parker, “Archeological Assessment,” Appendix F, “Brawner Farm Metal Detector Survey and Area Map.”

⁸ Potter et al., 17.

⁹ Potter et al., 2.

¹⁰ See Bedell.

¹¹ James R. Cromwell, Jr., Robert McIver, and Clarence R. Geier, *Phase I Evaluation of Three Streams in Prince William County, Virginia: Broad Run, Bull Run, and Quantico Creek* (Harrisonburg, Virginia: James Madison University Archeological Research Center, 1985): 42, 49.

¹² The term “unimproved” was also applied to other land besides woodlot or forest, such as old fields. But it is reasonably certain that the unimproved acreage claimed by Douglas and Brawner was the woodlot because the size is consistent with the mature Brawner Woods today, known to have existed at the time of the Civil War.

¹³ At a minimum, an acre of land in the Piedmont would have produced five or six bushels of wheat in the mid-nineteenth century. Per-acre yields of both corn and oats were at least double that of wheat. Applying such per-acre yields to the Douglasses’s 1850 production of 180 bushels of wheat, 200 bushels of corn, and 150 bushels of oats or the Brawner’s 1860 production of 48 bushels of wheat, 300 bushels of corn, and 100 bushels of oats results in the above figure of 50 to 70 acres of grain crops. The Douglasses produced 30 tons of hay in 1850 and the Brawners produced five tons in 1860. Hay, which would not have required yearly cultivation, yielded about a ton an acre and would have accounted for five to 30 additional acres.

There are many possible explanations for this relatively small proportion of cropland (compared to the overall size of the property). There may have been greater emphasis on the raising of livestock,

though neither Douglas in 1850 nor Brawner in 1860 had large numbers of farm animals. It is likely that the older fallow system, rather than a rotation system was used by Brawner and Douglas, which would have left some land simply unused for a period of time. It is also possible that the soil characteristics of the Brawner farm limited the number of acres that could be cultivated. Sources: Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington [1933] 1987): 810-821; G. Melvin Hernden, "Agriculture in America in the 1790s: An Englishman's View," *Agricultural History*, Vol. XLIX #3, July 1975: 505-516; Frances C. Robb, "Industry in the Potomac River Valley, 1769-1860" (Ph.D. diss., West Virginia University, 1991): 42. Each of these sources reference a survey of farm productivity taken by William Strickland in 1794-1795 in his travels in New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

¹⁴ Brig. Gen. Irvin McDowell, "Map of the Battlefield of Bull Run Virginia, July 21st, 1861, compiled from a map accompanying the report of Brig. Gen. McDowell, and a map made under the direction of Gen. Beauregard," 1877, Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division, No. 572, in Morris et al.: Fig. 3.8.

¹⁵ Jed Hotchkiss, "Sketch Showing Positions of Second Corps, Army of Northern Virginia, August 26 to September 2, 1862," H109 in Hotchkiss Map Collection, Geography and Maps Division, Library of Congress; McDowell, "Map of the Battlefield . . . , July 21st, 1861"; G. K. Warren, "Battle-Grounds of August 28th, 29th, and 30th, 1862," National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 77, G-281-2); J. A. Judson, "Notes Made by Capt. Judson, Level and Topographic," 1878, NARA RG 77 (Box 132, Cupbd. 13, Shelf 3, No. 4, Book 3 of 4): 26.

¹⁶ G.K. Warren, "Battle-Grounds of August 28th, 29th, and 30th, 1862" (NARA RG 77, G-281-2). Commonly referred to as the "Warren Maps," this and other maps were prepared in connection with the 1878 retrial of Union General Fitz John Porter. The method Warren and his associates used in making these maps has been described in Morris et al., *A Cultural Landscape Restoration Report of the Stuart's Hill Tract* (pp. 19-25).

In the first phase of mapping, topographical survey data was collected and transposed onto maps. These maps depict conditions in 1878. Warren's surveyors also noted where changes had occurred in the landscape. This information was used to produce a second set of maps depicting the landscape as it might have appeared in 1862. A total of 24 original maps have been identified for these two phases of work. The map cited above comes from the second phase and portrays the entire battlefield as Warren believed it appeared in 1862. Small features, such as the Brawner house and yard, are therefore quite generalized. According to Morris (p. 23), the map depicting the entire battlefield as it appeared in 1878 (G-281-1) has been missing from the National Archives since 1966.

¹⁷ "Report of Gen. William B. Taliaferro," *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I*, Vol. XII, Pt. 2 (Washington, 1881-1900): 657 (hereinafter *Official Records*). See also "Report of Capt. J.B. Evans," *Official Records*, XII, 2, 657. Evans said in his report:

We were called in and joined the brigade, which was forming in line of battle in an open field on the farm of Mr. or Mrs. Brown, where we soon advanced, the 4th Regiment being on the right of the brigade. The scene of action was near the dwelling of Mr. or Mrs. Brown, the right of the 4th was resting on some outbuildings. Evans mistakenly used the name "Brown" for Brawner.

¹⁸ John C. Brawner, War Claim No. 1335, filed April 27, 1871, under the Act of March 3, 1871. Commissioner of Claims, Washington, D.C., NARA RG.

¹⁹ Allen Belden, Jr., Gary P. Fleming, and Nancy E. Van Alstine, *A Natural Heritage Inventory of Manassas National Battlefield Park*, Natural Heritage Technical Report 98-8, Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation (USDOI, NPS, Manassas National Battlefield Park, April 1998): 8.

²⁰ Belden et al., 9.

²¹ Belden et al., 9.

²² Michael Bilecki et al., *Amendment to General Management Plan: Environmental Assessment for Power Line Relocation*, Brawner Farm and Stuart's Hill, Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia (USDOI, NPS, DSC, May 1994): 22.

²³ Bilecki et al., 22.

²⁴ These are called residual soils or residuum, as opposed to colluvium, which is an accumulation of soil and rock material at the base of slopes due to gravitational and water forces.

²⁵ Analysis based on soils map in DCP/EA and on John H. Elder, Jr., *Soils of Prince William County, Virginia* (Prince William County, Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, and United States Soil Conservation Service, no date).

²⁶ DCP/EA, 14. This report notes that consultations with Prince William County have determined that the Brawner Farm does not contain prime or unique farm land.

²⁷ Elder 36.

²⁸ Belden et al., 10.

²⁹ Morris et al., 38 and Fig. 3.13.

³⁰ Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William*, 468. Many different roads that converged on Quantico Creek at Dumfries apparently were called "the Quantico Road."

³¹ Harrison, (no page number). The map is one quadrangle of the 1826 (1827) "Nine Sheet Map" of Virginia by Herman Boye. On roads, see also Harrison, 241, 248, 421, 453-57, 465.

³² Prince William County Deed Book 1:43. The location of the maple saplings is about where the Unfinished Railroad begins to cross the property today.

³³ Reeves, *Stone House*, 2.2.

³⁴ Harrison, 405.

³⁵ Harrison, 588-593.

³⁶ Morris et al., 74.

³⁷ Gibbon's Testimony, U.S. Congress, *Senate Executive Document 37; Proceedings and Report of the Board of Army Officers in the Case of Fitz John Porter*, Pt. 2 (Washington, 1979): 274. In John Hennessy, *Historical Report on the Troop Movements for the Second Battle of Manassas, Aug. 28 through Aug. 30, 1863* (Washington, D.C.: USDOI, NPS, DSC, NE Team, 1985): 9.

³⁸ Morris et al., 83.

³⁹ Laura J. Galke, ed, "Cultural Resource Survey and Inventory of a War-Torn Landscape: The Stuart's Hill Tract, Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia" (Washington, D.C.: NPS, NCR, Regional Archeology Program, Occasional Report #7, 1992): 36.

⁴⁰ Aerial, 3-31-81 (USDA 40. 51153 178-189). (MNBP Cultural Resources Office)

⁴¹ Aerial, May 1, 1937 (FG 119-43). (MNBP Cultural Resources Office)

⁴² Research archeologist, Manassas National Battlefield Park, e-mail to Stephen R. Potter, April 5, 1990.

⁴³ Bilecki et al., 9.

⁴⁴ Bilecki et al., 9.

⁴⁵ Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 3, p. 33.

⁴⁶ John Hennessy, “Williams Center Tract, Prince William County, Virginia” (manuscript on file at Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia, no date). In Brian Morris et al., 2-3.

⁴⁷ In 1878, Judson surveyed a transect from a point near where S.D. Lee’s guns were positioned on Brawner Farm. Judson marked his Station o as 750 feet east and about 100 feet north of the house, and labeled it “Stony Ridge.” He commented: “high ridge from which Centreville is visible.” J. A. Judson, “Notes Made by Capt. Judson, Level and Topographic,” 1878, NARA RG 77, Box 132, Cupbd. 13, Shelf 3, No. 4, Book 3 of 4:27. (Copies reviewed at Manassas National Battlefield Park Cultural Resources Office.)

⁴⁸ Report of Col. S.D. Lee, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, 577. In Alan Libby, “Landscape [Literature] Survey,” compiled for Manassas NBP, 1995. (MNBP Cultural Resources Office)

⁴⁹ Morris et al., 94. This report recommended clearing the vista.

⁵⁰ Marcus P. Malik, et al., *General Management Plan, Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia* (Washington, D.C.: USDO, NPS, DSC, September 1983): 13-17.

⁵¹ Belden et al., 39.

⁵² Bilecki et al., 18. According to the DCP/EA, “Of the site’s 312 acres, 198 acres are open field” (p. 14).

⁵³ Belden et al., 9.

⁵⁴ This can be seen by comparing the improved and unimproved acreage of properties for the district on the 1850 and 1860 Agricultural Censuses.

⁵⁵ Belden et al., 10.

⁵⁶ G. K. Warren [revised map], “Battle-Grounds of August 28th, 29th, and 30th, 1862” (NARA RG 77, G-281-2 and G-281-9). In Morris et al., Figs. 3.1 and 3.5.

⁵⁷ Warren, “Battle-Grounds of August 28th, 29th, and 30th, 1862” (G-281-2), and Judson, “Notes Made by Capt. Judson . . .” Judson’s plan view of the Brawner house and an outbuilding sketched in 1878 does not show any vegetation around the buildings; however, the Warren map, depicting conditions as they might have appeared in 1862, shows a cluster of trees surrounding the house. Because Warren’s primary map of the 1878 surveyed conditions (G-281-1) is missing from the National Archives, a comparison between the two cannot be made. It is reported in the *Stuart’s Hill Tract* report (Morris et al., p. 23) that a portion of Warren’s working map of the battlefield as it appeared in 1878 – a section that may show Brawner Farm – is located in the Warren Special Collection at the New York State Library. That document has not been reviewed for this report.

⁵⁸ Gen. John Gibbon, *Personal Recollections of the Civil War* (reprint, Dayton, Ohio: 1978): 51-52. In Hennessy, *Historical Report on Troop Movements* (Washington, D.C.: USDO, NPS, DSC, NE Team, 1985): 8.

⁵⁹ Warren, “Battle-Grounds of August 28th, 29th, and 30th, 1862.”

⁶⁰ Judson, Book 3 of 4: 5-7.

⁶¹ Judson, Book 3 of 4: 27 and 28.

⁶² This boundary may correspond with the location of a zigzag line of stones within the woods today. An ecologist could probably determine the historic boundary based on the woods' composition. Also, pine and deciduous woods can be distinguished on the 1937 aerial. However, if there was logging after the war, as there might have been, the age of the trees would reflect that later activity. Even with this caution, the Warren map and the 1937 aerial are still a pretty good guide to the original outline of the Brawner Woods.

⁶³ 19th Indiana report, *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune*, September 12, 1862. In Hennessy, *Historical Report on Troop Movements*, 12-13.

⁶⁴ Gibbon's Testimony, U.S. Congress, *Senate Executive Document 37; Proceedings and Report of the Board of Army officers in the Case of Fitz John Porter*, Pt. 2 (Washington, 1979), 274. In Hennessy, *Historical Report on Troop Movements*, 9.

⁶⁵ Hennessy, *Historical Report on Troop Movements*, 12. Hennessy is probably taking this detail from "Letter of Captain Gordon, Quiner," from "Correspondence," Vol. 4: 13.

⁶⁶ Letter of Captain Gordon, Quiner, "Correspondence," Vol. 4: 13. In Hennessy, *Historical Report on Troop Movements*, 12.

⁶⁷ Uberto Burnham to his parents, September 6, 1862, Burnham Papers. In Hennessy, *Historical Report on Troop Movements*, 7.

⁶⁸ Judson, Book 1 of 4: 6 and 43. In Morris et al., 37.

⁶⁹ Judson, Book 3 of 4: 27 and 28. Judson described the tributaries as "[d]eep gully running full in rainy weather" and "[d]eep gully sometimes filled with water." A symbol used for swampy ground is drawn where the two drainages meet.

⁷⁰ Hennessy, *Historical Report on Troop Movements*, 10.

⁷¹ Judson, Book 3 of 4: 40.

⁷² Information from wayside near the pear tree in field 2 on Brawner Farm.

⁷³ Report of Gen. William B. Taliaferro, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 509-510. In Hennessy, *Historical Report on Troop Movements*, 31.

⁷⁴ Taliaferro, *Official Records*, 657.

⁷⁵ Judson, Book 3 of 4: 40 and 34.

⁷⁶ Gibbon, *Personal Recollections of the Civil War*, 54. In Alan Libby, "Landscape [Literature] Survey," compiled for Manassas NBP, 1995. (MNNBP Cultural Resources Office)

⁷⁷ The Warren maps did not show orchards on any of the farms.

⁷⁸ Warren, "Battle-Grounds of August 28th, 29th, and 30th, 1862."

⁷⁹ Jed Hotchkiss, “Sketch Showing Positions of Second Corps, Army of Northern Virginia, August 26 to September 2, 1862,” H109 in Hotchkiss Map Collection, Geography and Maps Division, Library of Congress. Thanks to Regional Archeologist Stephen Potter for this reference.

⁸⁰ Report of Maj. Gen. Thomas Jonathon Jackson, *Official Records*, 645. In Libby, “Landscape [Literature] Survey.” (MNPB Cultural Resources Office)

⁸¹ Taliaferro, *Official Records*, 657.

⁸² Gibbon, *Personal Recollections*, 54. In Libby, “Landscape [Literature] Survey.” (MNPB Cultural Resources Office)

⁸³ F.F. Mangold, “Campaigns in Northern Virginia,” *Papers of F. John Porter*, (microfilm) r-26, 681 or 781 (number cannot be made out), Library of Congress. In Libby, “Landscape [Literature] Survey.” (MNPB Cultural Resources Office)

⁸⁴ The 1880 agricultural census states that there was no orchard production by “p or t,” which probably means “proprietor or tenant.”

⁸⁵ Agricultural Censuses 1850 and 1860. In 1850, only six out of 200 households in the Manassas area reported orchard production. In 1860, for a more limited area, 14 out of 120 households reported orchard production.

⁸⁶ Brawner, War Claim No. 1335.

⁸⁷ Gray, *History of Agriculture*, Vol. II: 825-26.

⁸⁸ Martha McCartney, “The Battle of Drewry’s Bluff in Chesterfield County, Virginia: The Historical Background” (1988): 165. In Laura J. Galke et al., *Cultural Resource Survey and Inventory of a War-Torn Landscape: The Stuart’s Hill Tract, Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia* (Washington, D.C.: USDOJ, NPS, NCR, Regional Archeology Program, 1992): 36ff.

⁸⁹ Susan Dolan, Coordinator, Cultural Landscapes Program, Northwest Region, NPS, e-mails to Judith Earley, August 30, 2001 and March 6, 2002.

⁹⁰ Brawner, Claim No. 1335.

⁹¹ Jack Horan, “Ghost Prairie of the East,” *Nature Conservancy* (July-August 1995): 8-9.

⁹² Belden et al., 10; Horan, 8-9.

⁹³ Gray, *History of Agriculture*, Vol. I: 168.

⁹⁴ One of the practices at this time was to buy young hogs and fatten them up for a year before selling them. Gray, *History of Agriculture*, Vol. II: 839.

⁹⁵ Judson, Book 3 of 4: 27, 28, and 40.

⁹⁶ Corps of Engineers [Map], “Maneuver Grounds, Prince William and Fairfax Counties, Va., Surveyed under the direction of Maj. Edward Burr, Corps of Engineers, by a detachment of the 2nd Battalion of Engineers, June – July 1904,” National Archives, Virginia – P30-1904-21. Portion in Morris et al., Fig. 3.10.

⁹⁷ Aerial, May 1, 1937, FG 119-43. (MNPB Cultural Resources Office)

⁹⁸ DCP/EA., Appendix B – Soils, 47. Soil classification is based on Elder, Jr., *Soils of Prince William County, Virginia*.

⁹⁹ James Burgess, “Review of Draft Brawner Farm Cultural Landscape Report Part 1,” May 14, 2002.

¹⁰⁰ Belden et al., 42.

¹⁰¹ Belden et al., 16. The term “Basic oak-hickory forest” is a classification used by the Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation, Division of Natural Heritage.

¹⁰² Belden et al., 41-42.

¹⁰³ Morris et al., 10.

¹⁰⁴ Morris et al., 11.

¹⁰⁵ 2001 Aerial, Prince William County.

¹⁰⁶ Aerial, 3-31-81, USDA 40, 51153, 178-189. (MNBP Cultural Resources Office)

¹⁰⁷ Belden et al., 9.

¹⁰⁸ Belden et al., 9.

¹⁰⁹ Michael A. Godfrey, *The Piedmont* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1980): 169, 353-54.

¹¹⁰ Bilecki et al., 9, 18; Morris et al., 12.

¹¹¹ Belden et al., 10.

¹¹² Belden et al., 10, 38ff, 55-56.

¹¹³ Bedell, 17.

¹¹⁴ The first appearance of the name “Bachelor’s Hall” in the land tax assessments comes in 1851, the year when the names of estates were first recorded.

¹¹⁵ Potter et al., 4-5.

¹¹⁶ Potter et al., 6; DCP/EA, 11-12.

¹¹⁷ DCP/EA, 11.

¹¹⁸ Potter et al., 4.

¹¹⁹ See Allan G. Noble, *Wood, Brick and Stone: The North American Settlement Landscape, Vol. II: Barns and Farm Structures* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984); John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); and Gabrielle M. Lanier and Bernard L. Herman, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic: Looking at Buildings and Landscapes* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

Vlach studied material documenting the working landscape of the large southern plantation, but the patterns of their buildings and activities likely reflect those of smaller farms as well. Only Lanier and Herman provide specific information on how farm outbuildings would have been grouped around a house.

¹²⁰ Vlach, 77, 10; discussed in Lanier and Herman 58.

¹²¹ Vlach says that cast-iron kettles used for washing clothes and making soap “were standard pieces of equipment” on plantations (p. 34). On wells, see Vlach 36, and Noble, Vol. II: 84.

¹²² Vlach 43-44.

¹²³ Vlach 63, also 65-67; see also Noble, Vol. II.

¹²⁴ Vlach 78-79.

¹²⁵ Vlach 79.

¹²⁶ Noble, Vol. II: 81.

¹²⁷ Vlach 108 11.

¹²⁸ Granaries, Noble, Vol. II: 103-104; corncribs, Noble, Vol. II: 104-108; chicken coops, Noble, Vol. II: 116; hog pens, Noble, Vol. II: 118; sheep, Noble, Vol. II: 117.

¹²⁹ Noble, Vol. II: 117.

¹³⁰ Noble, Vol. II: 117.

¹³¹ Noble, Vol. II: 118.

¹³² Vlach 108 11; 82ff; Noble, Vol. II: 85ff.

¹³³ John M. Hill, "Douglas Hall: Historic Structures Report, Manassas National Battlefield Park" (Manassas National Battlefield Park, 1985): 27.

¹³⁴ Both surveys were written by Janelle Warren-Findlay: "Brawner Shed" and "Brawner Chicken Coop," Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission Survey forms (July 6, 1991); copies on file in CLP Project Files Brawner Farm and Cultural Resource Library, National Capital Region. Warren-Findlay described both as having "no archeological interest."

¹³⁵ The window is described as being in the east elevation, but the attached plan shows it in the west elevation.

¹³⁶ Bedell 13.

¹³⁷ Bedell 13.

¹³⁸ Gray, *History of Agriculture*, Vol. I: 145.

¹³⁹ The Virginia fence was described in 1687 by a visitor, the Rev. John Clayton, in his 'Account of Virginia' as "eight rails of Cloven timber about 9 foot long" which "lie upon one another." (Rev. John Clayton, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* [1968]: 426.) One-hundred-and-fifty years later, another traveler, Englishman William Oliver, described the process of creating such a fence in Illinois. A large tree was felled and cut into ten-foot lengths. Each section was then split into thirty or forty rails. If the tree was taken from bottomland, it could make 150 to 200 heavy rails. (John Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America, 1580 to 1845* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982]: 188.) After the first clearing of land, the second-growth trees undoubtedly yielded fewer rails.

¹⁴⁰ Stilgoe, *Common Landscape*, 189.

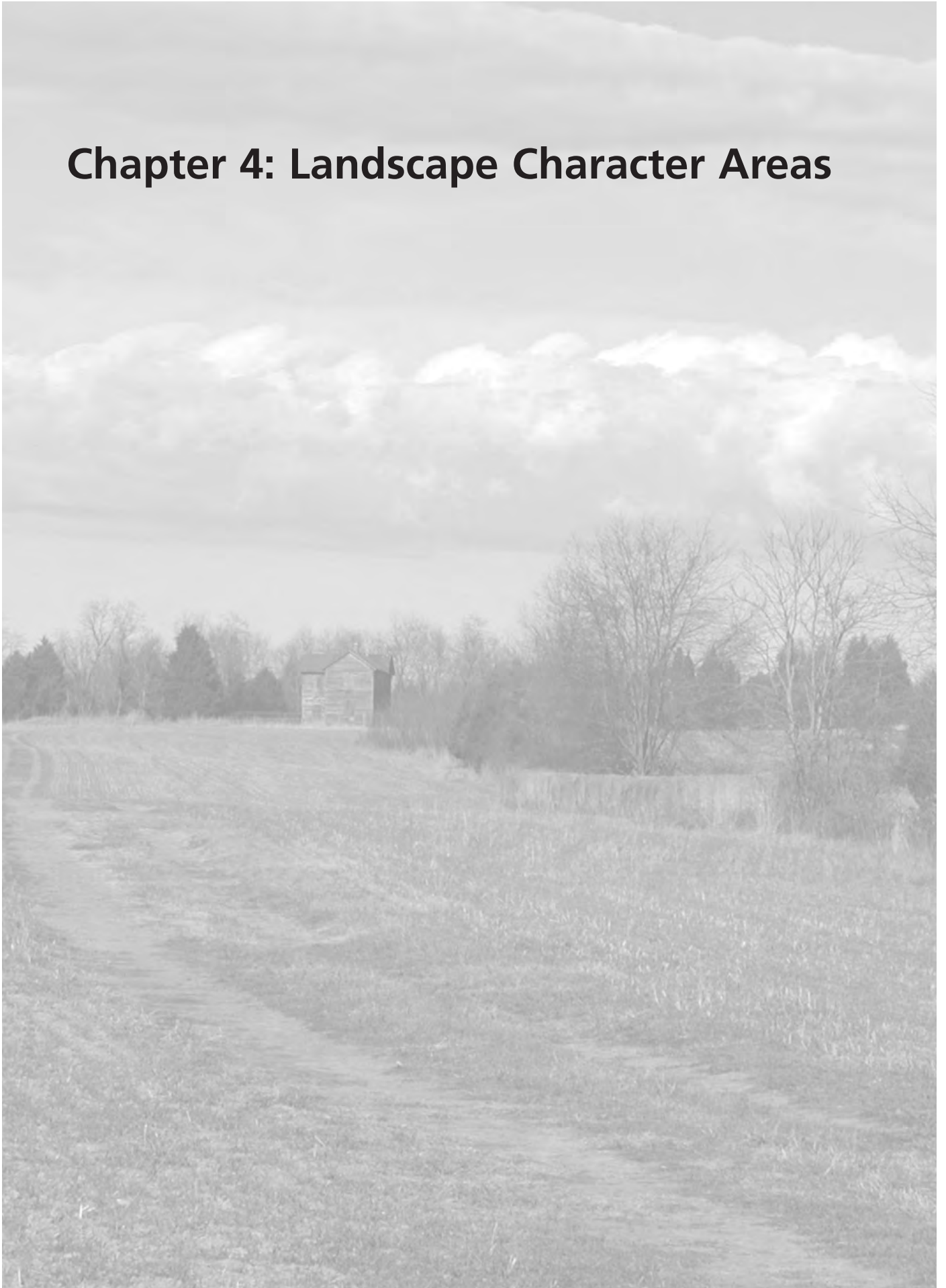
¹⁴¹ Judson, Book 3 of 4: 9.

¹⁴² Noble, Vol. II: 124.

¹⁴³ "Northwest Quadrant CLI," Sec. 4, p. 93.

- ¹⁴⁴ Kathleen A. Parker and Jacqueline L. Hernigle, Portici: *Portrait of a Middling Plantation in Piedmont Virginia, Manassas National Battlefield Park* (USDOI, NPS, 1990): 50.
- ¹⁴⁵ Judson, Book 3 of 4: 28, 39 and 40.
- ¹⁴⁶ Judson, Book 3 of 4: 26.
- ¹⁴⁷ Report of Gen. William B. Taliaferro, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2: 657.
- ¹⁴⁸ Hennessy, *Historical Report on Troop Movements*, 12.
- ¹⁴⁹ William Roby Moore, *Reminiscences*, 109-110. In Libby, “Landscape [Literature] Survey.” (MNBP Cultural Resources Office)
- ¹⁵⁰ Moore, 106. In Libby, “Landscape [Literature] Survey.” (MNBP Cultural Resources Office)
- ¹⁵¹ Reeves, *Stone House*, 4.11.
- ¹⁵² Noble, Vol. II: 131.
- ¹⁵³ Joseph, “Northwest Quadrant CLI,” Sec. 4, p. 116.

Chapter 4: Landscape Character Areas



Landscape Character Areas

The Brawner Farm includes seven landscape character areas (Exhibit F), which are referred to in the Cultural Landscape Report as follows:

- Historic Core (including the farmyard and barnyard, the Brawner Woods, the south end of Stony Ridge, and a field designated, for the purposes of this report, the South Field)
- South Woods
- Confederate Staging Area
- Unfinished Railroad
- West Fields
- Warrenton Turnpike/Route 29 and Pageland Lane

These character areas were determined through analysis of the landscape's physical qualities; historic documents, particularly maps; the existing integrity of landscape features; and the relationships among the areas. They provide a structure for discussing the treatment alternatives.

Historic Core

The Historic Core is the section of Brawner Farm that has the most significance to the Second Battle of Manassas. It includes the area where the military engagement of August 28, 1862, took place, encompassing the farmyard and barnyard. It also encompasses Brawner Woods, through which Union troops marched toward the Confederate batteries; the large sloping field lying south of the house, which also figured in the events of the 28th; and part of Stony Ridge north of the house, high ground used throughout the three-day battle.

FARMYARD AND BARNYARD North, east, and west of the house can be found the remnants of features which made up the historic farmyard and barnyard (which lie adjacent to each other and were separated by the farm road) – the foundations and footings of outbuildings, and the remnants of fencelines that probably formed a rectangular enclosure surrounding the farmyard and barnyard. Several fencelines of the enclosure are extant, and had probably continued in use through at least the mid-twentieth century.

Intense fighting on the evening of August 28 took place near and within the yard areas. Today, the land between the house and the remains of the barn lies open, crossed by interpretive trails and former farm roads, while the fencelines of the enclosure have grown up in trees.

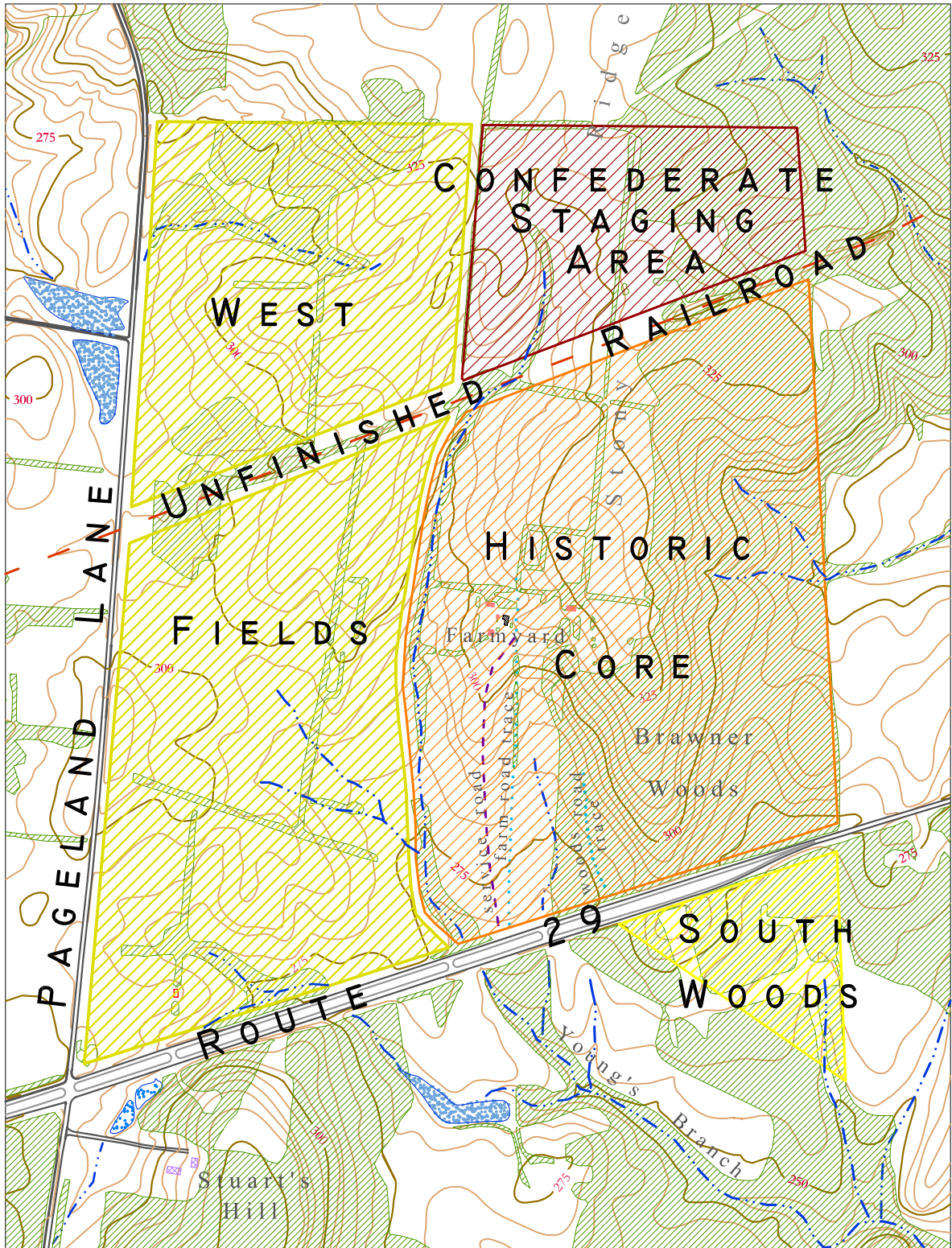


EXHIBIT F: LANDSCAPE CHARACTER AREAS

BRAWNER WOODS Located in the southeast corner of the property is the Brawner Woods, bordered on the south by Warrenton Turnpike (Route 29, Lee Highway). Today the woods have expanded beyond the limits of the historic woodlot, particularly to the north, and there likely was some logging in them after the war. However, various characteristics of the existing woodland help to delineate the location of the historic woodlot: the ages of the tree; the species composition; and the arrangement of stones within the woods, which reflect the historic locations of fences and former pastureland. The 1878 Warren maps and later aerial photographs are also important keys to reading the historic boundaries of the woods.

Brawner Woods served to conceal the Union troops as they advanced toward Stony Ridge and the Confederate forces, and to cover them as they retreated from the battle. The Union troops followed a farm road through Brawner Woods. Today, the distinct trace of an old road, running north from Warrenton Turnpike, can be found just inside the western boundary of the woods.

Brawner Woods is recognized in Virginia's Natural Heritage Inventory as a basic oak-hickory forest community, which is uncommon to rare in Virginia and highly threatened by destruction because of development in its primary range, Northern Virginia.¹

STONY RIDGE This landform broadens out northeast of Brawner Farm, lying between Featherbed Lane (Groveton Road) on the east and Catharpin Run on the north and west. The grade of the Unfinished Railroad, for the most part, runs along the southeastern foot of the formation. On August 28, 1862, Stonewall Jackson massed his forces on Stony Ridge, in an area that extended from Brawner Farm east to Sudley Church, awaiting an opportunity to engage the approaching Federals in battle. Throughout the three-day duration of the Second Battle of Manassas, Stonewall Jackson's forces were largely concentrated and regrouped within the cover of the woods on Stony Ridge, with his front positioned along the Unfinished Railroad during much of the battle.

The southern spur of Stony Ridge – referred to sometimes as Douglas Heights – is the high ground running along the east side of the Brawner Farm. At the onset of the battle of August 28, Union forces approached the Confederates, climbing the gentle southern slope of the ridge. Their view was limited by the crest of a small east-west spur. The battlefield of that evening extended from west of the house, across the barnyard, down the east slope of Stony Ridge, and onto the neighboring farm of Lucinda Dogan.

The next morning, the guns of Maj. L. M. Shumaker's artillery battalion were in place on the Brawner Farm behind the Unfinished Railroad. This was about the location from which Taliaferro's division began their advance on King's column, opening the battle of the previous evening. When Union Capt. James H. Cooper moved his guns from south of the turnpike to the high ground northeast of the Brawner house to support Reynolds' and Schenck's westward advance south of the turnpike, they were fired upon by Shumaker. Union and Confederate batteries engaged in a half-hour

duel, ending with the Union battery being driven south of the turnpike. Later that day, the Washington Artillery under Maj. J. B. Walton lined up along the same ridge on Brawner Farm.

The Stony Ridge position was even more important the next day. The heavy concentration of firepower from the massed batteries of Cols. S. Crutchfield and S. D. Lee was largely responsible for the repulse of Fitz John Porter's assault on Jackson's line. Stretched out for a quarter mile along the ridge, S. D. Lee's 18-cannon battery had a clear view to the east. When Porter's troops advanced from Groveton Woods into the Dogan fields on the afternoon of the 30th, Lee's guns shelled them persistently, devastating the Union troops as they attempted to break through Jackson's line. Southeast of Lee's guns, Capt. William Henry Chapman's Dixie Artillery contributed enfilade fire from Battery Heights on the Dogan farm.

SOUTH FIELD The large field sloping south from the farmhouse to Warrenton Turnpike is defined by Brawner Woods on the east, the Youngs Branch headwaters tributary on the west, and by a slight but abrupt rise in elevation to the north, just south of the Brawner house. Running through the center of this field are the historic road trace leading to the farmhouse and the fields beyond (abandoned sometime in the mid-twentieth century and now overgrown with vegetation), and a modern unpaved service road/pedestrian trail. The south field is one of the Brawner Farm fields managed under a hay lease.

South Woods

The term South Woods is used in this report to refer to the triangular area of woods extending south of Warrenton Turnpike. Originally this land formed part of the Brawner Farm (Douglas) tract, and the woods were contiguous with Brawner Woods, although divided by the turnpike. Apparently the Davis family sold this parcel to the Marriott Corporation in the 1970s. It was acquired by the National Park Service as part of the Stuart's Hill Tract in 1988.

These woods played a role in the Second Battle of Manassas, providing cover for both Confederate and Union forces during different actions on all three days of the battle.² When initial development work for the William Center was undertaken in the late 1980s, there was significant tree cutting and re-shaping of land in some areas of this woodland.

Confederate Staging Area

On the morning of August 28, 1862, Gen. Jackson concentrated his troops on the high ground of Stony Ridge, north of the Unfinished Railroad. They occupied an area that stretched to the northeast from north of Brawner Farm to Sudley Church, about a mile and a half away. From these staging grounds, troops and artillery were deployed to various positions during the three days of the battle. On the late afternoon of August 28th Confederate infantry moved south on Stony Ridge, hiding themselves in the last bits of the dense woods, until emerging into the open fields of Brawner Farm. Today the northeast corner of the farm is about equally divided between open land and successional woods. Within the woods, on the north boundary of the property, runs a line of very old oaks – possibly 200 years old or more.

Unfinished Railroad

Running diagonally through the northern half of the Brawner Farm tract is the unfinished grade of the Manassas Gap Independent rail line. After four years of construction in the 1850s, the grade was abandoned. For a part of its length on the Brawner Farm, the grade takes the form of a cut, especially on the eastern side, which in some places is ten or more feet deep. There is no evidence of the grade where it crosses Stony Ridge, just west of this cut, where an even deeper cut would have been required. At least some of the stone for construction of the grade was taken from a quarry on the farm. Today, much of the grade is overgrown with cedars and other successional vegetation. At the crook of the Youngs Branch headwaters, just north of where the Unfinished Railroad crosses the stream, is a vernal pool, site of another significant natural plant community.

East of the Brawner tract, Confederate forces used the grade as a fortification during the battle on August 29 and 30, 1862.

West Fields

The west half of the Brawner farm, an area bounded on the west by Pageland Lane and on the east (for the most part) by the Youngs Branch headwaters tributary, is covered by fields that are separated by fencerows and small areas of successional woodlands. Most of these fencelines can be seen on the 1937 aerial photograph, and it is probable that they mark the edges of fields established before the Civil War. The west fields are kept open by mowing on a variable schedule, every two to four years. The historic quarry, which supplied building material for the Unfinished Railroad grade, is located within the West Fields, south of the railroad grade and near Pageland Lane, and is today largely hidden within a patch of successional woods.

Although not part of the historic Brawner (Douglas) farm, the southwest corner of the CLR study area is a tract of about 46 acres, which belonged to William Cundiff during the Civil War and was sold by Dorothy Abbott to the National Park Service in 1985. The CLR refers to this land as the “Swart tract,” after a post-Civil War owner. A twentieth-century cemetery of the Swart family remains on the property and is privately managed.

A colony of hairy beardtongue (*Penstemon hirsutus*) spreads across a large section of the Swart tract and extends north into the Brawner tract. This colony and a few others within the park constitute “Virginia’s largest and most viable population” of the plant.³ Another colony of a plant rare in Virginia, marsh hedgenettle (*Stachys pilosa* var. *arenicola*), occurs in the vicinity of the Unfinished Railroad, near Pageland Lane.

Warrenton Turnpike/Route 29 and Pageland Lane

When the battle opened on August 28, 1862, Gen. Rufus King’s Union division was moving east along the Warrenton Turnpike in the direction of Centreville when fired upon by Stonewall Jackson’s forces from their positions north of the turnpike. Throughout the days of battle that ensued, the turnpike “provided the path for the Federals’ lateral movements and defined the line of battle from which they advanced to the north.”⁴

Pageland Lane also figured in the battle. King's division (following that of Gen. John F. Reynolds) had initially turned south onto Pageland Lane under orders to march on Manassas Junction. Upon receiving new orders directing it to Centreville, it counter-marched back to the turnpike where the Confederates opened fire. In the middle of the night after that opening battle, King's division withdrew south toward Manassas Junction. Some traveled Pageland Lane to the junction, while others used a farm lane south of Brawner Woods. On the 29th, prior to Gen. James Longstreet's arrival, the Confederates held positions near and moved along Pageland Lane: the brigades of Brig. Gen. Jubal Early and Col. Henry Forno occupied a ridge west of Pageland Lane and north of the turnpike, where they covered Jackson's right flank; Confederate skirmishers of the 13th and 31st Virginia were deployed south of the turnpike and used Pageland to advance and retreat from this position; and Confederate Capt. J. R. Johnson's battery was deployed near the railroad embankment along Pageland Lane. Robert E. Lee was within the turnpike corridor in the vicinity of Pageland Lane when he was grazed by a sharpshooter's bullet on his arrival on the field that morning.

Both roads have been paved, and Warrenton Turnpike, where it runs by Brawner Farm, has been widened from two lanes to four, with two lanes in each direction separated by a median. The westbound lanes correspond to the original alignment. Warrenton Turnpike is today known as both Route 29 and Lee Highway.

Endnotes, Chapter 4: Landscape Character Areas

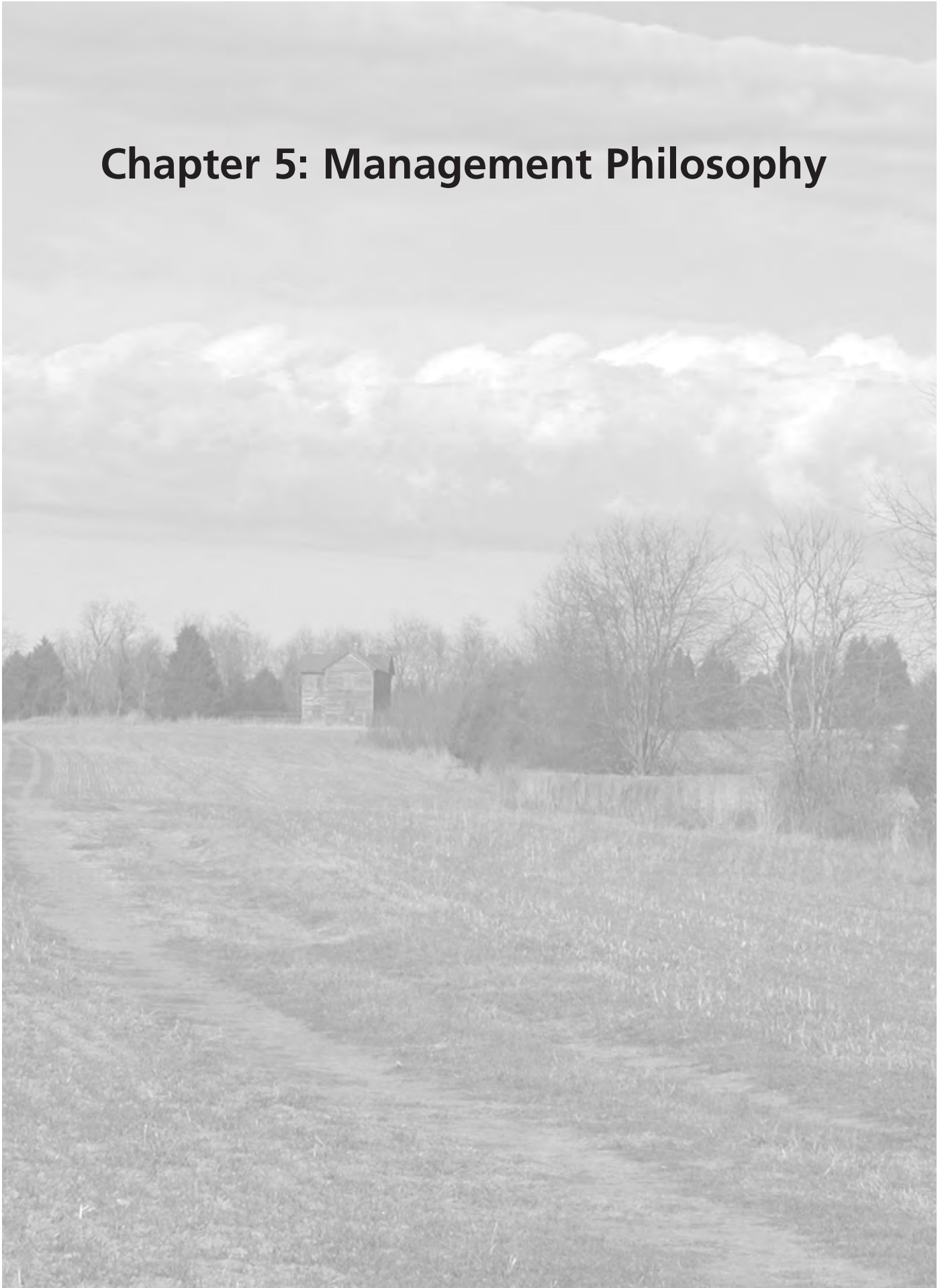
¹ Belden 41.

² Morris 72.

³ Belden 40.

⁴ Morris 74.

Chapter 5: Management Philosophy



Management Issues and General Recommendations

A number of issues and recommendations are applicable to all of the alternative treatments proposed and to the chosen treatment. These are presented below, followed by a discussion of preservation strategies and three alternative preservation treatments.

Farmyard and Barnyard

ARCHEOLOGY Any treatment will be predicated on archeological investigation of the farmyard and barnyard area

BUILDING REMAINS For the most part, building remains – including foundation rubble and footing stones – should be allowed to stay as they are. Their locations should be recorded either through topographic survey, archeological survey, or by Global Positioning System (GPS) data collection. They should be protected from mowing damage.

CIRCULATION It is recommended that a simple circulation system be constructed, consisting of a wheelchair accessible trail from the new parking lot to the house. Existing interpretive trails pass near the east side of the house. The connection from the house to the interpretive trails should be made clear with appropriate signage. Visitors will be able to move within the yard areas, which will be maintained as mown grass, without additional trails being delineated. Some areas within the yard may need more frequent and some less frequent mowing.

FARM MACHINERY Since the twentieth-century farming activity of the site is not part of the interpretive focus, the several pieces of farm machinery still lying about the yard and in the fencerows should be removed. If possible, the artifacts should be contributed to an agricultural history museum.

TRASH SITES All trash sites should be cleared, following approval by the regional archeologist.

VEGETATION, GENERAL Before any clearing is done in the yard, it would be useful to have the vegetation surveyed and mapped, identifying the species and, if possible, the age of certain specimens. Core samples could be taken from one or two of the largest black locust trees.

Fencelines/Fencerows

Trees have grown up along most historic fencelines so thickly that in many places they are more accurately called “fencerows,” but for ease of discussion they are referred to here most frequently as “fencelines” or as “vegetation along fencelines.” Fencelines within the historic core will generally be thinned of vegetation and in some places cleared. Park staff will decide where the most important views are located and what amount of vegetation should be removed. Fencelines that seem clearly to derive from after the Civil War, such as those that surround the post-Civil War orchard, should be removed (except in Alternative 1).

Certain fencelines outside the historic core may also need to be thinned or cleared of vegetation. Selective clearing along the fenceline and stream west of the house should be undertaken so that the house may be visible from the trailhead near the parking area. Very limited clearing may also be undertaken in the vicinity of the parking lot so that the view to the west toward Bull Run Mountain and Thoroughfare Gap can be obtained. In general, vegetation in the fencelines outside the Historic Core does not need to be thinned; however, it should not be allowed to encroach further into fields.

STONES IN FENCELINES Where they occur in fencelines, stones provide valuable evidence of the farm's history, and were almost certainly in place at the time of the Civil War. Owing to the soil and geological character of the Historic Core, the majority of such stone is found along the fencelines in that section of the property. Stones show where fences may have been located at the time of the battle. In a sense, they constitute above-ground archeological evidence, and should be moved only if necessary, after careful recording.

Fields

WITHIN HISTORIC CORE Management of land that is opened up as the result of woodland cutting needs to be considered in conjunction with plans for clearing. Some fields that currently border woods where cutting is planned contain well-established stands of native grass. Management of the clearings should not jeopardize these communities. Since the new open land will probably be maintained as hayfields, pasture, or grassland, ways that will favor the establishment of naturally occurring native grasses should be explored.

OUTSIDE HISTORIC CORE Successional vegetation should not be allowed to encroach on open areas. Current boundaries should be maintained by mowing or other means.

The Swart family cemetery should be left as it is.

Significant and Rare Plants

Significant and rare plants, both communities and individual species, found in the fields and woods of the Brawner Farm site should be protected. These communities include the basic oak-hickory forest of about 35 acres in Brawner Woods, and the rare plant species described in the previous chapter. In addition, some of the fields on the Brawner Farm are striking examples of native grass associations, such as the Indian grass (*Sorghastrum nutans*)-little bluestem (*Schizachyrium scoparium*) association found on Stony Ridge. Management that favors the vitality of these grasses, such as the current mowing practice, should be continued.

Planting at proposed parking lot and along new entrance road

It may be necessary to plant vegetation in the disturbed ground surrounding the new parking lot and along the new entrance road. If so, it is recommended that plants be chosen from among those presently found on the site and planted in a way that does not stand out from the existing vegetative character.

Woodlands

ARCHEOLOGY The wooded areas on Brawner Farm and the former Lucinda Dogan farm have not been professionally surveyed for archeological resources. It is likely that features related to the battle (artifacts, battlefield burials, and other features) exist within the woods. It is also probable that prehistoric archeological resources exist in these areas. Prior to any woodland restoration, an archeological identification and evaluation study must be conducted. Consultation with the Regional Archeologist and the concurrence of the Virginia State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) are necessary in determining the extent of this investigation.

MAINTENANCE As woodlands are cleared, the land will be temporarily destabilized, a condition under which invasive plants can easily become established and soil erosion occur. It is recommended that an interdisciplinary team that may include a plant ecologist, a forester, a native plant specialist, a soil scientist, an archeologist, and a landscape architect analyze a site in advance of clearing to ensure that resources are protected and that future maintenance is fully addressed.

EXTENT OF HISTORIC WOODLAND AND LOCATION OF FENCELINES With the documentary evidence that is available, a more scientific attempt should be made to establish where the edges of the historic wooded areas are. The historic edges could then be recorded. Fenceline remains may be found along the historic edges of the woods and should be also be mapped and documented. Some record has been made of these features in the field work conducted for this report, but more precise mapping through Global Positioning System (GPS) is recommended.

STONES IN BRAWNER WOODS The lines and piles of stones in Brawner Woods reflect historic patterns of agricultural use, respectively indicating the position of worm fences and the location of pasture or areas for foraging animals, such as pigs. The stones should be treated as contributing features and not moved or otherwise disturbed. They should be photographed and their locations recorded with GPS. The woods also contain areas of naturally occurring undisturbed stone. If woodland clearance is to occur on ground with loose stone and outcroppings, future land management must be considered. It would be useful to map such areas using GPS before clearing.

TRASH SITES For the safety of visitors, all trash in woodlands should be removed, following approval by the regional archeologist.

WOODS ROAD TRACE The alignment of the historic road trace within the Brawner Woods should be recorded using GPS. Its location on CLR maps is only an approximation. The assistance of the regional archeologist may be needed to confirm the road's location. Any tree clearance within the trace should take into consideration its affect on such faint earthen remains.

Youngs Branch and Other Tributary Streams and Drainage Swales

Some woodland and vista clearing may expose the banks of streams. The park will need to follow all guidance regarding watershed protection in these areas. Because trees will naturally recur (some will sprout from stumps and others come up from seed), repeated efforts at clearing will be required. The effect of these activities on water quality should be taken into consideration in defining the extent of clearing.

Archeological Recommendations

Archeological investigation in 2003-2004 has revealed a great deal more information about the extant house and the surrounding yard areas, particularly north and west of the house. The Cultural Landscape Report recommends continued archeological investigation in and around the yard areas to try to discover the following, if possible:

- location of fencelines (particularly southern one) that defined farmyard and barnyard historically
- location and extent of orchard
- age of collapsed barn

It is also recommended that the regional archeologist be consulted about the preservation of archeological resources before woodland clearance begins.

Preservation Strategies

Three treatment alternatives for Brawner Farm have been drawn up. They involve progressively greater levels of intervention within the Historic Core, primarily with regard to the clearing of woodlands. The Historic Core is the focus of treatment because it contains both the most significant and the most numerous historic features. Outside of the core area, less intervention is desired. The approach in those areas is generally one of preservation.

In developing these alternatives, the project team followed the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* (National Park Service, 1996. See also *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, NPS, 1995). The guidelines present the standards for four different treatments of landscapes that are listed in or eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places: preservation, rehabilitation, restoration, and reconstruction.

PRESERVATION *The act or process of applying measures necessary to sustain the existing form, integrity, and materials of an historic property. Work, including preliminary measures to protect and stabilize the property, generally focuses upon the ongoing maintenance and repair of historic materials and features rather than extensive replacement and new construction.*

Preservation is the treatment that allows for retention of changes that have occurred over time, accepting such features as the Brawner farmhouse, which was largely rebuilt c. 1905. The preservation option would stabilize the Brawner Farm site at its current level of integrity. Structures would be stabilized, and there would be some limited removal of vegetation. The most recent expansion of Brawner Woods and other woodlands into adjacent fields would be cleared. Current field patterns would be maintained by preventing woods from encroaching on them, and fencelines would be kept in their current form, generally as fencerows. The existing entrance road from Route 29 (historic Warrenton Turnpike) would be retained.

REHABILITATION *The act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations, and additions while preserving those portions or features which convey its historical, cultural, or architectural values.*

Rehabilitation is the strategy that addresses issues of use. It allows for alterations and additions that could be made to the site to serve current needs; the proposed access road that will bring the public closer to the house and battlefield is considered a rehabilitation of the site. As with the preservation treatment, rehabilitation also accommodates changes that have been made over time. It is the treatment that has already been selected to guide work on the Brawner farmhouse. The restoration of certain features to better interpret a site can be carried out under a treatment program that is understood to be primarily one of rehabilitation.

RESTORATION *The act or process of accurately depicting the form, features, and character of a property as it appeared at a particular period of time by means of the removal of features from other periods in its history and the reconstruction of missing features from the restoration period.*

If applied as a primary strategy, the restoration option would require the removal of the farmhouse, returning Brawner Woods and other wooded areas to their historic configurations, and the removal of trees from fencelines. Features such as the Civil War-era orchard would be re-created if archeology or other research yielded sufficient information. Fences could be restored in more areas as open land replaces woodland.

RECONSTRUCTION *The act or process of depicting, by means of new construction, the form, features, and detailing of a non-surviving site, landscape, building, structure, or object for the purpose of replicating its appearance at a specific period of time and in its historic location.*

There is not enough evidence to make reconstruction a realistic option for treatment of the Brawner Farm. In addition, it is a treatment no longer favored for buildings and is rarely, if ever, used for large land areas, though it is sometimes used for features.

Alternative Treatment Proposals

The strategies presented as Alternatives 1, 2, and 3 (Exhibits G, H, and I) can be understood as combining elements of preservation, rehabilitation and restoration. The major differences between the three alternatives have to do with the amount of woods cleared and the treatment of historic fencelines. There are no differences with respect to the location of the new access road and path from the parking lot to the house. (A Values Analysis session in 2002 concluded that an entrance road off Pageland Lane would be preferred to one off Route 29, which was one of the alignments discussed in the 1989 draft Development Concept Plan.) The treatments of the farmyard and nearby fencelines vary to some degree among the three alternatives. The first alternative does not recommend restoration of the orchard or of the historic farm road. The amount of vegetation thinned or cleared along certain fencelines is progressively increased with each alternative.

Alternative 1. Preservation: Minimal Cutting

Under the alternative of minimal cutting, woodland clearing would be limited to the recent successional growth along the western edge of Brawner Woods and its northern extension. This edge, which has extended into the adjacent fields, generally comprises cedars and pines. Fencelines within the Historic Core would be thinned on a case by case basis. Vegetation in the yard and barnyard would be removed judiciously, leaving some. The thicket that has grown up around the mid-twentieth-century orchard site south of the barn would be cleared, along with the dead orchard trees. The fencelines marking the large post-Civil War orchard site north of the barn would be retained, but the thicket and dead fruit trees that mark the mid-twentieth-century orchard would be removed. Vegetation in the old road trace would be controlled but not removed, leaving the line of vegetation as a marker of the road's location. The present unpaved road to the house from Route 29 would be retained to allow access by park personnel and agricultural lease holders. Fences would be restored where possible, for instance along Route 29, and along the east and west sides of Brawner Woods. Retention of more fenceline vegetation than in the succeeding alternatives would limit the re-introduction of fences, even around the farm and barn yards.

Alternative 2. Rehabilitation: Partial Clearance

More cutting of woods in this scenario would create greater visibility across the battlefield of August 28, 1862. Trees would be cut on the upper slopes of the area north of the historic Brawner Woods, revealing more of the battlefield. The smaller historic woodlands to the north of Brawner Woods would be kept as woodland and the feeder tributaries to Dogan Branch would retain a wide swath of trees.

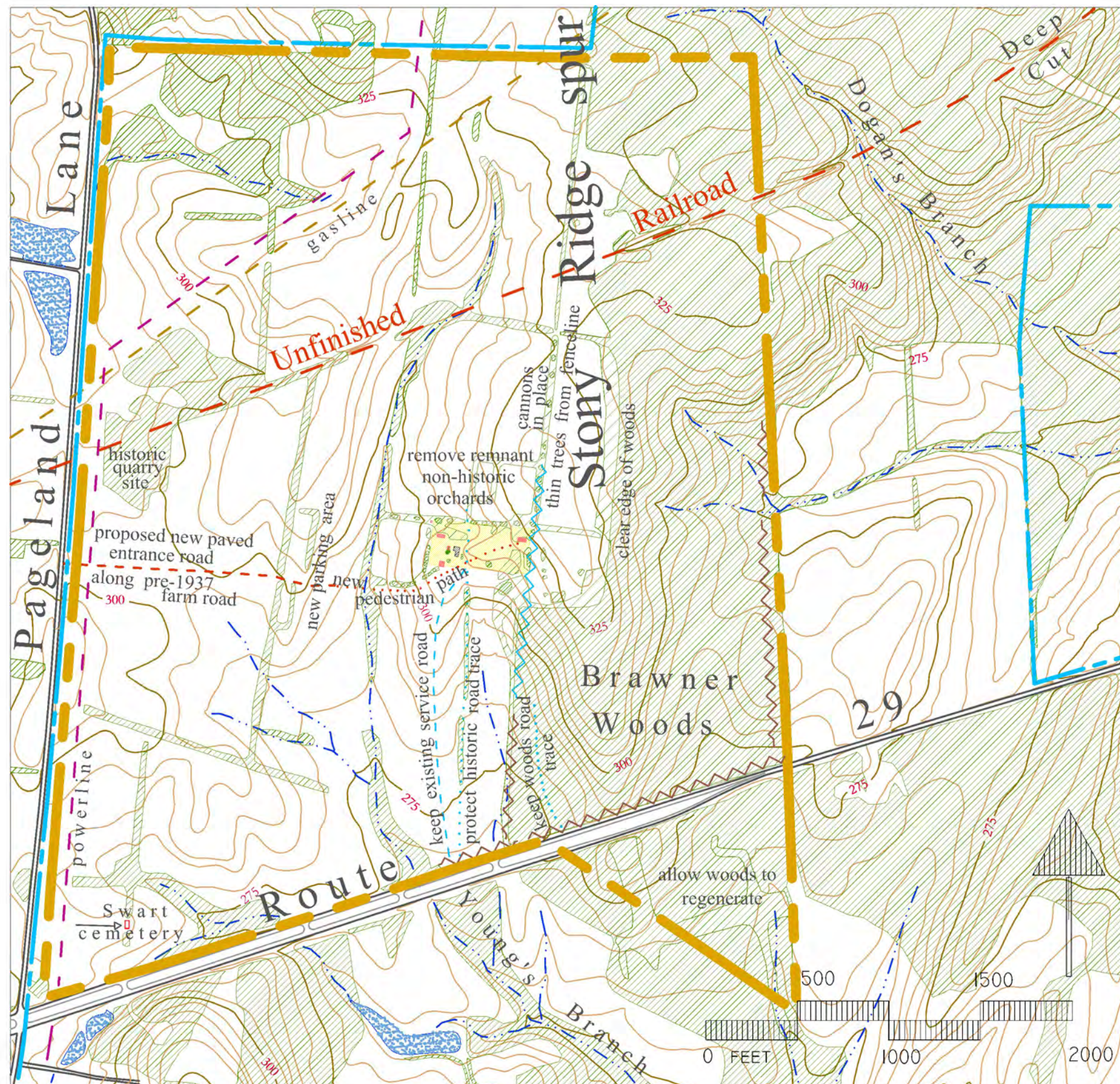
Fencelines within the Historic Core, now thick with trees and other vegetation, would also be thinned but with less restraint than is required for Alternative 1. The yard would be selectively cleared, leaving some vegetation, and the two orchard sites would be totally cleared. Historic fences would be restored in their original locations where possible. Differing from Alternative 1, vegetation would be removed from the road trace to allow it to be recognized as a farm road, and it would be returned to use as a service road. The antebellum orchard could be restored.

Alternative 3. Rehabilitation: Greater Clearance

This treatment differs from Alternative 2 mainly in the amount of woodland that would be cleared, with the aim of more closely replicating the pattern of woods and fields depicted in the 1878 Warren maps and the supporting survey material. As in the previous treatment, streams and their tributaries would retain a buffer, which in some cases might be other, lower-growing vegetation besides trees. Because of the greater clearance, additional historic fences could be restored.

Treatment of the yard would be much the same as in the preceding alternative. Fencelines would be cleared to a greater degree than in Alternative 2. The antebellum orchard could be restored under this scenario as well.

The benefit of this alternative is that it would greatly expand the view to the Lucinda Dogan farm, vital to the second Manassas battle; return Brawner Woods almost to its historic configuration; and open up views to the Brawner farmyard from a number of vantage points.



Brawner Farm

Manassas National Battlefield Park

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LEGEND

	BRAWNER FARM STUDY BOUNDARY		WORM FENCES (JUDSON NOTEBOOKS)
	PARK BOUNDARY		WORM FENCES (FIELD OBSERVATION 2002)
	STREAMS		WOODED AREAS RETAINED
	FARMYARD		WOODED AREAS CLEARED
	REMAINS OF FARM STRUCTURES		FENCEROWS CLEARED, LEAVING SOME TREES
	FARMHOUSE (BRAWNER HOUSE)		

EXHIBIT G

ALTERNATIVE 1

Alternative 1 is the most minimal of the alternative treatments. Features primarily are preserved and some are restored. The woods would be cleared only along the western edge. Trees along historic fencelines would be removed selectively, but in fewer number than in Alternatives 2 and 3. Clearing within the yard would be minimal. Trees would remain growing in the farm entrance road trace. The disturbed woodland south of Route 29 would be allowed to regenerate naturally. Fences for which there is evidence could be restored, but minimal woodland and fencerow clearance would limit the restoration. Topography and extent of current woodland are taken from Prince William County Office of Mapping and Information.

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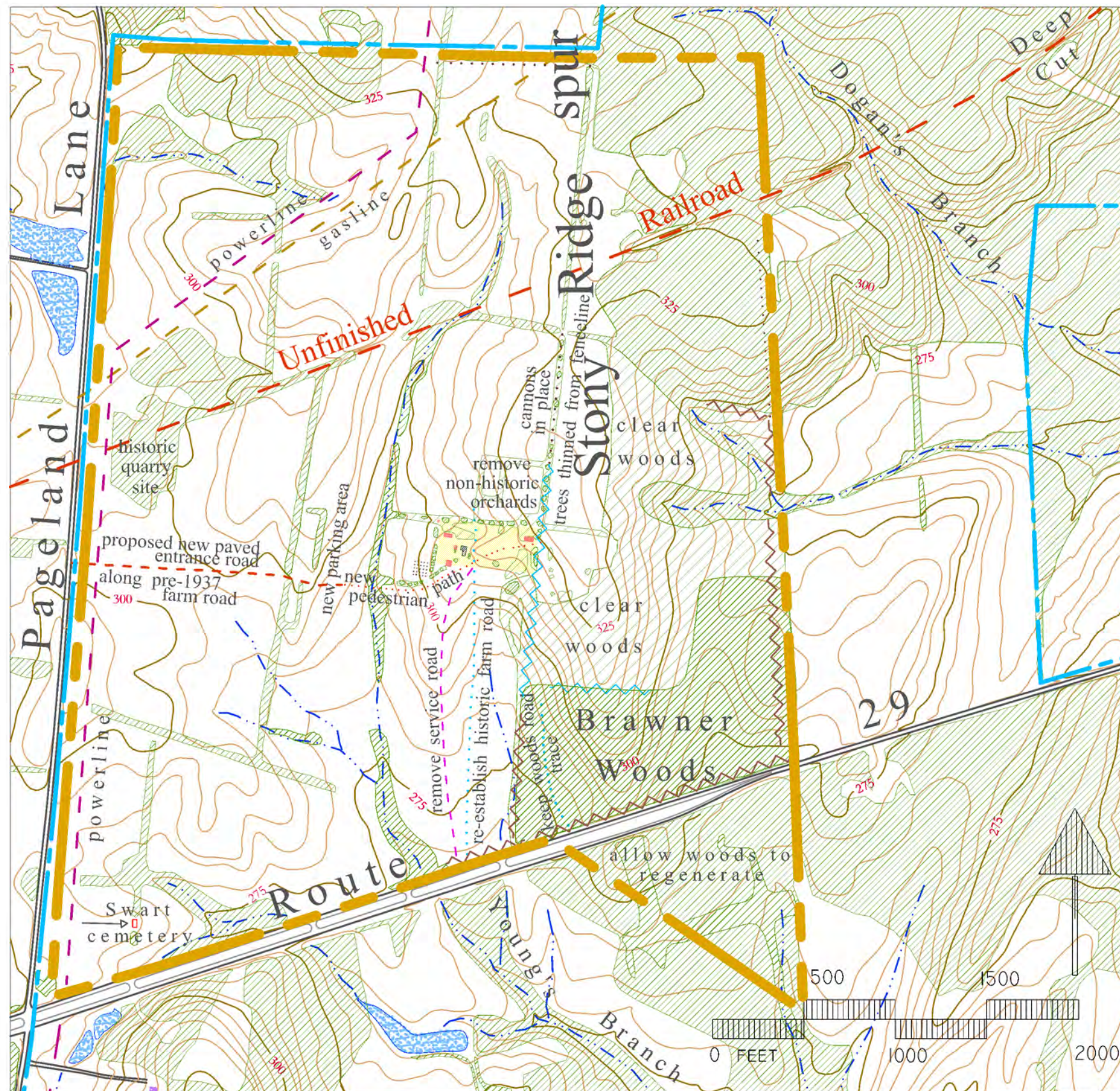
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR --- NATIONAL PARK SERVICE



- | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
|  | BRAWNER FARM STUDY BOUNDARY |  | WORM FENCES (JUDSON NOTEBOOKS) |
|  | PARK BOUNDARY |  | WORM FENCES (FIELD OBSERVATION 2002) |
|  | STREAMS |  | WOODED AREAS RETAINED |
|  | FARMYARD |  | WOODED AREAS CLEARED |
|  | REMAINS OF FARM STRUCTURES |  | FENCEROWS CLEARED, LEAVING SOME TREES |
|  | FARMHOUSE (BRAWNER HOUSE) |  | POSSIBLE REPLANTED ORCHARD |

In this treatment more woodland would be cleared, revealing more of the configuration of Brawner Woods that existed in 1860, but leaving streams buffered and all woods connected. Trees in historic fencelines near the primary battlefield area would be selectively removed. The disturbed woodland south of Route 29 would be allowed to regenerate. Fences recorded in Judson's notebooks and other historic fences for which there is evidence would be restored, where possible. Restoration of fences around house and barnyard would depend on archeological results and might be an interpretation. Topography and extent of current woodland are taken from Prince William County Office of Mapping and Information.

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Brawner Farm

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LEGEND

	BRAWNER FARM STUDY BOUNDARY		WORM FENCES (JUDSON NOTEBOOKS)
	PARK BOUNDARY		WORM FENCES (FIELD OBSERVATION 2002)
	STREAMS		HISTORIC FENCE, TYPE UNKNOWN (PROBABLY WORM)
	FARMYARD		WOODED AREAS RETAINED
	REMAINS OF FARM STRUCTURES		WOODED AREAS CLEARED
	FARMHOUSE (BRAWNER HOUSE)		FENCEROWS CLEARED, LEAVING SOME TREES
	POSSIBLE REPLANTED ORCHARD		

EXHIBIT 1

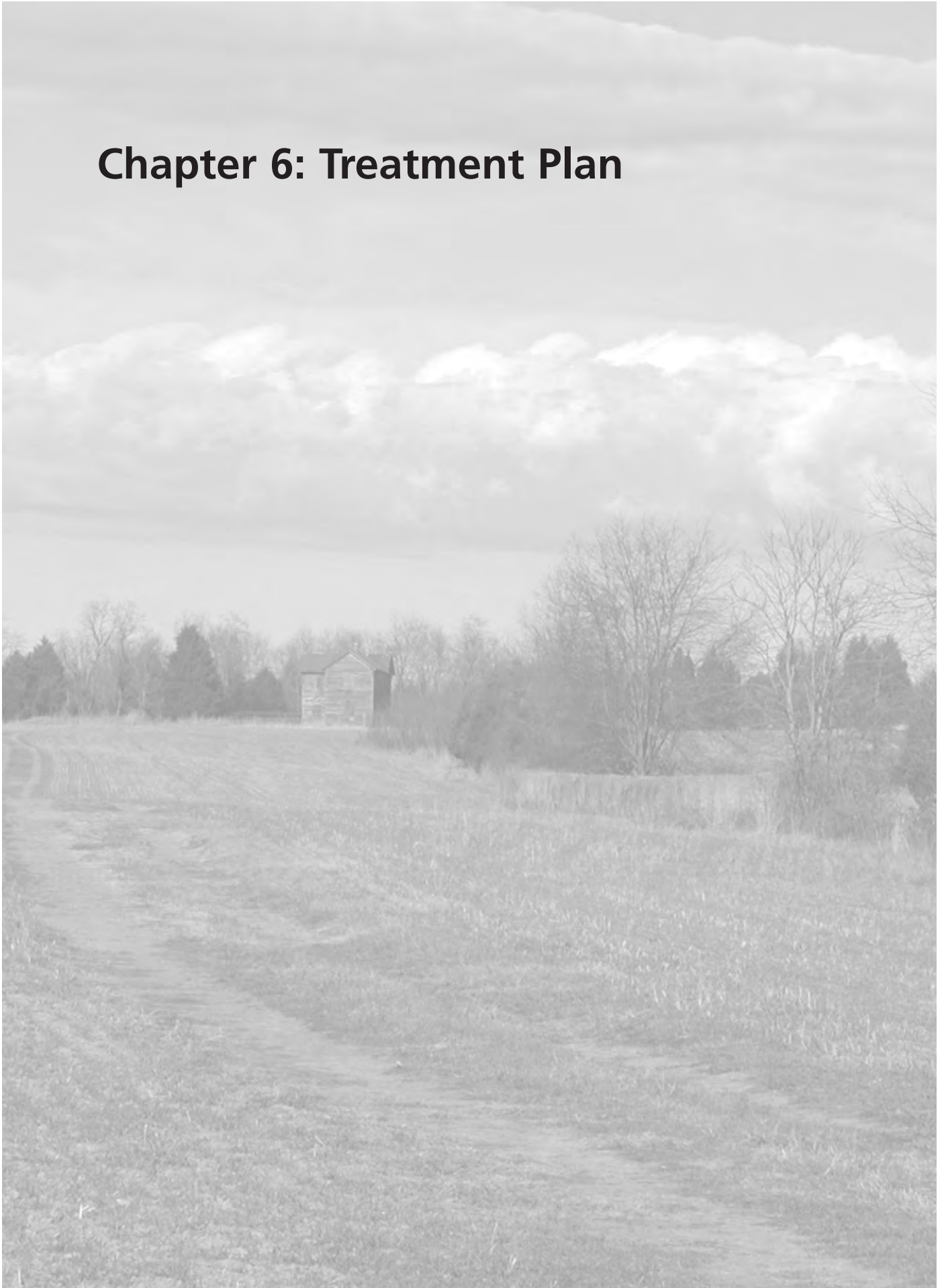
ALTERNATIVE 3

This treatment would clear the most woods of any of the alternatives, exposing more of the battlefield of August 28, 1862. A wooded buffer along streams and the small patches of woods seen in the Warren maps and in Judson's notes (1878) would be retained. Trees in historic fencelines near the primary battlefield area on Brawner Farm would be selectively removed or cleared. Disturbed woods south of Route 29 would be allowed to regenerate. Fences recorded in Judson's notebooks and other historic fences for which there is evidence would be restored where possible. Restoration of fences around house and barnyard would depend on archeological evidence; lacking evidence, newly constructed fences would be an interpretation and not a restoration. Topography and extent of current woodland are taken from Prince William County Office of Mapping and Information.

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Chapter 6: Treatment Plan



Treatment Plan

The three alternative treatments address the area within the Brawner Farm project boundary, but the battle of August 28, 1862 did not observe such a boundary. The line of battle that evening extended east from the Brawner farmhouse across the southern edge of Stony Ridge, through the low ground lying along the eastern boundary of the farm, and up the next hill, where the fields and pastures of the Lucinda Dogan farm were situated.

Since neither the extended battlefield of August 28, 1862, nor the role of the Brawner Farm in the succeeding days of battle, were fully addressed in the three treatment alternatives, the treatment plan has been broadened to consider the adjacent land to the east – land that was part of the Lucinda Dogan farm at the time of the battle. The maps prepared for this chapter show where woods should be cleared on what was Lucinda Dogan’s land in order to more closely replicate the historic battlefield. No other historic characteristics of the Dogan land are addressed in this report.

The Extended Battlefield and the Lucinda Dogan Farm

The best depiction of the pattern of woods and fields in the Manassas area at the time of the battle is found in the 1878 G. K. Warren map, “Battle-Grounds of August 28th, 29th, and 30th, 1862.” (See Figure 29) The survey notes of J. A. Judson, Warren’s associate, supplement what is shown on the Warren map. W. G. Atkinson’s “Map of the Battle-Fields of Manassas and the Surrounding Region,” drawn up for the first Battle of Manassas in 1861, illustrates other parts of the battlefield. These documents are limited in several ways: the Warren and Judson materials are not very informative about the extent of the woods north and west of the Unfinished Railroad and do not depict the west side of Brawner Farm. The Atkinson map treats woods and fields in detail, and shows the extent of the woods north of the railroad, but it does not show the Brawner Farm at all. Nevertheless, these are the best sources for trying to define the patterns and extent of the woods and fields on the Brawner and Dogan farms in 1862. These documents have been used to create Exhibit J, in which the probable locations of the historic woods and fields have been overlaid on the existing pattern of open fields and woodland.

The Warren map shows a woodland on Lucinda Dogan’s property that extends south of the Unfinished Railroad in two places and curves around a large open field on the north side of the railroad. The part of the railroad grade called “Deep Cut” was located within this field. Below that area and west to the Brawner Farm, all ground was open, except for scattered clumps of trees along the southern tributary of Dogan Branch.

Over the years, successional forest claimed the large field through which Fitz John Porter's men advanced toward Deep Cut. The open view available to S. D. Lee's battalion has been lost. Sometime around 1970, the park cleared a corridor or vista through the woods in front of the Unfinished Railroad at Deep Cut.

South of the cleared vista is a 70-acre parcel owned by Stonewall Memory Gardens. A cemetery occupies the cleared southern section of the parcel and the northern section is a successional woodland. Recommendations in this report deal only with NPS-owned land and not with parcels of private property.

Rehabilitation as the Overall Treatment

Because there are uncertainties about the historic appearance of Brawner Farm, restoration as an overall strategy is not viable. In addition, strict restoration would affect the decision to retain the farmhouse, since it is likely that none of the standing structure (except some of the foundation) existed on this site at the time of the Civil War. Therefore, the strategy proposed is rehabilitation. Rehabilitation focuses on site adaptation for new uses. Here the new use is the interpretative program for the landscape, which will allow greater understanding of the battle. It is also important that the uninterrupted continuum of agricultural use still visible on the landscape remain readable, which rehabilitation allows for.

With rehabilitation as the overarching strategy, the treatments of preservation and restoration can be applied to certain features or portions of the landscape. The preservation of conditions on Brawner Farm as they appear today, such as the majority of field and fence patterns, is termed "preservation." The clearing of woodland to create patterns of open fields and woods that existed at the time of the Civil War can be termed "restoration." Full restoration of the historic patterns of woods and open fields is not possible because of limited knowledge. Environmental considerations, such as the need to buffer all streams, also place limitations on vegetative changes. The re-establishment of fences in historic styles, reintroduction of the orchard, and re-establishment of the historic entrance road from Route 29 are other changes that come within the umbrella of "restoration."

Rehabilitation, however, guides the changes in the yard, the work on the farmhouse, and the development of a new entrance road, parking lot, and pedestrian path to accommodate visitors. For areas of the farm beyond the Historic Core, preservation is the most appropriate strategy. (Exhibit K: Treatment Plan – Overall Site and Exhibit L: Yard Treatment Plan)

The management issues described and general recommendations made at the beginning of the previous chapter are applicable also to the chosen treatment presented below.

Historic Core – Battlefield and Areas of Skirmishing and Reconnaissance

Farmyard and Barnyard

VEGETATION

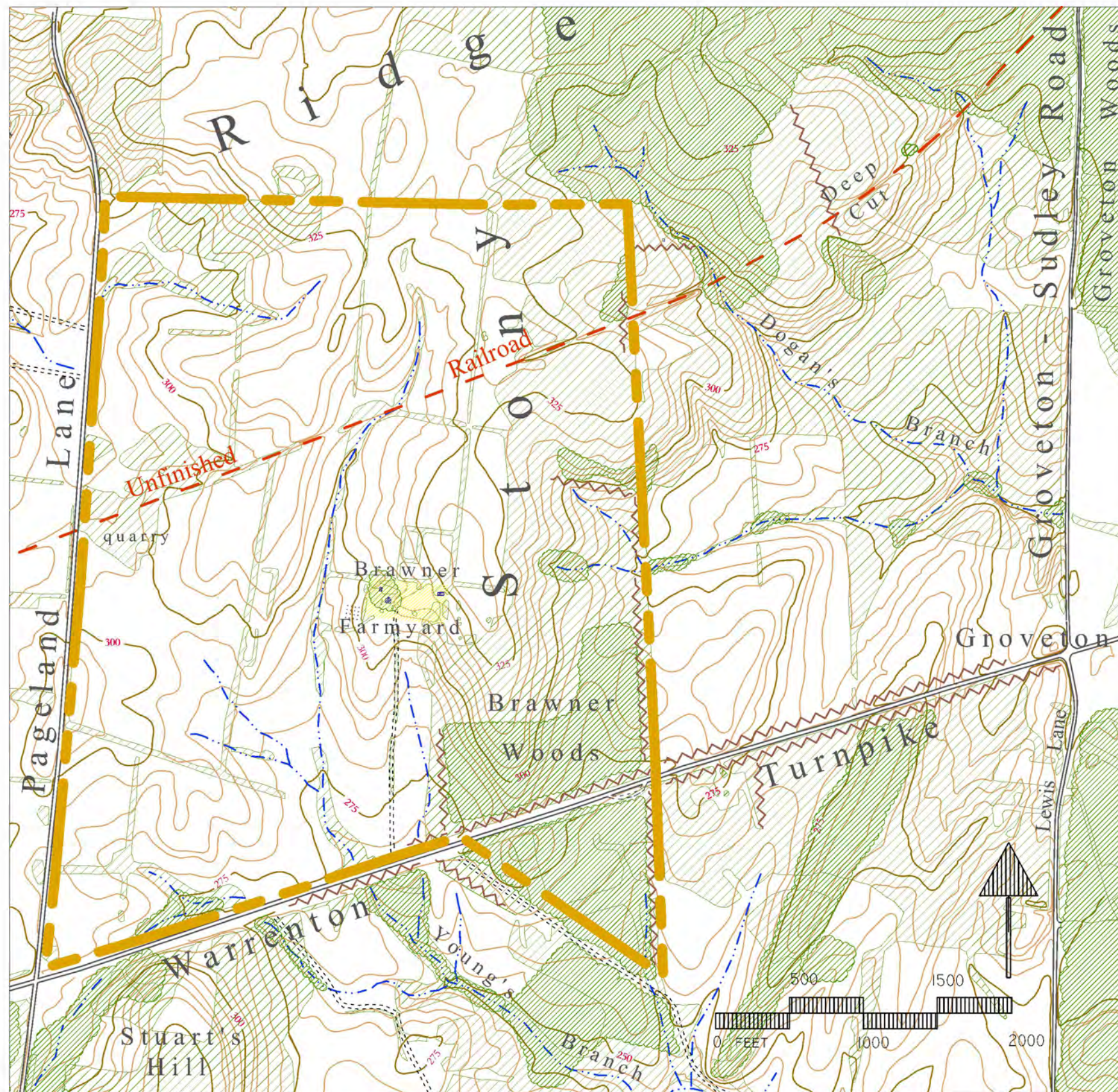
- Following the archeological excavation, return the yard to grass.
- If sufficient evidence is uncovered or for other reasons – for instance, if it is needed as an interpretative device – a small orchard should be planted. Orchard trees should be standards and not dwarf types, since grafting to dwarf root stock was not a general practice until the twentieth century.
- Clear some trees in the yard, but retain others, keeping in mind the historic references to trees growing here. Determine on a case-by-case basis, depending on species, size, and desired effect. The thickets north of the house will probably require the most clearing.

CIRCULATION

- Farm road along the east side of the house should have a surface similar to the restored farm road through the South Field. An earthen surface is preferable.
- Construct handicap-accessible path to house from the parking lot. Surface material is yet to be determined. Consideration should be given to use of an earthen material, such as a soil stabilizer. Circulation of visitors from the house to the interpretive trails should be directed via appropriate, low-key signage.
- Yard area should be mown to allow movement around it.
- Wheelchair accessible path through the yard and the ramp to the house must be carefully placed, so as not to damage archeological evidence.

STRUCTURES

- Remove foundation of the twentieth-century garage.
- Visible remnants of other structures within the yard should be preserved. The regional archeologist and regional historical architect should be consulted in this regard. Structures include:
 - Remains of the barn: Archeological study of this structure is needed.
 - Kitchen/slave quarters: This structure has the greatest amount of above-ground remains, which should be kept in situ.
 - Other remains, such as the footing stones for the chicken coop(s), should also be preserved.



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- LEGEND
- BRAWNER FARM STUDY BOUNDARY
 - STREAMS
 - FARM ROADS
 - WOODED AREAS (CIRCA CIVIL WAR)
 - WOODED AREAS TODAY
 - WORM FENCES (JUDSON NOTEBOOKS)
 - YARD: HOUSE AND OUTBUILDING TO NORTHWEST (JUDSON NOTEBOOKS); BARN (FIELD OBSERVATION); TREES SURROUNDING HOUSE (WARREN MAP)

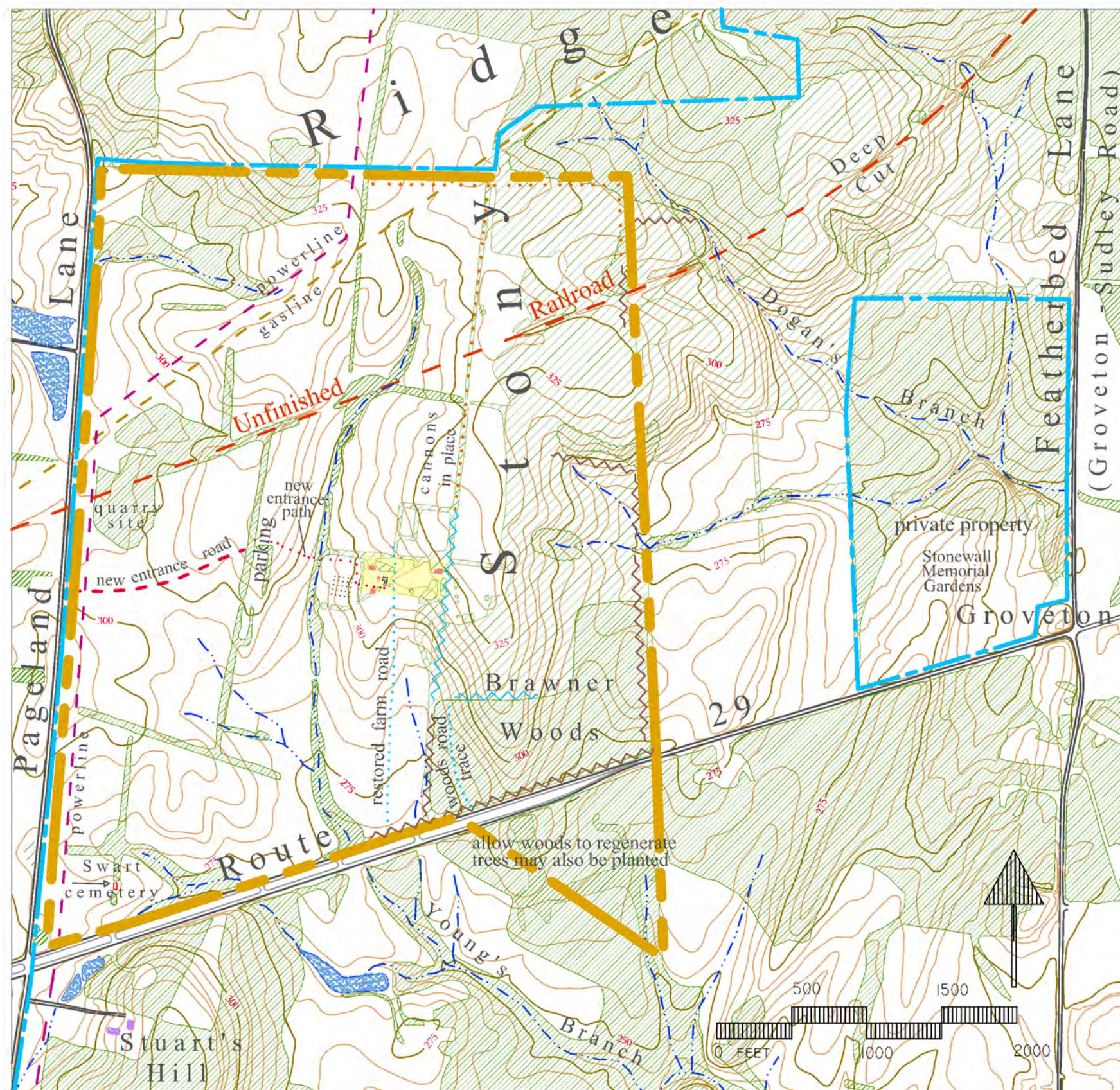
EXHIBIT J

WOODED AREAS OVERLAY

Brawner and Dogan Farms - 1862 and Present

Location and extent of wooded areas derived from G. K. Warren map, "Battle-Grounds of August 28th, 29th & 30th, 1862" (National Archives, RG 77, G-281-2), augmented by J. A. Judson's notes (Book 3, pages 26, 28, 34, 35, 39 and 40), both produced in 1878. The west side of Brawner Farm is not addressed in these documents. Fences are from Judson's notebooks (Book 3, pages 4-6). Orchard location from Hotchkiss map (1862). Base map with current extent of woods from Prince William County Office of Mapping and Information.

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Brawner Farm

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LEGEND

	BRAWNER FARM STUDY BOUNDARY		WOODED AREAS RETAINED
	PARK BOUNDARY		WOODED AREAS CLEARED
	STREAMS		FARMYARD AND BARNYARD
	WORM FENCES (JUDSON NOTEBOOKS)		REMAINS OF FARM STRUCTURES
	WORM FENCES (FIELD OBSERVATION 2002)		
	HISTORIC FENCE, TYPE UNKNOWN		

EXHIBIT K

TREATMENT PLAN

OVERALL SITE

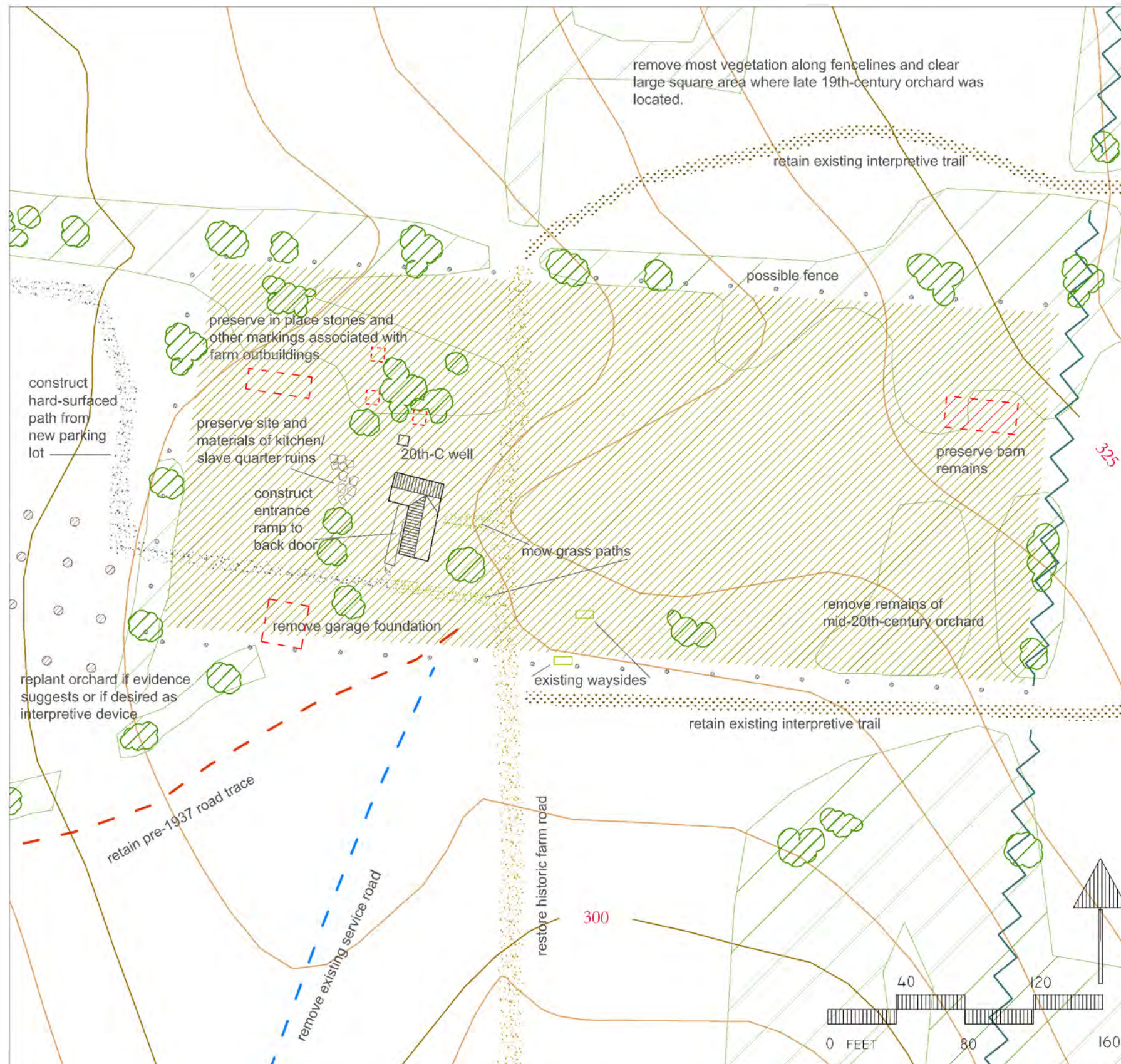
In order to address questions of views and open fields important to the battle as it was waged on August 28, 1862 and the two succeeding days, the selected treatment encompasses a wider area than the three alternative proposals (Exhibits G, H, and I). This treatment would clear more woods than any of the three alternatives. It primarily references the 1878 map by G. K. Warren entitled "Battle-Grounds of August 28th, 29th & 30th, 1862" (National Archives, RG 77, G-281-2), and is augmented by information from J. A. Judson's notebooks (Book 3, pages 28, 34, 35, 39 and 40). The wooded areas marked as retained are not a literal map of how much cutting can or should be done; greater study of existing woodland is needed to define the limits of historic stands of trees and determine other natural limitations. The treatment plan also allows for the restoration of more fences. (For greater detail of yard area, see Yard Treatment Plan, Exhibit L.) Topography from Prince William County Office of Mapping and Information. Fences shown are based on Judson notebooks and field observation in 2002.

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Brawner Farm

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LEGEND

	RESTORED FARM ROAD		WORM FENCES TO BE BUILT
	PATH FROM NEW PARKING LOT		FENCE AROUND YARD, TYPE(S) TO BE DETERMINED
	EXISTING INTERPRETIVE PATHS		YARD KEPT IN GRASS (MOWN MORE FREQUENTLY IN VICINITY OF HOUSE)
	WOODED AREAS CLEARED		
	GROUPS AND INDIVIDUAL TREES TO REMAIN		

EXHIBIT L

YARD TREATMENT PLAN

Recommendations for yard address circulation leading to and within the yard, treatment of historic and non-historic remains of outbuildings and other features indicative of use patterns, and treatment of vegetation including trees and ground plane. The yard will remain in grass; areas that are likely to receive foot traffic should be more frequently mowed. Some existing trees should remain to replicate historic yard. An orchard may be planted; the proper location has not yet been determined. Fences that were used as cover during the battle on August 28, 1862 might be reconstructed or suggested by some marking. Similarly, fences may be constructed or other marking used to show the locations of historic fences that framed the yard. New path from parking lot will be ADA accessible. A ramp will lead to the back door of the house.

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SMALL-SCALE FEATURES

- Re-establish fences around the yard. Re-create historic fences if archeology or research uncover enough evidence; otherwise, provide suitable interpretation of fences.
- In re-establishing fences, fencelines will need to be cleared of some or most trees. Decisions here should be carefully weighed, particularly along the north edge of the yard which follows a small drainage swale, and along the east side of the barnyard, where many field stones mark the historic fenceline.

Brawner Woods

VEGETATION

- With the aid of field observation to determine historic edges, restore woods to the general configuration seen on the Warren maps. (The section on Management Issues in Chapter 5 raises a number of cautions in this regard.)

CIRCULATION

- Road trace within woods: Remove trees from the roadbed only if such intervention will not diminish its readability.

SMALL-SCALE FEATURES

- Re-create worm fence along Warrenton Turnpike/Route 29 and along the east and west sides of Brawner Woods. If Brawner Woods is cleared to its 1860s configuration, worm fence can be restored along the west side of the north edge.

Stony Ridge

VEGETATION

- Remove fencelines and vegetation within the square area north of the barn where the post-Civil War orchard was located.
- Maintain fields by mowing or other means.
- When clearing woods on the east side of the property, retain the several small wooded areas seen on the Warren map.

SMALL-SCALE FEATURES

- Re-create fence of north-south fenceline that runs perpendicular to Stony Ridge.

South Field

VEGETATION

- Maintain field edges and prevent further expansion of Brawner Woods.
- Maintain fields by mowing or other means.

CIRCULATION

- Remove existing service road.
- Restore farm road through front fields to historic appearance. This road and its extension through the farmyard should be similar in appearance.

South Woods

VEGETATION

- Allow trees to naturally regenerate in areas that were cleared in 1988 for Hazel/Peterson development. Trees and other vegetation may also be planted in this area to speed the restoration of the woods. If planting is done, native woodland species specific to the area and conditions should be chosen.

Confederate Staging Area

VEGETATION

- Remove woods on east side, keeping the small historic woodland north of the Unfinished Railroad. The regional archeologist's input is necessary here.
- Keep fencerows from expanding.
- Maintain fields by mowing or other means.

Unfinished Railroad

VEGETATION

- Some clearing of vegetation along parts of the Unfinished Railroad on the Brawner Farm may be desirable.

West Fields

VEGETATION

- Keep remaining fencerows from expanding.
- Maintain fields by mowing or other means. One method to dissuade further encroachment of trees is to mow field edges more frequently.

CIRCULATION

- Determine alignment and construct new paved entrance road from Pageland Lane.
- Construct parking lot at end of new entrance road.
- Determine alignment and construct handicap accessible path from parking lot to the Brawner farmhouse. As path approaches farmyard, it should be compatible with the color and texture of the existing soil. A bridge or boardwalk will be needed where the path crosses Youngs Branch.

Warrenton Turnpike/Route 29 and Pageland Lane

SMALL-SCALE FEATURES

- Re-establish historic fences along these roads, where known and where deemed important as part of historic scene.

Extended Study Area

VEGETATION

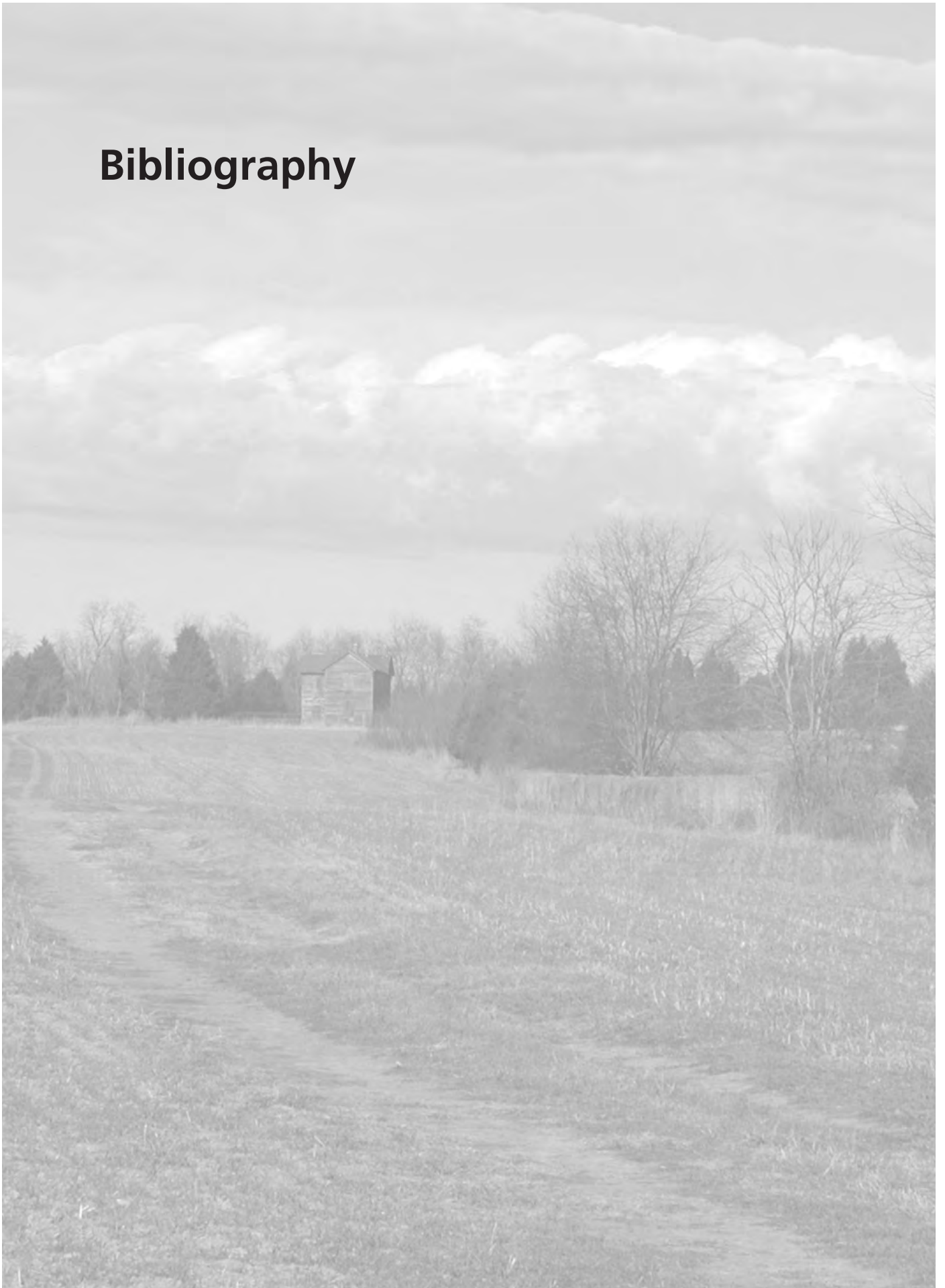
- Remove woods as depicted on Exhibit K: Treatment Plan – Overall Site and return these areas to open fields. (See section on Management Issues in Chapter 5 for precautions regarding all tree cutting.)
- Research historic field patterns to establish fencelines.

Endnotes, Chapter 6: Preferred Treatment Plan

¹ National Archives and Records Administration, RG 77, G-281-2, in Morris, 50.

² W.G. Atkinson, “Map of the Battle-Fields of Manassas and the Surrounding Region showing the various Actions of the 21st July 1861,” *Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891-1895 (facsimile reprint 1983): plate III.

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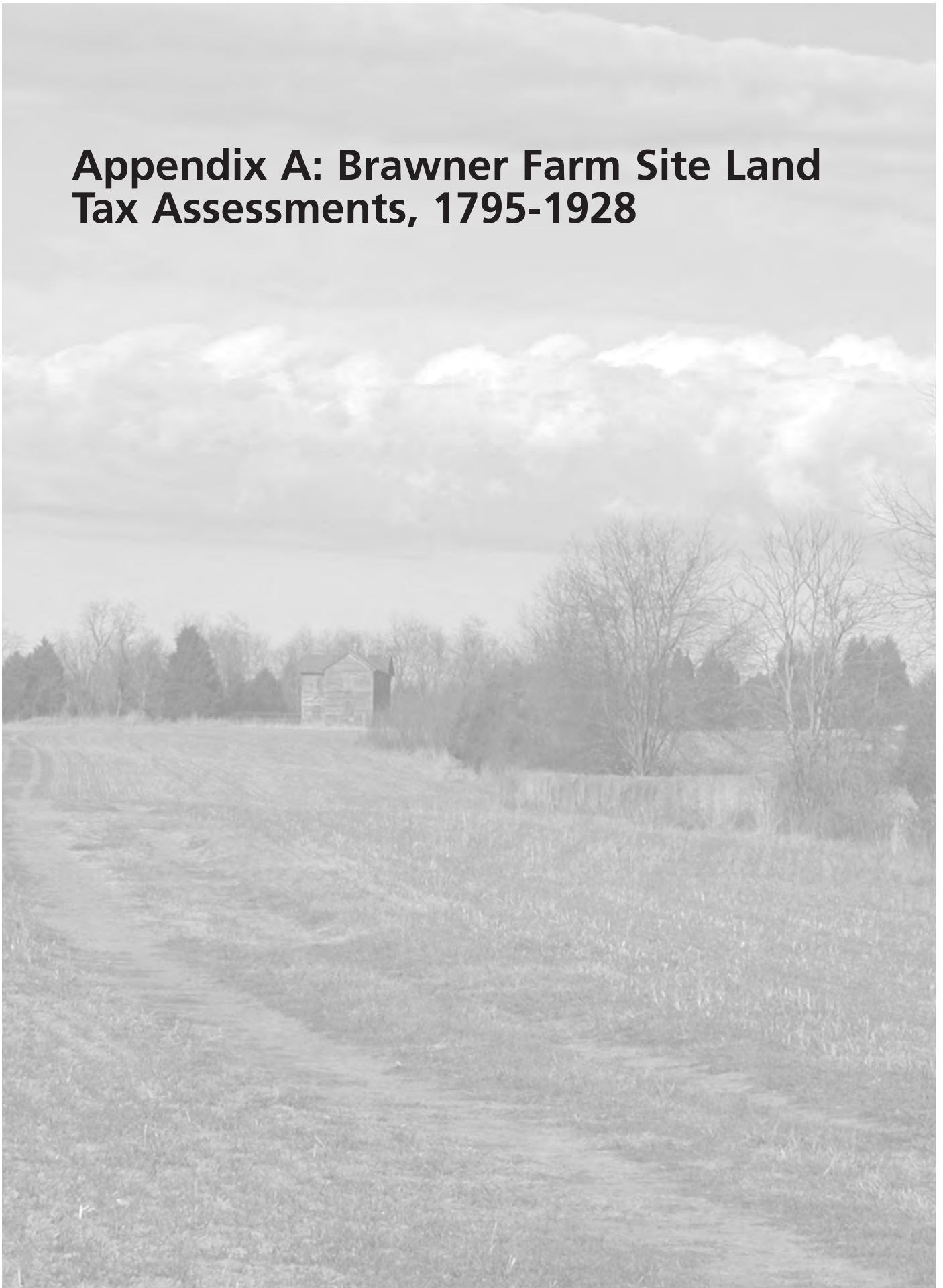
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Appendix A: Brawner Farm Site Land Tax Assessments, 1795-1928



BRAWNER FARM SITE LAND TAX ASSESSMENTS, 1795-1928

KAY FANNING CONDUCTED RESEARCH AT:

PLACE	DESCRIPTION
Bull Run Regional Library	Microfilmed copies of land tax assessments from 1782-1861
Prince William County Archives, Prince William County Courthouse	Extant original books from 1865-1900 (one or two are destroyed)
Prince William County Courthouse, Rm 305	Land Tax Records, 20th-century land tax books on microfilm

GEORGE TENNILLE/GEORGE A. DOUGLAS FARM – BACHELOR'S HALL, DOUGLAS HALL (BRAWNER FARM)

DID NOT NOTE WHEN SPELLING NAME CHANGED FROM "TENNEL" TO "TENNILLE"

DATE	NAME/DESCRIPTION	ACREAGE	VALUE	TAX
1795	First appearance George Tennille (Tennell)	200 acres (must be 208 acres) – 13/7 per acre	\$154 total value	tax at 1 1/2% = \$2.26
1796	George Tennille	208 acres – 13/7 per acre	\$141.15 4/10 (141.15.4) total value	\$2.26 tax
1797	George Tennille	208 acres – 13/7 per acre	\$141.15.4 total value	\$2.26 tax
1798	George Tennille	208 acres – 10/10 per acre	\$162.9.11 total value	\$2.89 1/2 tax
1799	George Tennille	208 acres – \$2.27 per acre	\$472 total value	\$2.26 tax
1800	George Tennill of Page	373 acres - \$2.27 per acre	\$846.71 total value	\$4.06 tax
1801	George Tennill of Page	373 acres - \$2.27 per acre	\$846.71 total value	\$4.06 tax
1802	George Tennill (of Page)	373 acres – \$2.27 per acre	\$846.71 total value	\$4.06 tax
1803	faded – illegible			
1804	George Tennell of Page	373 acres - \$2.27 per acre	\$846.71 total value	\$4.06 tax
1805	faded – illegible			
1806	George Tennell of Page	373 acres - \$2.27 per acre	\$846.71 total value	\$4.06 tax
1807	George Tennell (no Page mentioned)	373 acres - \$2.27 per acre	\$846.71 total value	\$4.06 tax
1810	George Tennille (Tennell)	373 acres – \$2.27 per acre	\$846.71 total value	\$4.07 tax (48 cents per \$100)
1811	George Tennille	373 acres - \$2.27 per acre	\$846.71 total value	\$4.07 tax
1812	George Tennille	373 acres - \$2.27 per acre	\$846.71 total value	\$4.07 tax
1813	George Tennille	373 acres - \$2.27 per acre	\$846.71 total value	\$5.41 tax
1813	Do. of Feagans also on Catharpin	70 acres – per acre blank	\$159.90 total value	.92 cents tax
1814	new line items added			
1814	George Tennille	373 acres – distance from courthouse 25? \$2.27 per acre	\$846.71 total	tax on land \$7.20 – total tax town lots and lands \$7.20 – no alterations from previous year

DATE	NAME/DESCRIPTION	ACREAGE	VALUE	TAX
1814	Feagans 70 acres	70 acres – Catharpin – same distance from courthouse \$2.27 per acre	\$159.90 total value	\$1.36 tax on land – no alterations from previous year
1815	George Tennille resides on premises, same as estate, no lots	373 acres – Catharpin, 25 miles west of courthouse, \$2.27 per acre	\$846.71 total value	tax 85 cents/\$100 - \$7.20 – no alterations
	Feagans – same as estate, no lots	70 acres, Catharpin, 25 M west of courthouse \$2.27 per acre	\$159.90 total value	\$1.36 tax – no alterations
1816	George Tennille resides on premises – same as estate	373 acres, Catharpin, 25 M west of courthouse \$2.27 per acre	\$846.71 total value	\$6.35 tax
	Feagans – estate	70 acres, Catharpin, 25 M W of courthouse \$2.27 per acre	\$159.90 total value	\$1.90 tax
1817	George Tennille resides on premises – estate in fee	373 acres – Catharpin, 25 M W of courthouse \$2.27 per acre	\$846.71 total value	75 cents/\$100 tax \$6.35 tax no alterations
	Feagans – on premises – in fee	70 acres – Catharpin , 25 M W of courthouse \$2.27 per acre	\$159.90 total value	\$1.20 tax no alterations
1818	George Tennille resides on premises – in fee	373 acres – Catharpin, 25 M W of courthouse \$2.27 per acre	\$846.71 total value	\$6.35 tax no alterations
	Feagans – on premises – in fee	70 acres – Catharpin, \$2.27 per acre	\$159.90 total value	\$1.20 tax no alterations
1819	George Tennille resides on premises – in fee	373 acres – Catharpin, 25 M W of courthouse \$2.27 per acre	\$846.71 total value	\$6.35 tax no alterations
	Feagans – on premises – in fee	70 acres – Catharpin, 25 M W of courthouse \$2.27 per acre	\$159.90 total value	\$1.20 tax no alterations
1820	separate building assessment appears			
1820	George Tennille resides on premises – in fee	373 acres – Catharpin, 25 M NW of courthouse \$15 per acre, \$1200 buildings	\$5595 total value	\$7.00 tax
	Feagans	70 acres – Catharpin, 25 M NW of courthouse \$12 per acre, no building	\$840 total value	\$1.05 per acre
1821	George Tennille resides on premises	373 acres – Catharpin, 25 M NW of courthouse \$15 per acre - \$1200 buildings	\$5595 total value	\$5.13 tax
	Feagans	70 acres – Catharpin, 25 M NW of courthouse \$12 per acre – no buildings	\$840 total value	.16 per acre
1822	George Tennille	356 3/4 acres – Catharpin, 25 M NW of courthouse, \$15 per acre - \$1200 buildings note – “sold 16 1/2 acres to W. Cundiff”	\$5343.75 total value	\$4.81 tax
	Feagans	70 acres – Catharpin, 25 M NW of courthouse \$12 per acre	\$840 total value	.76 tax
	Newman (purchased new tract)	180 acres – Catharpin, 25 M NW of courthouse \$10 per acre – no buildings “Cho (can’t make out) last year to F. Newman as 110 acres”	\$1800 total value	\$1.62 tax

DATE	NAME/DESCRIPTION	ACREAGE	VALUE	TAX
1823	George Tennille Prince William – fee	356 3/4 acres – Catharpin, 12 M NW of courthouse, \$15 per acre - \$1200 buildings	\$5351.25 total value	\$4.29 tax
	Feagans – Prince William – fee	70 acres – Catharpin, 12 M NW courthouse \$12 per acre, no buildings	\$840 total value	.68 tax
	Newman – Prince William – fee	110 acres – Catharpin, 12 M NW courthouse \$10 per acre – no buildings	\$1100 total value	.88 tax – “heretofore charged 180 acres”
1824	Tennille not listed			
1825	George Tennille	356 3/4 acres - \$15 per acre - \$1200 buildings 70 acres - \$12 per acre - no buildings 110 acres - \$10 per acre - no buildings	\$5351.25 total \$840 total \$1100.00 total	\$4.29 tax per \$100 .68 tax .88 tax
1826	(name John Brawner appears in county)			
1826	George Tennille	356 3/4 acres - \$15 per acre - \$1200 buildings 70 acres - \$12 per acre - no buildings 110 acres - \$11 per acre - \$100 buildings	\$5351.25 total \$840 total \$1210 total	\$4.29 tax per \$100 .68 tax .97 tax - “new buildings added” notation
1828	George Tennille	526 acres less the 103 acre tract of Feagans and Newman? \$14 per acre – \$1200 buildings	\$7388 total	5.91 tax
1828		Lots of Brasfields, no 103 acres George and Leonard Brasfield, both of Kentucky George Brasfield owned 66, Leonard owned 36 = 102; both tracts on Catharpin, both \$15 per acre, no buildings. Thomas Fortune owned land on Catharpin, 47 acres with no buildings. Garner Fortune estate owned land on Catharpin, 118 and 205 acres, no buildings on either		
1829	skipped			
1830	George Tennille	356 3/4 acres - \$15 per acre - \$1200 buildings 70 acres - \$12 per acre - no buildings 100 acres - \$12 per acre - \$100 buildings 103 acres - \$15 per acre - no buildings	\$5351.25 total \$840 total \$1200 total \$1545 total	\$4.29 tax .68 tax .96 tax \$1.24 tax
1831	skipped			
1832	George Tennille	356 3/4 acres - \$15 per acre - \$1200 buildings 70 acres - \$12 per acre - no buildings 100 acres - \$12 per acre - \$100 buildings 103 acres - \$15 per acre - no buildings	\$5351.25 total \$840 total \$1200 total \$1545 total	\$4.29 tax .68 tax .96 tax \$1.24 tax
1833	skipped			
1834	George Tennille	356 3/4 acres - \$15 per acre - \$1200 buildings 70 acres - \$12 per acre - no buildings 100 acres - \$12 per acre - \$100 buildings 103 acres - \$15 per acre - no buildings	\$5351.25 total \$840 \$1200 total \$1545 total	\$4.29 tax .68 tax .96 tax \$1.24

DATE	NAME/DESCRIPTION	ACREAGE	VALUE	TAX
1835	George Tennille	356 3/4 acres - \$15 per acre - \$1200 buildings 70 acres (of Feagans) - \$12 per acre no buildings 100 acres (of Newman) - \$12 per acre \$100 buildings 103 acres (Brasfield and Fortune) \$15 per acre – no buildings	\$5351.25 total \$846 total \$1200 total \$1545 total	\$4.29 tax .68 tax .96 tax \$1.24 tax
1836	George Tennille	356 3/4 acres - \$15. per acre - \$1200 buildings 70 acres - \$12. per acre - no buildings 100 acres - \$12 per acre - \$100 buildings 102 [sic] acres - \$15 per acre - no buildings	\$5350.25 total \$840 total \$1200 total \$1545 total	\$4.29 tax .68 tax .96 tax \$1.24 tax
1837	George Tennille	356 3/4 acres - \$15 per acre - \$1200 buildings 70 acres - \$12 per acre - no buildings 100 acres - \$12 per acre - \$100 buildings 103 acres - \$15 per acre - no buildings	\$5351.25 total \$840 total \$1200 total \$1545 total	\$4.29 tax .68 tax .96 tax \$1.24 tax
1838	George Tennille	356 3/4 acres - \$15 per acre - \$1200 buildings 70 acres - \$12 per acre - no buildings 100 acres - \$12 per acre - 100 buildings 103 acres - \$15 per acre - no buildings	\$2341.25 total \$840 total \$1200 total \$1545 total	\$5.36 tax .84 tax \$1.20 tax \$1.55 tax
1839	year of county-wide re-valuation			
1839	George Tennille	629 3/4 acres – value of land per acre under last assessment including buildings: \$15 per acre; sum added on account of buildings (last assessment): \$1200; present value of land per acre including buildings: \$5.00; sum added to present value on account of buildings: \$600	total current value \$3147.50	
1840	George Tennille	629 3/4 acres - \$6.25 per acre - \$600 buildings	\$3934.37 total	\$3.94 tax
1841	Sarah Tennille (George Tennille has died)	629 3/4 acres - \$6.25 per acre - \$600 buildings	\$3934 total	\$4.92 tax
1842	Sarah Tennille	629 3/4 acres - \$6.25 per acre - \$600 buildings	\$3934 total	\$4.92 tax
1843	Sarah Tennille	629 3/4 acres - \$6.25 per acre - \$600 buildings	\$3934 total	\$5.90 tax
1844	Sarah Tennille	629 3/4 acres - \$6.25 per acre - \$600 buildings	\$3934 total	\$4.92 tax
1845	Sarah Tennille	629 3/4 acres - \$6.25 per acre - \$600 buildings	\$3934 total	\$3.94 tax
1846	Sarah Tennille (life interest)	629 3/4 acres on Catharpin - \$6.25 per acre - \$600 buildings	\$3934 total	\$3.94 tax
1847	George A. Douglas – new owner in fee “by will of George Tennille”	326 1/2 acres - \$6.25 per acre - \$600 buildings	\$2042.19 total	\$2.04 1/4 tax
1848	George A. Douglas	326 1/2 acres - \$6.25 per acre - \$600 buildings	\$2040.19 total	\$2.04 1/4 tax
1849	George A. Douglas	326 1/2 acres - \$5.00 per acre - \$200 buildings	\$2677.50 total	\$2.68 tax
1850	George A. Douglas	326 1/2 acres on Catharpin (not Turnpike – later Turnpike) - \$6.25 per acre - \$600 buildings	\$2040 total	\$2.04 tax
1851	George A. Douglas	326 1/2 acres “Bachelor’s Hall” - \$7 per acre - \$200 buildings	\$2285 total	\$2.74 tax

DATE	NAME/DESCRIPTION	ACREAGE	VALUE	TAX
1852	George A. Douglas	326 1/2 acres "Bachelor's Hall" - \$7. per acre - \$250 buildings	\$2285.50 total	\$4.11 tax
1853	George A. Douglas	326 1/2 acres "Bachelor's Hall" - \$7 per acre - \$250 buildings	\$2285 total	\$4.57 tax
1854	George A. Douglas	326 1/2 acres "Bachelor's Hall" - \$7 per acre - \$250 buildings - *George A. Douglas sold 7 acres	\$2285.50 total	\$4.57 tax
1855	George A. Douglas	326 1/2 acres "Bachelor's Hall" - \$250 buildings	\$2236.50 total	\$4.47 tax
1856	George A. Douglas	326 1/2 acres "Bachelor's Hall" - \$7 per acre - \$250 buildings	\$2236.50 total	\$8.94 tax
1857	George A. Douglas estate	326 1/2 acres "Bachelor's Hall" - \$12 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$3834 total	\$15.34 tax
1858	George A. Douglas estate	326 1/2 acres "Bachelor's Hall" - \$12 per acre - \$400 buildings -	\$3834 total	\$15.34 tax
1859	George A. Douglas estate	326 1/2 acres "Bachelor's Hall" - \$12 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$3834 total	tax?

FOLLOWING INFORMATION FROM ORIGINAL LAND TAX BOOKS IN COUNTY ARCHIVES

1865	George A. Douglas estate	326 1/2 acres - \$12 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$3834 total value	\$5.37 tax (various other taxes have been introduced too)
1866	George A. Douglas estate	326 1/2 acres - \$12 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$3834 total value	\$11.50 tax
1867	George A. Douglas estate	326 1/2 acres - \$12 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$3834 total value	\$11.50 tax
1868	George A. Douglas estate	326 1/2 acres - \$12 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$3834 total value	\$11.50 tax
1869	George A. Douglas estate	326 1/2 acres - \$12 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$3834 total value	\$11.50 tax
1870	reassessment			
1870	George A. Douglas estate	326 1/2 acres - \$10 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$3195 total value	\$19.17 tax
1875	Could not find Douglas tract. Reassessment year			
1876	George A. Douglas estate	326 1/2 acres - \$10 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$3195 total value	tax 50 cents per \$100 = alternated betw. \$15.97/\$15.98 through 1879
1877	George A. Douglas estate	326 1/2 acres - \$10 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$3195 total value	tax 50 cents per \$100 = alternated betw. \$15.97/\$15.98 through 1879
1878	George A. Douglas estate	326 1/2 acres - \$10 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$3195 total value	tax 50 cents per \$100 = alternated betw. \$15.97/\$15.98 through 1879
1879	George A. Douglas estate	326 1/2 acres - \$10 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$3195 total value	tax 50 cents per \$100 = alternated betw. \$15.97/\$15.98 through 1879

DATE	NAME/DESCRIPTION	ACREAGE	VALUE	TAX
1880	reassessment			
1880	George A. Douglas estate	319 1/2 acres - \$10 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$3195 total value	\$15.98 tax
1881	George A. Douglas estate	319 1/2 acres - \$9 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$2876 total value	\$14.38 tax tax dropped to 40 cents per \$100
1882	George A. Douglas estate	319 1/2 acres - \$9 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$2875 total value	\$11.50 tax
1883	George A. Douglas estate	319 1/2 acres - \$9 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$2875 total value	\$11.50 tax tax on land and buildings dropped to 30 cents per \$100; was an additional school tax
1884	George A. Douglas estate	319 1/2 acres - \$9 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$2875 total value	\$8.63 tax
1885	reassessment			
1885	George A. Douglas estate	319 1/2 acres - \$9 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$2875 total value	\$8.63 tax
1886	George A. Douglas estate	319 1/2 acres - \$9 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$2875 total value	\$8.63 tax
1887	George A. Douglas estate	319 1/2 acres - \$9 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$2875 total value	\$8.63 tax
1888-90	Skipped			
1890	reassessment			
1890	George A. Douglas estate	319 1/2 acres - \$5 per acre - \$400 buildings	\$1595 total value	
1891	George A. Douglas estate	319 [sic] acres - \$5 per acre - \$400 buildings		
1892	George A. Douglas estate	319 acres - \$5 per acre - \$400 buildings		
1893	George A. Douglas estate	319 acres - \$5 per acre - \$400 buildings		
1894	George A. Douglas estate	319 acres - \$5 per acre - \$400 buildings		
1895	began to also value land per acre exclusive of buildings and total value of land exclusive of buildings			
1895	George A. Douglas estate	319 acres - \$4.50 per acre - \$159 buildings	\$1435 total value	
1891-95	George A. Douglas estate		\$15.95 total value	\$6.38 total tax
1896	William A. Davis – fee	319 acres - \$4.50 per acre - \$159 buildings	\$1435 total value	
1897	William A. Davis	319 acres - \$4.50 per acre - \$159 buildings	\$1435 total value	
1898	William A. Davis	319 acres - \$4.50 per acre - \$159 buildings	\$1435 total value	
1899	William A. Davis	319 acres - \$4.50 per acre - \$159 buildings	\$1435 total value "no alterations"	

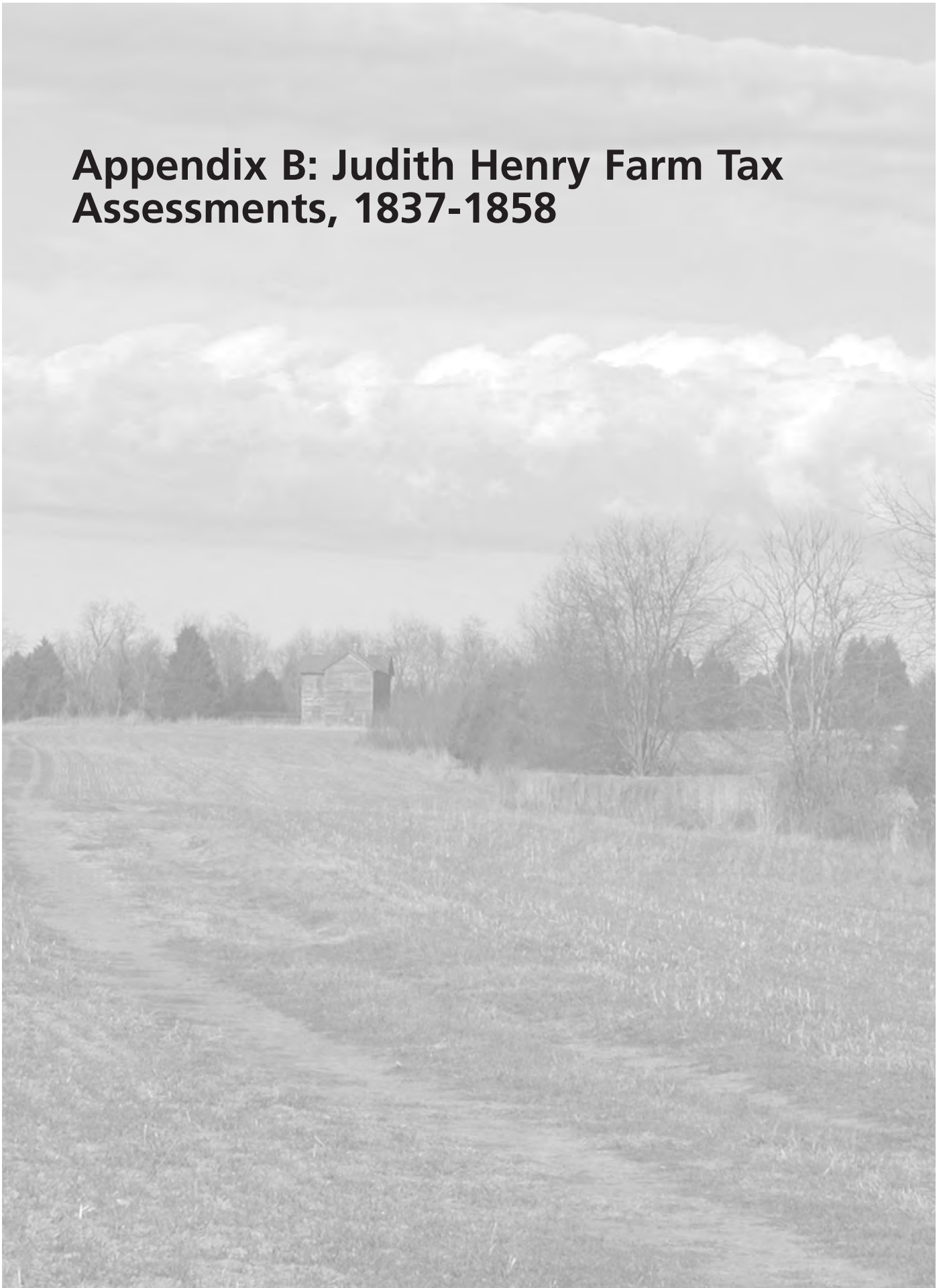
DATE	NAME/DESCRIPTION	ACREAGE	VALUE	TAX
1910-15	Reassessment			
	William M. Davis – or heir. Now it seems estate has been subdivided among several heirs. Subdivided in 1918. Not finding much that looks familiar. Book may be for southern half of county.			
	Matthew Davis Estate	148.75 acres near Gainesville	land and buildings don't seem to be worth much	

20TH-CENTURY TAX ASSESSMENTS IN PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY COURTHOUSE, ROOM 305 (BOX OF MICROFILM IN BACK ROOM) - Brawner farm site listed in books under "Prince William County" in "Manassas Magisterial District"

1900	William M. Davis	319 acres adjoining Cundiff - 6 m N of courthouse - \$4.50 per acre - \$1276 value excluding buildings - \$159 value of buildings	\$1435 total value	\$5.74 total tax – no alterations since previous year (ignored other taxes, for roads and schools)
1901	William M. Davis	319 acres adjoining Cundiff – 6 m N - \$4.50 per acre - \$1276 excl. buildings - \$160 buildings	\$1436 total	\$5.74 total tax – no alterations
1902	William M. Davis	319 acres adjoining Cundiff 6 m N - \$4.50 per acre - \$1276 excl. buildings - \$160 buildings	total value \$1436	\$5.74 total tax
1903	William M. Davis	319 acres adjoining Cundiff – 6 m N - \$4.50 per acre - \$1276 excl. buildings - \$160 buildings	total value \$1436	\$5.03 total tax – no alterations
1904	William M. Davis residence, in fee	319 acres adjoining Cundiff — 6 m N - \$4.50 per acre - \$1276 excl. buildings - \$160 buildings	total value \$1436	\$5.03 total tax – no alterations
1905	William M. Davis	319 acres adjoining Cundiff – 6 m N - \$5.50 per acre - \$1276 excl. buildings - \$500 in buildings	\$1776 total value	\$6.23 total tax "340.00 added for buildings"
1906	William M. Davis	319 acres adjoining Cundiff – 6 m N - \$5.57 per acre - \$1276 excl. buildings - \$500 in buildings	\$1776 total value	\$6.20 total tax – no alterations
1907	William M. Davis	319 acres adjoining Cundiff – 6 m N - \$5.57 per acre - \$1276 excl. buildings - \$1276 excl. buildings - \$500 in buildings	\$1776 total value	– no alterations
1908	Book damaged, page missing. Some pages might appear after 1909 (sometimes when pages damaged, year appears after following year – out of sequence), but didn't check for William Davis			

DATE	NAME/DESCRIPTION	ACREAGE	VALUE	TAX
1909	William M. Davis	319 acres adjoining Cundiff – 6 m N - \$5.57 per acre - \$1276 excl. buildings - \$500 in buildings	\$1776 total value	\$6.23 total tax – no alterations
1910	William M. Davis	319 acres adjoining Cundiff – 6 m N - \$5.57 per acre \$1276 excl. buildings - \$500 in buildings	\$1776 total value	\$6.22 total tax – no alterations
1911	William M. Davis	319 acres adjoining Cundiff – 6 m N – no value per acre recorded – \$1595 total excl. buildings - \$500 in buildings	\$2095 total value	\$7.35 total tax – no alterations
1912	William M. Davis	319 acres adjoining Cundiff – 6 m N – \$6.65 per acre – \$1595 total excl. buildings - \$500 in buildings	\$2095 total value	\$7.35 total tax – no alterations
	skipping rolls			
1916-18	Roll 6			
1916	pages missing, damaged			
1917	“standing timber trees” now considered for value, along with land and buildings.			
1917	William Davis (estate) – residence in fee	319 acres near Groveton, N 7 miles– \$6 per acre – land with trees, not buildings \$1914 – buildings \$600	total value \$2514	\$2.51 state school tax \$30.79 total tax – no alterations
1918	now lots of Davises referred to by first initials – can’t tell which ones relevant – all seem to be in town			
1921-23	Roll			
1921	cannot even find Manassas - pages destroyed? goes from Coles District to Dumfries to Occoquan – Manassas not listed separately			
1922	William Davis (deceased? estate? can’t read word) – place of residence Wellington – in fee	319 acres near Groveton, N 7 miles– \$11 per acre – land and trees - land \$3509 – buildings \$800	total value \$4309	\$66.78 taxes – no alterations
1923	William Davis estate – residence on property – in fee	319 acres – N 6 miles – \$11 per acre – land \$3509 – buildings \$800	total value \$4309	\$66.78 taxes – no alterations
1927-30	Roll			
1927	William Davis estate – Wellington – in fee	319 acres near Groveton – N 8 miles – \$12 per acre – \$3828 – buildings \$800	total value \$4628	\$90.25 taxes – no alterations
1928	William Davis estate – Wellington – in fee	319 acres near Groveton – N 8 miles – \$12 per acre – \$3828 – buildings \$800	total value \$4628	\$92.87 taxes – no alterations

Appendix B: Judith Henry Farm Tax Assessments, 1837-1858



JUDITH HENRY FARM TAX ASSESSMENTS, 1837-1858

KAY FANNING CONDUCTED RESEARCH AT:

PLACE	DESCRIPTION
Bull Run Regional Library	Microfilmed copies of land tax assessments from 1782-1861
Prince William County Archives, Prince William County Courthouse	Extant original books from 1865-1900 (one or two are destroyed)
Prince William County Courthouse, Rm 305	Land Tax Records, 20th-century land tax books on microfilm

DATE	NAME/DESCRIPTION	ACREAGE	VALUE	TAX
1837	Judith Henry's name first appears in land tax books	100 acres - \$15 per acre - \$500 buildings	\$1500 total	\$1.20 in tax per \$100 note - "do. from Ewell"
1838		100 acres - \$15 per acre - \$500 buildings	\$1500 total	\$1.20 in tax per \$100
1839	countywide re-valuation of tax assessments	100 acres - now \$4.00 per acre, sum added on account of buildings was either \$200 or \$400 both numbers written, 400 above 200)		
1840		100 acres - \$5.00 per acre - \$200 buildings	\$500 total value	.50 tax
1841		100 acres - \$5.00 per acre - \$200 buildings	\$500 total value	.62 1/2 tax
1842		100 acres - \$5.00 per acre - \$200 buildings	\$500 total value	.62 1/2 tax
1843		100 acres - \$5.00 per acre - \$200 buildings	\$500 total value	.75 tax
1844		100 acres - \$5.00 per acre - \$200 buildings	\$500 total value	.62 1/2 tax
1845		100 acres - \$5.00 per acre - \$200 buildings	\$500 total value	.50 tax
1846		100 acres - \$5.00 per acre - \$200 buildings	\$500 total value	.62 1/2 tax
1847		100 acres - \$5.00 per acre - \$200 buildings	\$500 total value	.62 1/2 tax
1848		100 acres - \$5.00 per acre - \$200 buildings	\$500 total value	.50 tax
1849		100 acres - \$5.00 per acre - \$200 buildings	\$500 total value	.50 tax
1850		100 acres - \$5.00 per acre - \$200 buildings	\$500 total value	.50 tax
1851	did not record			
1852		100 acres - \$8.00 per acre - \$50 buildings	\$800 total value	\$1.44 tax
1853		100 acres - \$8.00 per acre - \$50 buildings	\$800 total value	\$1.60 tax
1854		100 acres - \$8.00 per acre - \$50 buildings	\$800 total value	\$1.60 tax
1855		100 acres - \$8.00 per acre - \$50 buildings	\$800 total value	\$1.60 tax
1856		100 acres - \$8.00 per acre - \$50 buildings	\$800 total value	\$3.20 tax
1857		100 acres - \$10.00 per acre - \$100 buildings	\$1000 total value	\$4.00 tax
1858		100 acres - \$10.00 per acre - \$100 buildings	\$1000 total value	\$4.00 tax

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior



Manassas National Battlefield Park
12521 Lee Highway
Manassas, Virginia 20109-2005