

“No Maneuvering and Very Little Tactics”:
Archeology and the Battle of Brawner Farm
(44PW452)

Stephen R. Potter, Robert C. Sonderman, Marian C. Creveling,
and Susannah L. Dean

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Introduction

Late in the afternoon of August 28, 1862, on the Brawner farm near the First Manassas Battlefield, one of the fiercest firefights of the Civil War erupted between the Confederacy's Stonewall Brigade and the Union's Black Hat Brigade, later known as the Iron Brigade. The opposing infantry lines, only 70 to 80 yards apart, blasted away at one another for 90 minutes. One of the focal points of this bloody combat was a house known as Bachelor's Hall, rented by John Brawner.

After acquiring the Brawner farm in May 1985, the National Park Service needed to determine if portions of the existing house dated to the time of the battle. To do so, historical, archaeological, and architectural research was undertaken in 1987 through 1989. The discovery of *in situ* battle-related artifacts in the yard surrounding the house prompted additional archaeological investigations in 1994 to locate evidence of the firing lines.

The Brawner Farmhouse

History

About dawn on August 28, 1862, a squadron of Confederate cavalry was sent beyond the infantry pickets to give advance warning of the approach of Union Maj. Gen. John Pope's Army of Virginia. Shortly after daylight, cavalry videttes captured a Federal courier carrying plans of an attack on Manassas Junction. After forwarding the captured order to Confederate Maj. Gen. Thomas J. Jackson, Col. Bradley T. Johnson, with a small brigade guarding Jackson's left flank, carefully studied the terrain around the little crossroads village of Groveton. Johnson decided that the farm of Mr. John C. Brawner, located on a prominent ridge, was the key to his defense (Figure 1). The 319.5-acre farm consisted of a house, known as Bachelor's Hall, some outbuildings, and an orchard. Brawner rented the farm from the owner, Mrs. Augusta Douglass, for an annual fee of \$150 plus two-thirds of the harvest (Gaff 1985:43-46; Parker 1989:2).

Writing about the events of that morning nine years later, Brawner (1871) recalled that "some officers came up and asked me why I did not leave as all the rest of the people had left. I told them I was a cripple and could not leave." Handicapped or not, the 64-year-old Brawner, his wife, and three daughters fled northward to a neighbor's home when Brawner (1871) matter-of-factly noted that the "battle commenced. House was shelled and balls passing through the house."

The Battle of Brawner Farm began late in the day when the Stonewall Brigade and five others from Jackson's left wing of the Army of Northern Virginia engaged Brig. Gen. John Gibbon's Black Hat Brigade and two additional regiments from Brig. Gen. Abner Doubleday's Brigade. The height of the battle was a 90-minute firefight between opposing infantry lines only 70 to 80 yards apart. When darkness finally put an end to the slaughter, Confederate casualties exceeded 1,250 men killed, wounded, and missing, while Union losses totaled 1,025. This action was a prelude to even greater events on August 29 and 30, when the Battle of Second Manassas raged to the east and south of Bachelor's Hall (Gaff 1985; Hennessy 1993:168-93).

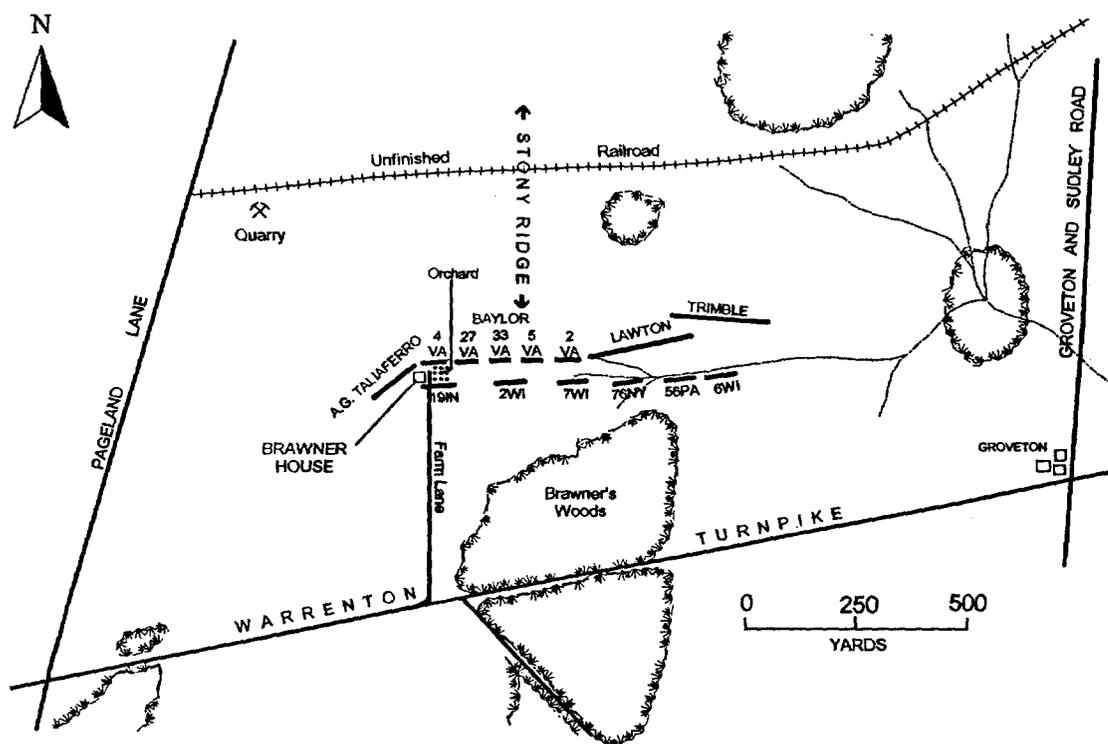


Figure 1. Map of the Battle of Brawner Farm, August 28, 1862.

The day after Second Manassas, John Brawner returned to survey the damage to his farm. The house, though riddled by bullets, was still standing and apparently habitable, but the vegetable garden was destroyed and the orchard damaged. Other losses suffered by the Brawners, for which they attempted to receive restitution from the U.S. government in 1871, included the destruction of all the household and kitchen furniture, farm tools, food supplies, and livestock. For a family that led a hardscrabble existence before the war, life suddenly became even harder. Being poor, the Brawners had no choice but to sit out the war at Bachelor's Hall (Brawner 1871).

In the deposition she filed with her father's war claim, Brawner's daughter, Mary, laconically described what it was like being caught between opposing armies: "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 ... [and that] was lost at the time of the battle [of Second Manassas]" (Brawner 1871). Because the Brawner family lived at Bachelor's Hall during Second Manassas, the property was referred to thereafter as Brawner farm (Parker 1989:2).

Archaeology and Architecture

Archaeologically, the devastation to the Brawner's meager way of life and the intensity of the combat around their home was apparent when the National Park Service, National Capital Region, Regional Archaeology Program, began to collect information for use by a planning team drafting a Development Concept Plan for the newly acquired property. A key element of the planning concerned the Brawner farmhouse. Did the remodeled 1904-5 structure contain the original antebellum house within its walls or was it a later house built after the battle? In cooperation with National Park Service historical architects and structural preservationists, and aided by volunteers, we proceeded to uncover the archaeological and architectural history of the Brawner farmhouse.

Excavation units placed along the west, north, and east sides of the extant structure revealed a fairly consistent stratigraphic pattern across the site (Figure 2). The first layer consisted of a mixture of modern domestic trash and topsoil. Beneath this was a thin stratum of Virginia bluestone gravel and hard-packed clay deposited after the Brawners returned to their home following the Battle of Second Manassas. The probable source for the crushed Virginia bluestone was a quarry located on the farm about 500 yards from the Brawner house (gravel from the yard matched samples from the quarry). This quarry was associated with the construction of the unfinished Independent Line of the Manassas Gap Railroad and was the place "where rock for ballast probably was quarried, crushed, and transported to the site of the roadbed" (Neville et al. 1995:60, 78). Underlying this gravel was the antebellum grade upon which the Battle of Brawner Farm was fought--a hard-packed, bare-earth, swept yard that was swept because it was probably maintained as an outdoor workspace (Perry Wheelock, personal communication, August 23, 1999). Architectural features associated with this stratum included a set-stone walk, rubble from an outbuilding probably destroyed during the fighting, and most important, the west, north, and east foundation walls of Brawner's antebellum house, Bachelor's Hall (Parker 1989:3-5).

This stone foundation, measuring 24 feet north-south by 31 feet east-west, was all that remained of Bachelor's Hall. The cut sandstone and fieldstone footers rested on the antebellum grade. Along the north foundation wall were two stone piers. The interior portions of the piers probably served as supports for floor joists, while the exteriors may have supported porch columns. Two chimney footings were found on the east side of the house and one on the west. A second chimney footing on the west side had been destroyed by extensive tree root activity and the removal of the stones for later rebuilding (Parker 1989:5).

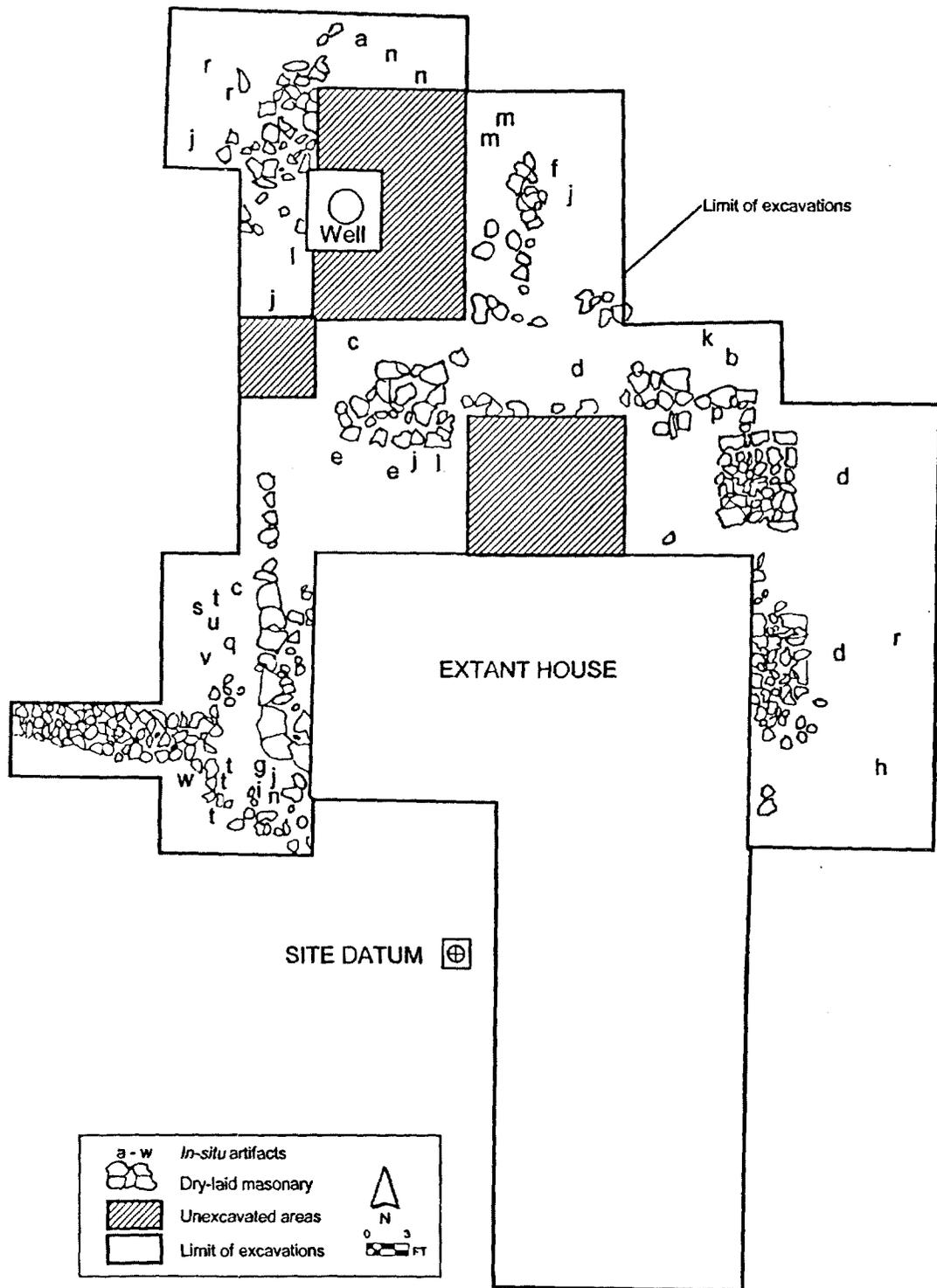


Figure 2. Map of Brawner House excavations (44PW452) showing architectural features and in situ artifacts--see Table 1 for key to artifacts.

These antebellum architectural features are indicative of a two-story house with four chimneys, two on each end, and a four-room floor plan. The size and symmetry of the circa 1820 structure are in keeping with the features and proportions of an early-19th-century Georgian-style house and are definitely not the remains of a log house, as previously thought (Gaff 1985:44; Moore 1910:115). They also reflect the type of house that would be referred to as a "hall" (Newlin 1987; Parker 1989:5).

The archaeological record clearly indicates that Bachelor's Hall was consolidated after the Battle of Second Manassas. The revised floor plan, approximately one-third smaller than the antebellum house, utilized the original south foundation wall and a portion of the east wall. Consolidation and reconstruction is also reflected in the 1868 Prince William County Land Tax Records. In 1857, the year John Brawner began renting Bachelor's Hall, the assessed value of the property was about \$3,800. Due to the Civil War, there is a gap in the tax records for the property until 1866, when the assessed value was \$639 less than its pre-war value. By 1868, the assessed value had returned to its prewar level, which suggests that Augusta Douglass probably rebuilt Brawner's home around 1867-68 (Parker 1989:2).

Table 1. Key to artifacts from Brawner yard

	Catalog Number(s)	Count	Object Description
a	7682	1	.44 cal. 1-ring Colt pistol bullet, unfired
b	6340	1	.54 cal. 3-ring Minie bullet, unfired
c	5711, 7409	2	.54 cal. 3-ring Minie bullet, impacted
d	6340, 7597, 6215	3	.58 cal. 3-ring Minie bullet, unfired
e	7106, 7078	2	.58 cal. 3-ring Minie bullet, impacted
f	6848	1	.58 cal. 2-ring Gardner conical bullet, impacted
g	5749	1	ind. cal. 3-ring Minie bullet, impacted
h	6079	1	.69 cal. 3-ring Minie bullet, unfired
i	5244	1	.69 cal. round ball, unfired
j	5480, 7077, 7832, 7142, 6823	5	.69 cal. round ball, impacted
k	7699	1	.70 cal round ball, impacted
l	7075, 7766	2	ind cal. round ball, impacted & chewed
m	6820, 6821	2	carved bullets, chess pieces
n	5245, 7683, 7684	3	lead case shot
o	5245	1	lead case shot, impacted
p	6663	1	iron case shot
q	5795	1	iron case shot, impacted
r	6217, 7250	3	friction primer, fired
s	5793	1	percussion cap, unfired
t	5486, 5792	4	percussion cap, fired
u	9653	1	Austrian gun tool
v	9652	1	Model 1816 bayonet
w	5488	1	knapsack hook

The historical and archaeological research was supported by an architectural fabric investigation of the remodeled 1904-5, two-and-one-half-story, L-shaped Brawner farmhouse, conducted by the Williamsport Preservation Training Center in 1987. Within the shorter leg of the L, running on an east-west axis, are the remnants of the circa 1868 house. It was hastily constructed using early-19th-century building techniques. From the

second-floor plate down, the current structure is a braced timber frame of hand-hewn sill plates and corner posts with vertically sawn studs, joists, and knee braces, mortised-and-tenoned at the joints. Vertically sawn framing lumber was available between circa 1830-70, before the general use of circular sawn material in the area. Machine-cut nails of a type generally in use after 1835 are found throughout the structural frame. Traces of mud and straw insulation remain in the spaces between studs. Significantly, neither bullet holes nor any fired or impacted Civil War period bullets were discovered in the building's fabric (Newlin 1987).

Other physical evidence suggests the possibility that some materials were used from the antebellum house or from an off-site structure. The west exterior wall was built without knee braces at the corner posts. A through mortise is cut into the south exterior wall, second-floor plate, with no other framing member in evidence. On the east and west exterior walls, the sill plates are joined at midspan with a half-lap joint, suggesting reuse of materials (Newlin 1987).

Collectively, the architectural fabric indicates that the first floor of the east-west leg of the current structure was part of a post-battle, one-and-one-half-story, timber-framed house, with a chimney at either end. The exterior was sided and trimmed with cornice and soffit. Inside, the walls of the two first-floor rooms were plastered and the first-floor ceiling joists and the bottom of the second-floor flooring were exposed and white-washed (Newlin 1987). It was in this cramped structure that the Brawners lived during the difficult years following the War between the States.

The Battle and the 19th Indiana *History*

It is useful to begin this section by quoting an insightful comment about combat history by historian Carol Reardon (1997:2): "[one must start]... with an acknowledgment that traditional research materials for battle studies should be accepted less as objective truth and more, as historian David Thelen suggests, as memories that were 'authentic for the person at the moment of construction.'" Reardon (1997:15) further observed that "historians have been slow to appreciate what... [the Civil War]... veterans understood"--each combatant's field of vision was limited in some way, whether the person was a private in the ranks or a field officer on horseback. No Civil War combat soldier, regardless of rank, knew all that was going on around him, much less 100 feet down the firing line, or in the next regiment or brigade. And, in the end, what they wrote was their account of the battle from their perspective.

It is the same with the histories and memories of the battle at Brawner farm. While most accounts of the engagement are in general agreement, they are occasionally at variance regarding specifics. For this reason, the brief history that follows is based on the battle's reconstruction as presented in the works of the two specialists on the subject, historians Alan Gaff (1985) and John Hennessy (1985, 1993), supplemented by primary sources when necessary. It is focused on those events that took place around the Brawner farmhouse and vicinity, or that involved the 19th Indiana Infantry Regiment.

The artillery shells and musket balls that fell around or passed through John Brawner's home, shortly after 10:00 a.m. on August 28, came from artillery and small arms skirmishing between Colonel Johnson's small command of Confederates and lead elements of Brig. Gen. John F. Reynolds' division. Johnson started the ruckus by having two 3-inch rifled guns open fire on the Union column as it trudged along, four abreast, heading east on the Warrenton Turnpike. The two guns, supported by the 21st Virginia Infantry, were posted on the ridge east of Brawner's house, with the 42nd Virginia deployed in and beyond Brawner's woods as skirmishers (U.S. War Department 1880-1905:12(2):665).

Capt. Dunbar Ransom's battery of 12-pounder, smoothbore Napoleons was called in to drive off the Confederates, but their range was not long enough to reach them. Frustrated, Reynolds ordered Capt. James H. Cooper's battery of 10-pounder rifled Parrott guns into action. They quickly found the range of the Rebel cannon and, along with six companies of infantry from Brig. Gen. George Meade's Pennsylvania Brigade, forced Johnson to pull back to the village of Groveton (Gaff 1985:48-49). In spite of this, Johnson succeeded in halting a column of 15,000 Yankees for more than an hour. Believing that Johnson's small force was merely fighting a delaying action to protect a Confederate wagon train, Reynolds withdrew his skirmishers--Companies B, D, and K of the 1st Pennsylvania Rifles (42nd Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry)--and turned his division south on Pageland Lane toward Manassas Junction. It was about 1:00 p.m. (Hennessy 1993:149-50).

For a while, things remained relatively quiet on Brawner's farm until sometime after 5:00 p.m. As Brig. Gen. Rufus King's division began passing in front of Brawner's fields, heading east on the turnpike, the commander of his lead brigade, Brig. Gen. John Hatch, prudently ordered the 14th Brooklyn Militia (84th New York Regiment) to fan out as skirmishers in the fields north of the turnpike. This movement took them across the front fields of Brawner's farm and perhaps as far north as the house. They discovered no Rebels in force, even though a mile to their north Jackson's 24,000 men were concealed in the woods near the earthen roadbed of the unfinished railroad (Hennessy 1993:164-67).

Continuing east on the turnpike toward Centreville, the head of Hatch's Brigade had passed Groveton when Jackson's artillery began firing on the Yankee columns, sending men scrambling for shelter. By 6:30 p.m., King's four brigades were under fire from three Confederate batteries posted on the high ground north of the turnpike (Gaff 1985:60-66). Union artillery went into battery to answer the Confederate guns while the brigades of Brigadier Generals Gibbon and Doubleday piled themselves along the sides of the turnpike. Needing more cover, Gibbon and Doubleday moved many of their troops into Brawner's woods (today's Gibbon's Woods) along the north side of the turnpike. Behind them, most of Brig. Gen. Marsena Patrick's Brigade followed suit and went into the woods south of the turnpike near Pageland Lane (Gaff 1985:60-66; Hennessy 1993:169-71).

Conferring with one another along the south side of Brawner's woods, Gibbon and Doubleday made the assumption that the Rebel batteries were horse artillery without

infantry support, as the 14th Brooklyn had not run into any organized body of the enemy less than an hour before. Determined to drive off the Confederate artillery, Gibbon agreed to send in some of his men. He chose his only veteran regiment, the 430 Badgers of the 2nd Wisconsin Infantry (Hennessy 1993:172).

The 2nd Wisconsin Regiment, led by Col. Edgar O'Conner, followed a road (no longer extant) north through Brawner's woods. Emerging from the cover of the trees, skirmishers moved into the fields toward the Rebel battery near Brawner's house. Meanwhile, the main body of the regiment formed in line of battle and began its advance through the tall grass. Before the Yankee skirmishers could fire, Confederate skirmishers began peppering the 2nd Wisconsin, while the battery quickly limbered its guns and rode off. Suddenly, Rebel battle lines deployed a quarter mile to the north. With their flags in front, the five small regiments of the famous Stonewall Brigade, numbering about 800 men and commanded by Col. William S. Baylor, advanced to engage the enemy (Hennessy 1993:173).

Expecting to drive off a Rebel battery, not to fight a brigade, the 2nd Wisconsin, nevertheless, stood its ground. When the Stonewall Brigade got within 150 yards, O'Conner ordered his men to fire. In spite of the effect of the 2nd Wisconsin's first volley, the Virginians returned the fire and moved forward to a rail fence (see Figure 1). Since neither side was willing to budge, they settled down to the grim business of dealing out death, with the firing lines only 70 to 80 yards apart (Hennessy 1993:175-76).

To support the 2nd Wisconsin, Gibbon sent in the 423 officers and enlisted men of the 19th Indiana Regiment. Quickly, the Hoosiers moved to the aid of the Badgers engaged at the southern end of high ground known as Stony Ridge. Following Gibbon's directions, Col. "Long" Sol Meredith angled his men to the left of the 2nd Wisconsin and up the slope toward Brawner's house (Gaff 1985:72).

As the intensity of the musketry grew and daylight waned, both sides sent more troops into the fray. The rest of Gibbon's Brigade, the 6th and 7th Wisconsin, plus two of Doubleday's regiments, the 76th New York and the 56th Pennsylvania, went into action on the Union's right flank. Opposing them were the Confederate brigades of Brig. Gens. Alexander Lawton and Isaac Trimble (see Figure 1; Hennessy 1993:177-81).

Over on the Union left flank, Meredith's 19th Indiana Regiment climbed over a rail fence, dressed their battle line, and advanced toward the crest of the hill. As they neared the rise, with their left flank resting on Brawner's house, the Hoosiers were stopped by a volley from the Stonewall Brigade's 4th Virginia Regiment, about 70 yards away (Gibbon 1978:54). In position behind a rail fence, with their right flank anchored around some of Brawner's outbuildings north of the house, the 4th Virginia held the Confederate's extreme right flank. To their left was another of the Stonewall Brigade's regiments, the 27th Virginia, also firing on the 19th Indiana (Gaff 1985:72; Hennessy 1993:175-76). To add to the 19th Indiana's woes, the Union line was being hit by two batteries behind the Stonewall Brigade--Lt. John Carpenter's Alleghany Artillery and Capt. William T. Poague's Rockbridge Artillery (Stuart 1947; Gaff 1985:189; U.S. War

Department 1880-1905:12(2):643).

Sometime after 7:00 p.m., Stuart's Horse Artillery, under the command of Capt. John Pelham, approached the 19th Indiana's left flank. Seeing the Rebel artillery column heading their way, officers of the 19th Indiana pulled the two left companies out of line and deployed them as skirmishers. When the Confederates got within 50 yards, the Yankees fired. Unharmed by the volley, Pelham's men unlimbered their two 3-inch rifles a short distance away. Continued skirmish fire finally forced Pelham to retire to a less exposed position (U.S. War Department 1880-1905:12(2):754; Dudley 1862; Gaff 1985:79).

While the 19th Indiana's flank companies took on Stuart's Horse Artillery, three Virginia regiments from Colonel Alexander Taliaferro's Brigade attempted to get between them and the exposed flank of the Hoosier's main line. To prevent this, Colonel Meredith ordered his men to fall back two rods (33 feet) to a rail fence. From this new position, the 19th Indiana repulsed Taliaferro's first attempt to gain the Brawner yard (see Figure 1). On their second try, the Virginians got into the yard as the 19th Indiana began a fighting withdrawal back to the edge of Brawner's woods. It was about 8:15 p.m. now and so dark that it was pointless to continue a battle in which neither side had gained a clear advantage (Gaff 1985:79-80; Hennessy 1993:185-86).

Sometime after 9:30 p.m., survivors of the 19th Indiana formed a party of about 100 men to return to the battlefield to collect their wounded comrades. It was a moonless night and exceedingly dark. William R. Moore (n.d.), veteran of the 19th Indiana, recalled that "when they had gotten nearly back to their former line of battle--the night was unusually a dark one, other than the shining stars, when there came a voice out of the darkness: 'Halt, who comes there?' Captain Williams answered and said: 'The ambulance corps.' 'Ambulance corps, hell,' and immediately we were fired upon by the [Confederate] pickets. Not caring to bring on another engagement that night we could do nothing else but return to our command."

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 [Douglass' house--this insertion is in the original testimony], 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 had this information second hand since he had gone to the head of the division's column to find King (U.S. Congress 1879:225-26).

The two regiments that Patrick said were aiding Gibbon's wounded men were the 21st and 23rd New York. A veteran of the 21st New York and the author of the regiment's history wrote, "and now comes a call for volunteers to help the wounded on our right. An hundred willing voices respond, and our little detachment hurries down the road..." where they found wounded men "in plenty; and for a sad half hour are engaged in giving such assistance as we can..." (Mills 1887:248-49).

Afterward, the 21st and 23rd New York regiments were "ordered to the right to relieve the wearied men of Gibbon and Doubleday upon the field" (Mills 1887:249). They moved in column up the turnpike until the 21st New York was opposite Brawner's woods where the 21st faced the woods and advanced through them to the north. Mills (1887:249) recalled that "at the front of the wood our line is formed, commanding the open ground in front. The arms are stacked, a picket detailed, and then... the rest lie down to seek a little forgetfulness in sleep."

The aid provided by the New Yorkers to Gibbon's men may not have been all it was touted to be. Pvt. J. H. Stine of Company C, 19th Indiana, had this to say about his experience:

I was badly wounded and I imagined that if I staid there twenty-four hours that would be the last of me. There were some New York troops coming along and my left arm was so palsied with the shot that I could not use it much. I took my hat down and took off the "19," and I got a New York man to take care of me, under the impression that I was a New York man; each regiment took care of their own wounded. He met some of his comrades, who told him he was not very smart to carry off one of those broad-brimmed hat fellows for a New Yorker; and he threw me down across a log.... (U.S. Congress 1879:595)

Samuel G. Hill, another private of Company C, 19th Indiana, was wounded in action and lay on the battlefield from the evening of August 28 until the following Thursday--seven days. He remained on the field so long because he was within the Confederate lines (U.S. Congress 1879:589).

Given these firsthand accounts from 19th Indiana veterans, it is most likely that Confederate pickets held Brawner's yard and house after the battle, since the Stonewall Brigade remained "on the ground it had occupied during the fight the previous evening" until dawn (Hennessy 1985:86). Perhaps Private Hill was wounded at the 19th Indiana's first firing line, located at and east of the Brawner house. This would have put him behind the Confederate pickets--the ones who challenged William Moore's band of volunteers as they approached their former firing line, probably the second one behind the post-and-rail fence. It is also likely that Private Stine was wounded during the 19th Indiana's fighting retreat back to Brawner's woods because he did not encounter any opposition on his way toward the turnpike to the south.

Sometime after daylight on the morning of August 29, the Stonewall Brigade withdrew to the north end of Brawner's farm, behind the roadbed of the unfinished railroad. Later that morning, according to Brigadier General Reynolds, Captain Cooper's Battery, supported by the 4th Pennsylvania Reserves, was deployed "on the same ridge on which" the Confederate right flank was located the previous evening (quoted in Hennessy 1985:80). Cooper's Battery engaged the Confederates, possibly Captain Poague's Rockbridge Artillery, from about 10:00 until shortly after 10:30 a.m., when Cooper and his infantry support were withdrawn south of the turnpike (Hennessy

1985:111). Although the Battle of Second Manassas continued through August 30, and the Civil War raged on another two-and-a-half years after the battles of Brawner Farm and Second Manassas, no other significant infantry engagements took place around the Brawner house and yard (Edwin C. Bearss, personal communication August 31, 1999).

Archaeology

Warfare between state-level governments is, to quote a Civil War soldier, "systematic killing," done on a grand scale and with the states' blessings (Time-Life 1996:112). Indeed, it is one of the most organized, premeditated, regimented, and patterned forms of human behavior. The actions of military units on a battlefield are based on the tactics of the prevailing military wisdom of the day; they are not random. Therefore, one should not expect the debris of battle to be distributed randomly over a battlefield. The tactics employed on a battlefield do leave their traces in the archaeological record. Subsequently, if natural forces or human activities do not significantly disturb, mix, or mask all or parts of the battlefield, it is possible to identify and define artifact patterns created by the tactical positions and movements of individual military units.

Of importance is the fact that artifact patterns often remain in spite of the bias caused by the private collecting of Civil War relics. There are several reasons for this. Most metal detectorists search an area randomly, rather than covering it in a systematic manner. Even when collectors hit concentrations of artifacts or "hot spots" and search them intensively, the density of battle debris is often so great that it would be very difficult to remove all traces of combat. Even when archaeologists have systematically surveyed 100 percent of an area, 100 percent coverage does not result in 100 percent recovery. Soil and weather conditions, vegetative cover, past and current use of the land, the type of metal detector, and the experience and skill of the operator, to name some factors, all have an effect on the ability to successfully detect and recover metal artifacts. Simply put, the random recovery of militaria over time by private collectors usually will not completely eliminate evidence of the archaeological patterns created by the activities and positions of military units on a battlefield (see Sterling and Slaughter, in press).

Archaeological evidence of the intense fighting around Brawner's home was recovered during the 1987 excavations that revealed the sandstone foundation of the antebellum house. More than 100 Civil War military artifacts were found, of which 40 were in their original historic context--the antebellum ground surface of the hard-packed, swept, bare-earth yard or the area that once was beneath the antebellum house (Table 1; Figure 2, 3). It is also probable that these 40 artifacts came from the Battle of Brawner Farm or Second Manassas and not from some subsequent military event. Thirty-seven of them were found beneath the thin layer of crushed Virginia bluestone gravel and hard-packed clay that had been deposited after the Brawners returned to their home, perhaps to cover battle debris lying in the yard around the house in an attempt to reestablish a compacted surface for a swept, outdoor workspace (Perry Wheelock, personal communication August 23, 1999). This gravel was easily obtainable from the abandoned quarry site of the unfinished Independent Line of the Manassas Gap Railroad located on the Brawner farm about 500 yards from the house (Neville et al. 1995:60-65, 78). The

remaining three military artifacts probably associated with the battle were found inside the antebellum house foundations. The additional 60+ Civil War artifacts were found in the topsoil above the gravel and clay layer, indicating that they were deposited later in the war since the house probably acted as a magnet, attracting troops who were, as Mary Brawner put it, "passing backwards and forwards all the time" (Brawner 1871). By analyzing the distribution and association of the 40 artifacts found on the antebellum ground surface, to each other and to the antebellum architectural features, patterns emerge of the military actions on this portion of the Brawner farm battlefield.

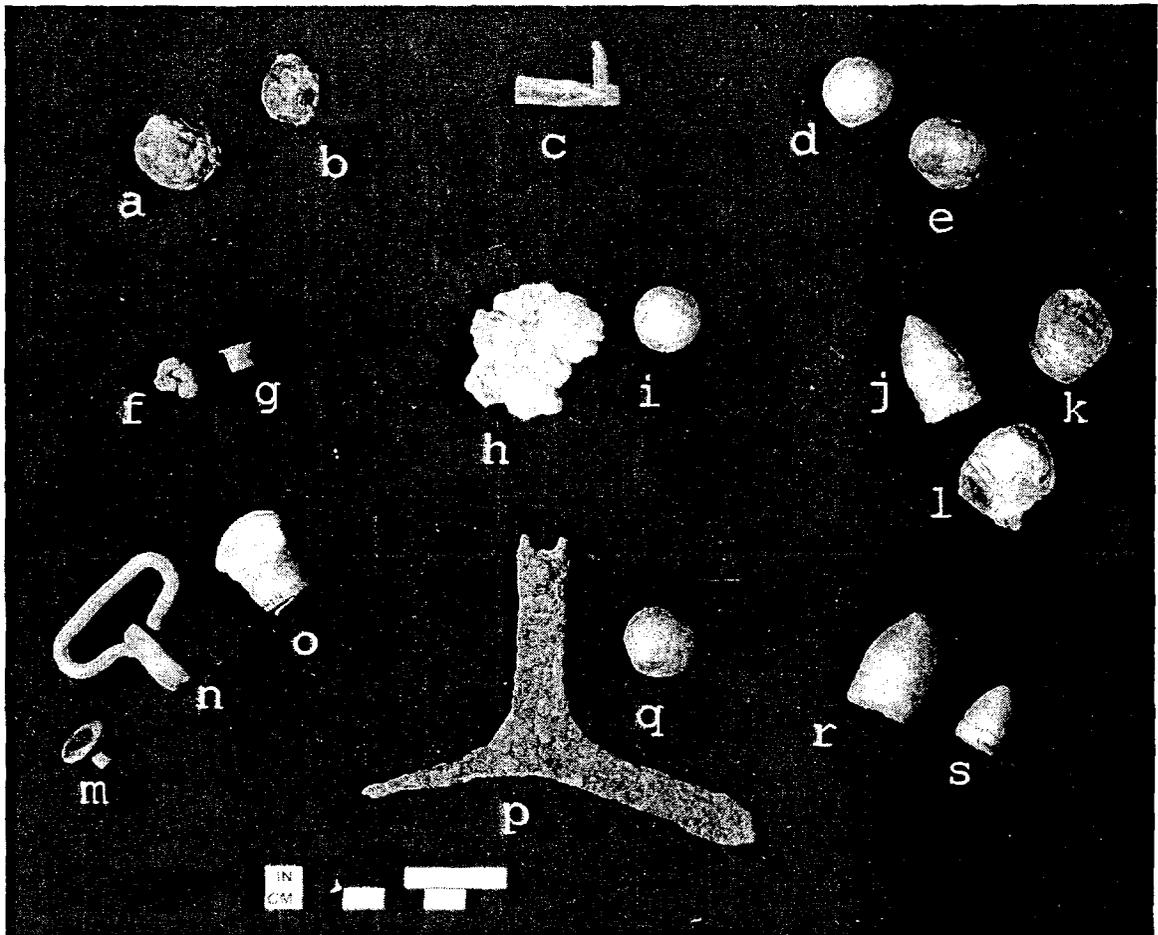


Figure 3. Artifacts found in situ from Brawner House excavations: impacted iron case shot (a); iron case shot (b); fired friction primer (c); lead case shot (d); impacted lead case shot (e); fired and unfired percussion caps (f, g); impacted and unfired .69 cal. musket balls (h, i); impacted, .58 cal. 3-ring bullet (j); impacted, .54 cal. 3-ring bullet (k); impacted .54 cal. Gardner bullet (l); brad (m); knapsack hook (n); bullet carved as chess piece (o); Austrian Lorenz rifle musket gun tool (p); impacted .70 cal. musket ball (q); .69 cal. 3-ring unfired bullet (r); unfired .44 cal. Colt pistol bullet (s).

Fired Minie bullets and round balls, which hit something hard (impacted) such as wood or masonry, were found on the north and west sides of the house (Table 1; Figure 2). Two impacted, 3-ring, .58-caliber Minie bullets were found inside the north foundation wall, indicating they penetrated the north wall of the house (Figure 3j). An

impacted, 2-ring, .58-caliber Confederate-made Gardner bullet was also found north of the north foundation wall (Figure 3l). These bullets were fired toward the north face of Brawner's home from a position due north of the house, where historical records indicate the 4th Virginia Regiment had their right flank anchored on some outbuildings. The 4th Virginia was armed with a variety of different caliber weapons, including the .58-caliber U.S. Model 1855 "Harpers Ferry" rifles (Todd 1983:1275), as well as .54-caliber rifles, .577-caliber British-made Enfield rifle muskets, and .69-caliber muskets (Earl J. Coates, personal communication, March 2, 1999). It is likely that the impacted, .58-caliber Minie bullets were fired from Confederate troops positioned north of the house.

Impacted .54-caliber Minie bullets and .69-caliber musket or round balls were found beside or near the northwest and west sides of the antebellum house (Table 1; Figure 2, 3h and k). One impacted .69-caliber round ball was discovered inside the northwest corner of the foundation wall. Again, this indicates that it penetrated the north wall of Brawner's home. The direction of fire for these projectiles was from the west-northwest. It was from this direction that Colonel Taliaferro's three Virginia infantry regiments--the 10th, 23rd, and 37th--attacked the 19th Indiana's left flank. The 23rd Virginia was conspicuous in its efforts to take the Brawner house and yard. They, too, were armed with a combination of shoulder arms (Todd 1983:1276). Company H carried the .54-caliber U.S. Model 1841 "Mississippi" rifle and the remainder of the regiment used converted, .69-caliber smoothbore muskets (converted from a flintlock to a percussion ignition system). The impacted, .54-caliber bullets and .69-caliber round balls were probably fired by members of the 23rd Virginia as they attacked from the west-northwest toward the Brawner yard and house, or some may have been fired by the 4th Virginia north of the house.

The presence of artillery in the Brawner yard is suggested by the discovery of two fired friction primers, one on the east side of the antebellum house and the other on the north (Figure 2, 3c Table 1). Friction primers, used to fire artillery pieces, consisted of a short metal tube filled with a powder charge that was ignited by friction when a twisted-wire pin was pulled from the tube. Perhaps these artifacts came from one of the Confederate batteries that fired on Brigadier General King's column between 6:00 and 6:30 p.m. on the evening of August 28 (Gaff 1985:62-69) or possibly from Union guns positioned north of the house on the morning of August 29.

The only possible indication of the 19th Indiana's presence in the Brawner yard came from three unfired, 3-ring, .58-caliber Minie bullets. They were found on the east and northeast sides of the antebellum house foundation (Table 1; Figure 2). This is where one would expect to find them if they came from the Hoosiers, since the 19th Indiana was armed with .58-caliber Springfield rifle-muskets (Todd 1983:785) and their initial firing line was east of Brawner's home.

Just north of the house foundation, two carved bullets were found close to each other (Table 1; Figure 2). Judging by its shape, one bullet was probably a chess piece (Figure 3o). During the Civil War, it was common for soldiers on both sides to carve bullets as a way of alleviating boredom (Crouch 1995:109).

Encouraged by the discovery of *in situ*, battle-related artifacts around the Brawner house, we returned to the site in 1994 to determine if evidence of the firing lines still existed east of the house. Although the Brawner farm property had been searched by Civil War collectors before it became part of Manassas National Battlefield Park in 1985, prior experience at Civil War sites led us to believe that some evidence would be left to mark the units' positions because of the intensity of the 90-minute firefight and the fact that the firing lines moved little during the engagement. Brigadier General Gibbon (1978:54) described the action as "the most terrific musketry fire I have ever listened to...." A year later, the effect of such concentrated small arms fire was still evident when Gibbon visited the battlefield and could easily trace his brigades' firing line by the thousands of paper cartridges littering the ground (Gaff 1985:178). Also, in spite of later troop movements and other military activities in the area, the linear artifact patterns of the earlier firing lines would remain because the later activities would leave different archaeological signatures that would neither completely mask nor eradicate the linear patterns.

Prior to selecting the area for archaeological investigation, Alan Gaff, John Hennessy, and Edwin Bearss, historians familiar with the Battle of Brawner Farm, were asked to choose, independently of one another, the place most likely to contain a segment of the 19th Indiana's firing line. The spot picked by the historians was "the offset where the Hoosiers sought shelter" (Gaff 1985:17).

The systematic metal detector survey began in the area selected by the historians as the most promising location for one of the 19th Indiana's firing lines and proceeded northward toward the Stonewall Brigade's position. The field procedure consisted of placing a control grid over the area, 200 ft north-south by about 220 ft east-west, at its widest. Then operators using metal detectors completely swept the area, marking the metal targets, carefully excavating and screening the soil to recover both metallic and nonmetallic artifacts, and mapping the positions where the objects were found.

Evidence of one of the 19th Indiana's firing lines was found almost due east from the northeast corner of the antebellum house foundation. It was in this vicinity that three unfired, 3-ring, .58-caliber Minie bullets were found. Not surprisingly, the firing line, too, was marked by unfired, 3-ring, .58-caliber Minie bullets from the 19th Indiana's .58-caliber Springfield rifle muskets (Todd 1983:785). In a linear pattern approximately 15 feet wide by 100 feet long, 16 unfired, 3-ring, .58-caliber Minie bullets, iron roller buckles of the type found on certain models of U.S. cartridge boxes, a brass finial from a U.S. cartridge box, an iron canteen-stopper loop, a steel musket sling loop, and other militaria defined one of the 19th Indiana's firing lines (Figure 4, 5; Table 2).

The likelihood that this is one of the 19th Indiana's firing lines, and most probably the first one, is based on several pieces of evidence. First, the caliber of the unfired Minie bullets matches the caliber of the rifle muskets used by the Hoosiers. The 2nd Wisconsin, located to the east of the 19th Indiana, was armed with .54/.55-caliber Austrian Lorenz rifle muskets (Todd 1983:1307). The only other Union regiment engaged in a firefight

near the Brawner house was the 4th Pennsylvania Reserves, who supported Captain Cooper's Battery on the morning of August 29. They were armed with .69-caliber smoothbore and rifled U.S. Model 1842 muskets (Todd 1983:1128).

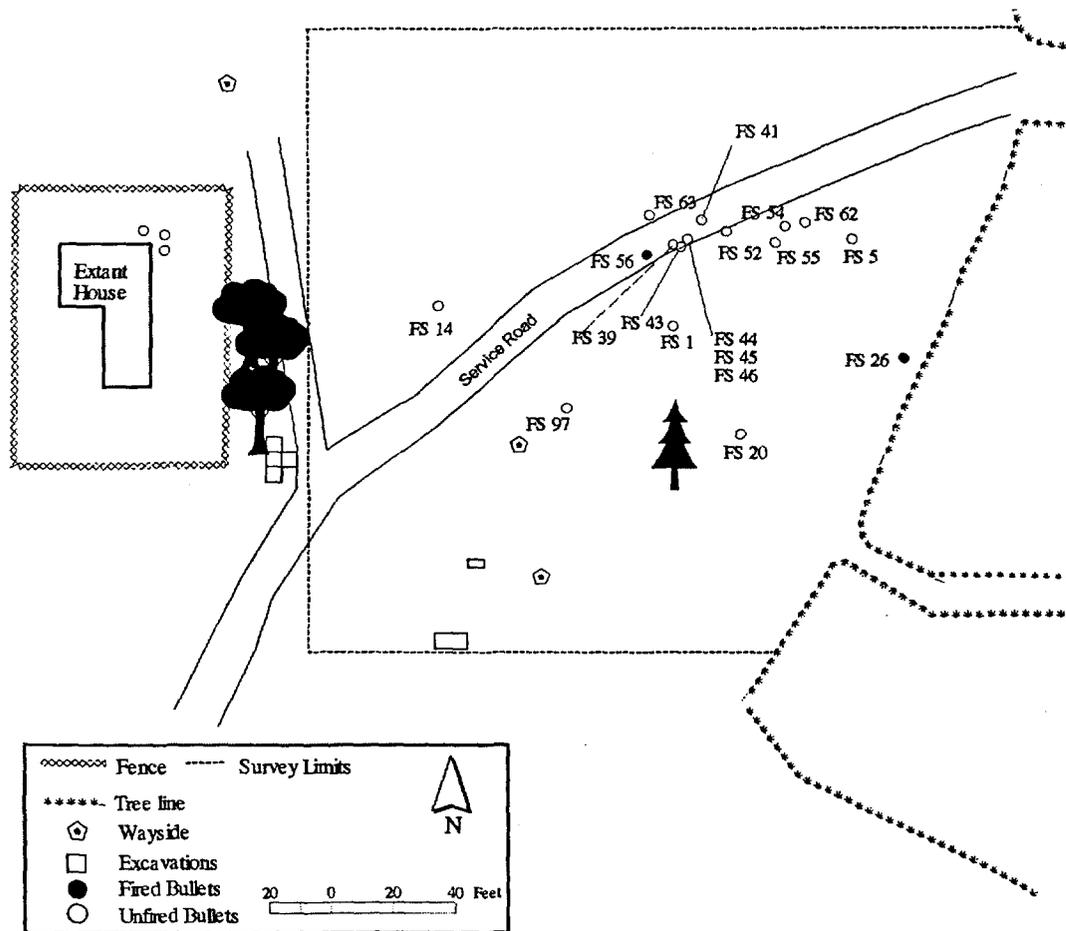


Figure 4. Map of unfired and fired bullets found during the metal detector survey.

Second, the artifact pattern and the types of militaria found support the interpretation that this is a firing line and not some other type of military formation (Figure 4, 6; Table 2). It was common for soldiers on a firing line to drop unfired cartridges because of nervousness or haste, or because they were hit while reloading. Sometimes infantrymen discarded bullets because they were too large in diameter to fit easily in the rifle's bore (Babits 1995). This predicament made it especially difficult to reload when black-powder residue built up after firing several rounds. Other militaria, particularly objects that served as fasteners or were located at stress points, such as finials, buckles, canteen stoppers, and musket sling loops, became detached from accoutrements and clothing or were lost during the frenzied action on a firing line. Most important, it is the type, distribution, and density of these artifacts in combination with the type, distribution, and density of the unfired bullets that supports the interpretation that this is a firing line and not something as diffuse and ephemeral as a skirmish or picket line, or the position of troops being held in reserve (Slaughter and Sterling 1998).

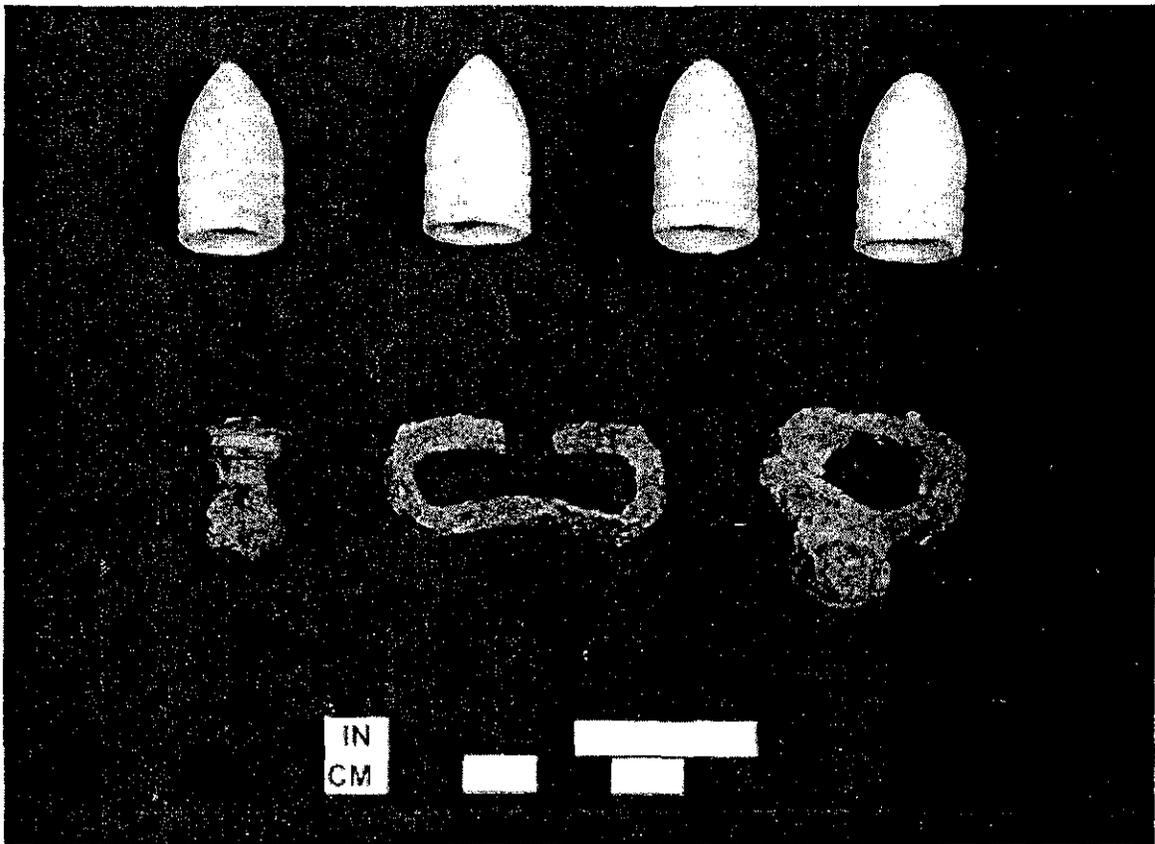


Figure 5. Artifacts from the firing line (left to right): top row, four unfired, .58 cal. 3-ring Minie bullets; bottom row, brass cartridge box finial, musket sling loop, & canteen stopper loop.

Third, the distribution of iron fragments from Confederate-made or other 3-inch rifle artillery shells (Figures 7, 8, 9; Table 2) approximated the distribution of the unfired bullets and militaria marking the firing line. Although the area was completely surveyed with metal detectors, the shell fragments defined a broad, linear, east-west pattern, overlaying the linear pattern of artifacts from the infantry firing line. Most likely, the Confederate-made shells came from the rifled guns of Captain Poague's Rockbridge Artillery or Lieutenant Carpenter's Alleghany Artillery, which fired on the Union infantry line from positions behind the Stonewall Brigade. Carpenter's battery consisted of two 12-pounder, smoothbore Napoleons and two 3-inch rifles. These guns, along with their ammunition, had been captured the day before at the Union supply depot at Manassas Junction, replacing in kind Carpenter's worn-out guns and equipment (Gaff 1985:25, 74, 189; Stuart 1947). This is intriguing because the Union normally fired Hotchkiss or Schenkl projectiles from 3-inch rifled guns (Peterson 1969:95). Thus, it is possible that the fragments of Union-made Hotchkiss shells, which we found, were fired from Carpenter's two 3-inch rifled guns (Figure 9). The fragments of Confederate-made and other 3-inch rifled shells could have come from either Carpenter's battery or Poague's two 10-pounder Parrotts (Gaff 1985:189).

Table 2. Artifact inventory from the 19th Indiana firing line

Field Specimen #	Catalog Number	Object Description
FS-01	19206	.58 cal, 3-ring, Minie bullet, unfired, with star base
FS-05	19210	.58 cal, 3-ring, Minie bullet, unfired
FS-08	19213	3-inch rifle shell, body frag.
FS-10	19215	3-inch rifle shell, nose frag.
FS-13	19218	3-inch Hotchkiss shell fragment, flame groove present
FS-14	19219	.58 cal, Minie bullet, unfired, flattened
FS-15	19220	iron roller buckle of U.S. cartridge box
FS-17	19222	circular sheet brass disk
FS-19	19224	20-pdr Parrott rifle shell frag.
FS-20	19225	.58 cal, 3-ring, Minie bullet, unfired
FS-21	19226	3-inch Hotchkiss shell fragment, flame groove present
FS-22	19227	brass Enfield bayonet scabbard throat
FS-26	19231	.58 cal, 3 ring, Minie bullet, fired
FS-30	19235	20-pdr Parrott shell, nose frag.
FS-37	19242	3-inch rifle shell, nose frag.
FS-38	19243	20-pdr Parrott shell, nose frag.
FS-39	19244	.58 cal, 3-ring, Minie bullet, unfired
FS-40	19245	iron roller buckle of U.S. cartridge box
FS-41	19246	.58 cal, 3-ring, Minie bullet, unfired
FS-43	19248	.58 cal, 3-ring, Minie bullet, unfired
FS-44	19249	.58 cal, 3-ring, Minie bullet, unfired
FS-45	19250	.58 cal, 3-ring, Minie bullet, unfired
FS-46	19251	.58 cal, 3-ring, Minie bullet, unfired
FS-52	19257	.58 cal, 3-ring, Minie bullet, unfired
FS-54	19259	.58 cal, 3-ring, Minie bullet, unfired
FS-55	19260	.58 cal, 3-ring, Minie bullet, unfired
FS-56	19261	.58 cal, 3-ring, Minie bullet, fired, impacted
FS-58	19263	20-pdr Parrott shell frag.
FS-60	19265	1-inch iron canister shot
FS-62	19266	.58 cal, 3-ring, Minie bullet, unfired
FS-63	19267	.58 cal, 3-ring, Minie bullet, unfired
FS-67	19270	3-inch rifle shell, nose frag.
FS-68	19071	3-inch Reed rifle shell, sabot frag.
FS-71	19274	3-inch rifle shell, body frag.
FS-75	19278	3-inch rifle, case shot/shell body frag., poss. Confederate
FS-77	19280	3-inch rifle, case shot/shell body frag., poss. Confederate
FS-78	19281	iron canteen stopper loop
FS-79	19282	3-inch rifle, case shot/shell body frag., poss. Confederate
FS-81	19284	3-inch rifle, case shot/shell body frag., poss. Confederate
FS-82	19285	brass finial from U.S. cartridge box
FS-86	19289	iron musket sling loop
FS-87	19290	circular sheet brass disk
FS-92	19295	20-pdr Parrott rifle shell frag.
FS-94	19297	20-pdr Parrott rifle shell frag.
FS-95	19298	20-pdr Parrott rifle shell, nose frag.
FS-96	19299	20-pdr Parrott rifle case shot/shell, body/base frag.
FS-97	19300	.58 cal, 3-ring, Minie bullet, unfired

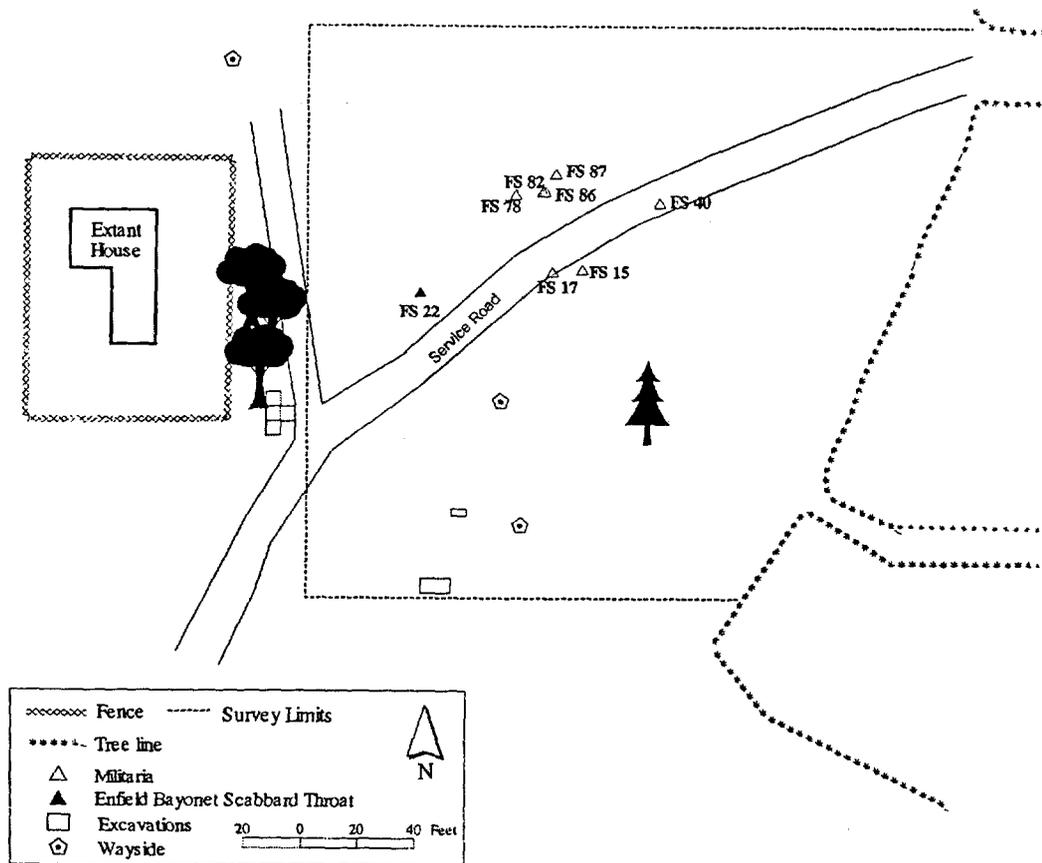


Figure 6. Map of militaria found during the metal detector survey.

The only artillery shell fragments that could not have come from Confederate guns were the 20-pounder, rifled Parrott shell fragments (Figure 7, 9; Table 2). There were two 20-pounder Parrott guns at First Manassas, but they were deployed at Blackburn's Ford, far out of range of Brawner's farm. At Second Manassas, there were five Union batteries of 20-pounder Parrotts engaged in the battle. Of these five, Capt. Freeman McGilvery's battery of four 20-pounder Parrotts, posted approximately 660 yards north-northwest of John Dogan's house, was the only battery firing 20-pound rifled shells within the range and field of fire of this location (James M. Burgess, personal communication July 20, 1999; Stuart 1947; Hennessy 1985:Map 11).

Fourth, historical accounts place the 19th Indiana Regiment's first firing line east of Brawner's home on the hillcrest, with their left flank at the house (Gibbon 1978:54; Dudley 1862:2; Meredith 1862:4). From this forward position, the 19th Indiana eventually retired to a second firing line behind a post-and-rail fence to the rear or southeast of the Brawner house (Moore n.d.; Meredith 1862:4).

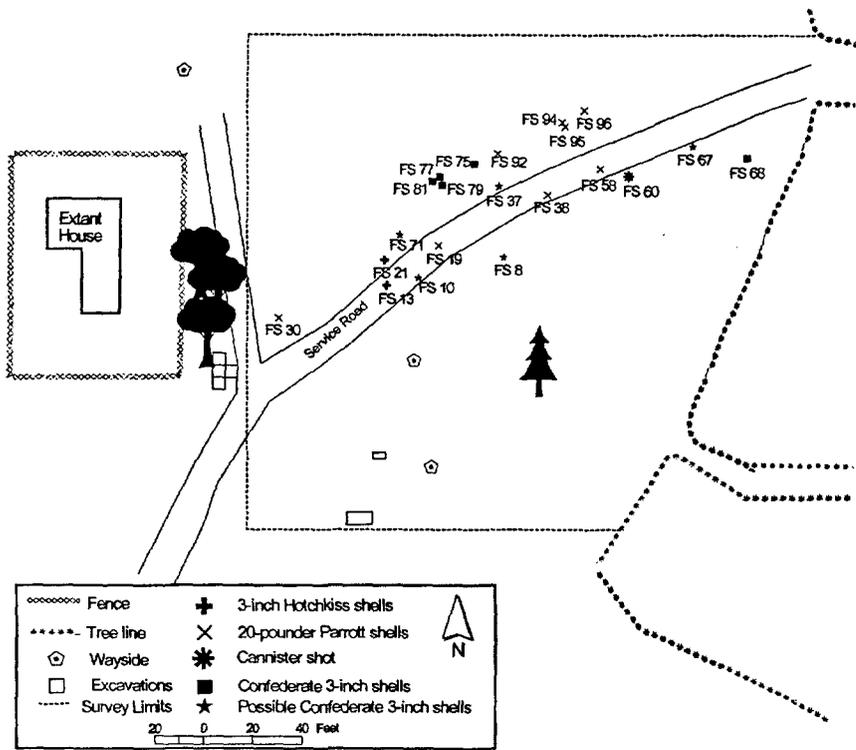


Figure 7. Map of artillery shell fragments found during the metal detector survey.

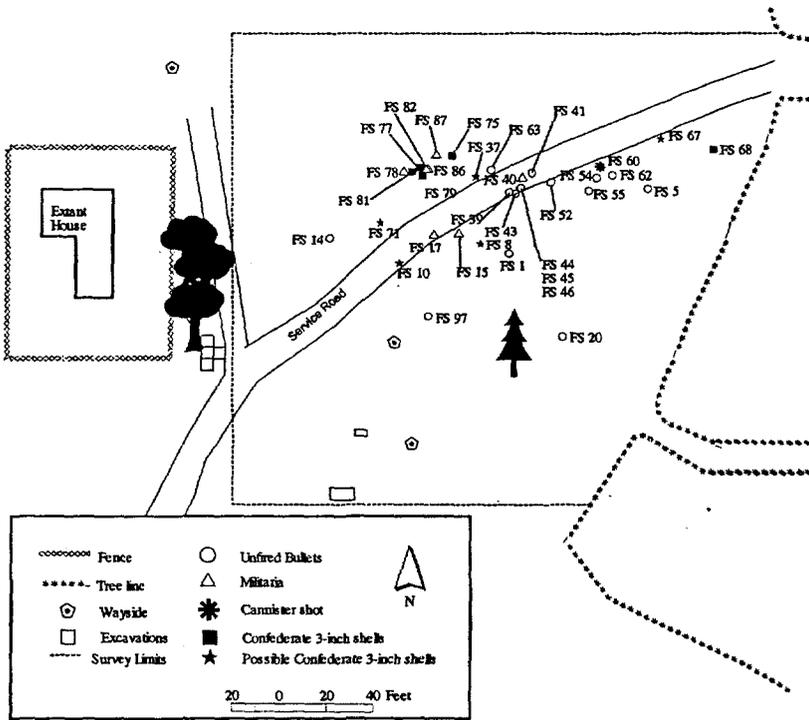


Figure 8. Map of unfired bullets, militia, and Confederate artillery shell fragments marking the position of a firing line.

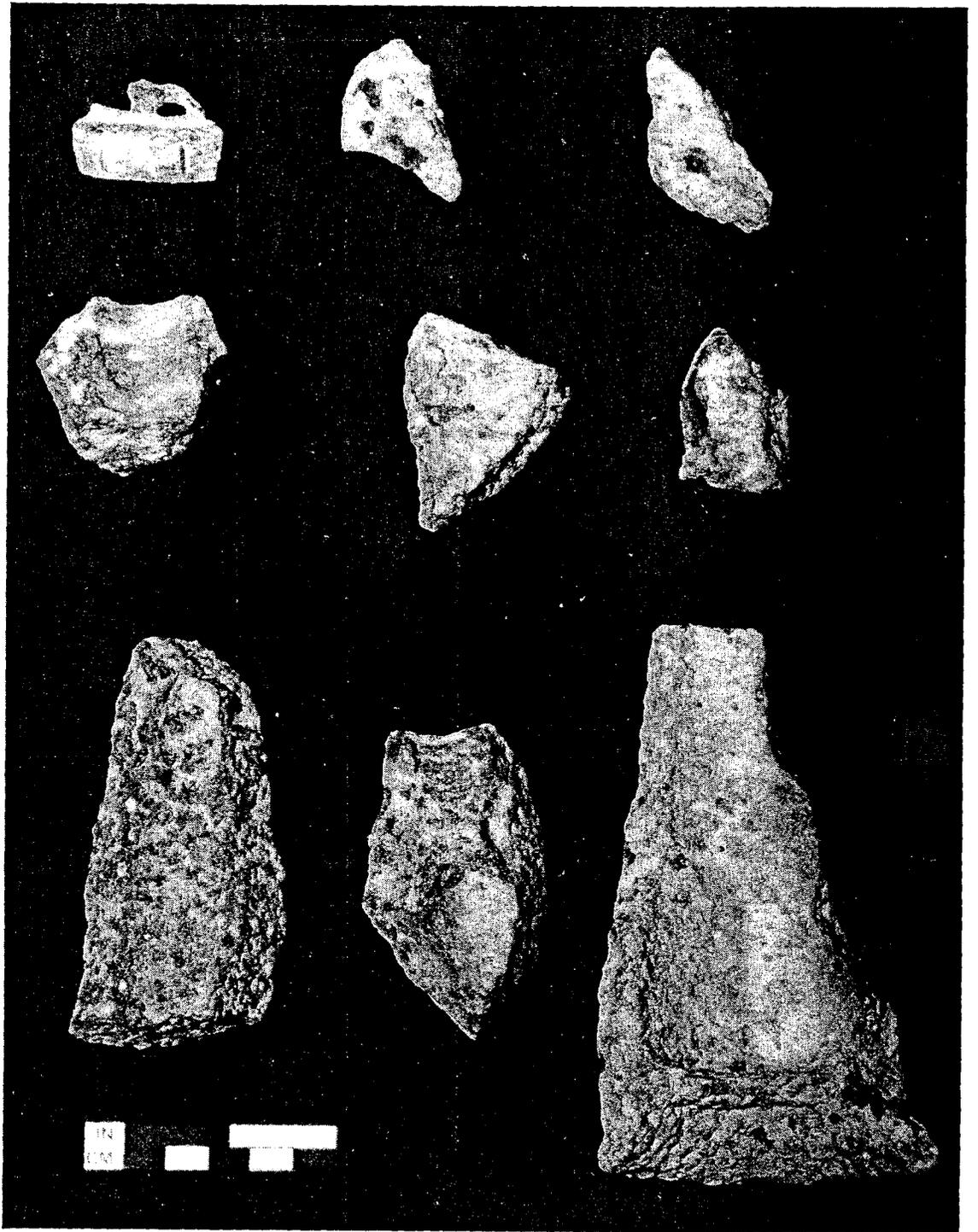


Figure 9. Artillery shell fragments (left to right): top row, 3-inch Reed rifle (CSA) brass sabot frag., poss. CSA 3-inch rifle, poss. CSA 3-inch rifle; middle row, 3-inch rifle nose frag. w/fuse seat, poss. CSA 3-inch rifle, poss. CSA 3-inch rifle; bottom row, 3-inch Hotchkiss rifle, 20-pdr Parrott rifle nose frag., & 20-pdr Parrott rifle base frag.

One artifact found south of the archaeological pattern of the firing line needs to be discussed--the brass throat to an Enfield bayonet scabbard (Table 2; Figure 4). It has been suggested that this artifact could have been dropped by a soldier of the 23rd New York while on picket duty. According to Brigadier General Patrick (U.S. Congress 1879:225), "it was in this ground, up to this house, and from about here," meaning Brawner's house, that the 21st and 23rd New York regiments gathered the wounded and later were on picket duty. In fact, the picket line of the 21st New York was several hundred yards southeast of Brawner's house, along the edge of a field at the north end of Brawner's woods (Mills 1887:249; in 1862, the northern edge of Brawner's woods was located south of the current woodline). The exact position of the 23rd New York is not known. However, if the picket line of the 23rd New York Regiment was around Brawner's house it would have been some distance forward of the 21st New York's and in a dangerously exposed position. While the 23rd New York was armed with Enfield rifle muskets (Todd 1983:1038), some 4th Virginia soldiers were similarly equipped, as were many other Southern troops who passed through the farm on August 30 (Earl J. Coates, personal communication, March 2, 1999; James M. Burgess, personal communication, September 9, 1999). Finally, William Moore (n.d.), a veteran of the 19th Indiana, made it clear that Confederate pickets were posted around Brawner's house.

In the southeast corner of the Brawner yard, adjacent to the antebellum road trace, a large metallic contact was detected during the metal detector survey. As with other metal targets, the initial step was to excavate the sod in a divot (a clump of turf and soil) and then examine the hole and the divot for the metal object. Removal of the divot in this instance uncovered a large flat object. Excavation of additional sod and soil revealed a canteen associated with a number of nonmetallic items. Everything was left in place and a 5 x 5 foot excavation unit, tied to the grid, was placed over the objects. Systematic removal of the sod and soil overburden uncovered a shallow, roughly circular feature. Excavation of the surrounding soil revealed a Confederate pewter copy of a U.S. Model 1858 canteen (Figure 10; Sylvia and O'Donnell 1990:129). Still in their original context were the iron roller buckles from the canteen sling and stains from the iron chain that had held the stopper to the canteen.

The feature extended to the edge of the initial unit. As a result, three additional 5 x 5 foot units, one to the north, east, and south, were excavated to delineate the feature and to further investigate the immediate area. The excavation exposed a shallow, basin-shaped fire pit less than 0.5 feet at its deepest point and with a maximum diameter of 2.5 feet. Such a small feature could be dug easily in several minutes with a bayonet and a tin cup or one's hands. Found in association with the canteen were fire-cracked rocks, burned fragments of brick and mortar, and animal bones (Figure 10; Table 3).

The Confederate canteen was found at the top of the feature (Figure 10), indicating it was one of the last items to be tossed on the fire pit. The side of the canteen that faced upward was in perfect condition, while the downward face was partially crushed, as though it had been stepped on. That the damaged side of the canteen was face down was evidence that it was damaged before it was tossed on top of the feature by a Confederate soldier.



Figure 10. Feature 2 showing Confederate pewter canteen, iron roller buckles from canteen sling, animal bones, and fire-cracked rock.

The animal bones and one tooth came from a minimum of one cow, one pig, and one horse (see Appendix for details). The 1871 claim for damages filed with the U.S. government by John Brawner (1871) included one cow and 22 hogs "killed and eaten," and one horse that was shot and died from its wounds. Most of the excavated cow bones came from meaty portions of the cow and several bore evidence of crude butchering. Other bones showed signs of burning. The horse bones, however, were elements located just above the hoof--a portion of the animal not usually considered an epicurean delicacy. Although the armies often drove herds of cattle to provide the troops with fresh meat, the fact that cow, pig, and horse remains were all found in the same shallow pit--which represented a single, short-term event--makes it more likely that these remains came from Brawner's animals killed during the battle of August 28. Thus, the feature probably represents a shallow cooking pit made by famished Confederates sometime after the departure of Union troops from Brawner's woods and fields around 1:00 a.m. on August 29 and before the return of the Brawner family on August 31.

Summary and Interpretations

When the Brawners fled their home on the morning of August 28, 1862, the structure they left was not "a neat log house," as described by Confederate artilleryman Edward Moore (1910:115). Rather, it was a circa 1820, two-story Georgian-style house called Bachelor's Hall, with double exterior chimneys at the east and west walls and a sandstone foundation measuring 24 x 31 feet. As a result of damage caused during the

battle, the house was rebuilt circa 1867-68. The post-battle structure occupied a foundation about one-third smaller than the antebellum plan and was built directly on all of the south and a portion of the east foundation walls of the original structure. Incorporating some salvaged material, possibly from Bachelor's Hall, the new house was one and-one-half stories, with two rooms on the first floor and a chimney on the east and west ends. It was in this much smaller structure that John Brawner and his family continued to live during the hard times endured by many Virginians after the war.

Although the study area was reputed to have been heavily disturbed by earlier collectors, archaeological patterns remained of troop positions. Impacted .54- and .69-caliber bullets and musket balls, fired by Colonel Taliaferro's Virginians in their attempts to drive the 19th Indiana from the Brawner yard and house, were found on the west and northwest sides of the house. Around the northeast corner of the house and to the east, a portion of the 19th Indiana's first firing line remained. Marked by unfired .58-caliber Minie bullets and other infantry militaria, these artifacts were found in a linear pattern approximately 15 x 100 feet. Significantly, the distribution of iron fragments from exploded Confederate-made artillery shells approximated the linear pattern of the unfired bullets and militaria (see Figure 8), confirming the firing line's location. Finally, evidence of post-battle activities was discovered in the southeast corner of the Brawner yard, where a small roasting pit made by Confederate soldiers was excavated that contained, among other things, a Confederate pewter canteen and bones from a cow, pig, and horse--most likely some of the animals that Brawner reported killed and eaten as a consequence of the battle.

More important are the implications of this research for future efforts to define other tactical positions, particularly the 19th Indiana's second firing line behind the post-and-rail fence. The Hoosiers' first firing line was identified 110 feet north of a National Park Service interpretive marker. Yet, even though 100 percent of the survey area was searched with metal detectors, there was no archaeological pattern of a second firing line. Maybe William Moore's (n.d.) recollection that the rail fence they retreated to was "75 paces [about 150 feet] in the rear of our [first] line" is more accurate than Colonel Meredith's statement (1862:4) that they fell back "to a fence about two rods [33 feet] in the rear." Based on the archaeology, Meredith's account is suspect.

It is also unlikely that the firing line identified due east of the northeast corner of the antebellum house foundation is the 19th Indiana's second firing line--the one behind the rail fence. If that were so, then the Hoosier's first firing line would be north of Brawner's house, in the area of the outbuildings. By all historical accounts, the 4th Virginia Regiment held the outbuildings during the battle. Possibly, the 19th Indiana's second firing line awaits discovery a short distance south of the National Park Service interpretive marker.

Unlike most Civil War battlefields, where the bodies of the dead marked routes of attack, retreat, and counterattack, the static nature of the fighting at Brawner's farm imposed an unnatural order on the battlefield (Hennessy 1993:188). The morning after the battle, Confederate Capt. William Blackford remarked that "the positions of the two

[firing] lines were about 70 yards apart and had not changed during the action. The lines were well marked by the dark rows of bodies ..., lying just where they had fallen, with their heels on a well-defined line" (quoted in Hennessy 1993:188). Such a sight was mute testimony to Brig. Gen. William Booth Taliaferro's comment on the battle: "In this fight there was no maneuvering and very little tactics--it was a question of endurance, and both endured" (quoted in Gaff 1985:164).

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank the following persons for their assistance during various phases of this research: Ken Apschnikat, Dr. Lawrence Babits, Edwin Bearss, James Burgess, Earl "Jerry" Coates, Karen Cucurullo, Craig Davis, Alan Gaff, Tara Goodrich, Dr. William Hanna, John Hennessy, John Imlay, Jeanne Lavelle, Dr. Barbara Little, Michael Lucas, Richard Maestas, Keith Newlin, Kathleen Parker, Claude "Pete" Petrone, Malcolm "Rich" Richardson, Dr. Douglas Scott, Carter Shields, Charles "Chip" Smith, Tammy Stidham, Michael Strutt, James Thompson, Jackie Volmer, and Perry Wheelock.

Appendix Analysis of Faunal Remains from Feature 2

Susannah L. Dean

Introduction

There were many casualties of the Battle of Brawner Farm besides the fighting soldiers. As described by Alan Gaff: "All the farm animals left behind by the Brawner family were dead in their pens and out in the long grass were dead birds and rabbits, 'innocent victims of man's brutality'" (quoted in Gaff 1985:178). As described by both Mary and John Brawner (1871), all of their livestock were killed during the battle with the single exception of a colt that was later "taken by a scouting Party from Genl F. Segels Corps [Sigel]." The following testimony was sworn on June 15, 1871, by Mary B. Brawner:

The cow was killed at [the time of the battle] in the barn-yard. She was found dead in the barn-yard, and of course she must have been killed. She was left there when we left the place. I don't know whether they used her for beef or not, because we left the place early the next morning before light--the battle was raging so furiously we could not stay.

The hogs were killed at the same time. I don't remember how many there were. I saw some of them that had been butchered: after we went back to the house we saw where they had been butchered. [John Brawner's testimony specified "16 big hogs and 7 shoats."]

The horse was shot and died from wounds at the same time....

The colt was taken at a later time from a gentleman's farm where it was put to pasture. It belonged to my father: one that he had raised. (Brawner 1871)

Faunal Analysis

Twenty-two bone fragments were recovered from the small feature containing the Confederate canteen (Feature 2; see Table 3). All of these were from medium- to large-sized mammals. Three species were identified: cow, pig, and horse.

Six fragments of cattle bone were recovered, representing at least one adult cow. Identified elements include one left humerus, one right tibia, one metacarpal, and two left pelvic bones. The tibia and pelvic bones appear to have been hacked or crudely butchered. The tibia shows signs of carnivore scavenging, and the pelvic bones exhibit signs of both carnivore and rodent chewing. The metacarpal had been carnivore chewed and may have been burned.

The pig was represented by a single adult-sized incisor.

Four fragments of horse bone were recovered: a single phalange and three fragments of a right calcaneus (the latter have been identified as possible horse). These

bones were clearly from an adult animal--they could not have come from the previously mentioned colt.

Nine unidentified large mammal bones were also recovered from this pit. Some of these showed signs of having been burned.

Table 3. Inventory of material from feature 2 excavations

Provenience	Catalog Number	Object Description
N10W40.Fea.2	19303	fire cracked rock
N10W40.Fea.2	19310	iron roller buckle from canteen sling
N10W40.Fea.2	19311	Iron roller buckle from canteen sling
N10W40.Fea.2	19312	pewter Confederate copy of U.S. Model 1858 canteen
N10W40.Fea.2	19317	horse phalange, poss. burned
N10W40.Fea.2	19318	cow humerous
N10W40.Fea.2	19319	cow tibia, poss. butchered
N10W40.Fea.2	19320	cow pelvis, poss. butchered
N10W40.Fea.2	19321	horse calcaneous, poss.
N10W40.Fea.2	19322	large mammal
N10W40	19349	iron case shot
N5W40	19383	tinned-metal, 4-hole Federal trouser button
N5W40	19387	iron case shot
N10W35.2	19451	iron case shot

Interpretations

While the number of identified bones is low, it is likely that these bones are the remains of John Brawner's livestock killed during the Battle of Brawner Farm. This interpretation is based not only on John Brawner's 1871 claims for restitution but on the stratigraphic context of the bones and associated artifacts. Cow humerus and pelvis are both meaty elements. The tibia can likewise be boiled for soups or stews or broken to release the calorie-rich marrow. Both the pelvis and tibia showed evidence of having been hacked or crudely butchered. Other large mammal bones showed evidence of having been burned, probably cooked. It is probable that these farm animals were killed during the battle and later eaten by the famished soldiers, after which the bones were simply discarded, some into the actual cook fire in which they had been roasted.

The livestock penned at Brawner farm most assuredly offered the foot soldiers a hearty meal after their intense fighting: "16 big hogs" (Brawner 1871) could yield a potential 1600 pounds of pork. A single cow could yield 400 pounds of beef. Even the horse, if consumed, could yield more than 300 pounds of meat. It is likely that this feature was only one of many cook fires in use in and around the Brawner yard following the battle.

Some of the bones recovered showed evidence of being chewed by carnivores and rodents. Once the soldiers had their fill, it is likely that the surviving local fauna came into the yard area, picking out, and probably dragging away, remaining bits of meat and bone. This may account for the lack of small bones witnessed in this collection. Both

Mary and John Brawner (1871) mentioned domestic fowl in their claim for restitution. It is likely that these animals were likewise consumed by soldiers and that any faunal evidence of this meal was eaten or carried away by other scavengers such as raccoons, rats, and crows.

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