

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES/
NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM

WARNING

THIS FILE CONTAINS INFORMATION THAT IS RESTRICTED FROM PUBLIC ACCESS UNDER LAW (INCLUDING 54 U.S.C. § 307103 [FORMERLY SECTION 304 OF THE NATIONAL HISTORIC PRESERVATION ACT OF 1966, AS AMENDED] AND/OR 16 U.S.C. § 470hh [ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESOURCES PROTECTION ACT OF 1979]).

THIS DOCUMENTATION MAY BE VIEWED OR REPRODUCED ONLY WITH THE PERMISSION OF THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR ACTING THROUGH THE KEEPER OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER OR THEIR AUTHORIZED DESIGNEE.

 x **RESTRICTED INFORMATION IN THIS DOCUMENT
HAS BEEN REDACTED**

REDACTION DATE: May 2025 (IF APPLICABLE)

NOTES:

FILE (PROPERTY) NAME: Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical
Park

LOCATION (STATE/TERRITORY): Virginia

LOCATION (COUNTY/PARISH): Frederick

NRIS#: 04000273

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

1. Name of Property

Historic name: Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park

Other names/site number: _____

Name of related multiple property listing:

The Civil War in Virginia, 1861-1865: Historic and Archaeological Resources (076-5168)

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

2. Location

Street & number: 8693 Valley Pike

City or town: Middletown State: Virginia County: Frederick, Shenandoah, and Warren

Not For Publication: ☐

Vicinity: ☐

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this x nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property x meets does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

x national x statewide x local

Applicable National Register Criteria:

x A B x C x D

Turkija L Lowe Federal Preservation Officer (acting) 05-6-2025

Signature of certifying official/Title:

Date

National Park Service

State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property X meets does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting official:

Date

Director, Virginia Department of Historic Resources

10/17/2024

Title :

State or Federal agency/bureau
or Tribal Government

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4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

☒ entered in the National Register

☐ determined eligible for the National Register

☐ determined not eligible for the National Register

☐ removed from the National Register

☒ other (explain:) Additional Documentation of administratively listed park unit

James Gabbert
Signature of the Keeper

6/20/2025
Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

Private:

☒

Public – Local

☒

Public – State

☒

Public – Federal

☒

Category of Property

(Check only **one** box.)

Building(s)

☐

District

☒

Site

☐

Structure

☐

Object

☐

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Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
<u>29</u>	<u>81</u>	buildings
<u>41</u>	<u>1</u>	sites
<u>25</u>	<u>8</u>	structures
<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	objects
<u>101</u>	<u>98</u>	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 10: Belle Grove Manor House (NRIS/NHL 69000243, 8/11/1969); Long Meadow, Overseer's House, Springhouse-Icehouse, Hite Cemetery, Brumback Barn, and Frame Workshop (NRIS 95001169, 8/25/1995); Fort Bowman, Summer Kitchen, and Well House (NRIS 69000279, 11/25/1969).

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

DEFENSE/battle site

DOMESTIC/single dwelling/secondary structure

AGRICULTURAL/agricultural field/processing/animal facility

RECREATION AND CULTURE/monument/marker

TRANSPORTATION/road-related

FUNERARY/cemetery/graves/burials

INDUSTRY/manufacturing facility

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

DOMESTIC/single dwelling

AGRICULTURAL/agricultural field

RECREATION AND CULTURE/museum

RECREATION AND CULTURE/monument/marker

LANDSCAPE/park

FUNERARY/cemetery/graves/burials

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7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions.)

COLONIAL/Georgian

EARLY REPUBLIC/Early Classical Revival

EARLY REPUBLIC/Federal

MID-19TH CENTURY/Greek Revival

Materials: (enter categories from instructions.)

Principal exterior materials of the property: WOOD (weatherboard, log), BRICK, STONE (limestone), METAL

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance and condition of the property. Describe contributing and noncontributing resources if applicable. Begin with a **summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, type, style, method of construction, setting, size, and significant features. Indicate whether the property has historic integrity.)

Summary Paragraph

Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park (NHP or the park) consists of three discontinuous areas encompassing 3,713 acres in the counties of Frederick, Shenandoah, and Warren, Virginia. The park comprises a portion of the battlefield where the Civil War Battle of Cedar Creek was waged on October 19, 1864; the antebellum Belle Grove Plantation; and other buildings, sites, structures, and objects associated with the battle and other significant aspects of the area's history and development. Land within the park predominantly consists of open agricultural fields and wooded parcels along the historic route of Valley Pike and lower Cedar Creek between the towns of Middletown and Strasburg. The North Fork of the Shenandoah River forms the park's south boundary. The wide Interstate 81 right-of-way and the modern alignment of Valley Pike (US Route 11) divide the discontinuous areas of the park. Various entities, including the NPS, NPS partner organizations, and private individuals, own land within the park boundary, and some privately owned land is protected by conservation easements.

The battlefield lands, Belle Grove Plantation, and the historic buildings, structures, objects, and archeological or landscape sites that contribute to the district retain integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the period of significance. Although the setting of the district and portions of the battlefield site have been impacted by modern transportation and residential development, these alterations were taken into account when Cedar Creek and Belle

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Grove NHP was established by the US Congress in 2002 and, therefore, are not considered to detract from the district's integrity as a nationally significant Civil War battlefield.

The Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP Historic District boundary encompasses 3,137 acres within the park's authorized boundary.¹ The district contains 111 contributing resources and 97 non-contributing resources. Contributing resources consist of 37 buildings (8 previously listed), 42 structures (1 previously listed), 42 sites (1 previously listed), and 6 objects (0 previously listed). Contributing resources include about 3,100 acres of the Cedar Creek Battlefield, including open fields and pastures associated with the Shenandoah Valley's agricultural heritage; historic buildings, structures, sites, and objects from the eighteenth through twentieth centuries; and pre-contact Native American and post-contact Euro-American archeological sites. Non-contributing resources consist of 81 buildings, 8 structures, 1 site, and 6 objects that were constructed after the district's period of significance (1720–1926); were constructed during the period of significance but are not associated with any areas for which the district is significant; or were constructed during the period of significance but no longer possess sufficient integrity to convey their association with any of the district's areas of significance.²

Previous Designations and National Register Documentation

Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP was created by an act of the United States (US) Congress on December 19, 2002, as a partnership park managed by the National Park Service (NPS) and several non-profit and municipal organizations to “preserve, protect, and interpret a nationally significant Civil War landscape and antebellum plantation” and to “tell the rich story of Shenandoah Valley history from early settlement through the Civil War and beyond.”³ The area contained within the authorized boundary of the park contributes to the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields National Historic District (Shenandoah Valley Battlefields), which was created by Congress in 1996. The

¹ Appendix Q of *NPS-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline* and the National Register Bulletin *Defining Boundaries for National Register Properties* provide guidance for determining National Register boundaries for historic and cultural units of the National Park System. The guidance states that each historic and cultural unit is automatically listed in the National Register on the date its authorization is signed into law and that the National Register boundary is coterminous with the authorized boundary until the NPS prepares documentation that defines the extent of “areas of historic value.” In preparing National Register documentation, the NPS is required to evaluate the entire authorized area and to precisely define a boundary that encompasses resources that have historic significance, including those resources that are not specifically related to aspects of history noted in the unit's authorizing legislation. A National Register boundary for a historic or cultural unit may not extend beyond the authorized boundary but may exclude non-historic buffer zones. In keeping with the guidance, the National Register boundary for the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP Historic District encompasses a slightly smaller area than that included in the authorized boundary. It includes all areas of historic value and excludes non-historic developed areas on the fringes of the authorized boundary. See Section 10 of this registration form for the detailed district boundary description and justification.

² While the overall period of significance terminates in 1926, this date was selected to include the significant monuments placed in the post-Civil War commemorative era. Thus, most twentieth-century agricultural and residential structures are labelled non-contributing if they post-date the agricultural area of significance, have major alterations, or otherwise do not have significance to the commemorative era.

³ United States Congress, *An Act to designate the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park as a unit of the National Park System, and for other purposes* (P.L. 107-373, U.S. Statutes at Large 116 [2002]), 3104–3110.

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designation of the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields was made to preserve and interpret battlefields and related historic sites within the eight counties in the region that are “collectively of national significance in the history of the Civil War.”⁴ The Shenandoah Valley Battlefields district is not, however, listed in the National Register or designated as a National Historic Landmark (NHL).

Several resources within Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP were listed in the National Register before the park’s creation. On August 11, 1969, an area encompassing 900 acres was designated Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove NHL and was concurrently listed in the National Register.⁵ This district consists of Belle Grove Plantation and extant earthworks associated with the Battle of Cedar Creek [REDACTED]. Fort Bowman, also known as Harmony Hall, was individually listed in the National Register on November 25, 1969.⁶ Long Meadow was individually listed in the National Register on October 12, 1995.⁷

This registration form constitutes the first comprehensive National Register evaluation of historic resources within Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP since the park was authorized and administratively listed in the National Register in 2002. It constitutes a related listing under the Civil War in Virginia Multiple Property Submission (NRIS #64500680). The Multiple Property Documentation Form titled “The Civil War in Virginia, 1861–1865,” which was approved by the Keeper of the National Register on February 18, 2000, provides contextual statements on the significance of Civil War-related resources in Virginia and provides descriptions of associated property types.⁸

Narrative Description

Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP encompasses 3,713 acres of public and private land within three counties (Shenandoah, Warren, and Frederick) in northern Virginia. The closest municipalities are Middletown directly to the east and Strasburg to the southwest. Both are small, rural towns with 2019 populations of 1,396 and 6,676, respectively. Interstate 81 provides regional access to the park; the limited-access, asphalt-paved, separated highway runs east–west through the park and intersects Interstate 66 near the center of it. The park is in the Valley and Ridge physiographic province of Virginia between the Blue Ridge to the east and the Appalachian plateaus to the west. These ridges form the Shenandoah Valley that contains the 140-mile-long Shenandoah River, the region’s largest water source. The Shenandoah River drains portions of

⁴ United States Congress, *Omnibus Parks and Public Lands Management Act of 1996*, “Shenandoah Valley Battlefields National Historic District and Commission Act of 1996” (P.L. 104-333 [1996]), 4174–4180.

⁵ Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission (hereafter VHLC), *National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form: Belle Grove*, NRIS #69000243 (Richmond, VA: Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, 1969).

⁶ VHLC, *National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: Fort Bowman*, NRIS 69000279 (Richmond, VA: Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, 1969).

⁷ Maral S. Kalbian, Dennis J. Pogue, and Margaret T. Peters, *National Register of Historic Places Nomination Long Meadow*, NRIS 95001169 (Boyce, VA: Maral S. Kalbian, 1995).

⁸ John S. Salmon, *National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, The Civil War in Virginia, 1861–1865: Historic and Archaeological Resources*, NRIS 64500680 (Richmond, VA: Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2004).

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Virginia and West Virginia northeasterly through the lateral valley and eventually into the Potomac River at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia. The upper Shenandoah River divides into two forks (North Fork and South Fork) on either side of the 50-mile-long Massanutten Mountain. The forks converge at the head of the lower Shenandoah River in Front Royal, Virginia, which is 7.5 miles southeast of Middletown.⁹

The park's landscape consists of rolling hills, agricultural lowlands along creeks and brooks, and highland ridges that follow a southwest-northeast trajectory. The land's underlying geology is generally sandstone and carbonate rocks on the ridges and exposed ledges and limestone bedrock in the valleys. Springs, sinkholes, seeps, and cave systems characterize the karst topography produced by the breakdown of soluble rocks, such as limestone. In the Shenandoah Valley, the breakdown of limestones, dolomites, sandstones, siltstones, and acidic shales has created soils considered fertile and productive for agriculture. The park is bounded on the south by the North Fork of the Shenandoah River as it flows east toward Front Royal. Cedar Creek, a tributary of the North Fork, generally forms the west boundary of the park before joining the river east of Strasburg. Cedar Creek is a year-round-flowing stream with its headwaters in a paralleling valley to the northwest. It converges with a smaller stream, Meadow Brook, which is partially within the park boundary and drains the valley north of Middletown. In the lowlands of the Shenandoah Valley, streams and rivers tend to develop exaggerated meanders due to the flat topography and thick sediments. Changes in the watercourse's alignment create oxbows and other fluvial landforms on the landscape. Mill and agricultural activity beginning in the eighteenth century also altered segments of the watercourses.¹⁰

Since the end date of the period of significance (1926), towns and cities in the Shenandoah Valley have grown in population, while the surrounding rural landscape has depopulated. Large swaths of former farmland have been subdivided for low-density, single-family developments, including those along the north end of the park, outside the authorized boundary. Limestone surface quarries have also altered the valley's landscape. Two such quarries are north of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP and separated from the park by Cedar Creek. The two closest municipalities, Strasburg and Middletown, have suburban neighborhoods around their perimeters and at nodes along the interstates. Suburban expansion and incompatible land use remain the top threats to the historic landscape character within Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP.

⁹ Michael Commisso, *Land Use History for Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park* (Boston, MA: National Park Service, 2007), 11; City-Data.com, Middletown, Virginia, <https://www.city-data.com/city/Middletown-Virginia.html>, accessed March 2023; City-Data.com, Strasburg, Virginia, <https://www.city-data.com/city/Strasburg-Virginia.html>, accessed March 2023.

¹⁰ Commisso, *Land Use History for Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park*, 11.

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Resource Descriptions

The district-wide resources are described first, followed by key and representative resources within discrete areas described generally northeast to southwest through the district.

The **Cedar Creek Battlefield (1864, contributing site, Photos 1–5, 14, and 15)** spans the entire 3,137-acre district and constitutes the primary contributing resource. The site corresponds to a portion of a larger battlefield landscape that extends across nearly 100,000 acres of the Shenandoah Valley and is associated with the Shenandoah Valley campaigns of 1862 and 1864–1865. Individual battlefields (see *Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia*), including Cedar Creek Battlefield, have an interconnected history despite their geographic distinctions.¹¹ Cedar Creek Battlefield covers the land actively engaged with the events of the battle—where camps were established, earthworks constructed, and combat unfolded—and the agrarian and natural landscape features that indirectly influenced them. Features such as the topography, waterways, and viewsheds remain largely unchanged since the Civil War era. A decline in agriculture has led to reforestation of less valuable farmland, such as the lowlands bordering Cedar Creek, and to subdivision development around Middletown. The largest expanse of the battlefield covers the rolling farmland and wooded areas east of Cedar Creek and north and west of the mid-nineteenth-century Valley Pike (now US Route 11) that runs east–west through the district.

The steep slopes south of Belle Grove Plantation, in the geographic center of the battlefield, provided a natural defensive barrier for the Federal XIX Corps, which established their campsites, fortified trenches, and artillery emplacements on the high ground above Cedar Creek. The Federal VI Corps used the Red Hills Plateau north of Belle Grove Plantation and Cemetery Hill as a defensive position against the Confederate advance. A series of camps for the Federal VIII Corps (Army of West Virginia) established on a chain of upland meadows south and east of Valley Pike extended from the Bowman-Hite farmstead to Middletown. Much of the historic battlefield within the authorized boundary of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP has endured minimal encroachment from modern development, which has concentrated along Valley Pike and Interstate 81. Portions of the historic battlefield north of the district have been altered by modern surface mining.

Circulation through and around the battlefield is anchored on Valley Pike (US Route 11), which runs southwest through the Shenandoah Valley from Winchester to Harrisonburg and cuts through the district north of and parallel to Interstate 81. The modern roadway and bridges along its length are not included within the district boundary. First established in the mid-nineteenth century as the primary ground route through the valley (likely using portions of existing roads and paths), Valley Pike, also known as Old Valley Pike and Main Street near Middletown and Strasburg, exists today as a two- or three-lane, asphalt-paved roadway with limited access outside town areas. Secondary state-maintained roads branch off Valley Pike and form a network through the agricultural landscape. They are numbered using a statewide identification system with values unique to each

¹¹ Marilyn W. Nickels, John J. Knoerl, Jean E. Travers, and David W. Lowe, *Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, Pursuant to Public Law 101-628* (National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division, September 1992), i–iv.

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county and designations as State Routes (SRs). Secondary roads are described in conjunction with areas of the district that are immediately adjacent.

The active **CSX Railroad (after 1864, non-contributing structure)**, formerly known as the B&O (Baltimore & Ohio), crosses northeast to southwest through the northern part of the battlefield, following Meadow Brook. The railroad was completed shortly after the Civil War as a north extension of the Manassas Gap Railroad that eventually connected with the mid-nineteenth-century Winchester & Potomac Railroad. The historic railroad alignment has twentieth-century gravel rail beds, trusses and bridges, and equipment. The railroad crosses Meadow Brook south of Meadow Mills Road and east of Belle Grove Road via the **Meadow Brook Railroad Bridge (mid-20th c., non-contributing structure)**, a two-span, single-track, steel girder bridge. Its abutments are constructed of stone blocks, gravel, and concrete, and its pier is wet-laid, stone blocks.

The park and its partner organizations maintain a **System of Paths and Trails (late 20th–21st c., non-contributing structure)** for visitors year-round. The trails are generally packed-earth footpaths with constructed wood stairs where the grade steepens and have interpretive and directional signs and benches along them. The system of trails includes earlier trails and paths that are of indigenous origin. The Morning Attack Trails are a network of three trails (8th Vermont Monument Trail, Thomas Brigade Loop Trail, and Hayes-Ramseur Loop Trail) south of Valley Pike. They traverse a wooded and cleared landscape where Federal camps stood during the Battle of Cedar Creek. Another trail, the Thoburn Redoubt Trail, is north of Bowmans Mill Road and is used to access extant earthworks. Both areas have signage and parking at their trailheads. A gravel road extending north from Valley Pike takes visitors on foot through extant Federal earthworks to the north via short spur trails. The park also has a self-guided, 17.5-mile auto tour route that uses state and local roads and runs roughly clockwise from the park Visitor Contact Station at 7712 Main Street (outside the district) in Middletown to nine tour stops with interpretive material or views and vistas of the battlefield and landscape.

A **System of Stone Walls and Fence Remnants (18th–20th c., contributing structure, Photos 1–3, 14, 15, and 25)** delineates the agricultural landscape within the district and includes some that date to the eighteenth through early twentieth centuries or are characteristic of historic stone walls and fences.¹² Several types of stone walls are extant in the district. Historic stone walls are generally constructed of stacked or tossed fieldstone and may have mortar or coping stones. Gate posts and gates, if included, are often associated with homesteads and their formal approaches. Brick and stone block walls are also contributing resources and may have the regionally common sawtooth stone cresting. Many extant fences, especially along Valley Pike, are likely along historic alignments. Though in most cases the historic design and materials are unclear, these alignments retain significance as they still mark historic divisions of fields and property. Historic fences are typically wood board, split rail, or worm fences. Non-historic fences or walls that do not contribute to the significance of the district are composed of post-and-wire, chain-link, concrete block, and other contemporary types.

¹² There is no comprehensive survey of the lengthy system of stone walls and fence remnants throughout the park, and thus they are not mapped. When addressing the contributing status of an individual resource in this category, the criteria listed here should be used in addition to historic maps.

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Federal Earthworks¹³

The **Union XIX Corps Entrenchments/XIX Corps Trenches Site (1864, Site 44FK0517, contributing structure, Photo 4)** consists of Federal earthworks, entrenchments, and other fortifications associated with the defensive line of the XIX Corps, [REDACTED]. The defensive line primarily consists of a line of trenches [REDACTED].

[REDACTED] The trenches typically have a west-facing parapet measuring 10 to 12 feet wide and 1.5 to 2 feet high. The interior trench typically measures 5 to 8 feet wide and 1 to 1.5 feet deep. The line is broken intentionally at seven points that are 3 to 25 feet wide and contained platforms large enough to support artillery in some places. The center of the line has an elevated feature with additional trenches on its east and west faces.

West of the Federal XIX Corps trenches is the **Flying "V" Earthwork/ XIX Corps Earthworks Site (1864, Site 44FK0608, contributing structure)**, a [REDACTED] V-shaped earthwork with a 55-by-30-foot elevated triangular platform. The platform is surrounded by a trench, 1 foot deep and 6 to 9 feet wide, and encircled by an earthen parapet measuring 1.5 to 2 feet high and 8 to 15 feet wide. It was likely constructed as a defensive earthwork in front of an artillery emplacement, possibly in an inverted, V-shaped sunken earthwork [REDACTED] (the **Unnamed Earthworks [1864, Site 44FK0737, contributing structure]**). [REDACTED] the **11th Indiana Infantry Barrier/11th Indiana Battle Position Site (1864, Site 44FK0518, contributing structure)**, a 58-foot-long, piled limestone rubble barrier that served as a battle position for the 11th Indiana Infantry of the Federal XIX Corps. The barrier is approximately 8 feet wide and 1 to 1.5 feet high.

[REDACTED] a series of earthworks, trenches, and fortifications collectively known as Thoburn's Redoubt at the **Union VIII Corps Site/ Cedar Creek Battlefield Trenches Site (1864, Site 44WR0298, contributing site)**. An excavated line of trenches forming **Thoburn's Defensive Line (1864, Site 44WR0169, contributing structure, Photo 5)** [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The trenches were constructed to protect the nearby camps and were fortified by a timber abatis. The **Union VIII Corps Earthworks (1864, Site 44WR0467, contributing structure)**, the remnants of earthworks constructed by the Federal [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] These earthworks consist of disjointed, linear segments of earthen berms measuring approximately 6 to 8 feet wide and 1 to 2 feet high. [REDACTED]

¹³ The most recent Harpers Ferry Center Editorial Guide indicates that "Federal," rather than "Union," is the preferred term for United States troops. Resource names retain their CRIS identifier names to maintain clarity of resources.

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Confederate artillery batteries may have been established [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] These batteries have surficial remains of three to four
lunettes and an elongated platform; the lunettes could have been established during any of the
numerous times the armies went up and down the Shenandoah Valley during the war. Ashby's
Battery and Carter's Battery, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] However, it is unclear whether extant landform features are
related to the Confederate batteries.

Homesteads, Plantations, and Sites

The park encompasses many antebellum homesteads and plantations, as well as several that were
established during Reconstruction or shortly thereafter.

Miller-Kendrick-Walter Complex

In the north part of the district, two roads branch off Valley Pike and extend northwest. Cougill
Road (SR 634) is a pre-Civil War, asphalt-paved road that crosses Meadow Brook and the CSX
Railroad tracks. Capon Springs Turnpike/1st Street (SR 627), which also predates the Civil War,
parallels Cougill Road. The two roads are connected by Mineral Street (SR 635). The Miller-
Kendrick-Walter complex is north of Mineral Street at its intersection with Cougill Road and
covers approximately five acres. The complex consists of the Miller-Kendrick-Walter House, the
miller's residence, and the ruins of agricultural outbuildings associated with the property. A short,
steep gravel drive leads northwest from the road and terminates adjacent to the residence. The
drive passes through **Stone Gate Posts and Walls (by early 20th c., contributing structure, Photo 6)**. The posts and wall segments are constructed of semi-coursed limestone, and the walls
have a saw-tooth stone coping. A stone-lined **Well (19th c., contributing structure, Photo 6)** is
east of the entrance drive near the street edge and is covered by a large, granite millstone.

The **Miller-Kendrick-Walter House (early to mid-19th c./late 19th c./early to mid-20th c., contributing building, Photos 6 and 7)** is a southeast-facing, two-story, five-bay, side-gable,
brick house that was built in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Originally, the house was a three-
bay, side-hall, Federal-style house. In the late nineteenth century, it was expanded with two bays
to the west to create a symmetrical façade. A rear (north), two-story, brick addition was also
constructed off the main block about the same time. The house has a standing-seam metal-covered
roof pierced by end-gable, interior brick chimneys. The rear addition has a ridgeline brick chimney.
The walls are of brick laid in Flemish bond on the east and common bond on the west and rear
additions. The walls are surmounted by a cornice with modillions and cornice returns. The
foundation is brick above grade on the east and limestone on the west. The center entrance is
sheltered by a flat-roof portico supported by paired fluted, Doric-order columns resting on a
limestone and concrete porch accessed by a run of four concrete steps. The entrance contains a
paneled wood door with a single-light transom and dentilled crown molding above. The eastern
three bays have nine-over-six wood sash windows on the first story and six-over-six wood sash
windows on the second story. The windows have narrow trim that is flush with the brickwork and
slightly splayed brick lintels. The basement has single-light casement windows under the eastern

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two bays. The west addition has elongated four-over-four wood sash windows on the first story and standard four-over-four wood sash windows on the second story. They have narrow wood trim, whitewashed stone sills, and stone lintels that are flush with the brickwork. A secondary entrance is in the north elevation of the west addition and is sheltered by a porch. An early to mid-twentieth-century, one-story, wood-frame addition with a shed roof and board-and-batten siding extends off the north elevation of the rear addition, and a two-story, wood-frame addition with a shed roof extension and board-and-batten siding covers the rear addition's west elevation. The rear additions are built of a combination of salvaged historic materials and contemporary materials.

A small, wood-frame **Shed (mid-20th c., non-contributing building)** is northwest of the house. It has a tar paper-covered shed roof, vertical board-clad walls, and a poured concrete foundation. A small, gable-roof **Outbuilding (early 20th c., non-contributing building)** is north of the house. It has a metal-covered gable roof with a shed-roof extension over one side and vertical board cladding. Its foundation is composed of salvaged brick and stone and poured concrete. The ruins of the **Miller-Kendrick-Walter Root Cellar (19th c., contributing building, Photo 8)** are north of the house, facing north. The structure is constructed of dry-laid fieldstone laid in a rectangular plan and sits partially below grade. It has a barrel-arched masonry roof that is parged with concrete and supported by interior partition walls.

The ruins of a secondary residence are south of the house and partially obscured by vegetation. The **Miller's House Ruin (19th–20th c., Site 44FK0818, contributing site, Photo 9)** consists of the end-gable walls of a brick building and fieldstone foundations extending from the extant walls. The brick walls are laid in common bond and have several openings that have been infilled with brick. The west gable end contains a chimney flue with an arched opening. The **Millbrook Mill Ruins/Millbrook Mill Site (early to late-19th c., Site 44FK0713, contributing site)** [REDACTED] consist of partial dry-laid foundations and wall segments.

The farmland west and north of the Miller-Kendrick-Walter House retains its rural, agricultural character with minimal intrusions consisting primarily of non-contributing residential properties along Capon Springs Turnpike and Hites and Cougill roads, generally constructed in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. A side-gable, two-story **House, 1832 Chapel Road (1911, contributing building)** and a large, wood-frame **Bank Barn (early 20th c., contributing building)** are in an apple orchard north of Capon Springs Turnpike. The house is a west-facing, center-passage, wood-frame building, and a decorative, wet-laid stone wall runs between it and the road. A modern equipment shed is north of the house and barn. The surrounding landscape consists of hay fields, orchards, and shade trees and work yards near the farmstead cluster.

The house at **1875 Hites Road (2002, non-contributing building)** is an early twenty-first-century, Ranch-type building with a modern, metal-clad, detached garage. A two-story, wood-frame house at **1643 Hites Road (2007, non-contributing building)** is surrounded by hay fields and garden landscaping. The intersection of Hites and Cougill roads has a cluster of twentieth-century residential development: **595 Cougill Road (1988, non-contributing building)**, a two-story, wood-frame house with an attached garage and full-width porch; and **588 Cougill Road (1931,**

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non-contributing building), a two-story, wood-frame, I-type house with a center cross-gable and altered, partial-width porch. Both houses face northwest and are surrounded by landscaped lawns with farmland beyond. A metal **Barn (mid-20th century, non-contributing building)** with attached loafing shed and several metal sheds are associated with the house at 588 Cougill Road. **530 Cougill Road (1987, non-contributing building)** is a wood-frame, Ranch-type house set back from the road and surrounded by trees. A house at **440 Cougill Road (late 19th–early 20th c., contributing building)** is northeast of Cougill Road at the crest of a hill surrounded by farmland. The house, which is currently vacant, is two stories tall, has clapboard cladding, and a standing-steam metal gable roof. It has a cross-bay ell in the rear and a wraparound porch on the southeast elevation. Any associated agricultural buildings have been lost. A twenty-first-century Ranch-type house at **330 Cougill Road (2003, non-contributing building)** is set back from the road and surrounded by sparse woodland.

Mount Carmel Cemetery

The **Mount Carmel Cemetery (19th–early 20th c., contributing site, Photos 10 and 11)** is a six-acre municipal cemetery north of the CSX Railroad tracks that was established by the citizens of Middletown in the early nineteenth century, prior to the Civil War. It is an active cemetery managed by the Mount Carmel Cemetery Association of Middletown, which was chartered in 1896. The cemetery occupies a high hill that has a view of Middletown to the east and Meadow Brook to the west. A disconnected grid of streets southwest of Capon Springs Turnpike surrounds the cemetery. The only street in this grid that is included within the district boundary is **Commerce Street (after 1885, non-contributing structure)**, which is a narrow, asphalt-paved continuation of SR 635 and forms the cemetery's northwest boundary. The cemetery is enclosed on the east by the **Mount Carmel Cemetery Fence (late 19th–early 20th c., contributing structure)**, a wrought-iron picket fence with brick piers, and on the north and west by a non-historic, chain-link fence. A gravel-paved, single-lane loop **Cemetery Road (19th–21st c., contributing structure, Photo 10)** enters and exits the cemetery from the east. A small, concrete block **Mount Carmel Cemetery Shed (late 20th c., non-contributing building, Photo 11)** with an asphalt shingle-covered gable roof is within the loop. It has a gable roof covered in asphalt shingles and an entrance in the northwest elevation. A cast-iron **Mount Carmel Cemetery Hand Pump (mid-20th c, non-contributing object, Photo 11)** is near the shed on a poured concrete pad. There is a small, gravel-paved parking area and a non-historic flagpole along the eastern boundary.

The Mount Carmel Cemetery contains approximately 1,800 graves identified by the **Mount Carmel Cemetery Grave Markers (19th–21st c., contributing object, Photos 10 and 11)**. The oldest marked burials in the cemetery are at the hill's summit within the loop road. These graves, which date to the early to mid-nineteenth century, are oriented east–southeast and are clustered together. The headstones are inscribed granite or marble erect tablets. Post-Civil War burials, which make up most of the interments in the cemetery, are oriented south–southeast and are within and south of the Cemetery Road loop. The area along the north arm of the Cemetery Road contains burials from the mid-twentieth century through the present day. Some older headstones have been replaced with modern, polished granite markers.

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The hillside crests north of the cemetery in a large, undeveloped, wooded parcel. A non-historic house at **400 Commerce Street (late 20th c., non-contributing building)**, consisting of an aluminum-sided mobile home, is at the east corner of the parcel.

Anderson Farmstead and Mill Site

South of the center of Middletown, **Veterans Road (by 1864, contributing structure)** (SR 625) branches northwest from Valley Pike before realigning northeasterly and intersecting Capon Springs Turnpike outside the district. It is a narrow, asphalt-paved road that was constructed originally as a local road to connect rural farmsteads and mills. The road, formerly known as Hite Road, crosses Meadow Brook and the CSX Railroad tracks west of the Anderson house and mill. Shortly after, it receives the northeast terminus of **Meadow Mills Road (by 1864, Site 44FK0777, contributing structure)** (SR 724), a gravel- and asphalt-paved road that roughly follows the lower 1.5 miles of Meadow Brook before it joins Cedar Creek. The road runs southwest from Veterans Road and crosses Meadow Brook four times before terminating at Cedar Creek, where a bridge once carried it toward Strasburg. Only the southwestern section of the road near the Hite-Hottle mill sites is included in the district. A spur of the CSX Railroad crosses Meadow Mills Road and parallels McCune Road (outside the district) to a modern quarry site.

The Anderson farmstead and the sites of mid-nineteenth-century mills are on the banks of Meadow Brook, south of the Mount Carmel Cemetery. The Anderson farmstead is south of Meadow Brook and north of Veterans Road, on a low hill. The farmstead, accessed by a private, gravel paved-lane called Minie Ball Court, consists of a mid-nineteenth-century house and agricultural buildings. The house is surrounded by a wood board fence, and the agricultural land has post-and-wire fencing. The surrounding land is agricultural and sparse woodland.

The **Anderson House (mid-19th c., contributing building, Photo 12)** is a south-facing, side-gable, wood-frame house with a two-story rear ell. It has a standing-seam metal roof pierced by ridgeline brick chimneys likely on either side of the center hall, in the rear ell, and on the east elevation of the main block. The walls are clad in wood clapboard and sit on a stone foundation. The entrance contains a wood panel door with sidelights and is sheltered by a partial-wide porch with columns, arced bargeboard, and a flat roof. The south (façade) elevation has three bays on the first and second stories that are filled with six-over-six sash windows with louvered shutters. The rear ell has a one-story porch covering the east elevation and a one-story addition off the north elevation. The farmstead also encompasses a woodshed, garage, barn, and two small sheds. The **Woodshed (20th c., non-contributing structure, Photo 12)** is a wood-frame structure clad in vertical boards and surmounted by a gable roof. The **Anderson Garage (20th c., non-contributing building, Photo 12)** to its east has a gable roof and concrete block walls. The **Anderson Barn (early 20th c., contributing building, Photo 12)** has a gable roof and vertical board-clad walls. It is northeast of the house and opens onto pastureland that extends eastward.

Two non-contributing houses are near the Anderson farmstead. **700 Veterans Road (1961, non-contributing building)**, immediately south of the Anderson House, is a rectangular, Ranch-type house with an attached carport. **8112 Valley Pike (1880–1935, non-contributing building)** is a

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southeast-facing, two-story, side-gable, wood-frame house with decorative, Victorian-style trim, a full-width porch, and wood shingle cladding. The parcel also contains a detached garage.

Solomon Heater House

The Solomon Heater House is north of Valley Pike and surrounded by agricultural land that extends north to Meadow Brook. It was part of a farmstead initially developed in the late eighteenth century by James Hoge. The farmstead was expanded and improved under the ownership of Dr. Cornelius Baldwin Jr. and Solomon Heater during the early to mid-nineteenth century. The only extant aboveground resource is the **Solomon Heater House (1763/1802/1823/ca.1843, contributing building, Photo 13)**, a south-facing, two-and-one-half-story, side-gable frame dwelling with a one-story, wood-frame addition off the west elevation. It has a standing-seam metal-covered roof with two interior, end-gable, limestone chimneys on the main block and a small brick chimney on the west gable of the addition. The walls are clad with wood clapboard and rest on a semi-coursed, rough-faced limestone foundation. The primary entrance is centered in the south elevation and is sheltered by a gable-roof portico. The center passage leads to a secondary entrance in the north elevation. The house has two-over-two wood sash windows. It is currently owned and maintained by the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation.

Historically, the **Heater Farmstead/Solomon Heater Farm Site (18th–20th c., Site 44FK0509, contributing site, Photo 13)** included barns, a springhouse, a silo, and additional agricultural buildings, none of which are extant. The farmstead site and fields surrounding it are currently used for agricultural grazing. [REDACTED] of another homestead (the **Ashby Tenancy Site [18th–19th c., Site 44FK511, contributing site]**) that may have been associated with Alfred Ashby, a free, Black tenant farmer or an overseer employed by the Baldwins. No maintained or improved roads or drives lead to the Heater farmstead.

Belle Grove Plantation

Belle Grove is a late eighteenth-century plantation on the south bank of Meadow Brook, east of Cedar Creek. The plantation grew to encompass over 5,000 acres in the nineteenth century; today, the **Belle Grove Plantation Site (late 18th–20th c., Site 44FK0016, contributing site, Photos 1, 14, and 15)** consists of 283 acres of agricultural land surrounding a cluster of residential and agricultural buildings. **Belle Grove Road (by 1864, contributing structure, Photo 1)** (SR 727) is an asphalt-paved, fence-lined road that connects Valley Pike to Meadow Mills Road and runs through the Belle Grove Plantation site. At Meadow Mills Road, Belle Grove Road continues north and crosses the CSX Railroad tracks and Meadow Brook via the **Meadow Brook Bridge (late 20th c., non-contributing structure)**, a single-span, one-lane, wood deck bridge with wood guardrails. Belle Grove Road terminates 0.1 miles north of Meadow Mills Road at a private residence.

The agricultural lands south and east of the former plantation are open, while the land to the north and west descends into successional-growth woodland. Disused historic and non-historic road traces, fence lines, and gullies cross the agricultural fields. Belle Grove's manor house sits on the

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crest of a small rise with commanding views of the surrounding plantation land and its activities. Belle Grove Road crosses the site north to south and passes to the west of the main group of buildings. The compact homestead consists of the manor house, secondary domestic buildings, and agricultural buildings. A second agricultural building cluster is south of the manor house along the road. A looping drive from the road encircles the yard south of the manor house; a north spur accesses the agricultural buildings to the northwest. Board fences encircle the homestead and have limestone ashlar gateposts and square posts with turned finials. The contained lawn has shade trees and a demonstration garden north of the manor house. Non-historic paths lead between the buildings and the gravel parking lot immediately east of the road. The historic site is owned by the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) and managed in cooperation with Belle Grove, Inc.

The **Belle Grove Manor House (1797, ca. 1820, early 20th c., contributing building, Photos 14 and 16–19)** forms the center of the plantation building complex and dictated the arrangement of secondary buildings and structures based on their function, with agricultural buildings sited farther from the house than dependencies that stored or prepared goods for use in the house. It is a south-facing, one-and-one-half-story, rectangular-plan, seven-bay, early Classical Revival-style house with a one-story, early nineteenth-century wing off its west elevation. The building is constructed of coursed local, New Market limestone ashlar, which is dressed on the south elevation of the main block and wing and quarry-faced on the side and rear elevations. It has a slate shingle-covered hip roof with slight flared eaves. Four interior limestone ashlar chimneys with corbelling pierce the roof of the main block, and two additional chimneys are in the wing. A narrow, molded cornice encircles all the elevations, and the main block exhibits sandstone quoining. The house has a raised foundation with secondary entrances in the west wing. The south (façade) and north elevations of the main block have centered entrances that are sheltered by pedimented, Doric-order porticos on stone foundations. The porticos cover the center three bays and have turned wood balustrades and newel posts. The central entrances consist of double-leaf, six-paneled wood doors protected by single-leaf, wood-frame storm doors and surrounded by fluted pilasters and a fanlight with an embellished keystone. The pilasters support an entablature with a frieze band decorated with triglyphs, regulae, and dentils. The portico pediments are clad in weatherboard and punctuated by a single nine-light wood casement window surmounted by a fanlight with a keystone. Window openings on the first story and basement level of the main block have wood sills and jack-arched, keystone lintels of Aquia sandstone, most of which have been painted. First-story fenestration consists of nine-over-nine, double-hung, wood sash windows; basement fenestration consists of six-light wood casement windows. The east elevation has a wrought-iron balcony and a centered double-leaf door with a transom light between the flanking windows. The south elevation of the wing is divided into four bays that each contain nine-over-nine, double-hung, wood sash windows. The three easternmost bays were formerly an open porch that was infilled with stuccoed wood-frame walls during the early twentieth century. The west wing and the main block were originally detached. Between 1907 and 1929, the two buildings were connected, and the roof was altered and covered in slate shingles.

The interior of the Belle Grove Manor House is well preserved and retains its original configuration of rooms and stylistic detailing. The main block has a cross-passage plan with four

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symmetrical south rooms and three north rooms divided by the transverse passage. Each of the first-story rooms has a fireplace with typical Late Georgian- or Federal-style mantel elements such as fluted pilasters, scrolled brackets, dentils, and carvings. The dining room, parlor, library, and sitting room have Georgian-style overmantels with central panels. Interior architectural details reflect the wealth and status of Belle Grove's original owner, Isaac Hite Jr. The rooms have a variety of crown molding, chair rails, wood wainscoting, baseboards, and stylized door and window casings. Center- and cross-hall doorways have transom windows with star-shaped panes. Window openings have deep jambs to accommodate paneled wood interior shutters. Some rooms have closets and built-in wall cabinets with paneled wood doors. The parlor exhibits the highest level of architectural detail; it has paneled wood wainscoting topped by chair rails with Greek key molding and a cornice with dentils, modillions, and a bead-and-dart molding band. The door surrounds have pilasters with Corinthian capitals, and the fireplace has a blue and white marble casing. The west wing contains five rooms with similar but less extravagant architectural details. The basement of the house is unfinished with exposed limestone walls and brick and concrete floors.

Southwest of the manor house is the **Belle Grove Icehouse (ca. 1803–1836, contributing building, Photo 20)**, a largely underground building covered by a wood shingle-clad, end-gable roof. The log-framed, stone-lined shaft extends 18 feet below ground. A small opening in the gable wall is filled with a wood door affixed with iron straps. A ladder is beneath the door. North of the icehouse is the **Belle Grove Meat House (ca. 1803-1836/20th c., contributing building, Photos 16, 21, and 22)** and an attached interpretive blacksmith shop. The meat house is a 15-by 15-foot, one-story building constructed of semi-coursed limestone with ventilation slits. It has a wood shingle-clad gable roof and a heavy board-and-batten door. A shed-roof porch off the west and north elevations connects the meat house to a shed-roof, open-sided blacksmith forge that was added in the twentieth century. Immediately east of the meat house is the **Old Hall Foundation (mid-18th c, contributing site, Photo 22)**, an excavated foundation of the first dwelling at Belle Grove. The extant resource consists of connected mortared stones outlining the footprint of the Old Hall, placed following the excavation of the foundation in 1974–1976. One section of the foundation is filled with gravel, and the other is grassy.

Two non-contributing, wood-frame sheds—**Belle Grove Shed 1** and **Belle Grove Shed 2 (mid-20th c., non-contributing buildings, Photos 22 and 23)**—north of the meat house were originally built as chicken coops. Both sheds have shed roofs covered with tar paper or metal sheets, vertical board-clad walls, and wood-board doors. The south shed (1) is rectangular, and the north shed (2) is L-shaped and has a gable-roof corn crib addition. The corn crib has a stone foundation, clapboard- and vertical board-clad walls, and a wood shingle-covered roof. Adjacent to the north shed is the **Belle Grove Smokehouse Foundation (by 1814, contributing site, Photo 23)**, the stone foundation of a smokehouse that was uncovered during archeological excavations. The site contains foundation stones flush to the earth that delineate the perimeter of the former structure.

The **Belle Grove 1918 Bank Barn (ca. 1918/2019, contributing building, Photos 14, 23, and 24)** is a rectangular, gambrel-roof, wood-frame barn following the Germanic bank barn form with livestock housed on the ground floor, a threshing floor above, and a haymow in the upper floor.

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Portions of the haymow have been removed from the barn to open the space for events. The roof is covered in standing-seam metal, and the walls are clad in narrow clapboard. The first story has wood louvered openings, and the second story has large sliding barn doors. An earthen and limestone rubble ramp ascends to the primary doors in the north elevation. The interior was partially renovated for use as an interpretive center and gift shop in 2019. A cylindrical, dome-roof, metal-clad silo is attached to the northwest corner of the barn by a one-story, shed-roof hyphen. A shed-roof-covered, partially underground livestock pen addition is off the north elevation. The **Belle Grove Hog Shed (20th c., non-contributing building)** is north of the barn. It has a standing-seam metal-clad gable roof and vertical board-clad walls. A shed-roof addition extends off the north elevation.

[REDACTED] the **Belle Grove Enslaved Burial Ground (ca. 1780–ca. 1850, contributing site, Photo 25)**, a small, grassy cemetery enclosed by a split rail fence. The rectangular cemetery has scattered fieldstone markers but no inscribed stones. Ground-penetrating radar surveys have identified 14 burials and 22 possible head or footstones. A non-historic orchard of heritage fruit trees is west of the burial ground and is surrounded by a split rail fence. The **Belle Grove Enslaved Quarter** (see **Archeological Resources**) [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Southwest of the Manor House is a cluster of agricultural buildings. The **Plantation Office and Store/Belle Grove Overseer's House Site (ca. 1788, 2016–2017, Site 44FK0502, contributing building, Photos 14 and 26)** is approximately 700 feet southwest of the Belle Grove Manor House. The building is dated to ca. 1788 based on dendrochronological testing completed in 2016; the surrounding site, which was subject to archeological testing in 2009, is referred to as the Belle Grove Overseer's House Site.¹⁴ It is a southeast-facing, two-and-one-half-story, side-gable, limestone masonry building. The building consists of two rooms—one unheated and one heated—that were used as an office, store, or dwelling depending on the needs of the plantation. After 1860, the building functioned as a dwelling for farm managers or tenant farmers. The roof is covered with standing-seam metal and overhangs the semi-coursed limestone walls with molded wood cornices that have partial returns on the side elevations. An exterior limestone chimney pierces the roof on the northeast gable. The southwest roof slope has two gable dormers that were added in the twentieth century. The four-bay-wide southeast (façade) elevation contains two entrances, leading to each room, filled with single-leaf wood batten doors with long wrought-iron strap hinges and door handles. Fenestration on the first story consists of six-over-six wood sash with wood sills and jack-arched, keystone lintels of narrow limestone blocks. The basement has eight-light wood casement windows. The southwest elevation contains a secondary entrance at the basement level and a six-light wood casement in the gable. All exterior doors and windows are replacements; some surrounds have been repaired or replaced in-kind. The interior of the building was renovated in 2016–2017 to reflect its appearance in the nineteenth century. The second floor was renovated to accommodate occasional guests, such as wedding parties.

¹⁴ Oxford Dendrochronology Laboratory, "The Tree-Ring Dating of the Overseer's House, Belle Grove Plantation, Middletown, Virginia," 2016, unpublished report provided by the staff of Belle Grove Plantation.

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On the west side of Belle Grove Road, opposite the Plantation Office and Store, are two resources that are associated with the expansion of dairying in the early twentieth century at Belle Grove. The **Belle Grove 1930 Barn (ca. 1930, non-contributing building, Photos 1, 14, and 27)** is an east-facing, gambrel-roof, wood-frame, English-type barn. The roof is covered with standing-seam metal and flares at the overhanging eaves. The walls are clad in narrow clapboards with corner boards and sit on a stone foundation. The east elevation has an off-center, double-leaf, sliding batten door. The north elevation is covered by an open, one-story, shed-roof equipment shelter. North of the barn is the **Belle Grove Equipment Shed (20th c., non-contributing building, Photo 14)**, a one-story, side-gable shed constructed of concrete blocks. The roof is covered in standing-seam metal sheets and extends over the south elevation. The structure is divided into two sections: an open equipment bay on the west and a three-bay storage room on the east. The east side has two-over-two wood sash windows and a paneled wood door.

Two non-contributing memorials and markers are adjacent to the Belle Grove manor house. South of the Old Hall Foundation is the **Joist Hite Memorial (1985, non-contributing object)**, consisting of a memorial tree and marker installed at Belle Grove to memorialize Joist [Jost] Hite. The marker consists of a low, wet-laid, limestone platform with a bronze plaque that reads "In honor of Joist Hite (1685–1761) pioneer settler of the Shenandoah Valley. Dedicated by his descendants. Hite family reunion, August 18, 1985." A second marker, the **Incomparable View Marker (2008, non-contributing object)**, is in the field south of the manor house cluster. It consists of a small boulder with a bronze plaque listing the names of donors who helped the NTHP acquire the open land to the south.

Two historic monuments flank the southern terminus of Belle Grove Road at the intersection with Valley Pike. The **Stephen D. Ramseur Monument (1920, contributing object, Photo 28)**, at the north corner, was erected by the North Carolina Historical Commission and the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. It consists of a polished marble, Doric-order column set on a square, rusticated granite base. A pedimented bronze tablet is affixed to the base and is inscribed with a memorial to Ramseur. The column is surmounted by a stacked pyramid of bronze cannonballs on a marble plinth; the cannonballs were replaced by NPS in 2013–2014 as part of a restoration project. The bronze tablet reads

*NORTHWEST OF THIS TABLET, 800 YARDS
IS THE BELLE GROVE HOUSE IN WHICH DIED OCTOBER 20, 1864
OF WOUNDS RECEIVED AT CEDAR CREEK OCTOBER 19, 1864
MAJ-GEN. STEPHEN DODSON RAMSEUR, C.S.A.
A NATIVE OF NORTH CAROLINA. HE RESIGNED FROM
THE UNITED STATES ARMY IN 1861 AND ENTERING
THE CONFEDERATE STATES ARMY AS A LIEUTENANT.
ROSE TO THE RANK OF MAJOR-GENERAL AT THE AGE OF 27.
ERECTED 1919 BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
AND
THE NORTH CAROLINA DIVISION OF U.D.C.*

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The south corner contains the **Middletown Battlefield Tablet (1926, contributing object, Photo 29)**, which was erected by the Battlefield Markers Association, Western Division, an offshoot of an organization established by Douglas Southall Freeman (1886–1953) in Richmond to commemorate Virginia's Civil War battlefields. It consists of a limestone ashlar plinth, an angled limestone tablet, and a rectangular bronze plaque. The plaque reads

*THE BATTLE OF CEDAR CREEK
FOUGHT ON THESE HILLS AND FIELDS OCT. 19, 1864
GEN. JUBAL A. EARLY'S 22,000 CONFEDERATES
ATTACKED GEN. PHILIP H. SHERIDAN'S 60,000
FEDERALS. THE FIRST ASSAULT A SURPRISE FLANK
MOVEMENT BY GEN. JOHN A GORDON, WAS A
CONFEDERATE SUCCESS. THIS ADVANTAGE NOT
BEING FOLLOWED UP, ENABLED GEN. SHERIDAN
TO RALLY AND WIN THE VICTORY.*

Additional markers are along Valley Pike north of Belle Grove Road and adjacent to a gravel pull-off that provides views to the northwest toward the Heater House and the surrounding Cedar Creek Battlefield and agricultural land. The pull-off has several waysides, signs, and non-historic markers. The **NC Troops at Cedar Creek Marker (2019, non-contributing object)** is an erect granite tablet on a quarry-faced plinth, inscribed on the south face with the regiments from North Carolina that fought at Cedar Creek and on the north face with a narrative about North Carolina's involvement. The monument also bears the 1861 North Carolina flag (south) and the Confederate flag (north). A metal **Vermont Division of Historic Preservation Sign (2014, non-contributing object)** stands southwest of the marker and commemorates the Vermont soldiers at the Battle of Cedar Creek; this is the only Vermont Department of Historic Resources (DHR) marker outside of Vermont. Two non-contributing **Flagpoles (21st c., non-contributing objects [2 total])** frame the view. They are aluminum poles set in a gravel base surrounded by low timber walls. Signs and informational waysides at the site were built by the Virginia Civil War Commission, Blue & Gray Education Society, Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation, and NPS.

The **A 56 Battle of Cedar Creek Sign (2000, non-contributing object)** is southwest of the Vermont Division of Historic Preservation Sign at a gravel pull-off on the north side of Valley Pike with views of Belle Grove Plantation. It is a metal historic site sign installed by the Virginia DHR and summarizes the Battle of Cedar Creek.

Meadow Mills Development

The Hite, Hottle, and Ritenour families developed the area called Meadow Mills west and northwest of Belle Grove around Meadow Brook where it joins Cedar Creek during the historic period. Meadow Brook flows generally west through this part of the district and is edged with **Stone Retaining Walls (19th c., contributing structure, Photo 30)** near the Ritenour farmstead

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and the Hite-Hottle mill sites. The walls consist of large, coursed, dry-laid, stone blocks. The Hite-Hottle mill and homestead sites are along the western end of Meadow Brook.

A farmstead at the southeast corner of Belle Grove and Meadow Mills roads encompasses the **Malcolm Brumback House (1870–1900, non-contributing building)** and four non-historic, agricultural outbuildings: three metal sheds and one concrete block shed. The house is a five-bay-by-one-bay, two-story, side-gable, wood-frame house with a metal-covered roof and composite siding-clad walls. Northwest of the intersection is the **Curry House (1928, non-contributing building)** a two-story, three-bay-by-one-bay, wood-frame house with a limestone foundation.

The Meadow Mills Church of the Brethren, formerly the **Meadow Mills Union Chapel, 488 Meadow Mills Road (1915, non-contributing building, Photo 31)**, is at the northwest corner of Meadow Mills Road and Belle Grove Road and is the focal point of the Meadow Mills settlement. It consists of a one-story, front-gable, wood-frame parish hall with an open, pyramidal-roofed bell tower and a projecting entrance bay. A late twentieth-century, brick addition extends from the north elevation. A one-story, wood-frame **Classroom Building (late 20th c., non-contributing building)** is north of the church.

Continuing west on Meadow Mills Road are three non-contributing, two-story, three-bay-wide, wood-frame houses on the north side of the road. **516 Meadow Mills Road (1938, non-contributing building)** has a center porch and a detached, front-gable garage with a sliding barn door. The house has a ridgeline concrete block chimney, a stone foundation, original two-over-two wood sash windows, and clapboard cladding. A wood-frame shed and an **Outbuilding, 516 Meadow Mills Road (early 20th c., non-contributing building)** are on the east half of the parcel. Meadow Brook flows north–south through the parcel and crosses beneath the road. **536 Meadow Mills Road (1930, non-contributing building)** has a centered, gable-roof porch, vinyl cladding, and several small outbuildings on its parcel. The **Hodson House, 550 Meadow Mills Road (1931, non-contributing building)** has stucco-covered walls, interior gable-end brick chimneys, a full-width shed-roof porch, and a rear ell.

The historic Ritenour farmstead is at the northern terminus of Belle Grove Road on the north bank of Meadow Brook. The farm was established before 1864 by a “D. Ritenour” and was occupied by the Federal VI Corps during the Battle of Cedar Creek. An access drive, the **Matthew Mills Road (ca. 1800, contributing structure)**, leads north from Belle Grove Road, passing west of the house, secondary buildings, and the barnyard before exiting the district near the crest of the hill. The **Ritenour House/Spiggle House, 480 Belle Grove Road (mid-19th c., contributing building, Photo 32)** faces south toward the brook and has a cluster of agricultural buildings to the north. The house is a two-story, three-bay-wide, side-gable, wood-frame house with a late nineteenth-century, two-story addition off the north elevation. It has a standing-seam metal-covered roof that is pierced by a ridgeline brick chimney in the rear addition, clapboard-clad walls, and a stone foundation. The south (façade) elevation has a hip-roof, full-width porch that wraps around the east elevation and has Doric-order columns and a wood balustrade. It is surmounted by a second-story, gable-roof porch that covers the center bay. The façade has centered entrances flanked by single windows. The primary entrance is filled by a paneled wood door with a transom light. A three-

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sided, two-story window bay covers the south half of the west elevation, offset by a one-story porch sheltering a secondary entrance. Fenestration consists of two-over-two, wood sash windows with louvered wood shutters, wood sills, and molded lintels. The house was altered and expanded in the late nineteenth century, at which time the side window bay was likely added, the original chimney removed, and the rear addition built or altered.

The farm complex at the Ritenour/Spiggle farmstead consists of nineteenth-century buildings and structures that have standing-seam metal roofs unless otherwise noted. North of the house is the **Shop Building (late 19th c., contributing building)**, a one-and-one-half-story, side-gable, wood-frame building likely constructed for processing farm products or domestic industries. The walls are clad in vertical boards and sit on a limestone foundation. There are entrances in the north and south elevations. A small, shed-roof, wood-frame **Woodshed (early to mid-20th c., non-contributing building)** is east of the shop building.

Two structures are on either side of the drive north of the Shop Building: a blacksmith shop and a wagon shed. The **Spiggle Blacksmith Shop (late 19th–early 20th c., contributing building, Photo 33)** is a west-facing, rectangular, front-gable, wood-frame building with shed-roof additions on the north and south elevations. It is clad in vertical boards. The south-facing, side-gable, wood-frame **Spiggle Wagon Shed (late 19th–early 20th c., contributing building, Photo 34)** has a large sliding barn door in the south elevation. The walls are clad in weatherboard and board-and-batten. An addition with a shed-roof extension covers the north elevation.

The **Spiggle Barn (late 19th c., contributing building, Photos 33 and 34)** is a large, side-gable, wood-frame, bank barn with one-story, shed-roof additions at the southwest and southeast corners. The roof is covered in standing-seam metal sheets, and the walls are clad in vertical boards. An earthen ramp accesses large barn doors in the north elevation, and the south elevation has basement-level doors that open into livestock pens.

Daniel Stickley Farm

The privately owned Daniel Stickley Farm and associated mill sites are along Valley Pike near its intersection with Cedar Creek. The farmstead consists of a cluster of domestic and agricultural buildings surrounded by pasture and woodland. The buildings are on the toe-slope of a hill that slopes steeply down from the north. Expansion of Valley Pike and the construction of Interstate 81 to the south have altered some of the historic landscape. A driveway leads north from Valley Pike to the Stickley farmstead. The driveway originally led from the **Valley Pike Road Trace (mid-19th c., contributing structure)**, the unpaved original road alignment that follows a flattened terrace west of Cedar Creek on the north side of the modern Valley Pike and on the east bank of the creek on the north side. The **Valley Pike Stone Wall (early 20th c., contributing structure)** is a segment of dry-laid stonewall with sawtooth coping that exists between the road trace and the modern alignment of US Route 11. Valley Pike historically crossed Cedar Creek via a covered wood bridge east of the Stickley farm. Only the dry-laid stone **Valley Pike Bridge Abutments/Valley Pike Bridge Site (1830s, CEBE00103.000/44FK0869, contributing structure, Photo 35)** on either side of Cedar Creek remain from the bridge; the bridge deck was

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burned and rebuilt repeatedly during the Civil War. The south abutment's east wall has partially failed and has temporary reinforcement installed on the standing structure. The north abutment shows signs of imminent failure on its east wall, where cornerstones are dislodged from the face.

The farmstead is arranged around the **Daniel Stickley House (early to mid-19th c., contributing building, Photo 36)**, a southeast-facing, two-and-one-half-story, late Federal-style, brick house. The house has two consecutive two-story additions, one of brick and the other wood-frame, projecting from the west side of the northwest elevation. It has a standing-seam metal-covered, side-gable roof pierced by end-gable, interior, brick chimneys. The brick walls rest on a limestone foundation and are laid in common bond. They have a corbelled cornice and wood lintels inserted over the window openings. The northwesternmost addition is clad in weatherboard. The southeast (façade) elevation has five irregularly spaced bays and a centered entrance. A flat-roof porch with square posts and screen infill covers the three center bays; it has carved scroll brackets and a frieze board and carries a second-story balcony with a geometric balustrade. The entrance is filled with a single entrance surmounted by a four-light transom.

The **Stickley Crib Barn (mid-19th c., contributing building, Photo 36)** is a large, wood-frame, end-gable barn west of the house. It has a transverse layout with the main entrance in the southwest-facing gable end. The building has a metal-covered roof; wood clapboard-clad walls with nine-over-three, wood sash windows; and a stone foundation. North of the house is the **Stickley Smokehouse (mid-19th c., contributing building)**, a rectangular, wood-frame, one-story building with a metal-clad gable roof and clapboard walls. Openings are filled with wood louvered vents. The **Stickley Workers' Dwelling (mid-19th c., contributing building, Photo 36)**, north of the house, is a two-story, wood-frame house with a metal-clad gable roof and brick exterior end-gable chimneys. The walls are clad in clapboard and rest on a limestone foundation. The **Stickley Equipment Shed (late 19th–early 20th c. contributing building, Photo 36)** is west of the house and was built using materials salvaged from an earlier barn. It is a wood-frame building with a gable roof and clapboard-clad walls.

Two non-contributing agricultural resources are east of the house. The **Stickley Metal Barn (late 20th c., non-contributing building)** is a rectangular barn with a corrugated metal-covered gable roof and a south elevation that opens into livestock pens. West of the barn is the **Stickley Shed (20th c., non-contributing building)**, a small, rectangular building with a metal-covered shed roof and vertical wood-clad walls. A **Confederate Soldier Burial (1864, contributing site)**, the final resting place attributed to a John T. Helms (1842–1864) of Atlanta, Georgia, is north of the metal barn. The single interment is surrounded by a split-rail fence and marked by a small rectangular stone.¹⁵

The area between Cedar Creek and Valley Pike to the south contains the **Battle of Cedar Creek Campground (1978, non-contributing site)**, a former recreational campground purchased by the American Battlefield Trust in 2018 and subsequently transferred to the NPS. The Valley Pike Road

¹⁵ Findagrave.com, "John T. Helms," Find A Grave Memorial ID 119861989, 2013, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/119861989/john-t-helms>, accessed April 2023.

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Trace bisects the campground and leads to the Valley Pike Bridge South Abutments. The site consists of gravel access drives, sparsely treed lawns, chain-link fence segments, campsites with wet-laid fieldstone and concrete tent pads and firepits, and support and recreational facilities. A one-story, rectangular, gable-roofed **Campground Building (1978, non-contributing building)** with a concrete foundation and vertical-board siding is in the center of the site. A **Concession Building (1978, non-contributing building)** of similar construction is northeast. The other campground facilities are temporary or non-historic structures and are not countable. A gravel drive leads northwest from the campground to a large meadow with a **Barn (early 20th c., non-contributing building)** formerly associated with the property at 8920 Valley Pike. The barn is a one-story, front-gable, wood-frame building with a shed-roof-covered livestock pen on the west and a gable-roofed cupola. It has a metal-covered roof and clapboard-clad walls.

Four non-historic houses are east of the campground. **8920 Valley Pike (1840–1885, non-contributing building)** is a two-story, side-gable, three-bay-by-one-bay house composed of an older, log-construction western section and a later wood-frame eastern section. It has a standing-seam metal-covered roof pierced by a ridgeline, stone chimney. The walls are covered with faux-log cladding and rest on a stone foundation. A twenty-first-century garage is southwest of the house. To the west is **8886 Valley Pike (1978, non-contributing building, Photo 37)**, a brick-clad, Ranch-type house. **8834 Valley Pike (1925, non-contributing building)** is a two-story wood-frame house, and **8804 Valley Pike (1976, non-contributing building)** is a Ranch-type house.

The **128th New York Infantry Monument (1907, 44FK0058, contributing object, Photo 37)** is on the north side of the Valley Pike Road Trace near Auto Tour Stop 3, which interprets the Battle of Cedar Creek earthworks and serves as a trailhead to the earthworks trails (see **Earthworks and Battlefield**) to the north. The monument is on a grass lawn and faces Valley Pike to the southeast. It was erected by veterans of the regiment and designed by Henry P. Reiger of Baltimore, Maryland. It consists of a rusticated, granite ashlar base supporting a polished, rectangular tablet that bears inscriptions and symbols. The symbol design is composed of crossed rifles, a knapsack, a blanket, and a canteen at the bottom; and a sword imposed on a projecting lozenge-shaped block at the top. The inscription reads

*IN MEMORY OF
THE MEN OF THIS REGIMENT,
WHO LOST THEIR LIVES AT THE BATTLE
OF CEDAR CREEK OCTOBER 19, 1864
ERECTED BY
THEIR COMRADES AND FRIENDS
DEDICATED IN 1907*

The **South Carolina Troops at Cedar Creek Marker (2019, non-contributing object)** is northwest of the 128th New York Infantry Monument on the east side of the trail. The marker consists of a polished granite slab on a rough-dressed plinth. The front of the slab, facing east away from the main trail, has a Confederate flag and an inscription recounting the battle. The rear has a

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South Carolina flag and a list of troop units that served at Cedar Creek. The marker was erected by Secession Camp #4, Sons of Confederate Veterans; Stonewall Jackson Chapter #220, United Daughters of the Confederacy; Robert E. Lee Confederate Heritage Association; Maj. Egbert A. Ross Camp #1423, Sons of Confederate Veterans; 13th NC Troops (Reactivated); and Latham's NC Artillery (Reactivated).

The **8th Vermont Infantry Monument (1885, 44FK0060, contributing object, Photo 38)** is between Valley Pike and Interstate 81 and accessed by the 8th Vermont Monument Trail, which leads southwest from a parking area adjacent to 8739 Valley Pike, immediately south of the park headquarters. The monument is at the edge of the forest on land where intense battle occurred in 1864. Funded by Herbert E. Hill in 1885, it consists of an erect block of Vermont marble inscribed with a tribute to the fallen soldiers of the 8th Vermont Infantry. The monument is enclosed by a late nineteenth–early twentieth century iron picket fence. The inscription reads

*CEDAR CREEK
THE 8TH VERMONT VOL'S.
GENL. STEPHEN THOMAS.
COMMANDING BRIGADE
ADVANCED ACROSS THE PIKE
THE MORNING OF
OCT. 19. 1864.
ENGAGED THE ENEMY NEAR
AND BEYOND THIS POINT.
AND BEFORE SUNRISE LOST
IN KILLED AND WOUNDED 110 MEN
THREE COLOR BEARERS
WERE SHOT DOWN.
AND 13 OUT OF 16 COMMISSIONED
OFFICERS.
WHOLE NUMBER OF MEN ENGAGED 164
DEDICATED SEPT. 1885.
GIFT OF
HERBERT E. HILL.*

Fort Bowman/Harmony Hall

Fort Bowman, which became known as Harmony Hall in the twentieth century, is a late eighteenth-century farmstead on the north bank of Cedar Creek. The extant farmstead contains a large dwelling known as Fort Bowman, several contributing ancillary buildings and structures, and a cemetery. German immigrant George Bowman (1699–1768) first settled on the land in the mid-eighteenth century. Fort Bowman was constructed ca. 1771, shortly after George's death, for his widow, Mary Elizabeth Hite (1708–1769), and their children and is the oldest extant building in the district. The house was expanded and improved in the nineteenth century and rehabilitated in the late twentieth century. **Fort Bowman Road (by 1864, contributing structure, Photo 3),**

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which leads southeast from Old Valley Pike in Strasburg, enters the district near Interstate 81 and follows a low ridge east as a gravel-paved road to the Fort Bowman farmstead, where it terminates at a loop south of the house. During the historic period, Fort Bowman Road continued east to cross Cedar Creek at the **Fort Bowman Ford (19th c., contributing site)** before connecting with Bowmans Mill Road and the Bowman-Hite farmstead. The farmstead buildings are north of Fort Bowman Road and surrounded by agricultural fields and successional-growth woodland. The **Fort Bowman Landscape (19th–20th c., contributing site, Photos 3 and 39)** consists of a gently sloping lot terminating in a level terrace immediately north of the drive. The terrace is supported by a limestone retaining wall constructed in 1979 that runs east–southeast approximately 150 feet on the south and is broken by a set of stairs and a path leading to the dwelling. The landscape also has shrubs and trees that date to twentieth-century activities.

Fort Bowman (ca. 1771/19th c./1925–1935/1970s, contributing building, Photos 39–41) is a two-story, central passage-plan, side-gable, masonry house with a one-and-one-half-story, wood-frame rear wing. It has a standing-seam metal-covered roof pierced by two interior, gable-end, limestone chimneys on the main block and an additional brick chimney in the rear wing. The eaves are “kicked,” or splayed by false rafters. The walls are composed of uncoursed limestone with segmental relieving arch limestone lintels above window and door openings. The three-bay south (façade) elevation has a center entrance sheltered by a flat-roof portico that dates to 1925–1935. The entrance is filled with a paneled wood door surmounted by a five-light transom. Fenestration consists of six-over-six wood sash windows. The rear wing is clad in siding and has secondary entrances flanked by windows in the east and west elevations. Interior renovations in the 1970s were mostly limited to the second story and rear addition. The main block of the building still retains craftsmanship of Germanic traditions and the original hall-and-parlor layout. The first-story rooms have plastered exterior walls and paneled wood interior walls. The large fireplaces have elliptic-arched openings, molded casings, and paneled wood surrounds. The fireplaces are not aligned with the chimneys and have angled flues. The kitchen hearth is brick and contains a small bread oven. The basement has whitewashed stone walls, a brick floor, and relieving arches under the chimney stacks.

The **Fort Bowman Summer Kitchen (19th c., contributing building, Photos 39 and 42)** is a one-story, side-gable, rectangular, wood-frame building northeast of the house. It has a standing-seam metal-covered roof pierced by a large, limestone and brick, exterior chimney on the east elevation. The walls sit on a semi-coursed limestone foundation and are clad in horizontal composite siding over original board-and-batten. The building has a paneled wood door in the east elevation and six-over-six, wood sash windows. The interior has been extensively altered. The **Fort Bowman Carriage House Foundation (19th c., contributing site)** is east of the Summer Kitchen. The carriage house had a raised limestone basement and frame structure and was oriented perpendicular to the slope of the lot.

The **Fort Bowman Well House (19th c., contributing structure, Photo 40)** is an open-sided, wood-frame structure west of Fort Bowman’s rear wing that shelters a limestone and concrete well cover and cast-iron hand pump. The well house has a gable roof supported by wood posts with

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braces. Although it contains a mix of old and new materials, the structure was first documented on the site in 1925 and likely dates to the nineteenth century.

The **Bowman Cemetery (1830–1903, contributing site, Photos 43 and 44)** is on a high ridge approximately 330 feet northwest of the Fort Bowman Tenant House (non-extant). The cemetery is enclosed by a low, coursed, quarry-faced limestone **Bowman Cemetery Wall (1927, non-contributing structure, Photo 43)** capped with concrete slab copings. The northeast wall is broken by a decorative wrought-iron gate at the midpoint. The cemetery contains six graves—three marked and three unmarked—from 1830 through 1903. Marked graves consist of the burials of Isaac S. Bowman (1803–1866), Eleanor B. Hite Bowman (1813–1903), and Mary Jane Chinn Bowman (1773–1830). The unmarked graves consist of the burials of Samuel Kercheval (1767–1845), his daughter Harriet (1796–1875), and Mary Gatewood (birth and death dates unknown). An unmarked concrete-parged tomb immediately north of the cemetery wall is believed to be the resting place of Nellie “Mammie” Foster (1791–ca. 1890), who had been enslaved by Isaac and Mary Jane Bowman. Other burials of individuals enslaved by the Bowmans are either unmarked or marked only with a small fieldstone.¹⁶

Bowman-Hite/Whitham Farm

The Bowman-Hite/Whitham farm is south and east of Cedar Creek on the north side of **Bowmans Mill Road (by 1864, contributing structure)** (SR 635), historically known as Strasburg Road, which runs approximately 1.5 miles easterly through the district on the southeast side of Cedar Creek. The **Bowmans Mill Road Bridge (mid-20th c., non-contributing structure)** carries the road over the creek at the west end of the district in the approximate location of the historic **Bowman’s Mill Ford (early 19th c., contributing site)**. The bridge is a three-span, reinforced concrete slab, single-lane bridge with poured concrete abutments and piers and a concrete deck lined with concrete curbing. The road arcs northward to wind through hillsides and connect historic farmstead sites before it ends at Long Meadow Road (see **Long Meadow** below). During the historic period, the **Bowman-Hite Farm Road Trace (ca. 1851–1853, contributing structure)**, a two-track gravel road, ran east from the east edge of the driveway before turning north to run along a hedgerow before crossing Cedar Creek and connecting with the Fort Bowman farmstead.

The farmstead occupies cleared land that gently slopes south and has orchards and vegetable gardens. The land surrounding the building cluster is maintained as pasture or meadow. The farm is surrounded by upland agricultural fields on the west, north, and east. Two historic road traces intersect the farmstead and lead north from Bowmans Mill Road to Old Valley Pike where it crosses Cedar Creek. The extant farmstead consists of two buildings and one structure dating from the nineteenth century. The **Bowman-Hite House (ca. 1851–1853/ca. 1881/late 19th c./1970s, contributing building, Photos 45 and 46)**, also called the Whitham House, is a west-facing, two-story, side-gable, brick, Greek Revival-style house that was built for Charles J. Hite and his wife Rebecca F. W. Hite. The original three-bay, side-passage, single-pile house has a rear gable-roofed

¹⁶ Roquey G. Jobes, Jr., *Cedar Creek Bowmans: A Virginia Pioneer’s Grandchildren* (Middletown, VA: Hite Family Association, 2009).

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addition that extends from the north side of the east elevation. The rear addition consists of a ca. 1876 one-and-one-half-story kitchen addition and a 1970s two-story addition on the kitchen's east and south elevations. The roof of the house is covered with asphalt shingles and has three brick chimneys: interior end-gable chimneys on the original house and the east elevation of the kitchen addition and a chimney on the east elevation of the 1970s addition. The nineteenth-century walls are laid in common bond and have a corbelled cornice; the wood-frame addition walls are clad in aluminum siding. The nineteenth-century sections have semi-coursed, quarry-faced limestone ashlar foundations; the 1970s addition sits on concrete block footings. The west (façade) elevation has an entrance in the south bay and single windows in the remaining first- and second-story bays. The entrance has a Greek Revival-style surround with side and transom lights. A secondary entrance is in the south elevation of the 1970s addition under an enclosed porch. Fenestration consists of original six-over-six, single-hung wood windows with wood sills in the brick sections and modern one-over-one and six-over-six windows in the wood-frame sections. The original portion of the house has a largely intact L-shaped, side-hall plan with two rooms each on the first story (a parlor and a dining room) and second story (two bedrooms). Interior detailing and finishes date to the periods of construction. The original section of the house retains tongue-and-groove pine flooring, wide baseboards, original door and window surrounds with square blocks at the top corners, and four Greek Revival-style mantels that bear similarities to those in Asher Benjamin's 1830 publication *The Architect or Practical House Carpenter*. The late nineteenth-century section of the house was altered during the 1970s improvements.¹⁷

The **Bowman-Hite Smokehouse (late 19th c., contributing building, Photo 47)**, also referred to as a meat shed, is immediately northeast of the house. It is a square wood-frame building on non-historic concrete block piers with an end-gable, tin sheet-covered roof and weatherboard-clad walls. A vertical board door is in the east edge of the south elevation.

The **Bowman-Hite Bank Barn (ca. 1881, contributing building, Photos 48 and 49)** is approximately 150 feet southeast of the house. It is a standard Pennsylvania bank barn that may have been built on the foundation of a pre-Civil War barn. The barn has a side-gable, corrugated metal-covered roof; rough circular-sawn vertical plank siding; and a random ashlar limestone foundation that opens to livestock pens on the south. It has large, sliding barn doors in the north and south elevations that provide access to the hay loft. The poured concrete foundation of a former silo is adjacent to the west gable end. A stone and concrete **Wellhead (late 19th–early 20th c., contributing object)** is north of the barn and is covered with a concrete cap and wooden platform.¹⁸

A cluster of at least three burials is near a large cedar tree northeast of the farmstead, on land owned by the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation. The **Hite Family Graves (ca. 1862–1892, contributing site)** are believed to be the burials of Rebecca Frances Washer Bowman Hite (1821–1892) and her two children, George S. (b. ca. 1852–ca. 1862) and Francis M. (b. ca. 1857–

¹⁷ Michael Spencer, *Draft National Register of Historic Places Nomination: Bowman-Hite House* (Fredericksburg, VA: University of Mary Washington, 2013).

¹⁸ Spencer, *Bowman-Hite House*.

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ca. 1862). Rebecca's grave is marked by a broken-off footstone inscribed "R.F.W.H." and the broken base of a headstone; two uninscribed river stones nearby are believed to mark her children's graves.

South of the Bowman-Hite/Whitham farm on the east bank of Cedar Creek are the remnants of the **Bowman's Mill Millrace (late 18th c., contributing structure)**, which was constructed to divert water from a western meander to power Isaac Bowman's mill. The river eventually favored the millrace course, and the western meander (outside the district) dried and became an oxbow feature.

Long Meadow

Long Meadow is a historic plantation on the north bank of the North Fork of the Shenandoah River just east of the confluence of Cedar Creek and the river. It is south of **Long Meadow Road (by 1864, contributing structure, Photo 2)** (SR 611), a narrow, gravel-paved road that follows the north banks of Cedar Creek and the Shenandoah River's North Fork approximately 1.8 miles easterly through the district before turning north at Long Meadow and continuing north to Middletown. Long Meadow was given to Isaac Hite Sr. in 1737 by his father Jost Hite. Colonel George Bowman, Jost Hite's great-grandson, acquired the property in 1840 and constructed the extant manor house on the foundations of the original house, called Traveler's Hall, in 1848. The farmstead cluster consists of the manor house, an overseer's house, three secondary buildings and structures, and a small cemetery. The **Long Meadow Landscape (18th–20th c., contributing site, Photos 50–52)** surrounding the house encompasses built features related to the historic plantation and its ongoing use as a residence. The landscape includes a dead-end, gravel-paved entrance drive that leads south from Long Meadow Road to the west side of the plantation house. A lawn with shade trees encompassing the house and its dependencies is surrounded by segments of picket and wood-plank fencing. Agricultural fields and woodland surround the plantation.

Long Meadow (1848/ca. 1891, contributing building, Photos 50 and 51) is a west-facing, two-story, center-hall plan, brick plantation house built in a transitional Federal-Greek Revival style. A two-story, ca. 1891 kitchen wing extends off the rear (east) elevation. The house has a standing-seam metal-covered hip roof pierced by four interior brick chimneys. The roof meets the walls at a boxed cornice and frieze band. The house has Flemish-bond brickwork on its five-bay west (façade) elevation and common bond brickwork on the side and rear elevations. The main block rests on a raised foundation composed of coursed limestone and brick with window openings. The wood-frame rear wing sits on limestone piers that have been infilled with concrete. It has a side-gable roof and is clad in wood clapboards. The façade has a centered Greek Revival-style, hip-roof portico that shelters an entrance with fluted pilasters, three-pane sidelights, a dentilled cornice, a nine-light transom, and broad architrave molding. A tripartite window fills the bay above the entrance and has a pediment with a Federal-style, three-part, semi-elliptical fanlight. The first-story windows have ca. 1920 six-over-one sash, and the second-story windows have original nine-over-six sash, all with wood sills and brick jack-arched lintels. An enclosed shed-roof porch covers the rear (east) elevation and is clad in vertical boards and wire screens. The well-preserved interior of the house has a central passage (hall) plan repeated on each of the three stories. The first-story

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passage is divided transversely by a wall with an elliptical arch and has a staircase on the south wall.

The south-facing **Overseer's House (mid-late 18th c., contributing building, Photos 50 and 51)**, also known as the Isaac Hite Secondary House, is northeast of the plantation house. It is a one-and-one-half-story, two-bay-wide, timber-frame, rectangular-plan building with an end-gable, standing-seam metal-covered roof and a brick interior chimney on the north elevation. The walls contain brick nogging and are clad in beaded weatherboard. The building sits on wide limestone rubble piers. The façade has a single entrance and a pair of six-over-six sash windows. A single attic window and nine-over-six sash windows are in the side elevations and have wood sills and molded architraves. The building has a one-room plan with a corner boxed stair that leads to the attic.

The **Long Meadow Springhouse-Icehouse (18th c., contributing building, Photo 51)** is south of the plantation house and consists of a gable-roof, rectangular-plan springhouse with an icehouse wing off the south end of the west elevation. The springhouse is partially below grade and has limestone rubble construction. The metal-covered gable roof spans both wings and is supported by thick wood posts with wood lattice infill. The one-story icehouse wing is a weatherboard-clad, wood-frame structure with a limestone foundation. Exterior stairs ascend to the building's original pine doors with iron hardware.

The **Hite Cemetery (mid-18th–19th c., contributing site, Photo 52)** is northeast of the plantation house on a small hill and is enclosed by a chain-link fence. The cemetery is approximately 60 square feet. It contains approximately 25 marked graves, of which only 20 have legible inscriptions. Its interments include members of the Hite, McDonald, Maury, Grymes, Davison, and Lodor families. Notable burials include Jost Hite's wife, Anna Maria Hite (d. 1739); Isaac Hite Sr. (d. 1795); and Major Isaac Hite Jr. of Belle Grove Plantation (d. 1836), his first wife, Nelly C. Madison Hite (d. 1802), and his second wife, Ann Tunstall Hite (d. 1851).

Two contributing, agricultural-related resources west of Long Meadow date to the late nineteenth century and were built under Andrew J. Brumback's ownership. The **Brumback Bank Barn (ca. 1891, contributing building, Photo 53)** is a large, timber-frame bank barn with its forebay supported by wood posts on the south elevation. It has a standing-seam metal-covered gable roof, weatherboard-clad walls, and a limestone foundation. The north elevation has a pair of large, sliding barn doors. The building has wood sash windows and louvered vents. A granary is in the northeast corner, and a poured concrete silo foundation is just west of the barn. According to the National Register nomination, the material for the barn's foundation came from a stone wall that once surrounded the Hite Cemetery.¹⁹ The one-and-one-half-story **Long Meadow Frame Workshop (late 19th c., contributing building, Photo 51)** is south of the barn and adjoins livestock pasturage. It has a side-gable, standing-seam metal-covered roof that overhangs the east

¹⁹ Maral S. Kalbian, *National Register of Historic Places Nomination Long Meadow*, NRIS 95001169 (Boyce, VA: Maral S. Kalbian, 1995), 7.

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elevation and shelters a former animal pen. The walls are clad in weatherboard, and the building is currently used for storage.

Three non-contributing, agricultural-related resources at Long Meadow date to the twentieth century. The wood-frame **Long Meadow Chicken Coop (1930s, non-contributing building, Photo 50)** is approximately 200 feet north of the house in the middle of a pasture. It has a tin-covered shed roof and vertical wood board-clad walls. The small, rectangular, wood-frame **Long Meadow Shed (20th c., non-contributing building, Photo 50)** is east of the overseer's house. It has a standing-seam metal-covered shed roof and vertical wood board-clad walls. The west-facing, metal-clad **Long Meadow Equipment Shed (20th c., non-contributing building, Photos 50 and 51)** is approximately 100 feet northwest of the house along the entrance drive. It has a side-gable roof and sliding bay doors in the front elevation.

Additional Resources on Bowmans Mill and Long Meadow Roads

Examples of the predominantly non-contributing resources along Bowmans Mill Road are described approximately west to east. **89 Bowmans Mill Road (1952, non-contributing building)** is a one-story, concrete block-construction, side-gable house between Bowmans Mill Road and Cedar Creek, immediately south of the creek bed. It has several associated small, wood-frame outbuildings. The **John Sine House, 211 Bowmans Mill Road (1905, non-contributing building)** is a two-story, Queen Anne-style, wood-frame house with a metal-covered roof, a concrete block foundation, and composite siding. The parcel also contains a wood-frame shed and a detached, one-car garage. **947 Bowmans Mill Road (late 19th c., contributing building)** is a two-story, side-gable, three-bay-wide, wood-frame house on a stone foundation. Its parcel also contains several non-historic, agricultural buildings and structures: a large metal **Barn 1 (early 21st c., non-contributing building)**, a metal **Tractor Shed (late 20th c., non-contributing building)**, a wood-frame **Shed (late 20th c., non-contributing building)**, and a board-and-batten-clad **Barn 2 (late 20th c., non-contributing building)**. **964 Bowmans Mill Road (1997, non-contributing building)** is a brick-clad, Cape-type house. A cluster of agricultural buildings to the south includes two barns—**Barn 1 (late 20th c., non-contributing building)** and **Barn 2 (2007, non-contributing building)**—and small outbuildings. North of the road is **1021 Bowmans Mill Road (early 20th c., non-contributing building)**, a two-story, cross-gable, wood-frame house with a garage. The parcel to the north contains a large two-story, wood-frame residential building, **9396 Valley Pike (1993, non-contributing building)**, with primary access from Valley Pike.

The active Fair Meadows Farm occupies the highlands north of the Shenandoah River's North Fork east of Bowmans Mill Road and north of Long Meadow Road. The farm encompasses several buildings and structures, none of which can be seen from the public right-of-way. Aerial imagery indicates the buildings constructed within the period of significance presumably retain sufficient integrity to convey their associations with the district's agricultural significance. These include the one-and-one-half-story, front-gable, wood-frame **Fair Meadows Farm Building (early 20th c., contributing building)** near Long Meadow Road that may have been a tenant farmer's dwelling. Approximately 1,000 feet north of Long Meadow Road is a cluster of buildings associated with the farm that contains Fair **Meadows Farm Farmhouse (late 19th–early 20th c., contributing**

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building), the **Fair meadows Farm Bank Barn (late 19th–early 20th c., contributing building)**, and four gable- and shed-roof outbuildings. To the northeast is a Ranch-type house at **1253 Long Meadow Road (late 20th c., non-contributing building)** with a detached garage.

The eastern end of Bowmans Mill Road, where it meets Long Meadow Road, has a cluster of late twentieth-century and early twenty-first-century houses, generally Ranches, developed on subdivided farmland. The area retains a rural character with plantings limited to the areas immediately surrounding the buildings. Most non-contributing development on Long Meadow Road is along a southeasterly segment that follows Cedar Creek from the Bowmans Mill Ford.

Several non-contributing residential and agricultural buildings are on two parcels in the area between Cedar Creek on the north, the Shenandoah River on the east and south, and Bowmans Mill and Pouts Hill roads on the west. **1600 Pouts Hill Road (2008, non-contributing building)** is a Ranch-type house with several non-historic outbuildings. **1460 Pouts Hill Road (1940, non-contributing building)** is two-story, wood-frame, astylistic house on an agricultural property with a large livestock **Barn, 1460 Pouts Hills Road (ca. 1940, non-contributing building)**, a modern garage, and several non-historic, small outbuildings and livestock sheds. The land south of the two parcels borders the waterways and contains young woodland and meadow.

A large parcel between Interstate 81 and Valley Pike owned by the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation contains **9417 Valley Pike (1958, non-contributing building)**, a brick, Ranch-type house and non-historic outbuildings.

Non-Contributing Administration Buildings

The park's primary visitor center is the **Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation (CCBF) Headquarters, 8437 Valley Pike (1951, non-contributing building, Photo 54)**, a northwest-facing, two-and-one-half-story, side-gable, three-bay-by-three-bay building that is owned and managed by the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation, Inc. The building was constructed as a mixed-use building and converted into a visitor center in 1997. It has a standing-seam metal-covered roof and stucco-covered concrete block walls. A hip-roof porch covers the southwest and northwest elevations, and a one-story, metal-and composite board-clad addition extends off the northeast elevation. The porch has an asphalt shingle-covered roof supported by square, wooden posts. The building's windows are six-over-six vinyl sash with brick sills and decorative louvered shutters. The northwest elevation has commercial plate-glass windows in the first story. A gravel- and asphalt-paved parking lot south of the building is used for the visitor center and trails that extend to the southeast. The trails access a maintained meadow and park with a timber-frame **Picnic Shelter (21st c., non-contributing structure)** that has an asphalt shingle-covered roof. A series of packed-earth and grass foot trails leads south from the CCBF headquarters to the Morning Attack Trails near the NPS headquarters at 8693 Valley Pike.

The **Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP Headquarters, 8693 Valley Pike (1977, non-contributing building, Photo 55)** is on the south side of Valley Pike and is a side-gable, brick-clad, Ranch-type house with a walk-out basement level. A second NPS-owned building at **8739**

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Valley Pike (1949, non-contributing building) is at the trailhead for the Morning Attack Trails. It is a brick-clad, Ranch-type house with an attached two-car garage. **8771 Valley Pike (1982, non-contributing building)** is a privately owned, brick, Ranch-type house south of the NPS-owned properties.

Archeological Sites

The district contains numerous archeological sites identified by local residents, avocational collectors, and by professional archeologists during academic research and cultural resource management investigations. The recorded post-contact, pre-contact, and multicomponent sites are described below by site type. The site descriptions are primarily derived from Volume II of James Madison University's overview and assessment of the cultural resources²⁰ within the district and from the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR) site files.

Military Encampments and Battle-Related Resources

The **Taft's Battery Site (1864, 44FK0516, contributing site)** consists of Federal entrenchments identified [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Captain Elijah Taft's Fifth New York Battery at the right flank of the XIX Corps' encampments occupied this location. Structural features at the site include a possible artillery emplacement.

Earthworks have been identified at **Site 44SH0387 (1862, contributing site)** [REDACTED] [REDACTED] were associated with Confederate forces during an earlier campaign in the area. They represent the only Confederate earthworks identified in the district.

The **Vermont Monument Property Site (1864, CEBE00089.000/44FK0060, contributing site)** was the location of pre-battle encampments of VIII Corps divisions under Brigadier General George Crook. The site is also along the VIII Corps' retreat route during the morning stages of the battle. The **Claytor Field Site (1864, CEBE00090.000/44FK0868, contributing site)** [REDACTED] [REDACTED] also encompasses areas where VIII Corps divisions were encamped. The Claytor Field Site was the location of morning portions of the battle and the Federal's afternoon counterattack, as Brigadier General Wesley Merritt's cavalry brigades pursued Confederate troops through the site area.

The **Burrows Tract Site (1864, CEBE00104.000/44FK1042, contributing site)** is a battle-related site within an approximately 14-acre wooded tract that was acquired by the NPS and added to the district in 2018. During the morning stages of the Battle of Cedar Creek, two Confederate brigades took position at this site's location and engaged Federal forces under the command of

²⁰ Faculty and students at James Madison University (JMU), along with other local scholars, began an effort in 2004 to prepare a three-volume Archaeological Overview and Assessment (AOA) for Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP, shortly after the park's establishment. The AOA has not been concurred with by the Virginia State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO). Information on specific archeological sites within the boundary has been taken from the AOA.

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Brigadier General George W. Getty. The site also historically belonged to a farmstead and an agricultural field but was completely reforested by the end of the twentieth century.

Farmstead and Plantation Resources

Archeological sites associated with the Belle Grove Plantation consist of **Quarter Site B (ca. 1800, 44FK0520, contributing site)** (also known as the Belle Grove Enslaved Quarter), the **Belle Grove Barn Complex (19th–20th c., 44FK0521, contributing site)**, and the **Belle Grove Stable Complex (19th c., 44FK0522, contributing site)**. Quarter Site B represents the main quarters site at the plantation during the Hites' ownership. The quarters were constructed ca. 1800 and consisted of several log cabins where the enslaved workers at Belle Grove lived. The barn and stable complex sites are the locations of nineteenth-century sheds, a barn, and stables that are depicted on Civil War-era maps of the property.

The **Bunker Silo Site (20th c., 44FK0675, contributing site)** is on a hill slope surrounded by pastureland. The site contains the remains of a bunker silo (also called a trench silo) that was built into the slope ca. 1910 and was associated with a twentieth-century farmstead within the former Belle Grove Plantation lands. The floor and the remnant sides of the bunker silo are lined with concrete slabs.

Archeological sites associated with the Heater Farmstead consist of the **Heater Barn Site (19th–20th c., 44FK0507, contributing site)**, **Site 44FK0508 (19th–20th c., contributing site)**, and **Site 44FK0510 (19th c., contributing site)**. The Heater Barn Site [REDACTED] contains structural remains from a wood-frame barn or outbuilding associated with the farmstead's twentieth-century occupation. Site 44FK0508 [REDACTED] contains the remains of a bank barn and silo that had been constructed at the farmstead in the nineteenth century and demolished by 1937. Site 44FK0510 is [REDACTED] associated with the farmstead. It is unclear who occupied the structure, though historical documents suggest that it may have been an overseer employed by the Baldwin family. The site also has a pre-contact Native American component, interpreted as a possible campsite, occupying a low bench southeast of the circular depression.

The **Bowman-Hite Farm Site (Middle–Late Archaic/18th–20th c., CEBE00058.000/CEBE00088.000/44WR0164, contributing site)** [REDACTED]

Archeologists recovered post-contact materials associated with the occupation of the Bowman-Hite House and the nineteenth- and twentieth-century operation of the farm, the site also yielded Civil War materials that indicate it was where Confederate forces had advanced on Federal positions during the Battle of Cedar Creek and potentially where Federal forces camped following

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the battle. A pre-contact component at the site has been interpreted as a campsite that was repeatedly occupied by Native American groups.²¹

The **Cedar Campground Multicomponent Site (unknown/19th–20th c., CEBE00092.000/44FK0890, contributing site)** [REDACTED] The site's post-contact component contains a brick and stone foundation from a former farm building. Recovered artifacts post-date 1880 and indicate the farm property was likely occupied in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The site also contains a pre-contact component that has been interpreted as a lithic workshop site.

The remains of a late nineteenth- and twentieth-century dwelling were recorded at **Site 44WR0487 (19th–20th c., contributing site)**. [REDACTED] The site contains the dwelling's cemented limestone chimney, which is still standing, and other structural elements.

Industrial Resources

Nineteenth-century mill remains have been identified at the **Hottel's Mill Site (19th c., 44FK0714, contributing site)**²² [REDACTED] The remains of sawmills and gristmills—including a depression, dry-laid stone walls, and millstone fragments—have been recorded at the site. The **Hottle Miller's House Site (19th–20th c., 44FK0523, contributing site)** contains the remnants of a residence associated with the operators of the mills. The miller's house was constructed in the nineteenth century and has an L-shaped addition that likely dates to the twentieth century.

The **Conner Lime Kiln Site (1918, 44FK0504, contributing site)** contains the remains of a limestone kiln constructed in 1918 by Leonard Conner. The kiln operated until 1932 and employed 12 people, including men who worked in the limestone quarry behind the kiln. Several features have been recorded at the site, including the kiln's brick and stone limestone furnace, a two-story frame structure with metal siding, and an angled set of rails for cars carrying quarried lime to the furnace.

The **Bowman's Mill Road Site (CEBE00097.000/44WR0463, contributing site)** is the site of a nineteenth-century road trace that extends northwest from the modern Bowman's Mill Road to a ford on Cedar Creek and continues north of the creek, outside the district. The road historically facilitated travel to the Bowman and the Hite/Hottel mills.

²¹ William H. Moore, Jerrell Blake, Jr., Kevin T. Goodrich, Thomas D. Young, and David W. Lewes, *An Archaeological Assessment of the Bowman-Hite Farm Property, Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Warren County, Virginia* (Williamsburg, VA: William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, 2012).

²² The archeological site records are inconsistent with respect to the spelling of the sites' names, using both Hottel and Hottle.

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Pre-Contact Native American Resources

Several pre-contact Native American archeological sites have been identified within the district. The most significant of these sites is the **Bowman Site (Early Archaic-Late Woodland, 44SH0001, contributing site)**, a large multicomponent habitation site [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The site's boundaries have not been conclusively delineated. [REDACTED] It was likely a campsite occupied during the Early Archaic Period, was repeatedly occupied during the Archaic and Woodland periods, and was a large, palisaded settlement by the Late Woodland Period.

Statement of Integrity

The Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP Historic District retains integrity in the areas and periods of significance defined in Section 8 of this Registration Form. In general, the district conveys its historical significance through its location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The district encompasses the Cedar Creek Battlefield, consisting of earthworks, battlefield sites, and historic circulation associated with the 1864 Shenandoah Valley campaign of the Civil War; Belle Grove Plantation and other plantations and farmsteads associated with the Valley's early European settlers, specifically the Hites, Bowmans, and Stickleys; and the industrial, agricultural, and cultural landscapes that embodied the historic character of Lower Shenandoah Valley before 1926.

Defining features of the Cedar Creek Battlefield landscape that are evident within the district include patterns of fields and fence lines, prominent views and vistas, agricultural land use, military fortifications, historic circulation patterns, historic land cover, and archeological sites. Many primary public roads date to the initial period of European development at the site; historic farm roads and traces were generally present during the Civil War and played important roles in the military activity. Changes in agricultural use over time throughout the district have altered the pattern of open versus closed that characterized the historic landscape. Woodlands now cover some areas that were open during the war; however, as stipulated in the National Register guidelines for evaluating the integrity of historic battlefields, natural changes in vegetation do not necessarily diminish a site's integrity. In many locations, forest growth has helped to preserve the earthworks at Cedar Creek by preventing recreational and agricultural use of the land. The condition of the earthwork remnants within the district varies, but overall, they possess good integrity. Many sections retain evidence of their design, workmanship, and surrounding setting, which helps to convey how the structures functioned during battle. Professional archeological survey on sites within the district indicate that they offer information on pre-contact Native American use, Euro-American lifeways, enslaved communities, and Civil War campsites or battlefields. Based on results from surveyed sites, it is believed that both surveyed and many unsurveyed sites still have integrity of location, material, design, setting, and feeling.

Alterations to Cedar Creek Battlefield sites and Belle Grove Plantation after the Civil War have not resulted in a lack of integrity within the district. Four commemorative objects were erected before the end date of the period of significance (1926), and six were erected in the early twenty-

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first century. Resources associated with the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century conservation and development of the battlefield and Belle Grove Plantation also retain integrity. More significant alterations and development of the battlefield and agricultural landscapes have occurred outside the district, where modern development has erased many signs of the Civil War-era history and threatens to encroach on the overall feeling of the district. This is particularly evident around Middletown and along the north boundary of the district, where farmland has been converted to residential or industrial use. However, conservation land and easements held by NPS partnership organizations help to preserve the setting and create a sufficient degree of distance between historic sites within the district and the surrounding modern development.

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**CEDAR CREEK AND BELLE GROVE
NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
HISTORIC DISTRICT DATA SHEET**

Resources with an asterisk (*) have previously been listed in the National Register.

Resource Name	Property Type	Year Built/Altered	NPS CRIS/ VCRIS Numbers	C/NC ²³	Photo Number(s)
Battlefield, Earthworks, and Systems of Resources					
Cedar Creek Battlefield	Site	1864	034-0002	C	1-5, 14, 15
CSX Railroad	Structure	After 1864		NC	None
System of Paths and Trails	Structure	Late 20 th -21 st c.		NC	None
System of Stone Walls and Fence Remnants	Structure	18 th -20 th c.	126791	C	1-3, 14, 15, 25
Union XIX Corps Entrenchments/XIX Corps Trenches Site	Structure	1864	44FK0517	C	4
Flying "V" Earthwork/XIX Corps Earthworks Site	Structure	1864	44FK0608	C	None
Unnamed Earthworks	Structure	1864	44FK0737	C	None
11 th Indiana Infantry Barrier/11 th Indiana Battle Position Site	Structure	1864	44FK0518	C	None
Union VIII Corps Site/Cedar Creek Battlefield Trenches Site	Site	1864	44WR0298	C	None
Thoburn's Defensive Line	Structure	1864	44WR0169	C	5
Union VIII Corps Earthworks	Structure	1864	44WR0467	C	None
Miller-Kendrick-Walter Complex					
Stone Gate Posts and Walls	Structure	By early 20 th c.		C	6
Well	Structure	19 th c.		C	6
Miller-Kendrick-Walter House	Building	Early to mid-19 th c./late 19 th c./ early -mid-20 th c.	034-0131	C	6, 7

²³ C = resource contributes to the district, NC = resource is non-contributing.

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Resource Name	Property Type	Year Built/Altered	NPS CRIS/ VCRIS Numbers	C/NC ²³	Photo Number(s)
Shed	Building	Mid-20 th c.		NC	None
Outbuilding	Building	Early 20 th c. ²⁴		NC	None
Miller-Kendrick-Walter Root Cellar	Building	19 th c.		C	8
Miller's House Ruin	Site	19 th –20 th c	44FK0818	C	9
Millbrook Mill Ruins/Millbrook Mill Site	Site	Early to late 19 th c	44FK0713	C	None
House, 1832 Chapel Road	Building	1911		C	None
Bank Barn	Building	Early 20 th c.		C	None
House, 1875 Hites Road	Building	2002		NC	None
House, 1643 Hites Road	Building	2007		NC	None
House, 595 Cougill Road	Building	1988		NC	None
House, 588 Cougill Road	Building	1931		NC	None
Barn, 588 Cougill Road	Building	1931		NC	None
House, 530 Cougill Road	Building	1987		NC	None
House, 440 Cougill Road	Building	Late 19 th –early 20 th c.	034-0231	NC	None
House, 330 Cougill Road	Building	2003		NC	None
Mount Carmel Cemetery					
Commerce Street ²⁵	Structure	After 1885		NC	None
Mount Carmel Cemetery	Site	19 th –early 20 th c.		C	10, 11
Mount Carmel Cemetery Fence	Structure	Late 19 th –early 20 th c.		C	None
Cemetery Road	Structure	19 th –21 st c.		C	10
Mount Carmel Cemetery Shed	Building	Late 20 th c.		NC	11
Mount Carmel Cemetery Hand Pump	Object	Mid-20 th c.		NC	11

²⁴ The nomination's period of significance extends into the twentieth century to include commemorative era monument resources. Numerous early-twentieth-century residential or agricultural resources are thus non-contributing as they do not relate to the earlier areas of significance.

²⁵ Commerce Street has been determined non-contributing as though it is associated with Mount Carmel Cemetery it post-dates the cemetery's historic period and is not associated with nomination's areas of significance.

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Mount Carmel Cemetery Grave Markers	Object	19 th –21 st c.		C	10, 11
400 Commerce Street	Building	Late 20 th c.		NC	None
Anderson Farmstead and Mill Site					
Veterans Road	Structure	By 1864		C	None
Meadow Mills Road	Structure	By 1864	44FK0777	C	None
Anderson House	Building	Mid-19 th c.		C	12
Anderson Woodshed	Building	20 th c.		NC	12
Anderson Garage	Building	20 th c.		NC	12
Anderson Barn	Building	Early 20 th c.		C	12
700 Veterans Road	Building	1961		NC	None
8112 Valley Pike	Building	1880–1935	034-1034	NC	None
Solomon Heater House					
Solomon Heater House	Building	1763/1802/1823/ca. 1843		C	13
Heater Farmstead/ Solomon Heater Farm Site	Site	18 th –20 th c.	44FK0509	C	13
Ashby Tenancy Site	Site	18 th –19 th c.	44FK0511	C	None
Belle Grove Plantation					
Belle Grove Road	Structure	By 1864		C	1
Meadow Brook Bridge	Structure	Late 20 th c.		NC	None
Meadow Brook Railroad Bridge	Structure	Mid-20 th c.		NC	None
Belle Grove Plantation (Belle Grove Site)	Site	Late 18 th –20 th c.	44FK0016	C	1, 14, 15
Belle Grove Manor House*	Building	1797/ca. 1820/early 20 th c.	034-0002	C	14, 16–19
Belle Grove Icehouse	Building	Ca. 1803-1836		C	20
Belle Grove Meat House	Building	Ca. 1803-1836/20 th c.		C	16, 21, 22
Old Hall Foundation	Site	mid-18 th c.		C	22
Belle Grove Shed 1	Building	Mid-20 th c.		NC	22, 23

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Resource Name	Property Type	Year Built/Altered	NPS CRIS/ VCRIS Numbers	C/NC ²³	Photo Number(s)
Belle Grove Shed 2	Building	Mid-20 th c.		NC	23
Belle Grove Smokehouse Foundation	Site	By 1814		C	23
Belle Grove 1918 Bank Barn	Building	Ca. 1918/2019		C	14, 23, 24
Belle Grove Hog Shed	Building	Mid-20 th c.		NC	None
Belle Grove Enslaved Burial Ground	Site	Ca. 1780–ca. 1850		C	25
Plantation Office and Store/Belle Grove Overseer's House Site	Building	Ca. 1788, 2016–2017	034-0213/ 44FK0502	C	14, 26
Belle Grove 1930 Barn	Building	Ca. 1930	034-0213	NC	1, 14, 27
Belle Grove Equipment Shed	Building	20 th c.		NC	14
Joist Hite Memorial	Object	1985		NC	None
Incomparable View Marker	Object	2008		NC	None
Stephen D. Ramseur Monument	Object	1920	034-5297	C	28
Middletown Battlefield Tablet	Object	1926	034-5298	C	29
NC Troops at Cedar Creek Marker	Object	2019		NC	None
Vermont Division of Historic Preservation Sign	Object	2014		NC	None
Flagpoles (2 total)	Object	21 st c.		NC	None
A 56 Battle of Cedar Creek Sign	Object	2000		NC	None
Meadow Mills Development					
Stone Retaining Walls	Structure	19 th c.		C	30
Malcolm Brumback House ²⁶	Building	1870–1900	034-0217	NC	None
Curry House	Building	1928	034-0218	NC	None

²⁶ Though the Malcolm Brumback House falls within the period of significance, it is not associated with the nomination's areas of significance and has been altered from original construction.

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Resource Name	Property Type	Year Built/Altered	NPS CRIS/ VCRIS Numbers	C/NC ²³	Photo Number(s)
Meadow Mills Union Chapel ²⁷	Building	1915	034-0214	NC	31
Classroom Building	Building	Late 20 th c.		NC	None
House, 516 Meadow Mills Road	Building	1938	034-0210	NC	None
Outbuilding, 516 Meadow Mills Road	Building	Early 20 th c.	034-0211	NC	None
House, 536 Meadow Mills Road	Building	1930	034-0209	NC	None
Hodson House, 550 Meadow Mills Road	Building	1931	034-0208	NC	None
Matthew Mills Road (Matthews Mill Road Site)	Structure	Ca. 1800	034-5196/ 44FK0777	C	None
Ritenour House/Spiggle House	Building	Mid-19 th c.	034-0215	C	32
Shop Building	Building	Late 19 th c.		C	None
Woodshed	Building	Early to mid-20 th c.		NC	None
Spiggle Blacksmith Shop	Building	Late 19 th –early 20 th c.		C	33
Spiggle Wagon Shed	Building	Late 19 th –early 20 th		C	34
Spiggle Barn	Building	Late 19 th c.		C	33, 34
Daniel Stickley Farm					
Valley Pike Road Trace	Structure	Mid-19 th c.		C	None
Valley Pike Stone Wall	Structure	Early 20 th c.	085-5203	C	None
Valley Pike Bridge Abutments/Valley Pike Bridge Site	Structure	1830s	CEBE00103.000/ 44FK0869/085- 0024, 085-5010	C	35
Daniel Stickley House	Building	Early to mid-19 th c.	085-0013	C	36
Stickley Crib Barn	Building	Mid-19 th c.		C	36
Stickley Smokehouse	Building	Mid-19 th c.		C	None
Stickley Workers' Dwelling	Building	Mid-19 th c.		C	36

²⁷ While Meadow Mills Union Chapel falls within the period of significance, it is not associated with the nomination's areas of significance and has been altered from original construction.

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Resource Name	Property Type	Year Built/Altered	NPS CRIS/ VCRIS Numbers	C/NC ²³	Photo Number(s)
Stickley Equipment Shed	Building	Late 19 th -early 20 th c.		C	36
Stickley Metal Barn	Building	Late 20 th c.		NC	None
Stickley Shed	Building	20 th c.		NC	None
Confederate Soldier Burial	Site	1864		C	None
Battle of Cedar Creek Campground	Site	1978	034-5299	NC	None
Campground Building	Building	1978		NC	None
Concession Building	Building	1978		NC	None
Barn	Building	Early 20 th c.	034-0201	NC	None
8920 Valley Pike ²⁸	Building	1840–1885	034-0201	NC	None
8886 Valley Pike	Building	1978		NC	37
8834 Valley Pike	Building	1925	034-0202	NC	None
8804 Valley Pike	Building	1976		NC	None
128 th New York Infantry Regiment Monument	Object	1907	44FK0058	C	37
South Carolina Troops at Cedar Creek Marker	Object	2019		NC	None
8 th Vermont Infantry Monument	Object	1885	034-5296; 44FK0060	C	38
Fort Bowman/Harmony Hall					
Fort Bowman Landscape	Site	19 th -20 th c.		C	3, 39
Fort Bowman Road	Structure	By 1864		C	3
Fort Bowman Ford	Structure	19 th c.		C	None
Fort Bowman (Harmony Hall) *	Building	Ca. 1771/19 th c./1925–1935/1970s	085-0004	C	39, 40, 41
Fort Bowman Summer Kitchen*	Building	19 th c.		C	39, 42
Fort Bowman Carriage House Foundation	Site	19 th c.		C	None

²⁸ While 8920 Valley Pike's construction falls within the period of significance, it has been altered significantly from original construction and a previous SHPO survey (034-0201) recommended the structure as not eligible due to the "major modifications."

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Resource Name	Property Type	Year Built/Altered	NPS CRIS/ VCRIS Numbers	C/NC ²³	Photo Number(s)
Fort Bowman Well House*	Structure	19 th c.		C	40
Bowman Cemetery	Site	1830–1903		C	43, 44
Bowman Cemetery Wall	Structure	1927		NC	43
Bowman-Hite/Whitham Farm					
Bowmans Mill Road	Structure	By 1864		C	None
Bowmans Mill Road Bridge	Structure	Mid-20 th c.		NC	None
Bowman's Mill Ford	Site	Mid-18 th c.		C	None
Long Meadow Road	Structure	By 1864		C	2
Bowman-Hite Farm Road Trace	Structure	Ca. 1851–1853		C	None
Bowman-Hite House (Whitham House)	Building	Ca. 1851–1853/ca. 1881/late 19 th c./1970s	126761/093-0138	C	45, 46
Bowman-Hite Smokehouse (Whitham Farm Smokehouse)	Building	Late 19 th c.	126765	C	47
Bowman-Hite Bank Barn (Whitham Farm Bank Barn)	Building	Ca. 1881	126763	C	48, 49
Wellhead, Bowman-Hite	Object	Late 19 th –early 20 th c.		C	None
Hite Family Graves	Site	Ca. 1862–1892		C	None
Bowman's Mill Millrace	Structure	Late 18 th c.		C	None
Long Meadow, Bowman Mill, and Long Meadow roads resources					
Long Meadow Landscape	Site	18 th –20 th c.		C	50, 51, 52
Long Meadow*	Building	1848/ca. 1891	093-0006	C	50, 51
Overseer's House* (Isaac Hite Secondary House)	Building	Mid–late 18 th c.		C	50, 51
Long Meadow Springhouse-Icehouse*	Building	18 th c.		C	51
Hite Cemetery*	Site	Mid-18 th –19 th c.		C	52
Brumback Bank Barn*	Building	Ca. 1891		C	53

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Resource Name	Property Type	Year Built/Altered	NPS CRIS/ VCRIS Numbers	C/NC ²³	Photo Number(s)
Long Meadow Frame Workshop*	Building	Late 19 th c.		C	51
Long Meadow Chicken Coop ²⁹	Building	1930s	126769	NC	50
Long Meadow Shed	Building	20 th c.	126777	NC	50
Long Meadow Equipment Shed	Building	20 th c.	126771	NC	50, 51
89 Bowmans Mill Road	Building	1952		NC	None
John Sine House, 211 Bowmans Mill Road ³⁰	Building	1905	093-0502	NC	None
947 Bowmans Mill Road	Building	Late 19 th c.		C	None
Barn 1, 947 Bowmans Mill Road	Building	early 21 st c.		NC	None
Tractor Shed, 947 Bowmans Mill Road	Building	Late 20 th c		NC	None
Shed, 947 Bowmans Mill Road	Building	1997–2000		NC	None
Barn 2, 947 Bowmans Mill Road	Building	Late 20 th c.		NC	None
964 Bowmans Mill Road	Building	1997		NC	None
Barn 1, 964 Bowmans Mill Road	Building	Late 20 th c.		NC	None
Barn 2, 964 Bowmans Mill Road	Building	2007		NC	None
1021 Bowmans Mill Road	Building	Early 20 th c.		NC	None
9396 Valley Pike	Building	1993		NC	None
1478 Bowmans Mill Road	Building	Mid-20 th c.		NC	None
1573 Bowmans Mill Road	Building	1999		NC	None
1675 Bowmans Mill Road	Building	2007		NC	None
1626 Bowmans Mill Road	Building	1976		NC	None
1690 Bowmans Mill Road	Building	1976		NC	None

²⁹ The Long Meadow Chicken Coop was recorded as non-contributing in that individual nomination and is similarly non-contributing to this district.

³⁰ The John Sine House is not associated with the nomination's areas of significance.

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1845 Bowmans Mill Road	Building	2009		NC	None
57 Water Plant Road	Building	Mid-to-late 20 th c.		NC	None
191 Water Plant Road	Building	1982		NC	None
249 Water Plant Road	Building	1974		NC	None
1964 Bowmans Mill Road	Building	1980		NC	None
2082 Bowmans Mill Road	Building	1986		NC	None
Outbuilding, 2080 Bowmans Mill Road	Building	Late 20 th c.		NC	None
2335 Long Meadow Road	Building	Early 20 th c.		NC	None
2237 Long Meadow Road	Building	Early 20 th c.		NC	None
271 Long Meadow Road	Building	1992		NC	None
443 Long Meadow Road	Building	2018		NC	None
559 Long Meadow Road	Building	2000		NC	None
641 Long Meadow Road	Building	Mid-late 20 th c.		NC	None
893 Long Meadow Road	Building	1927		NC	None
Fair Meadows Farm Building	Building	Early 20 th c.		C	None
1253 Long Meadow Road	Building	Late 20 th c.		NC	None
Fair Meadows Farm Farmhouse	Building	Late 19 th –early 20 th c.		C	None
Fair Meadows Farm Bank Barn	Building	Late 19 th –20 th c.		C	None
1600 Pouts Hill Road	Building	2008		NC	None
1460 Pouts Hill Road, House	Building	1940		NC	None
1460 Pouts Hill Road, Barn	Building	Ca. 1940		NC	None
9417 Valley Pike	Building	1958		NC	None
Administration Buildings					
Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation Headquarters	Building	1951		NC	54
Picnic Shelter	Structure	21 st c.		NC	None

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Resource Name	Property Type	Year Built/Altered	NPS CRIS/ VCRIS Numbers	C/NC ²³	Photo Number(s)
Park Headquarters, 8693 Valley Pike	Building	1977		NC	55
8739 Valley Pike	Building	1949	034-5296	NC	None
8771 Valley Pike	Building	1976		NC	None
Archeological Sites					
<i>Military Encampments and Battle-Related Resources</i>					
Taft's Battery Site	Site	1864	44FK0516	C	None
Site 44SH0387	Site	1864	44SH0387	C	None
Vermont Monument Property Site	Site	1864	CEBE00089.00/ 44FK0060	C	None
Claytor Field Site	Site	1864	CEBE00090.00/ 44FK0868	C	None
Site 44FK0497	Site	1864	44FK0497	C	None
Site 44FK0501	Site	1864	44FK0501	C	None
Site 44FK0519	Site	1864	44FK0519	C	None
Burrows Tract Site	Site	1864	CEBE00104.000/ 44FK1042	C	None
<i>Farmstead and Plantation Resources</i>					
Belle Grove Enslaved Quarter (Quarter Site B)	Site	Ca. 1800	44FK0520	C	None
Belle Grove Barn Complex	Site	19 th -20 th c.	44FK0521	C	None
Belle Grove Stable Complex	Site	19 th c.	44FK0522	C	None
Bunker Silo Site	Site	20 th c.	44FK0675	C	None
Heater Barn Site	Site	19 th -20 th c.	44FK0507	C	None
Site 44FK0508	Site	19 th -20 th c.	44FK0508	C	None
Site 44FK0510	Site	19 th c.	44FK0510	C	None
Bowman-Hite Farm Site	Site	Middle-Late Archaic/ 18 th -20 th c.	CEBE00058.000/ CEBE00088.000/ 44WR0164	C	None
Cedar Campground Multicomponent Site	Site	Unknown/ 19 th -20 th c.	CEBE00092.000/ 44FK0890	C	None
Site 44WR0487	Site	19 th -20 th c.	44WR0487	C	None

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Resource Name	Property Type	Year Built/Altered	NPS CRIS/ VCRIS Numbers	C/NC ²³	Photo Number(s)
<i>Industrial Resources</i>					
Hottel's Mill Site (Hite-Hottle Mill)	Site	19 th c.	44FK0714	C	None
Hottle Miller's House Site	Site	20 th c.	44FK0523	C	None
Conner Lime Kiln	Site	1918	44FK0504	C	None
Bowman's Mill Road Site	Site	19 th c.	CEBE00097.000/4 4WR0463	C	None
<i>Pre-Contact Native American Resource</i>					
Bowman Site	Site	Early Archaic-Late Woodland	44SH0001	C	None

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8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- ☒ A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- ☐ B. Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- ☒ C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- ☒ D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

- ☐ A. Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes
- ☐ B. Removed from its original location
- ☐ C. A birthplace or grave
- ☐ D. A cemetery
- ☐ E. A reconstructed building, object, or structure
- ☐ F. A commemorative property
- ☐ G. Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years

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Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.)

MILITARY

AGRICULTURE

ARCHTECTURE

ETHNIC HERITAGE/BLACK

ARCHEOLOGY/HISTORIC–NON-ABORIGINAL

ARCHEOLOGY/PREHISTORIC

OTHER: COMMEMORATION

Period of Significance

8,000 BC–1500 AD

1720–1926

Significant Dates

1720: Settlement of Shenandoah Valley

1864: Civil War Battle of Cedar Creek, October 19, 1864

1926: Last commemorative monument erected

Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

N/A

Cultural Affiliation

Native American

Euro-American

Black

Architect/Builder

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Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable criteria, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

The Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park Historic District (the district) derives its primary significance at the national level under National Register Criterion A in the area of Military History as the site of the Battle of Cedar Creek (October 19, 1864), the decisive battle of the Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1864 during the Civil War. The district meets the registration requirements established under the Civil War in Virginia, 1861–1865 Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF). The district is significant under the context for the Shenandoah Valley Campaigns of 1862 and 1864–1865, and encompasses several associated property types listed under the MPDF, including earthworks, military headquarters, and the overall battlefield itself. Fought by the United States (Federal) Army of the Shenandoah under Major General Phillip Sheridan and the Confederate Army of the Valley commanded by Lieutenant General Jubal A. Early, the Battle of Cedar Creek featured a wild swing in the fortunes of both sides. During the initial phase, the Confederate army routed the Federal army from its position on Cedar Creek in the morning, only to be driven completely from the field during the afternoon. The battle had the important military and political consequences of eliminating the Confederate threat in the strategic Shenandoah Valley and helping to ensure President Abraham Lincoln's reelection in November 1864.

The district possesses significance at the state level under Criterion A in the area of Ethnic Heritage: Black for its association with the presence and activities of free and enslaved Black people in the Lower Shenandoah Valley, specifically within the Cedar Creek area, from the early eighteenth century through the nineteenth century. Four monuments and markers installed at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP between 1885 and 1926 (the 8th Vermont Infantry Monument, the 128th New York Infantry Regiment Monument, the Stephen D. Ramseur Monument, and the Middletown Battlefield Tablet) possess significance at the local level under Criterion A in the area of Commemoration for their associations with the Civil War battlefield memorialization movement. The district is also significant at the local level under Criterion A in the area of Agriculture for its association with the agricultural history of the Shenandoah Valley as embodied in its collection of homesteads, mill sites, plantations, and dairy farms that span the eighteenth through twentieth centuries. The district's antebellum plantations and farmsteads are significant at the local level under Criterion C in the area of Architecture for their important examples of Shenandoah Valley architectural forms and styles. The district is significant at the local level under Criterion D in the area of Archeology: Historic – Non-Aboriginal for its collection of archeological sites associated with the historic occupation and use of plantations and with the Battle of Cedar Creek on October 19, 1864. It is also significant at the local level under Criterion D in the area of Archeology: Prehistoric – Aboriginal for its collection of archeological sites associated with the use of the area by Native American tribes before occupation by European settlers in the early seventeenth century.

The district has two periods of significance: 8000 BC to 1500 AD, which covers the pre-contact Native American occupation of the area as represented by several contributing sites, and 1720 to

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1926, which encompasses the initial European settlement and agricultural development of the area, including post-contact resources; the Battle of Cedar Creek; and post-Civil War events up until the placement of the last commemorative monument on the battlefield.

Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

CRITERION A – MILITARY

The Battle of Cedar Creek was the climactic battle of the Federal Army's three-year struggle to gain control of the strategically important Shenandoah Valley during the American Civil War. Fought on October 19, 1864, the battle represented a last-ditch effort by Confederate Major General Jubal Early's Army of the Valley to end Federal Major General Philip Sheridan's campaign to destroy agricultural production in the Shenandoah Valley and eliminate it as a source of supply for General Robert E. Lee's besieged Army of Northern Virginia at Petersburg. After being dispatched by General Ulysses S. Grant to the valley in August 1864, Sheridan had defeated Early at the battles of Opequon (Third Winchester, September 19, 1864) and Fisher's Hill (September 21–22, 1864), forcing the Confederates to retreat southward and opening the valley to Sheridan's campaign of devastation.

During the early morning of October 19, while Sheridan was in Winchester on his way back from a meeting in Washington, DC, Early launched a surprise attack on the Federal line along Cedar Creek, driving the Federals back in disarray. The Confederates, however, failed to follow-up their advantage, as many troops stopped to plunder the well-stocked Federal camps and Early chose to halt the advance. Alerted to the battle by the distant rumble of artillery, Sheridan rode in haste toward Cedar Creek and, in what is considered to be one of the most exemplary displays of Federal generalship during the war, rallied his troops for a counterattack that routed Early's army, forcing the Confederates to retreat up the Valley. The Battle of Cedar Creek was a significant military victory for the Federal army, because it effectively eliminated the threat from Early's army in the Valley and deprived Lee of his last major source of supply, thereby contributing to the Confederate commander's decision to abandon Petersburg and Richmond the following April. The Battle of Cedar Creek also had important political consequences for its effect in boosting the flagging morale of the war-weary North. In combination with General William T. Sherman's victory at Atlanta and subsequent march through Georgia and Savannah, the Federal victories in the Valley helped to quell the movement for a negotiated peace promoted by the Democrat Party and ensure Abraham Lincoln's reelection in November 1864.

Strategic Value of the Valley

When the Civil War began, the Shenandoah Valley was one of the most productive agricultural regions in Virginia and grew in importance as the war wore on. Often referred to as "the Breadbasket of the Confederacy," the Valley was a vital source of grain, cattle, horses, and a variety of other products that were needed to sustain the war effort in Virginia, particularly General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. The southwest to northeast orientation of the Valley

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avored Confederate war aims, as the lower Valley opened into Maryland and offered a direct approach to threaten Washington, DC, from the rear. At critical junctures of the war, Lee used the Valley to occupy Federal forces that might otherwise have combined against him as he maneuvered to meet the various attempts by the Army of the Potomac to seize the Confederate capital city of Richmond. The Valley also served as the avenue of invasion into the North and figured in the military campaigns into Maryland and Pennsylvania that ended in the Confederate defeats at the battles of Antietam (September 17, 1862) and Gettysburg (July 1–3, 1863), respectively.³¹

For the Federal army, the Shenandoah Valley served as an adjunct to the main operations of the Army of the Potomac in eastern Virginia. Gaining control of the Valley would eliminate it as a source of supply to the Confederates, obviate threats from that direction against Washington, DC, and open the possibility to attack the left flank of Lee's army. Military operations in the Valley, however, seldom produced the desired results, as the forces stationed there were divided into separate units for much of the war and rarely cooperated effectively. Other problems stemmed from confusing and sometimes contradictory orders from the high command at Washington, chronic supply problems, operating in enemy territory on terrain that was more familiar to the Confederates, and the questionable abilities of some of the generals in charge.³²

The Valley's topographical features were determining factors in selecting ground for offensive and defensive purposes and the movement of the armies (Figure 1). The Valley extends about 140 miles from the Potomac River southwest to Rockland County, Virginia, and is bordered on the west by the Alleghany Mountains and on the east by the Blue Ridge Mountains. The Valley floor forms an upland plateau that is 20 to 30 miles wide in most of its sections and varies considerably in elevation, from 635 feet above sea level (asl) in the northern Valley at Winchester to 1,635 feet asl in southern Augusta County. The Blue Ridge Mountains on the east consist of series of parallel ridges with an average height of about 2,500 feet asl. Although lower than the Alleghenies to the west, the Blue Ridge presented a barrier to the movement between eastern and western Virginia and acted as the dividing line for operations between those regions during the Civil War. The gaps in the Blue Ridge, which allowed movement from one side of the range to the other, played critical roles in the operations of both armies during the war.³³

The Massanutten Mountain range is a series of steep ridges that rise up abruptly from the Valley floor west of the Blue Ridge and extends about 50 miles from Strasburg south to Harrisonburg. Three Top Mountain, the northernmost promontory of the Massanutten range, affords panoramic views of the Shenandoah Valley to the north and served as a key point of observation for the Confederates during the planning for the Battle of Cedar Creek. The portion of the Shenandoah

³¹ Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *The Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1862* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), xi-xii; James M. McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 184.

³² Peter Cozzens, *Shenandoah, 1862: Stonewall Jackson's Valley Campaign* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 3.

³³ Kenneth E. Koons and Jonathan Noyales, *Historic Resource Study, Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park* (Middletown, VA: National Park Service/Organization of American Historians, 2010), 6.

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Valley between Massanutten and the Blue Ridge is commonly referred to as the Luray Valley. The north and south forks of the Shenandoah River wind in a serpentine fashion along the east and west foot of the Massanutten range, respectively, before converging at Front Royal where the river flows northeastward to its confluence with the Potomac River at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia.³⁴ Streams that drain the mountains and feed the Shenandoah River from the east and west presented obstacles to troop movements and were often used to create defensive positions, such as the one the Federals used at Cedar Creek in mid-October 1864.³⁵

The two armies depended heavily on the Valley's roads and railroads for troop movements and maintain supply lines. The most important road was the Valley Pike (or Valley Turnpike), an improved macadamized road that ran from Staunton to Martinsburg, West Virginia, and connected all the Valley towns in between. No railroad ran the length of the Valley, but several provided vital links with eastern Virginia. The Virginia Central Railroad, middle Virginia's most important line, ran from Richmond northwest to Gordonsville and Charlottesville, where it intersected with the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, crossed through the Blue Ridge at Waynesboro, and then continued on to Staunton in the upper Valley. The Manassas Gap Railroad ran west from its eastern junction with the Orange and Alexandria through its namesake gap at Front Royal to Strasburg, and then continued southwest to Mount Jackson. The Winchester and Potomac Railroad, a spur off the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, ran from Harpers Ferry southwest to Winchester.³⁶

War Comes to Middletown, 1862–1863

Located on Valley Pike between Winchester and Strasburg, Middletown was inevitably in the line of march for operations conducted by the opposing armies in the lower Valley. When the question of Virginia's succession was initially proposed in the spring of 1861 a significant majority of Valley residents opposed the measure, but after President Abraham Lincoln issued a call for volunteers to raise an army following the fall of Fort Sumter, sentiment turned decidedly in favor of secession. Middletown was the site of seven distinct military engagements and was occupied several times during the war. The first engagement occurred during Major General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson's Valley Campaign in the spring of 1862. Jackson was assigned to prevent Major General Nathaniel Banks (who commanded the V Corps, the main Federal force in the Valley) from supporting Major General George B. McClellan's Peninsula Campaign (March–July 1862). On March 18, an inconclusive skirmish occurred between a detachment of Banks' corps under Brigadier General James Shield and Confederate cavalry under Colonel Turner Ashby at Cedar Creek. Ashby burned the bridge (**Valley Pike Bridge Abutments/Valley Pike Bridge Site [contributing structure]**) that carried Valley Pike over Cedar Creek to slow the Federal advance. That night, a portion of Shields's command camped at the Solomon Heater farmstead. The Heater household, like others in the lower Valley, was divided in its allegiances. Solomon supported the Confederacy while his wife, Caroline, was a staunch Unionist. Two of their three sons served in

³⁴ Due to the northward flow of the Shenandoah River, the northern part of the Valley has historically been referred to as the lower Valley and the southern part as the upper Valley.

³⁵ Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 7–8.

³⁶ Gallagher, *Shenandoah Valley Campaign 1862*, xii.

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the Confederate Army: John P. Heater (1838–1864), who died in battle at Patterson’s Creek, Virginia, and Henry W. Heater (1843–1865), who died in prison as a Confederate POW at Fort Delaware.³⁷

In May 1862, Jackson launched a series of attacks that confounded the Federal forces arrayed against him (Figure 2). Relying on grueling forced marches and his army’s superior knowledge of the Valley’s topography to shield his movements, he defeated a contingent of Major General John C. Fremont’s army at McDowell (May 8, 1862) and Banks’ corps at the battles of Front Royal (May 23, 1862) and First Winchester (May 25, 1862). On May 24, while Banks was moving from Strasburg toward Winchester via the Valley Pike, Brigadier General Richard Taylor’s Louisiana brigade attacked and decimated a portion of the Federal wagon train and cavalry at Middletown. Unaware that most of Banks’ column had already passed, Jackson sent Taylor southward toward Cedar Creek to locate the Federals. At the southern end of Middletown, Taylor engaged the Federal rearguard made up of a small contingent of cavalry, artillery, and Colonel Charles H. T. Collis’ infantry company known as the Zouaves d’Afrique. After a brief skirmish, Collis moved back to a ridge near Belle Grove Plantation and braced for an expected Confederate attack. Taylor, however, did not mount an assault, allowing Collis to retreat southward across Cedar Creek, burning the Valley Pike Bridge behind him.³⁸

The climax of Jackson’s campaign came in early June when Jackson on successive days beat Federal forces at the battles of Cross Keys (June 8, 1862) and Port Republic (June 9). Following these engagements, Lee ordered Jackson to join him in Richmond, where he participated in the Seven Days Battles (June 25–July 1, 1862) that ended McClellan’s campaign against Richmond. Jackson’s exploits in the Valley had boosted Southern morale and made him the first national hero of the Confederacy.³⁹

After Jackson left for Richmond, Middletown served as an advanced outpost for Federal forces based at Winchester. During the spring and early summer of 1862, several Federal camps were established at farms in the area, including those belonging to the Heater and Stickley families within the Cedar Creek Battlefield. Federal foraging parties were sent to gather supplies from the farms and some, like units from Brigadier General Louis Blenker’s division, took to outright plunder, sparking increased anger against the Federal presence among area residents. Coinciding with the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation by President Lincoln on January 1, 1863, Major General Robert Milroy, commander of the Second Division of the Federal VIII corps, occupied Winchester and announced his intention to free the enslaved people in the upper Valley, causing further consternation among the local citizenry. In June 1863, Milroy was caught in the path of the Confederate offensive into Maryland and Pennsylvania that would end in defeat at the Battle of Gettysburg (July 1–3, 1863). On June 12, a small reconnaissance force sent by Milroy up

³⁷ Gallagher, *Shenandoah Valley Campaign 1862*, xi–xiii; Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 122–126.

³⁸ Gallagher, *Shenandoah Valley Campaign 1862*, xiii–xiv; McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 239–240; National Park Service, “Engagement at Middletown on May 24, 1862,” <https://home.nps.gov/articles/000/running-fight-through-middletown.htm>, accessed November 2023.

³⁹ Gallagher, *Shenandoah Valley Campaign 1862*, xiv; McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 242.

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the Valley Pike to Strasburg was halted and forced back during a brief engagement at Middletown. The following day, Major General Richard Ewell's Corps attacked Milroy's main body at what became known as the Second Battle of Winchester (June 13–15, 1863), eventually routing the Federal force from its heavily entrenched position, capturing nearly 4,000 prisoners, and opening the way for the Confederate advance across the Potomac River into Maryland. Jubal Early, then one of Ewell's division commanders, played an important role in the resounding Confederate victory.⁴⁰

The Military Situation, 1864

On March 12, 1864, Lincoln promoted Ulysses S. Grant, who had orchestrated the major Federal victories at Vicksburg and Chattanooga the previous year, to the rank of Lieutenant General and gave him overall command of all US armies. Grant came to the position with the outlines of a plan to launch a series of simultaneous offensives that were designed to destroy the South's capacity to wage war. The goals for the Federal forces in the West under Major General William T. Sherman were to defeat Joseph E. Johnston's Army of Tennessee, take Atlanta, and devastate the resources of central Georgia. Nathaniel Banks, then in command of the Department of the Gulf, was to coordinate with the US Navy blockading force in the Gulf of Mexico under Admiral David Farragut to seize Mobile, Alabama. The defeat of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia and the capture of Richmond were the primary goals of a three-pronged operation that Grant planned in the East. Major General George Meade's Army of the Potomac with Major General Ambrose Burnside's independent IX Corps was to move south across the Rapidan River toward Richmond while Major General Benjamin F. Butler's Army of the James established a position at Bermuda Hundred on the James River to threaten Richmond from the south. In the Shenandoah Valley, Major General Franz Sigel's Department of West Virginia, consisting of about 23,000 troops, was to clear the Valley of Confederate forces and eliminate it as a source of supply for Lee's army.⁴¹

The simultaneous Federal offensives got underway during the first week of May 1864 with Grant accompanying Meade to personally direct the operations of the Army of the Potomac during what became known as the Overland Campaign (May 4–June 12, 1864). On May 4, the Federal army, consisting of about 120,000 troops, crossed the Rapidan and fought Lee's army of about 70,000 troops in the Wilderness (May 5–7), one of the bloodiest battles of the war. Over the course of the next month, the two sides engaged in a series of fierce battles, including Spotsylvania Courthouse (May 8–21), North Anna (May 23–26), and Totopotomoy Creek (May 28–30), that brought the Federal army to the outskirts of Richmond. After the Battle of Cold Harbor (May 31–June 12), during which an ill-advised attack on June 3 against entrenched Confederate lines resulted in a

⁴⁰ Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 133–134, 136, 138–139. American Battlefield Trust, "Second Winchester," <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/civil-war/battles/second-winchester>, accessed June 2023. Milroy, who was able to escape with a small remnant of his force to Harpers Ferry, was placed under arrest subject to a court of inquiry. Although he was exonerated, he was never assigned to another command.

⁴¹ James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 722; Richard W. Stewart, *American Military History, Volume 1: The United States Army and the Forging of a Nation, 1775–1917* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, United States Army, 2009), 284–285.

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fearsome slaughter of Federal troops, Grant decided to abandon attempts to take Richmond by direct assault.⁴²

While the Army of the Potomac progressed toward Richmond, the other elements of Grant's strategy in the East failed to produce the desired results. The Army of the James landed at Bermuda Hundred southeast of Richmond, Virginia, on May 5 to cut the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad, but Butler failed to exploit his decided advantage against an inferior Confederate force under the command of General Pierre G. T. Beauregard. After a limited advance toward Richmond, Butler was forced back to his lines at Bermuda Hundred by May 20. Beauregard then ordered the construction of an opposing line of fortifications that effectively bottled-up Butler's forces and allowed Beauregard to detach reinforcements to Lee's army in time for the fight at Cold Harbor.⁴³

Sigel's campaign was even more disappointing. His initial goal was to take Staunton, the important logistical and supply center served by the Virginia Central Railroad, where he would link with Major General George Crook's Kanawha Division for a drive east through the Blue Ridge to Charlottesville and Gordonsville, destroying the railroad along the way. As he moved up the Valley Pike, however, Sigel was defeated by a small makeshift force under Major General John C. Breckinridge at the Battle of New Market (May 15, 1864). On May 21, 1864, after he had retreated down the Valley all the way to Middletown, Sigel was relieved of command in favor of Major General David Hunter.⁴⁴

After the Battle of Cold Harbor, Grant shifted the focus of Federal operations in the east to cutting the remaining transportation lines that supplied Richmond and Lee's army. In mid-June 1864, he moved the Army of the Potomac south across the James River to take Petersburg, the vital Confederate transportation nexus 25 miles south of the Confederate capital. At the same time, he ordered Hunter to secure the Shenandoah Valley and take Lynchburg to wreck the three railroads that converged there, as well as the James River and Kanawha Canal that supplied Richmond from the west. After several initial attacks on Petersburg failed and Lee occupied the strong ring of defensive works that surrounded the city, Grant began preparations to lay siege and initiated what would become known as the Richmond-Petersburg Campaign (June 18, 1864–April 2, 1865).⁴⁵

The Political Situation, Summer 1864

By the end of the Overland Campaign, none of Grant's primary goals had been achieved. The advance of the Army of the Potomac had come at a significant cost of approximately 55,000 casualties (killed, wounded, and missing), while the Confederates suffered about 32,000. In terms of relative attrition, the results of the campaign favored the Federal army because of its far greater

⁴² Stewart, *American Military History*, 287–290.

⁴³ McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 723–724.

⁴⁴ McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 724. Breckinridge was a former US senator from Kentucky and served as Vice President of the United States under President James Buchanan. His force at New Market included a contingent of 247 cadets, ages 15–17, from the Virginia Military Institute.

⁴⁵ Brooks D. Simpson, *The Civil War in the East: Struggle, Stalemate and Victory* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2011), 109.

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capacity to replace troops, but Lee's army remained a formidable fighting force and Richmond had not been taken. Sherman's drive on Atlanta had also stalled on the outskirts of the city. The extensive casualty lists, and seeming lack of progress on any front, contributed to growing disenchantment with Lincoln and his administration during the summer of 1864. He faced serious political opposition both from his own party, the radical elements of which objected to his handling of the war, and the Democrat Party, of which many supported ending the war either by readmitting the rebel states to the United States by legally protecting slavery or by recognizing the Confederacy as a sovereign nation. If Lincoln were to prevail in the upcoming presidential election in November, he needed the US Army to produce significant military victories that would turn the tide of the war.⁴⁶

With Lee pinned in the defenses around Petersburg and no longer able to mount a prolonged offensive, Confederate strategy turned to producing a stalemate that might tilt the election in favor of a Democrat candidate willing to negotiate peace on favorable terms. Ironically, the candidate the Democrats selected at their convention in August 1864 was George McClellan, who initially supported the party's platform calling for an immediate cessation of hostilities and a negotiated settlement with the Confederacy.⁴⁷

Early's Summer Campaign in the Valley

Maintaining the supply lines from the Shenandoah Valley, particularly through the upcoming harvest season, was critical to the survival of Lee's Army and the citizens of Richmond during the siege. Lee also recognized the political value of another invasion into the North via the Valley as a means to increase consternation about the war and do further damage to Lincoln's prospects for reelection. Although he was concerned about weakening his army, Lee calculated that he could hold his defensive position and believed that Grant would also have to detach forces from Petersburg to respond, possibly opening an opportunity to a blow that would loosen the Federal grip. Lee selected Jubal Early, one of his most aggressive and proven surviving generals, for the assignment. On June 12, 1864, Early received orders to take his Second Corps to Lynchburg to link up with Breckinridge's force and defend the city from Hunter's attempt to take it. Afterward, he was to clear the Valley of Federal forces and move north across the Potomac River where, if he thought it possible, he was to advance on Washington, DC, from the northwest.⁴⁸

Early accomplished the first two major goals of his mission in a single engagement when he met and defeated Hunter's force at the Battle of Lynchburg (June 17–18, 1864). With about 17,000 troops, Hunter had left Lexington (after burning the Virginia Military Institute and Virginia Governor John Letcher's house) on June 14 and spent several days resting at Liberty before pushing on to Lynchburg on June 17. The delay gave Early time to send Major General Stephen

⁴⁶ McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 436–440.

⁴⁷ McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 721.; Stewart, *American Military History*, 291.

⁴⁸ Gary Gallagher, *Lee and His Generals in War and Memory* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), 189; Edward J. Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Shenandoah: Jubal Early's Nemesis* (Harrisburg, PA: The Stackpole Company, 1992), 4–5, 22.

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Ramseur's division from the Second Corps to support Breckinridge's force, which had previously taken up a position west of Lynchburg. During the day, the Confederates held off several tentative Federal attacks and that evening, Early established an entrenched line and operated trains back and forth to give the impression that his entire corps had made it to the field. The following day, after Hunter sent infantry and cavalry to test the strength of the Confederate flanks, Early launched a fierce attack on the Federal center that was repulsed when Major General George Crook's division reinforced the line. The force of the attack, however, convinced Hunter that he must be outnumbered and, fearing for his supply lines which had been disrupted by Confederate raiders in his rear, he decided to withdraw that night to the safety of West Virginia, leaving the Valley open to the next phase of Early's campaign.⁴⁹

Early pursued Hunter across the Blue Ridge Mountains and then began a 200-mile trek to the Potomac River, entering Maryland during the first week in July. His approach caused panic in Washington, which was lightly defended by inexperienced troops that manned the fortified line surrounding the city. Grant responded by sending Major General Horatio G. Wright's VI Corps from Petersburg. Major General Lew Wallace, commander of the US Army's Middle Department, hastily assembled force of raw troops in Baltimore and marched to Monocacy Junction near Frederick, Maryland, to block Early's advance. Wallace was joined by Brigadier General James B. Ricketts' VI Corps division, which had been expedited in advance of Wright's other divisions. On July 9, 1864, Early's army routed Wallace's force, but the delaying action provided critical time for the rest of Wright's corps to arrive and organize the defense of Washington. After reaching the outskirts of the city on July 11, Early decided against attacking the city and headed back toward the Shenandoah Valley.⁵⁰

By that point, Early had done everything that Lee had hoped he would. The Army of the Valley had saved Lynchburg, defeated every Federal force in its path, and caused Grant to detach an entire corps of his army from Petersburg to prevent the capture of Washington. In response to similar actions by Hunter in the Valley, Early had destroyed numerous mills and workshops in Maryland and burned the house of Postmaster General Montgomery Blair. He also gathered substantial stores from the area's farms and extracted \$220,000 in ransom from the towns of Frederick and Hagerstown, Maryland. Wright pursued Early to the Valley with his corps and the Federal XIX Corps. On July 18, Early defeated a Federal force at the Battle of Cool Spring and a week later beat Crook's Army of the Kanawha at the Battle of Second Kernstown (July 24, 1864). In late July, Confederate Brigadier General John McCausland with two cavalry brigades was dispatched by Early to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, with orders to demand a ransom of \$100,000 in gold or \$500,000 in United States currency. Unlike at Frederick and Hagerstown, however, the citizens of Chambersburg refused to pay and McCausland, following Early's orders, set fire to the town on

⁴⁹ American Battlefield Trust, "Lynchburg," (<https://www.battlefields.org/learn/civil-war/battles/lynchburg>, accessed June 2023); Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Valley*, 36–44.

⁵⁰ Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Valley*, 46–47, 63–75; National Park Service, "The Battle of Monocacy," (2020, <https://www.nps.gov/mono/learn/historyculture/the-battle-of-monocacy.htm>, accessed June 2023).

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July 30, destroying 550 houses, commercial, and administrative buildings, causing \$1.6 million in damages and leaving about 3,000 people homeless.⁵¹

Sheridan Takes Command in the Valley

Grant and the Lincoln administration were angered and frustrated by the performance of the Federal commanders that had allowed Early to execute his campaign and escape without serious opposition. Accordingly, Grant proposed to consolidate the four departments in the region (Susquehanna, Middle, West Virginia, and Washington) into the Middle Military Division and place it under a single experienced commander. Grant's first choice to head the new department was Major General William B. Franklin, a veteran campaigner who had served as a corps commander in the East and West Theaters. He alternatively proposed to place Meade in command of the department and turn the Army of the Potomac over to Major General Windfield S. Hancock. Lincoln and the War Department objected to both suggestions because Franklin was an outspoken Democrat and Meade might be offended by what could be characterized as a demotion. Grant's next choice was Major General Philip Sheridan, who had compiled an outstanding record as an infantry commander in the Western Theater before being brought by Grant to the East in 1864 to serve as the commander of the Army of the Potomac's cavalry. Secretary of War Edwin Stanton objected that Sheridan, at 33 years of age, was too young for such an important assignment, but Grant prevailed.⁵² On August 1, 1864, two days after the burning of Chambersburg, he wrote General Henry Halleck: "I want Sheridan put in command of all troops in the field, with instructions to put himself south of the enemy and follow him to the death. Wherever the enemy goes let our troops go also."⁵³ After reviewing the dispatch, Lincoln wrote Grant that he thought it "exactly right as to how our forces should move," but cautioned him that "it will neither be done or attempted, unless you watch it every day and hour and force it."⁵⁴

Sheridan arrived in Washington on August 4 and received orders from Halleck to report to Grant, who was then at Monocacy Junction reviewing the status of operations along the upper Potomac at Lincoln's behest. Before leaving the capital, Sheridan met with Lincoln and Stanton at the White House and received their views on the military and political importance of his mission in the Valley. He arrived at Monocacy on August 6, and Grant handed him a copy of instructions he had previously prepared for Hunter, who resigned that day, paving the way for the official creation of

⁵¹ Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *The Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1864* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), xi–xii; McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 428; Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Valley*, 78.

⁵² McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 428–429; United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. 37, Part II (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1891), 433. Hereinafter cited as *O.R.* without reference to series number, which remains the same throughout; Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant*, Volume II (New York, NY: Charles L. Webster & Company, 1886), 316–317.

⁵³ *O.R.*, Vol. 37, Part II, 558.

⁵⁴ *O.R.*, Vol. 37, Part II, 582. Like Stanton, Lincoln had reservations about appointing Sheridan and let him know that when the two met at the White House on August 4, 1864, after Sheridan's appointment. During the meeting, Lincoln said he was satisfied with the decision and "hoped for the best." See Philip H. Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs of P.H. Sheridan, General United States Army*, Vol. I (New York, NY: Charles L. Webster & Company, 1888), 463–464.

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the Middle Military Division and Sheridan's installation as its temporary commander. The instructions called for Sheridan to concentrate all available forces at Harpers Ferry, find and attack the Confederate army whether it was operating north or south of the Potomac River, and drive Early south, following him wherever he may go. Grant also instructed Sheridan that during his pursuit of Early up the Valley, he should leave nothing that would "invite the enemy to return. Take all the provisions, forage, and stock wanted for the use of your command. Such as cannot be consumed, destroy." It was desirable that buildings be preserved, but the citizenry was to be informed that as long as a Confederate army could subsist in the Valley, the raids on their farms would continue. Vouchers were to be given to citizens loyal to the Federals for items taken from them.⁵⁵

At the start of Sheridan's campaign, the Middle Military Division, Department of the Shenandoah (commonly known as the Army of the Shenandoah) consisted of about 26,000 officers and men and would grow to more than 40,000 by mid-September. His infantry was composed of Wright's VI Corps with three divisions under Brigadier Generals David A. Russell, George W. Getty, and James B. Ricketts; Brigadier General William H. Emory's XIX Corps with two divisions commanded by Brigadier Generals William Dwight and Cuvier Grover; and Brigadier General George Crook's Army of West Virginia (VIII Corps) consisting of two divisions under Colonels Joseph Thoburn and Isaac H. Duvall. Major General Alfred T. A. Torbert served as the chief of cavalry commanding three divisions headed by Brigadier Generals Wesley Merritt, William W. Averell, and James H. Wilson. Each corps had an artillery brigade, and the cavalry was supplemented by horse artillery batteries. Early's Army of the Valley numbered about 15,000 and was composed of the Confederate Second Corps consisting of three divisions under Major Generals Robert E. Rodes, Stephen D. Ramseur, and John B. Gordon; a cavalry division consisting of four brigades commanded by Major General Lunsford L. Lomax; and three battalions of artillery. During the second week of August, Lee sent Major General Kershaw's infantry division from Major General Richard B. Anderson's Fourth Corps and a cavalry division under Major General Fitz Hugh Lee from Petersburg to reinforce Early.⁵⁶

Sheridan began his advance from Harpers Ferry on August 10, 1864, and two days later had moved up to Cedar Creek, where a brief skirmish between the Federal and Confederate cavalries occurred. Having been alerted by Grant that Lee had sent substantial reinforcements to the Valley and warned to be cautious, Sheridan pulled back northward and established a line at Halltown, south of Harpers Ferry, with Early pursuing. Throughout the remainder of August and the first half of September, many skirmishes between opposing cavalry and advanced infantry forces occurred, but no general battles took place. The withdrawal down the Valley and Sheridan's seeming lack of aggressiveness caused an outcry in the North, calling to mind the failures of previous Federal campaigns in the Valley and causing concern that the Confederates might once again threaten Washington. As Sheridan later wrote, "Mutterings of dissatisfaction reached me from many sources, and loud calls were made for my removal, but I felt confident that my course would be

⁵⁵ Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs*, Vol. I, 463–465.

⁵⁶ Gallagher, *Shenandoah Valley Campaign 1864*, xiii; Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs*, Vol 1., 471–472, 475, Vol. 2, 11–21; Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Shenandoah*, 153.

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justified when the true situation was understood, for I knew that I was complying with my instructions.”⁵⁷

In early September, Sheridan moved his army down the Valley to a new line east of Winchester between Berryville and Clifton. A critical breakthrough in the stalemate occurred on September 16 when Sheridan received information via a local enslaved man, Thomas Laws, and Rebecca Wright, a Quaker school teacher in Winchester, who were loyal to the Federal government, that Lee had recalled Kershaw’s division in response to intense pressure that Grant was exerting on the Confederate lines at Petersburg. With this information, Sheridan began planning to attack Early the following day but was forced to delay the action after receiving a dispatch directing him to meet Grant in Charlestown, West Virginia.⁵⁸ Grant arrived with a plan he had developed for taking the offensive and laying waste to the Valley and wanted to deliver his instructions directly to Sheridan without interference from Washington. Sheridan began the meeting by laying out a detailed plan for an immediate attack on Early, whose forces were spread over a wide front north of Winchester. Seeing that Sheridan was “so clear and so positive in his views and so confident of success,” Grant directed Sheridan to make the attack, never taking the plan he had brought with him out of his pocket.⁵⁹

Battles of Third Winchester (September 19, 1864) and Fisher’s Hill (September 21–22, 1864)

After receiving word of Grant’s visit to Sheridan and expecting it to mean an immediate advance on his front, Early moved to consolidate his force around Ramseur’s division, which was positioned athwart the Berryville Pike east of Winchester. During the early morning of September 19, 1864, Sheridan ordered his army to move west along the pike in hopes of defeating Ramseur and moving on to attack the other elements of Early’s army in detail. The Berryville Pike, however, traveled two miles through a narrow canyon before opening on to Ramseur’s position and during the move, Sheridan’s troops, artillery, and wagons became tangled, causing a critical delay. It was not until midday that Sheridan was able to attack Ramseur in force, sending forward Wright’s VI and Emory’s XIX corps and holding Crook’s Army of West Virginia in reserve. Merritt’s cavalry division was sent to probe the Confederate left flank, while Averell’s cavalry was to move south to cut off Early’s escape route along Valley Pike. By that time, however, Early was able to concentrate the remainder of his force to support Ramseur and meet the Federal infantry advance. As the battle devolved into a stalemate, Sheridan ordered Crook to attack the Confederate left flank at Red Bud Run while the Federal VI and XIX corps maintained pressure on the center. Crook’s turning movement began about 3 pm and successfully drove the Confederate flank, forcing Early to fall back toward Winchester. The final blow came when Merritt’s cavalry charged and completely crumbled Early’s left flank, causing many of his men to flee south through the streets of Winchester. With Federal forces threatening to envelop him, Early was forced to abandon Winchester. After a short pursuit, Sheridan decided to rest his troops, allowing Early to organize

⁵⁷ Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs*, Vol. I, 477–484, 492.

⁵⁸ Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs*, Vol. I, 497–498; Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs*, Vol. II, 5–8.

⁵⁹ Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant*, Volume II, 328.

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his force and retreat 20 miles up the Valley to Fisher's Hill, south of Strasburg. The Battle of Third Winchester (Opequon Creek) was the bloodiest ever fought in the Valley and ended with about 5,000 Federal soldiers killed, wounded, or captured (about 12 percent of Sheridan's force) compared to the Confederates' 3,600 (nearly 25 percent of Early's total force).⁶⁰

The following day (September 20), Lincoln sent Sheridan a note: "Have just heard of your great victory. God bless you all, officers and men. Strongly inclined to come up and see you." Stanton, Sheridan's biggest critic in the administration, wired him: "The President has appointed you a brigadier-general in the Regular Army, and you have been assigned to the permanent command of the Middle Division. One hundred guns were fired here at noon to-day in honor of your victory." Grant also gave Sheridan a 100-gun salute fired toward the Confederate lines at Petersburg and encouraged him to "push your success and make all you can of it."⁶¹

Sheridan did as Grant requested, catching up with Early a day later at Fisher's Hill. Early had established a 4-mile-long line that ran along the ridge of Fisher's Hill and was anchored on the east by Three Top Mountain at the head of the Massanutten Mountain range and on the west by Little North Mountain. Not having enough infantry to cover the entire line, Early ordered Lomax's cavalry to dismount and take up a position guarding his left flank. He was also forced to detach Fitz Lee's cavalry to the Luray Valley to prevent the possibility of a Federal cavalry attack from his rear. Early realized that the position was vulnerable to attack on his flanks and decided to withdraw farther south, but lost his chance when the advanced units of Sheridan's army arrived on his front on September 20. That night, Sheridan met with his division commanders and decided on a plan to use Crook's two divisions to attack Early's left while the VI and XIX corps pressured the Confederate center. The following day, Wright's troops drove the skirmishers in their front and seized a hill in front of Early's line that provided a good artillery position. That night, Crook made his way to his position through woods that concealed his approach and launched his attack at 4 pm on September 22. Crook surprised and routed troops from Lomax's dismounted cavalry and, after Rickett's VI Corps division joined him, rolled up Ramseur's left flank. The Confederate line quickly dissolved as panic seized the men and many fled to the rear in disorder. An ineffectual pursuit by Torbert's cavalry allowed most of Early's force to get away to the south.⁶² After receiving word of the Federal victory, Grant wired Sheridan his congratulations, expressing that it came at a "most opportune...point of time and effect," regarding political and public sentiment and "Better still, it wipes out much of the stain upon our arms by previous disasters in that locality. May your good work continue is now the prayer of all loyal men."⁶³

Sheridan's Campaign of Devastation in the Valley, September 26–October 8, 1864

⁶⁰ Gary Adelman, "The Third Battle of Winchester," *Hallowed Ground* (American Battlefield Trust, <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/third-battle-winchester>, accessed July 2023); Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Valley*, 216–231.

⁶¹ *O.R.*, Vol. 43, Part II, 118.

⁶² Jonathan Noyales, "Battle of Fisher's Hill" *Hallowed Ground* (American Battlefield Trust, <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/battle-fishers-hill>, accessed July 2023); Sheridan, *Memoirs*, Vol II, 40–42.

⁶³ *O.R.*, Vol. 43, Part II, 142.

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Having been badly beaten in two battles in four days, Early's disorganized army retreated southward to Rock Fish Gap near Waynesboro. Sheridan pursued Early to Harrisonburg and began planning his next move. Believing that Early was no longer a significant threat in the Valley, he considered an advance through Brown's Gap into eastern Virginia to operate on Charlottesville and Gordonsville as Grant hoped. However, Sheridan soon abandoned the idea because it would require him to repair and hold the Orange and Alexandria Railroad to supply his army. A large infantry and cavalry force would be needed to protect the railroad against guerilla operations, particularly the irregular Confederate cavalry under Colonel John S. Mosby that had been a constant source of aggravation to Federal commanders in north central and western Virginia throughout the war. The move to the east would also necessitate leaving a substantial force in the Valley, thereby limiting the ability to prosecute a campaign on Richmond from the north and opening an opportunity for Lee to detach a substantial force from Petersburg that might overwhelm him. Instead, Sheridan decided to withdraw down the Valley to Cedar Creek where he could establish a strong defensive line that could be held by a reduced force and transfer the bulk of his army to Petersburg. On his way, he would carry out Grant's instructions for decimating the Valley. Although Grant still preferred the operation against the rail lines east of the Blue Ridge, he trusted that Sheridan was better informed about the conditions he faced and did not order him to do otherwise.⁶⁴

Sheridan began his campaign of devastation in earnest on September 28, when he ordered Wesley Merritt's and George A. Custer's cavalry divisions to proceed to the Staunton area and "Destroy all mills, all grain and forage, you can, drive off or kill all stock, and otherwise carry out the instructions of General Grant...which means, 'leave the Valley a barren waste.'"⁶⁵ Up to this point of the war, the farmers of the Valley had largely accepted they would be forced to contribute to the subsistence of the Federal army as it passed through their locales, but nothing like the hardship caused by the Federal army's actions over the next 12 days had yet been experienced in any theater of the war (Figure 3). On October 6, Sheridan began moving his entire force northward, spreading out the width of the Valley to destroy everything that might be of value to the Confederate war effort. Although historians sometimes exaggerate the extent of the damage done to civilian property, the event referred to locally as "The Burning" marked a grim turning point in the war and presaged Sherman's more famous and more devastating march through Georgia that November and December.⁶⁶ After reaching Woodstock on October 7, Sheridan provided Grant the following description of his accomplishments:

In moving back to this point the whole country from the Blue Ridge to the North Mountains has been made untenable for the rebel army. I have destroyed over 2,000 barns, filled with wheat, and farming implements; over 70 mills, filled with flour and wheat; have driven in front of the army over 4,000 head of stock, and have

⁶⁴ Sheridan, *Memoirs*, Vol II, 53–55.

⁶⁵ *O.R.*, Vol. 43, Part II, 202.

⁶⁶ John L. Heatwole, *The Burning: Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley* (Charlottesville, VA: Rockbridge Publishing, 1998), 27–28; David W. Lewes and William H. Moore, *Historic Resource Context Study Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park in Frederick, Shenandoah, and Warren Counties, Virginia* (Williamsburg, VA: William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, 2013), 75; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 778–779.

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killed and issued to the troops not less than 3,000 sheep. This destruction embraces the Luray Valley and Little Fort Valley, as well as the main valley...Lieut. John R. Meigs, my engineer officer, was murdered beyond Harrisonburg, near Dayton. For this atrocious act all houses within an area of five miles were burned...To-morrow I will continue the destruction of wheat, forage, &c., down to Fisher's Hill. When this is completed the Valley, from Winchester up to Staunton, ninety-two miles, will have but little in it for man or beast.⁶⁷

While at Rockfish Gap, Early was able to reorganize the remainder of his army. Although there were mounting calls in the Confederacy for his replacement, Early continued to have the trust of Lee and Confederate President Jefferson Davis. Lee still hoped that Early could do something to prevent Sheridan from completely eliminating his supply of food and materials from the Valley. Although he could ill afford sending troops from his increasingly tenuous position at Petersburg, Lee ordered Kershaw to return to the Valley with his division and, on September 27, he sent the following note of encouragement to Early prompting him to act:

I very much regret the reverses that have occurred to the army in the Valley, but trust they can be remedied...One victory will put it right. You must do all in your power to invigorate your army...It will require the greatest watchfulness, the greatest promptness, and the most untiring energy on your part to arrest the progress of the enemy in his present tide of success.⁶⁸

The addition of Kershaw's division roughly made up for the casualty losses the Army of the Valley had suffered during the battles of Winchester and Fisher's Hill. After they arrived in the Valley, Early set out to conform with Lee's instructions. When Sheridan moved north from Harrisonburg, Early sent Major General Thomas L. Rosser's⁶⁹ cavalry division to monitor Sheridan's movements and harass the Federal rear guard while the main body of the Confederate army followed. During the evening of October 8, Sheridan, exasperated by the trouble the Confederate cavalry was causing, ordered Torbert "either to give Rosser a drubbing next morning or get whipped himself." The ensuing Battle of Tom's Brook (October 9, 1864) was an all-cavalry engagement that featured a series of charges and countercharges near the crossing of Valley Pike over the stream. As Sheridan looked on from nearby Round Top Mountain, the Federal cavalry's superior numbers and equipment prevailed, routing Rosser's force and sending it back in disarray some 26 miles to the protection of Early's infantry at New Market.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ O.R. Vol. 43, Part II, 307-308.

⁶⁸ O.R., Vol. 43, Part II, 880-881.

⁶⁹ Rosser had been sent from Richmond to take over Fitz Lee's cavalry division while he was recuperating from a wound suffered at the Battle of Winchester.

⁷⁰ Sheridan, *Memoirs*, Vol II, 56-58.

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The Battle of Cedar Creek

Prelude to the Battle

On October 10, 1864, Sheridan arrived at Cedar Creek and implemented his plan to send a portion of his force to Grant by ordering Wright to continue with his VI corps northeast through Ashby's Gap and on to Alexandria, where Halleck was to arrange transport to City Point. The remaining infantry occupied a line that was anchored on the left by the Shenandoah River and the base of Massanutten Mountain and extended northward along the ridge above the east side of Cedar Creek. With the steep and rugged mountain affording a seemingly impregnable barrier to an assault on his left, Sheridan concentrated his troops at what would become the **Cedar Creek Battlefield (contributing site)** to the northeast to cover the roads and fords that offered avenues of approach.⁷¹

Crook's VIII Corps consisted of two divisions under Thoburn and Colonel Rutherford B. Hayes (the future President of the United States) and a small provisional division under Colonel J. Howard Kitching. They formed the Federal left and were posted south of Valley Pike (Figure 4). Thoburn's division established an arcing entrenched line that straddled **Bowman's Mill Road (contributing structure)** on a high ridge east of the **Bowman-Hite House (contributing building)** on the **Bowman-Hite Farm (contributing site)**. Remnants of this line within the Cedar Creek Battlefield consist of **Thoburn's Defensive Line (contributing structure)**, **Union VIII Corps Site/Cedar Creek Battle Trenches Site (contributing site)**, and **Union VIII Corps Earthworks (contributing structure)**. Hayes' division was positioned north of Thoburn's in a camp along the south side of Valley Pike. Both divisions were supported by batteries from the XIII Corps' artillery brigade commanded by Captain Henry A. Du Pont.⁷²

Emory's XIX Corps, consisting of two divisions under Brigadier Generals James W. McMillan and Cuvier Grover, established an entrenched lined (**Union XIX Corps Entrenchments/XIX Corps Trenches Site [contributing structure]**) that extended north from Valley Pike to Meadow Brook. The line featured several artillery bastions, including the **Flying "V" Earthworks (contributing structure)** near its center and **Taft's Battery Site (contributing site)**, where Captain Elijah Taft's 5th New York Battery was positioned in a semicircular earthwork and the line's northern end, near Meadow Brook. The remains of a rubble limestone wall erected by the 11th Indiana infantry regiment (**11th Indiana Infantry Barrier/11th Indian Battle Position Site, contributing structure**) [REDACTED], and a small unidentified work (**Unnamed Earthworks [contributing structure]**) [REDACTED]⁷³

⁷¹ Sheridan, *Memoirs*, Vol II, 59.

⁷² Joseph W. A. Whitehorne, *Self-Guided Tour: The Battle of Cedar Creek* (Washington: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1992), 7. Du Pont was a member of the prominent family from Delaware and graduated first in his class at West Point in 1861. He would be awarded the Medal of Honor for gallantry in checking the Confederate advance during the initial stage of the Battle of Cedar Creek and go on to have an illustrious career in business and politics.

⁷³ Whitehorn, *Self-Guided Tour*, 7.

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Although the farms in and around Middletown were raided for their produce and animals and some local gristmills, including Daniel Stickley's mill, were burned in accordance with Sheridan's instructions to prevent future flour production for the Confederacy, most of the houses were spared, and some were used by the Federal army during its occupation of the Cedar Creek line. Sheridan selected for his headquarters the **Belle Grove Manor House (contributing building)**, which was the grandest plantation house in the vicinity and was behind the XIX Corps' line, about 800 yards west of Valley Pike and 0.75 miles east of Cedar Creek. The **Belle Grove Plantation (contributing site)** was developed by the Hite family in the late eighteenth century and had been purchased by Benjamin and John Cooley just before the war in 1860.⁷⁴

On October 11, 1864, Early got the surprising news that Sheridan had detached Wright's VI Corps. Early moved his army north to its former position at Fisher's Hill the following day. On October 13, he went with a contingent of infantry and artillery to Hupp's Hill, a modest promontory west of Cedar Creek, to reconnoiter the Federal position. While there, Early's artillery opened fire on a Federal regiment that had moved out into a cleared field near Belle Grove. The engagement turned into a heavy skirmish after Crook ordered Thoburn's division to cross Cedar Creek, likely near Fort Bowman, via the Fort Bowman Ford before proceeding toward Belle Grove. There he met elements of Kershaw's infantry division and was driven back across the creek after sustaining about 200 casualties. The skirmish proved consequential to the subsequent planning of both sides. Early discerned from his reconnaissance that the Federal center was strongly held and decided thereafter to explore options for a flanking movement. For Sheridan, the skirmish established that Early had moved up with his entire force and was inclined to take the offensive. He therefore canceled Wright's march east and ordered him back to Cedar Creek where his corps would take up a reserve position northwest of the XIX Corps line on October 14.⁷⁵

Before the skirmish near the Abraham Stickley farm, Sheridan had received instructions from Halleck that Grant wished him to move up the Valley and take a position from which he could operate against the railroads at Charlottesville and Gordonsville. The message was a misrepresentation of Grant's thinking by that time and caused confusion in Washington, as it was well known that Sheridan would not endorse such a move. Wanting to hear directly from Sheridan, Stanton requested on October 13 that he come to his office for a meeting. Although he was in the midst of planning an attack on Early and did not want to leave his army with the Confederates in close contact. Sheridan considered Stanton's request a direct order and set out for the Federal train depot at Rectortown on October 15, after assigning Wright to temporary command of the army at Cedar Creek. Sheridan brought with him Torbert's Cavalry Corps, which he planned to send through Chester Gap to destroy the Virginia Central Railroad Bridge over the Rivanna River.⁷⁶ At Front Royal, however, Sheridan received a wire from Wright with an enclosed dispatch that had

⁷⁴ Koons and Noyales, *Historic Resource Study*, 145.

⁷⁵ Jonathan A. Noyales, *The Battle of Cedar Creek: Victory from the Jaws of Defeat* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2009), chapter 2; Jubal Anderson Early, *Autobiographical Sketch and Narrative of the War Between the States* (Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1912), 437; Sheridan, *Memoirs*, 61.

⁷⁶ O.R., Vol. 43, Part I, 51; Sheridan, *Memoirs*, Vol II, 60–62.

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been intercepted from the Confederate signal station at Signal Knob on Three Top Mountain. It read as follows:

To Lieutenant-General Early:

Be ready to move as soon as my forces join you, and we will crush Sheridan.⁷⁷

Longstreet, Lieutenant-General

Wright expressed concern that the reinforcement of Early's army portended an assault on the right flank of the Federal position at Cedar Creek, which had been weakened by the detachment of the cavalry. Although he suspected that the message was a ruse, Sheridan sent word to Wright on October 16 that he was sending Torbert's cavalry back to him. With his right being the primary concern, Wright posted most of the cavalry north of Meadow Brook. Merritt's division was placed near Marsh Creek northwest of the VI Corps position and Brigadier General George A Custer's division occupied the far right of the Federal line guarding the ford at Cupp's Mill. Torbert's other division under Colonel William H. Powell was to guard approaches to the Federal left via Front Royal, but Sheridan cautioned Wright to bring him closer in toward his flank. Wright, however, did not heed that advice because he presumed that his left flank was far less vulnerable to attack. On October 18, a reconnaissance conducted by Crook's corps indicated that Early had vacated his position at Fisher's Hill, thus adding to a false sense of security regarding the need for reinforcing the Federal left. Wishing to confirm the report, Wright ordered another reconnaissance the next morning by several brigades from Emory's XIX Corps and Merritt's cavalry division to determine whether Crook's report was accurate.⁷⁸

Confident that the threat from Fisher's Hill was minimal and believing that Wright would defeat Early if attacked, Sheridan proceeded to Washington. During a brief meeting with Stanton and Halleck on the morning of October 17, Sheridan was able to get agreement against moving his army east of the Blue Ridge in favor of establishing a fortified line that would enable him to detach forces to Grant. By early afternoon he was on his way by train to Martinsburg, West Virginia, accompanied by two engineers that had been assigned to assist in laying out the defensive position. The following day the party rode on horseback to Winchester, where Sheridan planned to spend the night after receiving word from Wright that all was quiet at Cedar Creek.⁷⁹

Early's Plan of Attack

Early spent several days following the skirmish at the Stickley farm considering his options. He decided on one last effort to defeat Sheridan, because of his dwindling supplies and the prospect that his army would soon be diminished, either by Lee's needs at Petersburg or by desertion of troops who were concerned about the fate of their families during the ensuing winter months. His initial inclination was to assault the Federal right because of Massanutten Mountain on the left. On

⁷⁷ *O.R.*, Vol. 43, Part II, 389.

⁷⁸ Noyalas, *Battle of Cedar Creek*, chapter 2; *O.R.* Vol. 43, Part I, 158; *O.R.*, Vol 43, Part II, 389–390, 406–407; Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Valley*, 295.

⁷⁹ Sheridan, *Memoirs*, Vol II, 64–67.

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October 17, however, Brigadier General John Pegram, whose division was sent from Fisher's Hill to reconnoiter conditions on the Federal right, reported that the steep banks of Cedar Creek in that area would make for a difficult crossing. The same day, Early sent Gordon along with several members of his staff and the army's topographical engineer, Jed Hotchkiss, to Signal Knob to examine the Federal left. After making the difficult climb up the steep mountain, the party was presented with expansive views of the entire Valley to the north and could clearly discern the dispositions of the entire Federal position.⁸⁰ As Gordon later recounted,

the entire Federal Army—all seemed but a stone's throw away from us...Not only the general outlines of Sheridan's breastworks, but every parapet where his heavy guns were mounted, and every piece of artillery, every wagon and tent and supporting line of troops, were in easy range of our vision.⁸¹

From the vantage point, Hotchkiss prepared a detailed map of the Federal position and the topographical features of the area (Figure 5). Noticing that the Federal left was lightly protected, Gordon and Hotchkiss discussed a possible turning movement and that evening presented that information to Early. The problem of passing infantry around the steep precipice was solved when Gordon and Hotchkiss discovered a narrow pathway around the nose of the mountain that was shielded by thick forest. Gordon volunteered to lead the flanking movement and estimated he would need an entire night for his force to make the 5-mile march from Fisher's Hill to Bowman's Mill Ford, where the Confederates would cross the Shenandoah River and assault the right rear of the Federal VIII Corps.⁸²

Early agreed to the plan and issued orders for the attack at a meeting of his general staff at 2 pm on October 18. Gordon's, Ramseur's, and Pegram's Second Corp divisions and Brigadier General William Payne's cavalry brigade, with Gordon in overall command, would depart Fisher's Hill at nightfall and cross over the North Fork of the Shenandoah River at temporary bridge that Confederate engineers had erected. After navigating the wooded path around the base of Massanutten Mountain, the force would re-cross the river at McInturf's and Bowman's fords near Long Meadow Plantation (**Long Meadow Landscape [contributing site]** and **Long Meadow [contributing building]**), move northward along the general route of **Long Meadow Road (contributing structure)** to a designated rallying point at a house owned by J. Cooley (not extant), and attack the left flank of the VIII Corps from the rear. Kershaw and Brigadier General Gabriel C. Wharton's division of the Second Corps were to travel up Valley Pike through Strasburg to Hupp's Hill to attack the Federal front once Gordon's attack developed. The Confederate artillery, with Early accompanying, would move up to Hupp's Hill and follow Kershaw and Wharton as their attacks advanced. Rosser's cavalry was to advance via the Back Road to create a diversion on the Federal right. Lomax's cavalry brigade was to move in the direction of Front Royal and then angle northwest to reach Valley Pike in the Federal rear to cut off that avenue of retreat. Once Gordon's infantry attack was underway, Payne was to detach and dash toward Sheridan's Headquarters at

⁸⁰ Noyolas, *Battle of Cedar Creek*, chapter 2; Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Shenandoah*, 283–284.

⁸¹ John B. Gordon, *Reminiscences of the Civil War* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), 333–334.

⁸² *O.R.*, Vol. 43, Part II, 580; Gordon, *Reminiscences*, 335–336; Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Shenandoah*, 288–290.

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Belle Grove, which Gordon had identified during his reconnaissance from Signal Knob. The hope was to capture Sheridan, but unbeknownst to Early he had already left for his conference in Washington.⁸³

Early's plan was audacious and risky. No official reports are available, but estimates put the number of his total force (infantry, cavalry, and artillery) between 15,000 and 21,000 to face an entrenched Federal force of about 31,600. The success of the attack depended entirely on surprise and the abilities of the commanders of the separate columns to perform their assignments at the expected times. Accordingly, Gordon ordered his troops to leave their canteens and everything else that might make noise that would alert Federal pickets to their movement, and the commanders synchronized their watches to launch their attacks at 5 am the following day. Before setting out during the early evening of October 18, Gordon posted guides at every fork of the wooded path to ensure his troops would not take the wrong route in the dark.⁸⁴

During the march down Valley Pike that evening, Early received information from observers on Signal Knob that the Federals had erected new entrenchments that might cause Gordon more difficulty than anticipated. In response, Early altered Kershaw's assignment by sending him to the right for an advance up **Bowman's Mill Road (contributing structure)** toward the Cedar Creek crossing at **Bowman's Mill Ford (contributing site)** to attack Thoburn's left flank from the southwest in concert with Gordon's assault. Wharton would continue as planned to Hupp's Hill and await the development of the combined attacks on the Federal left and rear before advancing down the pike to gain control of the Cedar Creek Bridge and attack the Federal center. The artillery would follow behind Wharton to take a high-ground position on Hupp's Hill and open initial fire from there before moving down Valley Pike and across the river to support the infantry advance.⁸⁵

Initial Phase of the Battle of Cedar Creek, October 19, 1864, 4 am to 12 pm

The opening salvos of the Battle of Cedar Creek occurred about 4 am when Rosser's cavalry crossed Cedar Creek at Cupp's Ford to execute the planned diversion on the Federal right. Elements of Custer's cavalry division met the Confederates near Cupp's Mill and after a brief skirmish, Rosser retreated across the creek. At about the same time, Payne's cavalry splashed across the Shenandoah River at McInturf's and Bowman's fords, firing on and neutralizing the Federal pickets posted on the Federal left. Gordon's infantry followed closely and moved up Long Meadow Road toward the rallying point at the Cooley House, where the Confederates formed a west-facing line opposite the rear of Crook's VIII Corps camps. Brigadier General Clement A. Evans, in temporary command of Gordon's Division, took the left, Ramseur the right, and Pegram was behind in reserve. Although some in the Federal lines heard the distant gunfire, it did not raise

⁸³ Early, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 441; Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Valley*, 290; Whitehorne, *Self-Guided Tour*, 9–10.

⁸⁴ Gordon, *Reminiscences*, 336–337; Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Valley*, 291–293; Whitehorne, *Self-Guided Tour*, 12, 16.

⁸⁵ Early, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 442; *O.R.*, Vol. 43, Part II, 561.

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a general alarm because it was widely known that Wright had ordered a reconnaissance mission during the morning, and it may have run into some resistance.⁸⁶

Meanwhile, Kershaw crossed Cedar Creek at Bowman's Mill Ford and quietly captured the pickets there without being detected (Figure 6). Creeping through the **Bowman-Hite Farm** toward the Federal line in a heavy fog that helped conceal their approach, Kershaw's men got close enough to hear voices in the Federal camp as the troops began to perform their normal morning routine. Several of Thoburn's regiments had been roused by the gunfire on the flanks and moved up to man the entrenchments on the ridge above the ford. Promptly at 5 am Kershaw's troops rose up and fired a thunderous volley on Thoburn's line. The response by the Federal infantry and artillery in the entrenchments was hampered by the fog and confusion and they were quickly overwhelmed by the charging Confederates. Kershaw's men then advanced on the Federal camps, driving the surprised Federal troops there northward in panicked disarray. During this initial phase of the battle, Kershaw inflicted about 600 Federal casualties and seized seven pieces of artillery. During the retreat, Thoburn was mortally wounded in a vain attempt to rally his troops near Middletown.⁸⁷

About 20 minutes after Kershaw launched his attack, Gordon advanced on the rear of Hayes' division of the VIII Corps with similar results. Stationed near the **Claytor Field Site (contributing site)**, Hayes' men immediately became disorganized and fell back, getting entangled in a line that Kitching had attempted to form to stay the Confederate advance. Within minutes, the Federal line disintegrated as the panicked troops retreated across Valley Pike with Gordon's force pursuing. During the engagement Kitching suffered a wound to his foot that eventually led to his death. Hayes' horse was shot, and the colonel only narrowly escaped capture by fleeing into the surrounding woods.⁸⁸

While Kershaw's and Gordon's attacks were underway, Wharton advanced down Valley Pike (**Valley Pike Road Trace [contributing structure]**), and Confederate artillery on Hupp's Hill unleashed a heavy bombardment on Emory's XIX Corps. Wharton quickly dispensed with Federal pickets at the Daniel Stickley Farm (**Daniel Stickley House [contributing building]**) and gained control of the Cedar Creek Bridge (**Valley Pike Bridge Abutments/Valley Pike Bridge Site [contributing structure]**). By that time (about 5:30 am), Emory had become aware that the Federal left had been flanked and attempted to meet the threat from that direction by moving Grover's Second Division into a position paralleling the north side of the pike. McMillan's First Division remained in the XIX Corps' entrenchments overlooking Cedar Creek to confront Wharton's advance. To gain time to affect the movement of the Second Division, Emory sent a force of units from the VIII Corps under Lieutenant Colonel Thomas F. Wildes and another from the First Division of the XIX Corps under Colonel Stephen Thomas to counterattack the Confederate infantry advance on his left flank. Wright, who had moved to the front by that point, accompanied Wildes during his attack and received a minor wound to his chin during the action.

⁸⁶ Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Valley*, 303; Whithorne, *Self-Guided Tour*, 16.

⁸⁷ Gordon, *Reminiscences*, 337–338; Lewes and Moore, *Historic Resource Context Study*, 80–81; Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Valley*, 298–302; Whithorne, *Self-Guided Tour*, 16–17.

⁸⁸ Thomas A. Lewis, *The Guns of Cedar Creek* (New York: Dell, 1991), 202.

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Thomas' brigade, consisting of the 12th Connecticut, 160th New York, 47th Pennsylvania, and 8th Vermont regiments, had time for one volley before its attack devolved into a vicious hand-to-hand struggle. Casualties mounted as the regiments became isolated from one another and were surrounded by Confederates. None suffered more than the 8th Vermont, which lost 110 of the 164 men engaged. The location of that regiment's sacrifice is marked on the battlefield by the **8th Vermont Infantry Monument (contributing object)**. Despite the great loss of life, the counterattacks afforded Emory a critical half hour to reorganize his lines and order his supply wagons at Belle Grove Plantation to the rear beyond Middletown. These actions helped prevent the utter collapse of the entire Federal position during the initial Confederate onslaught and were important in determining the ultimate outcome of the battle.⁸⁹

By 6:30 am, Emory's position became untenable as the Confederates converged on his front, left, and rear. While Wharton assaulted the entrenched XIX Corps position to his front, Gordon flanked it from the rear, forcing the Federal troops to abandon the position. The Second Division, which was stretched thin in a long line along Valley Pike, was assailed by Kershaw and Gordon and fell back toward Belle Grove in respectable order. As the Federal troops retreated, the staff at Sheridan's headquarters in the Belle Grove Manor House frantically worked to save its papers, maps, and records. Crooks and Hayes had rallied a brigade-sized contingent from the remnants of the VIII Corps that had not run off to Middletown and engaged portions of Kershaw's and Wharton's divisions in a series of hotly contested delaying actions that provided valuable time for the staff to escape.⁹⁰

The bulk of the XIX Corps retreated northwest toward Red Hill, where it could find cover behind the VI Corps camped north of Belle Grove at Meadow Mills. With the collapse of the entire Federal front line, Wright ordered Ricketts—who had succeeded him in command of the IV Corps when he took over the Army of the Shenandoah in Sheridan's absence—to form a battle line along the north side of **Meadow Brook Road (contributing structure)** and Meadow Brook Run to fend off the Confederates during a retrograde movement toward a new line north of Middletown. Although the troop movements were hampered by the heavy fog and gunfire smoke that shrouded the battlefield and by persistent long-range fire by the Confederates, the line was formed in good order. Ricketts's Third Division under the command of Colonel Joseph W. Keifer took the Federal right between Cedar Creek and **Matthew Mills Road (contributing structure)**. Major General Frank Wheaton's First Division held the center on the Ritenour Farm where the extant **Ritenour House/Spiggle House, 480 Belle Grove Road contributing building** is located. Getty's Second Division on the left was north of McClune Road. With Rosser having disengaged following his initial move across Cedar Creek, Merritt's and Custer's cavalry divisions moved in to support the VI and XIX Corps positions.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Lewes and Moore, *Historic Resource Context Study*, 84–85; Whitehorne, *Self-Guided Tour*, 17.

⁹⁰ Lewis, *Guns of Cedar Creek*, 208–209.

⁹¹ Early, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 444; Lewis, *Guns of Cedar Creek*, 213–214; Whitehorne, *Self-Guided Tour*, 18–20.

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About 7:15 am, Keifer engaged Kershaw's Division near the confluence of Meadow Brook Run and Cedar Creek and repelled the Confederate advance after a fierce fight. About the same time, Wheaton drove back an attack by Pegram's Confederate division. Getty with his Second Division moved along Meadow Brook Run with the intention of checking the Confederate advance up Valley Pike. After being fired on by Confederate skirmishers positioned east of the stream in a wooded ravine at the north end of the **Solomon Heater Farmstead (contributing site)**, Getty formed his division in a line on high ground northwest of the **Solomon Heater House (contributing building)**. Keifer moved his division into position on Getty's right, where it was attacked by Pegram's Confederate division about 8 am. Keifer's men gave way under heavy Confederate pressure and moved northwest to join Wheaton's Division on its way to Middletown. During the action between 7:30 and 8:30 am, Ricketts was shot in the chest and Wright ordered Getty to assume command of the VI Corps.⁹²

As Keifer withdrew, Getty fell back to a new line across Valley Pike at Mount Carmel Cemetery, where he met and repelled several frontal attacks by Pegram and inflicted heavy casualties on the Confederates. Determined to dislodge Getty to gain Valley Pike for his advance to Middletown, Early ordered up his artillery and commenced a 30-minute barrage to be followed by an attack by Kershaw and Wharton. About 10 am, after repulsing several Confederate assaults, Getty transferred command of his division to Brigadier General Lewis Grant and withdrew from Cemetery Hill northward through Middletown. With Merritt's cavalry fending off Confederate rearguard attacks along the way, the Second Corps eventually joined the other units of the Army of the Shenandoah in the formation of the new line that Wright established about 1.5 miles north of the town.⁹³

After the long marches the night before and more than five hours of heavy fighting and maneuvering on the battlefield, the Confederate assault lost its steam. Early decided to halt the advance after receiving reports from his division commanders that their forces were exhausted and disorganized. He was worried about a potential flanking attack by Federal cavalry and sent 1,300 Federal prisoners to the rear and gathered the 24 artillery pieces and numerous small arms and supply wagons that had been captured during morning.⁹⁴ As justification for his decision, Early wrote the following in his official report:

So many of our men had stopped in the camp to plunder (in which I am sorry to say that officers participated), the country was so open, and the enemy's cavalry so strong, that I did not deem it prudent to press further...I determined, therefore, to content myself with trying to hold the advantages I had gained until all my troops had come up and the captured property was secured. If I had had but one division

⁹² Lewis, *Guns of Cedar Creek*, 216–221. Ricketts was wounded six times during the war; he survived the injuries he received at Cedar Creek and returned to service, but they ultimately caused him to retire from the army in 1867.

⁹³ Lewis, *Guns of Cedar Creek*, 223–229; Lewes and Moore, *Historic Resource Context Study*, 85, 87; Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Valley*, 310.

⁹⁴ Early, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 447–448.

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of fresh troops I could have made the victory complete and beyond all danger of a reverse.⁹⁵

Gordon later wrote, “My heart went into my boots,” when he heard Early had pronounced the army had achieved “glory enough for one day” and halted pursuit of the VI Corps. The “fatal halting,” as he called it, “lost us a great opportunity, and converted the brilliant victory of the morning into a disastrous defeat in the evening.”⁹⁶

Sheridan’s Counterattack, 1 pm to 7 pm

At 6 am on the day of the battle, Sheridan was awakened in his hotel room in Winchester by an officer who reported hearing artillery fire from the direction of Cedar Creek. Like many of the troops along Cedar Creek, Sheridan was initially unconcerned, supposing the firing was due to the reconnaissance mission that Wright had planned for that morning. Although he tried, he was unable to fall back asleep and requested that his breakfast be prepared quickly so he could begin his ride to the army. About 8:45 am, he mounted his large black horse named *Rienzi* and set out toward Cedar Creek with his escort. By the time he reached Mill Creek about 0.5 miles south of Winchester, he was convinced the constant boom of artillery signaled a general battle and that the increasing volume meant his army was falling back.⁹⁷

In his memoirs, Sheridan wrote that when he reached a crest on the opposite side of the creek,

there burst upon our view the appalling spectacle of a panic-stricken army—hundreds of slightly wounded men, throngs of others unhurt but utterly demoralized, and baggage wagons by the score, all pressing to the rear in hopeless confusion, telling only too plainly that a disaster had occurred at the front.⁹⁸

Sheridan initially thought of allowing the army to continue its retreat to Winchester, where a new line could be established south of town, but decided instead to move forward in hopes that his presence might restore confidence and order in the ranks. Leaving instructions with the commander of a Federal brigade stationed at Winchester to stop any fleeing soldiers and put them in a line at Mill Creek, he galloped up Valley Pike along with his aides de camp, Major George A. Forsythe and Captain Joseph O’Keefe, and an escort of about 20 soldiers, exhorting unwounded officers and troops he passed along the way to rally and follow him to the front (Figure 7). Recalling the event later, Sheridan wrote that the soldiers

threw up their hats, shouldered their muskets, and as I passed along turned to follow with enthusiasm and cheers. To acknowledge this exhibition of feeling I took off my hat...I already knew that even in the ordinary condition of mind enthusiasm is

⁹⁵ *O.R.*, Vol. 43, Part I, 562

⁹⁶ Gordon, *Reminiscences*, 341–342.

⁹⁷ Sheridan, *Memoirs*, Vol. 2, 67–75.

⁹⁸ Sheridan, *Memoirs*, Vol. 2, 75–76.

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a potent element with soldiers, but what I saw that day convinced me that if it can be excited from a state of despondency its power is almost irresistible.⁹⁹

About 10:30 am, Sheridan reached the Second Division of the VI Corps on Valley Pike about one mile north of Middletown and established his headquarters on a ridge behind Getty's line (see Figure 6).¹⁰⁰ After conferring with Wright about the events of the morning and the condition of the army, Sheridan issued orders for the two other VI Corps divisions and the XIX Corps to move up on Getty's right. The line from left to right consisted of Getty's, Keifer's, and Wheaton's divisions of Wright's VI Corps and Grover's and Dwight's divisions of Emory's XIX Corps. The remains of Crook's VIII Corps formed the reserve behind the VI Corps. Merritt's and Custer's divisions of Torbert's Cavalry Corps were placed at the left and right of the infantry line, respectively. During the two hours it took to organize the troops, Sheridan rode several times to a vantage point east of Valley Pike, where he could see Early's position and perceived that the Confederates were preparing to attack on his right. Fearing that Emory's depleted command would not be able to meet the assault, Sheridan moved elements of Getty's division to support him. With the line formed, Sheridan, at Forsyth's suggestion, rode along its front to demonstrate to those who had not yet seen him that he had returned on the field.¹⁰¹ As he rode atop *Rienzi* with his hat in hand, the troops cheered wildly as he passed by. An assistant surgeon in the VI Corps later recalled: "The sight of that little man instantly inspired confidence in the men and threw them into a perfect frenzy of enthusiasm."¹⁰²

The Confederate line that Sheridan observed stretched from Valley Pike to Middle Marsh Brook, north of present-day Chapel Road. Wharton's and Pegram's divisions were east and west of Valley Pike, slightly to the rear of a more forward lined manned from right to left by Ramseur's, Kershaw's, and Gordon's divisions. As Sheridan had expected, Early ordered Gordon to advance on the Federal left to determine its strength. Kershaw and Ramseur were readied to follow if Gordon's attack proved successful. Gordon advanced through a wooded area on the east side of Middle Marsh Brook that concealed his approach and emerged in Emory's front about 1 pm. After a sharp skirmish, Gordon discovered that the Federal line was strong and called off the attack, falling back toward his former position on Middle Marsh Brook.¹⁰³

Another lull in the fighting ensued as Sheridan made plans for a counterattack. Some of the delay was attributed to his lingering doubts that Longstreet's entire corps was on the field, based on the report he had received on his way to Washington and conflicting information he was given after he arrived at the front. To get better information about Longstreet's whereabouts, Sheridan ordered Merritt to capture Confederate pickets in his front for questioning. After interviewing the Confederates that Merritt brought to him, Sheridan was confident that only Kershaw's Division of Longstreet's Corps was present and finalized his plans. The position that Gordon established after

⁹⁹ Sheridan, *Memoirs*, Vol. 2, 78–81.

¹⁰⁰ With Sheridan's return Getty and Wright assumed their former commands.

¹⁰¹ Sheridan, *Memoirs*, Vol. 2, 83–87.

¹⁰² Quoted in Lewis, *Guns of Cedar Creek*, 255.

¹⁰³ Lewis, *Guns of Cedar Creek*, 259–260; Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Valley*, 328.

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his retreat opened a significant gap between him and Kershaw on the Confederate left that Sheridan hoped to exploit. His plan was to advance the entire infantry line, with the VI Corps attacking the Confederates in its front while the XIX Corps with Custer's cavalry pivoted to the left in a swinging movement on the Confederate left flank. Merritt's cavalry and elements of Crook's infantry would advance south along the east side of Valley Pike to attack the Confederate right.¹⁰⁴

The position that Gordon fell back to after the early afternoon skirmish created a gap in the Confederate line between his and Kershaw's divisions. After receiving reports from the flag station on Signal Knob that Sheridan was massing for an attack to exploit the gap, which, in Gordon's words, "would prove a veritable deathtrap if left open many minutes longer." Gordon went to Early's headquarters to urge the reinforcement of the Confederate left. By the time he returned, however, it was too late.¹⁰⁵

Sheridan sent his line forward at about 3:30 pm with the Federal cavalry pressing both Confederate flanks and the infantry overrunning skirmishers in the Confederate front. The infantry reached Early's main line a half hour later. On the Federal right, Emory's troops pierced the gap in the Confederate line, isolating and surrounding Gordon's Division. As Gordon's men fought wildly to extricate themselves and withdraw to the rear, Custer charged in from the west across Middle Marsh Brook and turned the Confederate retreat into a rout, chasing Gordon's men south toward Cedar Creek and taking many prisoners.¹⁰⁶

On the Confederate right, Merritt's cavalry and Crook's VIII Corps hit Wharton's Division on the east side of Valley Pike and drove it backward. Kershaw's and Ramseur's divisions held under the pressure exerted by the VI Corps in their front for about an hour. As Gordon withdrew, however, Emory's flanking column began rolling up Kershaw's left. As Gordon described it, "Regiment after regiment, brigade after brigade, in rapid succession was crushed, and, like hard clods of clay under a pelting rain, the superb commands crumbled to pieces."¹⁰⁷ This left only Ramseur's division somewhat intact. During a heavy exchange near the home of D. J. Miller (**Miller-Kendrick-Walter House [contributing building]**) northwest of Valley Pike, Ramseur was shot in the chest and removed from the field in an ambulance. Shortly thereafter, about 5:30 pm, the entire Confederate line disintegrated with the troops fleeing in complete disorder southward.¹⁰⁸

In his report on the battle, Early stated that he found it impossible to rally the troops as they fled southward:

They would not listen to entreaties, threats, or appeals of any kind. A terror of the enemy's cavalry had seized them, and there was no holding them. They left the

¹⁰⁴ Lewis, *Guns of Cedar Creek*, 261–262; Sheridan, *Memoirs*, Vol. 2, 87; Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Valley*, 328–329.

¹⁰⁵ Gordon, *Reminiscences*, 347.

¹⁰⁶ Gordon, *Reminiscences*, 348; Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Valley*, 331–332; Sheridan, *Memoirs*, Vol 2, 88–89.

¹⁰⁷ Gordon, *Reminiscences*, 348.

¹⁰⁸ Lewis, *Guns of Cedar Creek*, 278–279.

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field in the greatest confusion. All the captured artillery had been carried across Cedar Creek, and a large number of captured wagons and ambulances, and we succeeded in crossing our own artillery over, and everything would have been saved if we could have rallied 500 men, but the panic was so great that nothing could be done.¹⁰⁹

Custer continued his pursuit across Cedar Creek and was delayed briefly by token Confederate resistance at the Stickley Farm. Merritt joined him at Hupp's Hill and they pushed on toward Strasburg, where Early had sent the materials captured from the Federals earlier that day. The Confederate train had become entangled due to damage at a wooden bridge at the crossing of the North Fork of the Shenandoah River, which allowed the Federal cavalry to seize all the wagons, ambulances, and artillery that had not yet passed. As the sky darkened about 6:30 pm, the remnants of Early's army were redrawing to Fisher's Hill, the chase was called off, and the battle ended.¹¹⁰

As the Army of the Shenandoah returned to its camps at Cedar Creek, the process of tending to the wounded continued. Some local houses, including the **Daniel Stickley House (contributing building)**, which had been in the midst of many events before and during the battle, were taken over for use as field hospitals. The official count of Federal casualties during the battle amounted to 5,665. Of that number, 52 officers and 592 men were killed, 244 and 3,186 were wounded, and 30 and 1,561 were captured or missing. Early estimated his killed and wounded at 1,860. Combined with the number of captured or missing, the total Confederate losses amounted to about 3,000.¹¹¹

Aftermath of the Battle

During the evening of October 19, 1864, Sheridan reestablished his headquarters at Belle Grove and sent the following in his initial report of the battle to Grant:

I have the honor to report that my army at Cedar Creek was attacked this morning before daylight and my left was turned and driven in confusion; in fact, most of the line was driven in confusion, with the loss of twenty pieces of artillery. I hastened from Winchester, where I was on my return from Washington, and joined the army between Middletown and Newtown, having been driven back about four miles. I here took the affair in hand and quickly united the corps, formed a compact line of battle just in time to repulse an attack of the enemy's, which was handsomely done about 1 p.m. At 3 p.m., after some changes of cavalry from the left to the right flank, I attacked with great vigor, driving and routing the enemy, capturing, according to last reports, forty-three pieces of artillery and very many prisoners...Affairs at time looked badly, but by the gallantry of our brave officers

¹⁰⁹ *O.R.*, Vol. 43, Part II, 562.

¹¹⁰ Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Valley*, 338–340. Ramseur was among the wounded in the ambulances seized by the Union cavalry. He was subsequently transported to Sheridan's headquarters and died there the following day.

¹¹¹ Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Valley*, 340, 424; *O.R.*, Vol. 43, Part I, 137.

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and men disaster has been converted into a splendid victory. Darkness intervened to shut off greater results. I now occupy Strasburg.¹¹²

The day after the battle, Torbert's cavalry assaulted the Confederates that remained at Fisher's Hill and drove them from the position. The remnants of Early's army retreated southward and would not again present a serious threat in the Valley. In his report to Lee from New Market on October 21, Early acknowledged the magnitude of the defeat and its effect on his reputation:

It is mortifying to me, general, to have to make these explanations of my reverses. They are due to no want of effort on my part, though it may be that I have not the capacity or judgement to prevent them. I have labored faithfully to gain success, and I have not failed to expose my person and to set an example for my men. I know that I shall have to endure censure from those who do not understand my position and difficulties, but I am still willing to make renewed efforts. If you think, however, that the interests of the service would be promoted by a change of commanders, I beg you will have no hesitation in making the change.¹¹³

News of the Federal victory was greeted with joy and relief by the Federal high command. The day after the battle, Grant wrote Halleck that he "had a salute of 100 guns from each of the armies here [Petersburg] fired in honor of Sheridan's victory. Turning what bid to be a disaster into a glorious victory stamps Sheridan, what I have always thought of him, one of the ablest of generals."¹¹⁴ On October 22, Sheridan ordered that the following note received from President Lincoln be read to every regiment in the army:

With great pleasure I tender to you and your brave army the thanks of the nation and my own personal admiration and gratitude for the month's operations in the Shenandoah Valley, and especially for the splendid work of October 19, 1864.¹¹⁵

The Battle of Cedar Creek stands as a testament to the volatility and unpredictability of warfare. It serves as a reminder that even in the face of initial setbacks, effective leadership and a well-executed counterattack can turn defeat into victory. In terms of its broader significance, Sheridan's defeat of Early's army during the Valley Campaign had important military and political consequences that altered the course of the war and hastened its conclusion. Together with Sherman's defeat of Lieutenant General John B. Hood's army at the Battle of Atlanta on September 1, 1864, the successful campaign broke the skein of military reverses and stalemates that had driven anti-war sentiment in the North. With proof that Federal arms were making substantial progress in the field, Republicans cast the Democrats as disloyal and unpatriotic for their platform to broker peace with the Confederacy, and Lincoln won the November election in a landslide. The boost in Northern morale was accompanied by a corresponding bottoming of Southern hopes, as

¹¹² *O.R.*, Vol 43, Part II, 424.

¹¹³ *O.R.*, Vol 43, Part I, 563.

¹¹⁴ *O.R.*, Vol 43, Part II, 423.

¹¹⁵ *O.R.*, Vol 43, Part II, 458.

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the last best chance at preserving the Confederacy slipped away. Matters became worse in November and December as Sherman marched through Georgia, inflicting the same type of damage that Sheridan had caused in the Shenandoah Valley. Although Jefferson Davis continued to remain defiant and Lee fought on, few in the Confederate high command believed there was any chance of turning the tide of the war by the end of 1864.¹¹⁶

CRITERION A – ETHNIC HERITAGE: BLACK

During the Colonial era and the nineteenth century, the lower Shenandoah Valley was a major grain-producing region and relied heavily on the labor of enslaved Black people and indentured servants for agricultural production and domestic services. The Civil War and the subsequent decline in wheat production had immediate impacts on the experiences of Black inhabitants. While emancipation contributed to the growth of visible Black communities in the Shenandoah Valley, escape from bondage was not freedom from servitude and inequity and led many Black people to leave the Valley. The understanding of the Black experience in the Lower Shenandoah Valley and within the district is expanding as archeological, scholarly, and colloquial histories become available.

Colonial Period through the Nineteenth Century

When African bondage was established in the Thirteen Colonies at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619, enslavement was not a lifelong condition but existed for a contracted period of time like indentured servitude. Virginia's enslaved population increased as the colony's tobacco economy required more laborers. The colony developed a clear caste system for enslaved individuals and imposed restrictions on its small free Black communities, who white residents feared would lead an insurrection.¹¹⁷ In ports along Virginia's coast, raw materials such as tobacco, hemp, flax, and salt peter—almost universally the products of enslaved labor—were exported to England. Fabric, furniture, iron tools, and other trade goods were imported, along with enslaved and indentured people.¹¹⁸

Through the first half of the seventeenth century, Virginia depended more on indentured servitude than chattel slavery, as reflected in the demographics of the colony in 1650, which was less than one percent Black.¹¹⁹ However, by 1660–1662, colonists introduced laws to distinguish between enslaved Black people and free white servants and to delineate punishments for escape. Following

¹¹⁶ McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 447, 456–458.

¹¹⁷ Terry K. Dunn, "Slavery and Manumission Laws in Virginia," *Carlyle House Docent Dispatch*, September 2004; Nikole Hannah-Jones, *The 1619 Project* (New York, NY: One World, 2021), 9.

¹¹⁸ Julie Richter and Jody Allen, *Historical Overview of Africans and African Americans in Yorktown, at the Moore House, and on Battlefield Property, 1635–1867*, 2 volumes (Yorktown, VA: Colonial National Historical Park, 2012), 18, 33–34, 62–63, 78; Mark St. John Erickson, "A cradle of slavery on the York," *Newport News Daily Press*, May 25, 2013.

¹¹⁹ Jennifer L. Morgan, "1659–1664 – Elizabeth Keye," in *Four Hundred Souls*, Ibram X. Kendi and Keisha N. Blain, editors (New York: One World, 2021), 41.

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Bacon's Rebellion in 1676–1677, when armed Black and white men fought alongside each other, Virginian elites codified the legal definition of slavery to prevent the mingling of enslaved Black people and poor white servants, fearing that the elite classes would be outnumbered if Black and white lower classes united against them.¹²⁰

In 1705, Virginia enacted several laws, known as the Virginia Slave Codes, to restrict movement or participation in the community by Black people. For example, free men of color were not permitted to hold public office or to marry a white person. They could not testify against white men or women in a court of law, but they could serve on a jury for an enslaved person on trial. They were not permitted to own guns, powder, or shot unless they enlisted in the militia or lived on the edge of the frontier. Free Black people worked as butchers, farmers, couriers, midwives, and bricklayers and often obtained training through apprenticeships.¹²¹

The Black population in Virginia was 12,000 in 1708, compared to the white population of 18,000; by 1756, the Black population was 120,156 compared to the white population of 173,316. The total population of the Shenandoah Valley in 1755 was approximately 21,000, and Frederick County had approximately 8,700 white residents and 680 enslaved Black persons.¹²² Until 1782, enslavers in Virginia had to petition the governor for permission to free their enslaved people, which was granted only if the enslaved individual had performed “meritorious service.”¹²³ An act passed in October 1783 granted all enslaved Black men who had served as soldiers in the Continental Army their freedom.¹²⁴

Plantation owners throughout the state began to perceive the growing free Black community as a threat to their existing social and economic systems. As a result, Virginia established laws that impinged on the rights of these freed people. In 1793, the state legislature prohibited free Blacks from entering the state. Additionally, free Black people were required to register their status with local authorities and to renew this registration annually or if they left the locality.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ Dr. James J. Broomall, *The Stars Fought from Heaven': Race and Slavery in the Shenandoah Valley from Early Settlement to Jim Crow* (Washington, DC: Organization of American Historians and National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 2020), 11.

¹²¹ Richter and Allen, *Historical Overview of Africans and African Americans in Yorktown*, 111–114, 117–127.

¹²² Broomall, *The Stars Fought from Heaven*, 21. Assuming the ratio of white residents to enslaved Black persons at that time was consistent across the Shenandoah Valley, the regional population would have consisted of approximately 19,360 white residents and 1,620 enslaved Black persons.

¹²³ Quoted in Dunn, “Slavery and Manumission Laws in Virginia.”

¹²⁴ Hannah-Jones, *The 1619 Project*, 9; Gregory J. W. Urwin, “The Yorktown Tragedy: Washington’s Slave Roundup,” *Journal of the American Revolution*, last updated 2021, <https://allthingsliberty.com/2021/10/the-yorktown-tragedy-washingtons-slave-roundup/>; Virginia General Assembly, “An act directing the emancipation of certain slaves who have served as soldiers in this state, and for the emancipation of the slave Aberdeen,” October 20, 1783, reprinted in *Encyclopedia Virginia*, <https://encyclopediaivirginia.org/entries/an-act-directing-the-emancipation-of-certain-slaves-who-have-served-as-soldiers-in-this-state-and-for-the-emancipation-of-the-slave-aberdeen-october-20-1783>.

¹²⁵ Ellen Eslinger, “Free Black Residency in Two Antebellum Virginia Counties: How the Laws Functioned,” *Journal of Southern History* 79, no. 2 (May 2013), 261, 266.

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Much of what is known about enslaved people in the district comes from records kept by their enslavers. The Hite family at Belle Grove, in particular, kept records of first names, birth and death dates, and, in some cases, at least one parent. Other sources include newspaper ads advertising the sale of enslaved people at auction or alerting readers to freedom-seeking enslaved people who had escaped from a plantation or farm (Figure 8).

Slavery in the Shenandoah Valley

When the Shenandoah Valley was settled in the 1730s (see **Criterion A – Agriculture**), the colonial government intended that the demographics of the area differ from that of the Tidewater area, which had majority Black populations due to the vast numbers of enslaved held in the region. The largest enslavers during this period were English plantation owners from Virginia's Tidewater, who saw enslavement as a tool to maintain their wealth and status.¹²⁶ By contrast, Protestant farmers, largely from Northern Ireland and central Germany, settled the Shenandoah Valley with small farmsteads that generally had fewer than five enslaved people, if any.¹²⁷ Generally speaking, about 5 percent of German immigrant households identified as slaveholding during the colonial period; this does not include enslaved labor hired from enslavers. Their counterparts, the Scots-Irish, were more receptive to the institution but were economically disadvantaged, which hindered their ability to enslave people. In the mid-eighteenth century, the price of purchasing enslaved people was prohibitive to many Valley farmers with modest farms. By 1782, enslaved adult males rarely sold for less than £100 (pounds), which exceeded the value of even the best horses on Valley farms.¹²⁸

The Valley's early settlers established small family farms and relied primarily on their children and kin to provide essential labor supplemented by landless white day laborers, free Black people, and enslaved people from neighboring farms. As farming became more commercialized and profit-driven, Shenandoah Valley farmers began to integrate enslaved workers permanently into their operations. Within the district, the Hites were one of the earliest enslavers and a family with one of the largest number of enslaved people. Free and enslaved Black workers engaged in a variety of activities on farms, including clearing, plowing, and sowing fields; cutting ice; salting and smoking meat; making butter and cheese; and repairing farm buildings and tools.¹²⁹

In 1760, 10 percent of Shenandoah Valley farm owners enslaved Black people, with a higher concentration of enslavement in the northern counties. By 1783, approximately 38 percent of households in Frederick County had enslaved people, significantly higher than the 22 percent of households in the Upper Shenandoah Valley region. While these statistics may evoke an image of

¹²⁶ Michael Hawkins, "Habitat and Ethnicity in the Upper South: To Enslave or Not to Enslave," *Southeastern Geographer* 42, no. 1 (May 2002), 94, 100.

¹²⁷ Broomall, *The Stars Fought from Heaven*, 19.

¹²⁸ Michael J. Puglisi (ed.), *Diversity and Accommodation Essays on the Cultural Composition of the Virginia Frontier* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 164–165.

¹²⁹ Clarence Geier and Kimberly Tinkham, *Belle Grove Plantation and Harmony Hall: Data Contributing to a Master Site Plan with Recommendations for Resource Management and Interpretation: Volume 1: Historical Context, Site History, and Recommendations* (Middletown, VA: Belle Grove Plantation, Inc., April 2007), 77.

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expansive plantations as seen in the Tidewater, most enslavers in the region enslaved fewer than five individuals. During the second half of the eighteenth century, the enslaved population of Frederick and Shenandoah counties increased from 4,250 to 7,179 and from 512 to 1,901, respectively. While some of this can be attributed to births within enslaved populations, it is better explained by the purchase of enslaved people from outside the region to fuel market agriculture. By 1790, approximately 1 in 5 (21.3 percent) people in Frederick County were enslaved Black people.¹³⁰

Ebbs and flows in labor demands throughout the year characterized the mixed agriculture of the Shenandoah Valley. Small family farms that relied on household members to supply farm labor easily accommodated the changing demands, but mid-sized farms needed to supplement with hired labor during sowing and harvest times. Maintaining a large enslaved workforce throughout the year to meet the needs of peak labor times was costly for such farms. It was far more cost effective to hire enslaved workers from larger plantations or farms on a different labor schedule and have only a few enslaved individuals year-round. Hiring out also generated income for enslavers during slow seasons.¹³¹

Free Black Communities

The earliest free Black community in Virginia consisted of runaway and emancipated formerly enslaved people who, along with white indentured servants, were greatly discriminated against. Freedom seekers feared capture by bondsmen, even if they fled the colony. For necessary protection and support, they often escaped in groups and sometimes with indentured servants.¹³² Some of the earliest free Black residents in the Shenandoah Valley were likely formerly enslaved, possibly with family members, who lived in small communities or multi-generational households. Most were tenants on larger holdings, but some were able to purchase their own farms or town lots.¹³³ Landless free Black people who could not afford acreage in Virginia often found less expensive land in the Carolinas or Pennsylvania.¹³⁴

While reports of communities of escaped and emancipated people west of the Blue Ridge existed as early as the end of the seventeenth century, no communities of free Black people have been explicitly linked to the district.¹³⁵ A group of self-emancipating Black people were rumored on many occasions to have settled in Rappahannock County, immediately south of Warren County, in the late seventeenth century. This group had likely been driven from their claimed land much

¹³⁰ Kathleen J. Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park* (Boston, MA: Northeast Region Ethnography Program, National Park Service, 2009), 93, 99–100, 116.

¹³¹ Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, 102.

¹³² T. H. Breen, “A Changing Labor Force and Race Relations in Virginia, 1660–1710,” *Journal of Social History* 7, no. 1 (Autumn 1973), 7.

¹³³ Puglisi, *Diversity and Accommodation Essays on the Cultural Composition of the Virginia Frontier*, 130–131; Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, 13–14.

¹³⁴ Breen, “A Changing Labor Force and Race Relations in Virginia,” 16.

¹³⁵ Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, 6.

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as Native Americans were, as white colonists were given grants for the settlement of Virginia's western lands.¹³⁶

Black Communities in the Antebellum Period

Enslavement in the Lower Shenandoah Valley evolved during the rise of wheat cultivation in the nineteenth century. The cultural reluctance to slavery began to lessen as acculturation between German, Scots-Irish, and English settlers occurred, and market demands increased. While the number of enslaved people increased in all counties in the Valley, counties with higher German populations generally had fewer enslaved people. Many German families did not purchase enslaved individuals but instead hired enslaved workers from neighboring farms or received them through inheritance.¹³⁷

On large plantations, enslaved Black people provided the primary source of labor and engaged in all aspects of cultivation. Tobacco was a labor-intensive crop that required a year-round workforce. Wheat, on the other hand, required excess labor only during sowing and harvesting times. While Shenandoah Valley wheat farmers did not need a large, year-round workforce, they supplemented peak- and low-labor seasons by either hiring enslaved or free laborers or engaging in mixed agriculture, which provided year-round work.¹³⁸ The agricultural economy influenced the pattern of slavery across the South, but historian Gavin Wright found "it was in antebellum Virginia that wheat and slavery demonstrated their closest mutual affinity."¹³⁹ The maturation of enslavement in the Lower Shenandoah Valley coincided with the diversification of farm, mill, and craft products and the promotion of slave-hiring.¹⁴⁰

In 1806, following a string of rebellions among free and enslaved Black communities, Virginia passed laws to make manumission more difficult and cumbersome. The statutes required formerly enslaved people to leave the state within one year of their release unless permission was granted by the state. In some cases, emancipated women were permitted to stay in Virginia if they had enslaved children or husbands. Laws also allowed the enslavement or re-enslavement of free Black residents who were delinquent on personal property taxes. After 1848, interstate travel restrictions prohibited free Black people who left the state, even for education, to return. Plantation owners who relied on an enslaved labor force feared that Northern states would influence Black residents and incite rebellions. Restrictions were imposed to keep free Black Virginians from having the same liberties as white Virginians.¹⁴¹ In the Shenandoah Valley, enslaved people comprised only

¹³⁶ Breen, "A Changing Labor Force and Race Relations in Virginia," 17.

¹³⁷ Hawkins, "Habitus and Ethnicity in the Upper South," 104, 111; Puglisi, *Diversity and Accommodation Essays on the Cultural Composition of the Virginia Frontier*, 164.

¹³⁸ Gavin Wright, "Slavery and American Agricultural History," *Agricultural History* 77, no. 4 (Autumn 2003), 541–543.

¹³⁹ Quoted in Wright, "Slavery and American Agricultural History," 541.

¹⁴⁰ Wright, "Slavery and American Agricultural History," 541.

¹⁴¹ Eslinger, "Free Black Residency in Two Antebellum Virginia Counties," 266–267; Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, 134.

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13.6 percent of the population in 1850 but 33.3 percent across the whole state, and free Black residents were about 4.4 percent of the population, compared to 3.8 percent in all of Virginia.¹⁴²

Shenandoah Valley Farms

Hiring out was pervasive across the Shenandoah Valley, with owners hiring out an estimated 6 to 34 percent of enslaved people through the nineteenth century. The height of wheat production in the mid-nineteenth century correlated with an increase in hiring out enslaved people.¹⁴³ This practice led to what historian Kathleen Bragdon coined a “kind of shadow economy,” where farmers profited not only from what they produced but also from the commodity of enslaved labor. Enslaved workers with additional skills, such as blacksmithing or carpentry, fetched a higher price when hiring out.¹⁴⁴ Most farmers in Frederick County who enslaved people enslaved only one to nine individuals, in contrast to the large plantations of the Tidewater. It was common to find farms where enslaved and free Black laborers worked side-by-side with white day laborers. Nearly all the major farms and plantations within the district used enslaved labor.¹⁴⁵

The Bowman family, who settled around Cedar Creek, operated middling plantations that relied on enslaved labor. Colonel George Bowman, who built **Long Meadow (contributing building)**, cultivated wheat and operated a mill using an enslaved workforce. In 1850, Bowman had enslaved 22 people (10 males and 12 females), according to the federal Slave Census. By 1860, the people enslaved by Bowman had increased to 32, ranging in age from 4 months to 64 years of age. They lived in “six slave houses” on his property, possibly near the **Overseer’s House (contributing building)**.¹⁴⁶ At **Fort Bowman (contributing building)** in 1850, George’s sister Mary Ann Hite and her husband, George Brinker, enslaved nine Black people aged 6 to 62 years, all but one of whom was enumerated as mulatto, suggesting they were of mixed ancestry.¹⁴⁷ Nellie “Mammie” Foster (1791–ca. 1890), who may have been born to one of George Bowman’s enslaved people at Fort Bowman, continued to serve the Bowmans after emancipation. She was possibly buried among other Bowman servants and slaves immediately outside the **Bowman Cemetery (contributing site)**. Her potential grave is unusual, in that it is a raised concrete crypt, whereas most burials of enslaved persons are unmarked or marked only with small fieldstones.

In 1860, Daniel Stickley, the owner of the **Daniel Stickley House (contributing building)** had four enslaved people (three males and one female aged 9 to 31 years old and possibly a single

¹⁴² John T. Shlebecker, “Farmers in the Lower Shenandoah Valley, 1850,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Oct 1971, Vo. 79, No. 4, 463.

¹⁴³ Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, 121–123.

¹⁴⁴ Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, 131.

¹⁴⁵ Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, 146–147.

¹⁴⁶ United States Bureau of the Census, Slave Schedules (hereafter US Census [Slave Schedules]), *Seventh Census of the United States (1850), Slave Schedules, Warren County, Virginia*, Sheet 6 (1850); US Census [Slave Schedules], *Eighth Census of the United States (1860), Slave Schedules, Warren County, Virginia*, Sheet 16 (1860).

¹⁴⁷ Roquey G. Jobes, Jr., *Cedar Creek Bowmans: A Virginia Pioneer’s Grandchildren* (Middletown, VA: Hite Family Association, 2009), 35, 46; US Census [Slave Schedules], *Seventh Census of the United States, Slave Schedules, Frederick County, Virginia*, 1850.

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family) and a single building to house them, possibly the **Stickley Workers' Dwelling (contributing building)**, on his property. Although his enslaved holdings were small, Daniel Stickley's accounts indicate that he hired out his enslaved labor force periodically and occasionally hired farm hands to supplement the enslaved labor.¹⁴⁸ In 1860, the Stickley household consisted of Daniel, his wife, their four children, three farm hands, a teacher, and a free mulatto nurse, Isaac Lupton (b. 1843). Lupton was still enumerated in the Stickley household during the 1870 federal census, this time as a farm hand, along with another black farm hand, Wiliby Thompson (b. 1797); a black domestic servant, Evaline Thompson (b. 1851); and a white farm hand. It seems likely that both Isaac Lupton and Evaline Thompson had both been enslaved, possibly by the Stickleys, due to their absence in earlier census records.¹⁴⁹

While neither the Bowmans nor the Stickleys recorded a description of housing for those they enslaved, other accounts from the Shenandoah Valley shed light on the material culture of enslaved people. In 1821, the agricultural periodical *American Farmer* published a letter from a wheat farmer in the Lower Shenandoah Valley who described his slaves' daily duties and living arrangements as follows:¹⁵⁰

My negro houses being constructed of hewn logs are very warm and comfortable, each of which is furnished with one of these stoves, notwithstanding the consumption of fuel is very great and expensive, particularly in the item of hauling, which is constant and laborious throughout the season of winter, but there is nevertheless a considerable saving in this mode compared with the wide, deep chimneys which generally prevail. Their breakfasts generally consist of bread, and milk or salted herring; their dinners of bacon and vegetables and they have meat for their suppers, all who have families being allowed the privilege of raising their own hogs, and all without distinction, poultry, without limitation.¹⁵¹

The farmer described, without going into extensive detail, the various employments that enslaved individuals undertook once their plantation work was completed. While the "considerable emolument" received by said individuals for this supplementary work was not defined, it positions enslaved individuals as contributing to and engaging with the local economy.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, 132; US Census [Slave Schedules], *Eighth Census of the United States (1860)*.

¹⁴⁹ US Census [Slave Schedules], *Eighth Census of the United States (1860)*; United States Bureau of the Census (hereafter US Census), *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870* (NARA microfilm publication M593, 1,761 rolls, 1870); US Census, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860* (NARA microfilm publication M653, 1,438 rolls, 1860).

¹⁵⁰ The unnamed farmer lived in Charlestown, which is in the northernmost part of the Shenandoah Valley and part of present-day West Virginia, and managed a 940-acre wheat farm with ten enslaved people. He commented that he "never hire for any purpose," which suggests his reliance on enslaved labor over seasonal day laborers. Quoted in *American Farmer*, "Virginia Husbandry," *American Farmer* 2, no. 51 (March 16, 1821), 401–403.

¹⁵¹ *American Farmer*, "Virginia Husbandry."

¹⁵² *American Farmer*, "Virginia Husbandry."

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Belle Grove Plantation

Belle Grove Plantation (contributing site) was more akin to Tidewater plantations than the surrounding mixed agriculture farms in the district, in that it grew a limited number of crops, rather than a wide variety. Its owner, Isaac Hite Jr. (1758–1836), was raised in an enslaving family and established his plantation with that same structure. He inherited enslaved people from his father and acquired more by purchase or deed. His wife, Nelly Madison (1760–1802), sister of future president James Madison Jr. (1751–1836), received 15 enslaved people from Montpelier, the estate of her father, James Madison Sr. (1723–1801), as a marriage gift in 1783. These 15 people—Jemmy, Jerry, Milly, and Sally; Eliza and her children Joanna, Dianna, Demas, Pinder, and Webster; and Truelove and her children Peggy, Priscilla, Henry, and Katey—were then forcibly relocated to Belle Grove. By 1785, the Hites acquired two more enslaved men, Ned and Primus, and in 1787 they were taxed for 23 enslaved people.¹⁵³ The number of individuals enslaved at Belle Grove continued to increase by natural accretion and acquisition from family members—one from Hite’s sister in 1789, four from a cousin in 1791, and nine from his father in 1795. By that year, his plantation had over 50 enslaved people; fifteen years later, this number had doubled.¹⁵⁴

By 1800, 33 children had been born into slavery at the plantation. When Nelly’s father died in 1801, his estate included 108 enslaved persons, who were distributed among his widow and surviving children; 12 persons went to Isaac Hite.¹⁵⁵ In 1820, Isaac Hite Jr. recorded 103 enslaved people, some of whom were skilled craftspeople—blacksmiths, wood workers, masons, leather workers, millers, weavers, and seamstresses. Eventually, the Hites’ prosperity as plantation owners began to wane. Isaac Hite Jr.’s widow (his second wife, Ann Tunstall Maury Hite [1782–1851]) inherited a fraction of the enslaved people that had been held by her husband, a number which continued to dwindle as recorded with the rest of her property in 1840.¹⁵⁶

The people enslaved by the Hites lived in a cluster of earthfast houses and buildings [REDACTED] represented by the **Belle Grove Enslaved Quarter (Quarter Site B) (contributing site)**.¹⁵⁷ [REDACTED] set aside for them as the **Belle Grove Enslaved Burial Ground (contributing site)**. Near the south quarters was the stone **Plantation Office and Store (contributing building)**, identified as an “overseer’s quarter” on an 1874 abstracted Civil War map. Large plantations often hired resident tenants or overseers to facilitate farm operations over hundreds of acres, particularly where landholdings were spread across several tracts or large distances. The overseer or tenant farmer managed hired day laborers or enslaved people, who also worked in the industries such as milling that occurred on many of

¹⁵³ Matthew Clark Greer, *Assembling Enslaved Lives: Labor, Consumption, and Landscapes in the Northern Shenandoah Valley*, PhD diss. (Syracuse University, August 2022).

¹⁵⁴ Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, 115–118; Roquey G. Jobs Jr., *Cedar Creek Bowmans: A Virginia Pioneer’s Grandchildren*, (Middletown, VA: Hite Family Association, 2009), 104, 107, 119.

¹⁵⁵ James Madison, *copy of James Madison’s Will*, 1787, manuscript/mixed material, <https://www.loc.gov/item/mjm022933/>.

¹⁵⁶ Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, 118–120.

¹⁵⁷ Jobs, *Cedar Creek Bowmans*, 104, 107, 119.

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the Valley's largest plantations. Hite may have used enslaved and free Black labor in his plantation's blacksmith shop, distillery, and mills. Enslaved people occupied other buildings and structures on Belle Grove Plantation to various degrees. The west wing of the **Belle Grove Manor House (contributing building)** had service areas above a large kitchen in the basement level.¹⁵⁸

Benjamin and John Cooley purchased Belle Grove Plantation in 1860 and continued to rely on enslaved labor. In 1860, the Cooleys had six enslaved people: a 15-year-old boy, a 32-year-old mother named Harriet Robinson, and Harriet's four children, aged two to nine. The Cooleys also employed Harriet's husband, a 57-year-old free Black laborer named Lewis (Louis) Robinson, and two young free Black farm laborers, Samuel Thompson and James Roberson. The men worked alongside white day laborers who also resided on the plantation.¹⁵⁹

Free Black Residents

By the early nineteenth century, a great number of free Black people resided in the Lower Shenandoah Valley, most involved in agriculture.¹⁶⁰ Frederick County had the greatest number (453) of free Black residents compared to other counties in western Virginia, such as Washington County (386), Berkeley County (203), and Botetourt County (135).¹⁶¹ Some free Black residents may have been among the nearly 500 formerly enslaved persons who had been at various plantations owned by enslaver Robert Carter III.¹⁶² Registers of free Black individuals from the early nineteenth century document the movement of emancipated former enslaved people through the region. At least one of Carter's formerly enslaved persons, Baily Boatswain (b. 1781), resided in Frederick County before traveling up the Valley to Augusta County.¹⁶³ In the Lower Shenandoah Valley, the largest concentrations of free Black residents were found in cities and towns. Front Royal, Winchester, and most significantly Stephens City (all outside the district) were centers of nineteenth-century Black culture in the region. Several ethnic neighborhoods developed in and around cities in the region, such as Josephine City in Berryville. Stephens City had the

¹⁵⁸ Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, 102, 114–115; Geier and Tinkham, *Belle Grove Plantation and Harmony Hall*, 182.

¹⁵⁹ US Census [Slave Schedules], *Eighth Census of the United States (1860)*; Jobes, *Cedar Creek Bowmans*, 108; US Census, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*.

¹⁶⁰ Further information about the movement and lives of free Black people in Virginia can be gathered from the Registers of Free Negroes, which were recorded by county clerks from 1793 through the Civil War. Several volumes from various counties are available through the Virginia State Library system. An indexing project has commenced to transcribe the records and make them available to the public. Records from Warren, Shenandoah, and Frederick counties were not yet available at the time this nomination was prepared but may provide important information about the free Black population in the district (Library of Virginia, <https://www.fromthepage.com/lva/virginia-untold-free-registers-indexing-set>).

¹⁶¹ Robert P. Stuckert, "Free Black Populations of the Southern Appalachian Mountains," *Journal of Black Studies* 23, no. 3 (March 1993), 359, 361.

¹⁶² Carter issued a Deed of Gift in 1791 that gradually emancipated all his enslaved persons on a set schedule based on their age on a particular date. John Barden and *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, "Robert Carter (1728–1804)," 2020, <https://encyclopediaofvirginia.org/entries/carter-robert-1728-1804/>, accessed November 2023.

¹⁶³ Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, 6; Augusta County, *A Register of Free Negroes for Augusta County Court*, 1810, On file, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA.

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largest percentage of free Blacks in the region, many of whom lived in Freetown. Also referred to as “Crossroads,” Freetown was a Black community that developed east of Stephens City in the late 1850s. It consisted of 1-acre lots purchased by free Black and emancipated formerly enslaved people.¹⁶⁴

In 1850, the US Census district of Middletown recorded three free Black households and five free Black females residing in white households. The free Black households all rented their houses and the members primarily worked as laborers or farm hands. Fanny Taylor headed a household consisting of six other individuals, likely her children, including a 23-year-old daughter and 15-year-old son, but no adult men. The Spencer and Robinson households were multigenerational. Abraham Spencer’s household included his wife and a daughter, his mother-in-law, possibly a sister-in-law, and her two children. Black laborer Monday Robinson lived with nine family members aged 3 to 52 years, indicating that some were likely his children and grandchildren. Free Black residents in Middletown over the age of 18 were predominantly female, which could indicate relationships between free and enslaved populations or transient working conditions for free Black men. In rural places, free Black residents primarily worked as day laborers on large and middling farms, although many worked as skilled artisans and craftsmen.¹⁶⁵ On the eve of the Civil War, the 1860 census recorded 25 free Black residents in Middletown, most of whom lived in households with white heads of household, often farmers.¹⁶⁶

Civil War, 1861–1865

As the Federal army pushed its way into Virginia in the early years of the Civil War, enslaved residents of the area, knowing that Confederate soldiers would not grant them freedom, were disappointed to learn that neither would the Federal army. In the first half of 1861, Pennsylvania General Robert Patterson ordered his men to do everything possible to prevent enslaved uprisings or escape to the Federal line. In May 1861, Confederate soldiers foiled a potential enslaved uprising near Winchester that was orchestrated by free and enslaved Black people and one white man from Massachusetts. It wasn’t until 1862, when Massachusetts abolitionist General Nathaniel Banks (1816–1894) occupied the Shenandoah Valley and encouraged enslaved people to run away, that significant movement of enslaved or formerly enslaved persons occurred.¹⁶⁷

However, many enslaved people who were skeptical of the Federal soldiers’ perceived benevolence opted to remain on their enslavers’ plantations. To convince them to leave, Federal soldiers spread rumors that Stonewall Jackson, making his way north through the Shenandoah Valley, would murder any enslaved person he came across. Consequently, in May 1862, freedom-seeking enslaved people who had escaped to asylum in the Federal-held territory raced to keep up

¹⁶⁴ Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, 10, 136.

¹⁶⁵ US Census, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (NARA microfilm publication M432, 1009 rolls, 1850); Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, 6.

¹⁶⁶ US Census, *Eight Census of the United States, 1860* (NARA microfilm publication M653, 1,438 rolls, 1860).

¹⁶⁷ Jonathan Noyalas, “Uncertain Freedom: The African Americans’ Civil War in the Shenandoah,” undated manuscript, Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP Archives, Middletown, VA.

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with the withdrawing army. Although some escaped to freedom, many did not and were impressed into the Confederate army or forced back into bondage by their enslavers. Free Black people were also captured by the Confederates and sold into enslavement.¹⁶⁸ Those who were impressed were often sent to Richmond to assist in shoring up the capital's defenses. In late 1862, while on a foraging expedition, members of the 60th New York offered to help an enslaved man escape from bondage on the Daniel Stickley Farm, but the man refused for fear of the consequences if he did not succeed.¹⁶⁹ These fears included brutal physical punishments and being sold away from their families and community.

Enslaved and free Black residents of the area made excellent informants for the Federal army, due in large part to their essential invisibility to the Confederate army. As a result of a general underestimation of the intelligence of Black people, Confederate soldiers and their sympathizers found themselves at a disadvantage as Federal troops learned of the movement of Confederate units and allowed Black informants to move essentially unhindered along the roads of the Shenandoah Valley. Black women often took in washing or mending for Federal soldiers or cooked and baked fresh food for them. Black informants might also act as something of a double agent, giving Federal troops accurate information about troop movement and telling believable, but inaccurate, stories about the Federal troops to the Confederate camps. Black people also served as scouts or guided Federal soldiers to their camps or other areas when they could not find their way on the unfamiliar terrain.¹⁷⁰

Toward the end of December 1862, tensions began to rise among white enslavers as January 1, 1863, approached, and with it, the enactment of the Emancipation Proclamation issued by President Abraham Lincoln on September 22, 1862. Some enslaved people left their enslavers after the new year began, while others remained. US Army General Robert H. Milroy, headquartered in Winchester, intended to enforce the proclamation but awaited its final version, which outlined exemptions. As a result, some enslavers in the area believed it would not be enacted and that Lincoln lacked the will to enforce it. However, the final text was printed in the local newspapers by January 4, and Milroy's troops posted "Freedom to Slaves" broadsides throughout the area on January 5 and went door to door announcing the new law.¹⁷¹

In April 1864, the 19th United States Colored Troops (USCT) went to the Shenandoah Valley on an unsuccessful recruiting mission, adding only two soldiers to their ranks. Many Black men in the Shenandoah Valley hid for fear of what might happen to them if they enlisted in the Federal army and were subsequently captured in battle. In 1863, the Confederate States of America's Congress had threatened to enslave any Black soldiers who were captured, which, along with

¹⁶⁸ Noyalas, "Uncertain Freedom."

¹⁶⁹ Noyalas, "Uncertain Freedom." This story appears multiple times in various sources, some of which indicate that the individual approached by the soldiers was a child. In those accounts, the troops later met an enslaved man from the same farm who agreed to go with the soldiers and bring the child but only after dark. Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 135.

¹⁷⁰ Broomall, 'The Stars Fought From Heaven,' 107–108, 121.

¹⁷¹ Jonathan Noyalas, *Slavery and Freedom in the Shenandoah Valley* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2021), 89–90.

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stories about Black captive soldiers being treated much more harshly than white captives, likely led to the reticence of some Black men to enlist.¹⁷²

An account of the October 1864 Battle of Cedar Creek, as told by a member of a free Black family residing at Belle Grove, likely named Lucy Walker, is recorded in Clifton Johnson's 1915 *Battleground Adventures: The Stories of Dwellers on the Scenes of Conflict in Some of the Most Notable Battles of the War*. The unnamed informant, referred to as "The Colored Woman at Headquarters," recounts that some enslaved people made their way north, while others were taken by their enslavers out of the route of the armies, presumably to prevent their leaving with the passing troops, leaving only a small number of elderly enslaved people to watch over and maintain the property.¹⁷³ When Belle Grove was General Sheridan's headquarters, tents were scattered across the plantation, and soldiers were in and out of the woman's cabin, including a group of scouts who slept there. During the height of the battle, she, and other free and enslaved Blacks on the property, hid in the basement of Belle Grove until the battle was over.¹⁷⁴

Reconstruction, 1865–1877

After the Civil War, the Shenandoah Valley's large plantations such as Belle Grove lost their enslaved workforce and struggled in the economic depression that followed. Scottish farmer James M. Smallie and his family occupied Belle Grove. Census records do not indicate any Black tenants, farm hands, or domestic help at the plantation. Smallie may have hired white or Black laborers from the surrounding area for seasonal work. In general, the region did not experience an out-migration of Black residents following the war, but the distribution of these residents shifted from rural to urban.¹⁷⁵

In the aftermath of the Confederate surrender at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865, and subsequent surrenders of Confederate forces through the following summer, more than 100 privately financed organizations descended on the South to provide aid to poor white and newly freed Black residents. The War Department established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands¹⁷⁶ (known as the Freedmen's Bureau) to help freedmen become self-sufficient in the new economy. Despite the efforts of the Democratic Party to derail the activities of the Freedmen's Bureau to keep the newly emancipated Black citizens subjugated under the law, the

¹⁷² Peter Dalton, "The Long Journey to Freedom," *Shenandoah Valley's Civil War*, <https://shenandoahcivilwarhistory.blog/2021/11/29/the-long-journey-to-freedom/>, accessed April 2023.

¹⁷³ Clifton Johnson, *Battleground Adventures: The Stories of Dwellers on the Scenes of Conflict in Some of the Most Notable Battles of the Civil War* (Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press, 1915), 392–393. Staff at Belle Grove have undertaken archival research to determine the name of Johnson's informant. By using census data and what is known about the property, staff have determined that it was likely Lucy Walker who provided the account; Belle Grove, "Lucy Walker," <https://virtual.bellegrove.org/lucy-walker/>, accessed November 2023.

¹⁷⁴ Johnson, *Battleground Adventures*, 394–395.

¹⁷⁵ US Census, *Ninth Census of the United States, 1880*; J. M. Lathrop and A. W. Dayton, *Atlas of Frederick County, Virginia* (Philadelphia, PA: Lathrop, 1885).

¹⁷⁶ Refugees referred to poor white people, freedmen were freed Black people, and abandoned lands referred to property formerly owned by white Southerners that was resettled by former enslaved people.

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Bureau ran several successful programs. It distributed food, provided medical care at 40 hospitals, and set up more than 4,000 schools offering instruction at elementary through collegiate levels, predominantly to formerly enslaved Blacks. Schools were housed in churches, abandoned houses, former military buildings, and purpose-built rudimentary schoolhouses. Instructors taught scripture, typical school topics such as reading and writing, and practical skills, including household management.¹⁷⁷

The Shenandoah Valley was within the Bureau's Sixth District in Virginia originally and later in the Ninth District, headquartered in nearby Winchester and partially administered by smaller offices in Woodstock and Front Royal. The Freedmen's Bureau distributed lands in the Shenandoah Valley that were considered abandoned, because property taxes on them had not been paid. While free of bondage, the Black population was not free from the servile status imposed on them by white residents. With the economic depression that ravaged the South after the Civil War, white and Black farm laborers in the Valley competed for employment. In July 1865, a Freedmen's Bureau was established in Staunton, where it remained briefly before moving to a more convenient location in Winchester in December 1865 to serve the urban and rural Black community. While this new Bureau office attracted many formerly enslaved people to settle nearby, some remained on the farms where they had been enslaved and worked as farm hands or employed their skills locally. The Black community, with the help of the Freedmen's Bureau, took an active role in establishing schools for their children. In July 1866, a circular issued by the Richmond office of the Bureau reported that Middletown Freedmen had purchased an unfinished church building (outside the district) to use as a schoolhouse.¹⁷⁸

Despite the efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau, Black residents faced innumerable challenges, including wages withheld by employers, which the Bureau could not remedy because the predominantly white courts often did not wish to take up the cause. Forced to find new jobs to keep their families housed and fed, the Black residents were often paid two-thirds of what their white counterparts were paid and were helpless to do anything about it.¹⁷⁹ After the passage of a Federal bill on July 25, 1868, the Freedmen's Bureau suspended nearly all operations except those related to education and freedmen's claims. Most of the education activities ended by mid-1870, and all bureau activities ended in March 1871 due to a lack of federal appropriations.¹⁸⁰ That same year, the Southern Claims Commission was established to evaluate compensation claims from Southern US Army supporters, including Black residents, some of whom had been enslaved during the war and did what they could to support the then Federal army. The claims from Black residents included compensation for nursing Federal army soldiers and officers following a battle, the loss of food and supplies to Federal troops, and the use of their homes as hospitals or other quarters.

¹⁷⁷ James Rhoads, Letter to Captain E. W. Coffin, Asst. Superintendent of Negro Affairs, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865 (NARA Microfilm publication M1913, on file, College Park, MD: National Archives and Records Administration).

¹⁷⁸ Bragdon, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, 9, 164–165, 167.

¹⁷⁹ Edward L. Ayers, *The Thin Light of Freedom: The Civil War and Emancipation in the Heart of America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2017), 441–442.

¹⁸⁰ William Troots, "The Freedmen's Bureau," Economic History Association, <https://eh.net/encyclopedia/the-freedmens-bureau/>, accessed April 2023.

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One such claim was made by James Foster, who had been enslaved by a man living just outside the park boundary at Mount Pleasant, but who may have lived near the mill south of the Bowman-Hite farm and did paid labor at the Bowman-Hite farm. Foster appears to have lost property to Federal soldiers.¹⁸¹

The presence of the Freedmen's Bureau and other organizations established to support newly freed Black residents, coupled with the suffrage and election to office of Black men, led to increased agitation among former Confederate soldiers and supporters who refused to acknowledge Black freedom. These activities spawned the creation of white paramilitary groups like the Ku Klux Klan and harassment and physical attacks on Black residents, including women and children, and white supporters and social workers. Despite this, Black residents sought opportunities, including education and training, to better their lives. Those who could find jobs were often taken advantage of, with employers paying unfair wages for labor codified in contracts that many may have been unable to read.¹⁸²

Southern agriculture declined through the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century and corresponded roughly with a decline in the Black population, which dwindled to only a few families in the district by 1920. Black male residents were employed in farm labor, either on their own farm or another property, while women often worked as housekeepers or cooks for white families. Newspapers that embraced a mythologized past published articles suggesting that enslaved people had been well treated and never whipped or mistreated in any way and that all enslavers had been good people. This narrative was adopted nationally in the midst of the enactment of Jim Crow laws in the South and ordinances and traditions in the North that served to subjugate and segregate Black residents into the mid-twentieth century and beyond.¹⁸³

CRITERION A – OTHER: COMMEMORATION

Commemorative activities at Cedar Creek in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were influenced by nationwide patriotic movements and federal initiatives and led by private regional organizations, municipalities, or the state commissions. The unprecedented scale of the Civil War dramatically changed and expanded commemorative practices in the United States. Immediately after the war, Americans were occupied primarily with grieving for the estimated 620,000 who died. Especially in the South, people needed to come to terms with the magnitude of the death, defeat, and devastation that surrounded them. On a practical level, their first concern was collecting

¹⁸¹ Ayers, *Thin Light of Freedom*, 472–473; U.S. Southern Claims Commission, Allowed Claims 1871–1880. Roll 40, Target 13: Shenandoah County, Virginia – James H. Foster.

¹⁸² Broomall, *'The Stars Fought From Heaven,'* 124, 126–128.

¹⁸³ Broomall, *'The Stars Fought from Heaven,'* 134.

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the corpses that scattered the landscape and providing them with decent burials.¹⁸⁴ The federal government quickly mobilized to establish Winchester National Cemetery for handling the US Army dead, but the responsibility for burying the Confederate soldiers fell primarily to local residents or soldiers' families, who buried their dead in town, churchyard, and family cemeteries throughout the South. Women's memorial organizations and other concerned groups and individuals assisted greatly with this arduous process. The Winchester Ladies Memorial Association of Winchester, Virginia, organized in 1866 to appropriately bury the fallen soldiers at Cedar Creek and Fisher's Hill in the newly created Stonewall Cemetery in Winchester. As early as 1866, the public's interest in honoring the dead led to a national sentiment to commemorate the historic events of the war. Towns throughout the North and South quickly erected simple monuments, typically as tributes to individual soldiers. Reunion, civic, and commemorative groups soon joined in the movement, leading to systematic and regional efforts to decorate battlefield sites.¹⁸⁵

The end of the Reconstruction Era (ca. 1877) coincided with the centennial anniversary of the American Revolution and kicked off a period of renewed patriotic and nationalistic fervor.¹⁸⁶ Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, local celebrations throughout the North and South marked the anniversaries of important battles and events from the Revolutionary and Civil wars. These activities often consisted of gatherings of remembrance accompanied by speeches, parades, lectures, and battlefield reenactments. The immediacy of the Civil War brought a heightened sense of sacrifice and contributed to the creation of a new "cult of the veteran." Local and state veterans'

¹⁸⁴ Stephen A. Olausen, Laura J. Kline, Kristen Heitert, and Gretchen Pineo, *National Register Nomination: Richmond National Battlefield Park*, (Richmond, VA, NRIS 66000836, 2016), 80–81; Caroline E. Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Caroline E. Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013); John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); *Daily Richmond Whig*, "New National Cemetery," April 30, 1866, 2.

¹⁸⁵ Olausen, Kline, Heitert, and Pineo, *National Register Nomination: Richmond National Battlefield Park*, 82; Kirk Savage, *History, Memory, and Monuments: An Overview of the Scholarly Literature on Commemoration* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, n.d.); Kathryn Allamong Jacob, *Testament to Union: Civil War Monuments in Washington, DC* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

¹⁸⁶ The end of Reconstruction also ushered in the Jim Crow era of racial discrimination and segregation, as white Southerners attempted to recast the Civil War as a patriotic struggle for states' rights rather than a fight over slavery. The Compromise of 1877, in which Southern Democrats accepted the election of Republican Rutherford B. Hayes as President in exchange for less federal intervention in Southern politics, enabled White Southerners to revoke many of the rights that had been granted to African Americans immediately after the war. After 1877, legislative policies and social customs based on the concept of "separate but equal" proliferated throughout the country but especially in the South, as majority-white Northern and Southern politicians increasingly favored white solidarity over Black civil rights. The US Supreme Court's landmark *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision of 1896 enshrined segregation law for decades. Thus, the development of narratives by whites to commemorate the Civil War included the suppression of other narratives related to the end of slavery and shifted the focus away from any improvement of African American conditions. Tsahai Tafari, *Presidents and Their Role in Civil Rights for African Americans*, 2002, http://www.pbs.org/wnet/jimcrow/struggle_president.html, accessed April 2023; Susan Cianci Salvatore, Matt Garcia, Alton Hornsby Jr., Steven Lawson, and Theresa Mah, *Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations. A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Washington, DC: The National Historic Landmarks Program, Cultural Resources, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 2009), 9–14.

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groups (and women's auxiliaries), as well as larger, more broadly based veterans' associations that emerged after the war in Northern and Southern states, played a critical role in promoting the memory of the common soldier. By the late 1870s, the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), founded in 1866 in Springfield, Illinois, became the most influential of the US Army veterans' associations. These organizations initiated reunions, usually held on the anniversary of a particular battle or on Decoration Day (Memorial Day) and some, like the Mulligan Post in Winchester, Virginia, cared for the Winchester National Cemetery. Confederate veterans organized more slowly, primarily because of the extremely difficult conditions in the postwar South. The Association of the Army of Northern Virginia was established in 1870, five years after the war, followed by others, including the United Confederate Veterans, established in 1889 and the Sons of Confederate Veterans organized in 1896. Women's patriotic groups such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), founded in Tennessee in 1894, supported the veterans' organizations and led efforts to erect Confederate monuments. The Virginia division of the UDC formed in 1895; by 1897, chapters existed in Richmond, Lynchburg, Fredericksburg, Appomattox, Petersburg, and Winchester.¹⁸⁷

Commemorative activity at the Cedar Creek Battlefield began as early as September 1883, when veterans of the 14th New Hampshire regiment toured the Shenandoah Valley and camped at various sites, including Cedar Creek.¹⁸⁸ On September 21, 1885, over 300 veterans from New England and their families gathered to dedicate the **8th Vermont Infantry Monument (contributing object)**. The event was part of a weeklong tour for US Army veterans that involved a special train into Winchester and a campsite established near the city.¹⁸⁹ Captain S. E. Howard, General Stephen Thomas, and other veterans of the Battle of Cedar Creek gave speeches at the dedication ceremony. The 8th Vermont Infantry's Colonel Herbert E. Hill (1845–1892) of Somerville, Massachusetts, donated the monument. Hill owned a successful Boston cotton firm, Hill & Cutler, and contributed to the movement to establish Civil War monuments. He served on the GAR's council of administration as vice commander, department officer, and national vice commander. In addition to the monument at Cedar Creek, Hill donated a memorial battery (1884, not extant) at Central Hill in Somerville, Massachusetts, and a monument (1885) at the battlefield in Winchester, Virginia.¹⁹⁰

State and municipal governments increasingly supported commemorative projects initiated by US Army veterans' organizations in the early twentieth century. The City of Poughkeepsie, New York, commemorated the highly regarded 128th New York Infantry Regiment with the installation of two

¹⁸⁷ Olausen, Kline, Heitert, and Pineo, *National Register Nomination: Richmond National Battlefield Park*, 82; Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past*; Richard West Sellars, *Pilgrim Places: Civil War Battlefields, Historic Preservation, and America's First National Military Parks, 1863–1900* (Fort Washington, PA: Eastern National, 2005).

¹⁸⁸ *Valley Virginian*, [Untitled], *The Valley Virginian* (Staunton, Virginia), September 27, 1883, 1.

¹⁸⁹ *Norfolk Weekly Landmark*, "The New England Veterans," *The Norfolk Weekly Landmark*, September 24, 1885, 1; *Portland Daily Press*, "New England Veterans in Virginia," *Portland Daily Press*, September 16, 1885, 1.

¹⁹⁰ *Boston Evening Transcript*, "Colonel Herbert E. Hill," *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 9, 1892, 8; *Boston Evening Transcript*, "Somerville," *Boston Evening Transcript*, July 14, 1884, 1. The monument in Winchester was later moved to the Winchester National Cemetery.

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monuments: the **128th New York Infantry Regiment Monument (contributing object)** on the Cedar Creek Battlefield, dedicated on October 19, 1907, and a monument in Poughkeepsie's Reservoir Square, dedicated in the spring of 1908.¹⁹¹ Newspaperman Derrick Brown (1838–1914) led the efforts to erect the monuments as president of the Regimental Association, a veterans organization formed on September 6, 1887, at the inaugural reunion of the New York 128th Regiment in Hudson, New York. Brown successfully solicited a \$1,000 appropriation from the Poughkeepsie Board of Supervisors and \$2,090 in donations.¹⁹² He reported after the construction of the regiment's monument at Cedar Creek, which cost \$1,000: "It is the only considerable stone in that field and makes the 128th Regiment the initiator in erecting monuments along that line of battle."¹⁹³

In September 1920, Mary Dodson Ramseur, the only child of Confederate General Stephen Dodson Ramseur, unveiled a monument to her father at the entrance to Belle Grove Plantation, where he had been mortally wounded and subsequently died. The **Stephen D. Ramseur Monument (contributing object)** was installed by the North Carolina Historical Commission (NCHC) and the North Carolina division of the UDC (NC UDC). The NCHC was established in 1903 and initially functioned as a state archival agency.¹⁹⁴ In 1913, the North Carolina General Assembly passed legislation enabling 10 counties to appropriate funds for Confederate monuments, and the NCHC offered to help counties select monuments that would stimulate state pride and "...[cultivate] the tastes of the communities in which they [were] to be erected."¹⁹⁵ The agency also partnered with UDC chapters to erect large monuments at historic Civil War sites throughout the country, including the Ramseur Monument at Cedar Creek.¹⁹⁶ Colonel Peter H. Mayo of Richmond, Virginia, presented the monument's polished granite pillar, and Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels sent the cannon balls for the top of the pillar from the Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Navy Yard. Speakers at the dedication ceremony, attended by the NC UDC, included Winchester City Solicitor Philip Williams, Secretary of State J. Bryan Grimes, North Carolina Representative Charles M. Stedman, and US Senator Henry A. du Pont of Delaware. The NCHC

¹⁹¹ Poughkeepsie's monument was a life-size marble figure that rose over 28 feet in height. *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle*, "To Be Dedicated on Memorial Day," *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle*, November 23, 1907, 5.

¹⁹² David Henry Hanaburgh, *History of the One Hundred and Twenty-Eighth Regiment: New York Volunteers (U.S. Infantry) in the Late Civil War* (Poughkeepsie, NY: Enterprise Publishing Company, 1894), 210–213; *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle*, "To Be Dedicated on Memorial Day"; *Daily Star*, "Virginia News," *The Daily Star* (Fredericksburg, VA), October 16, 1907.

¹⁹³ Quoted in *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle*, "To Be Dedicated on Memorial Day."

¹⁹⁴ William S. Powell, (ed.), "Historical Commission," *Encyclopedia of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

¹⁹⁵ Quoted in *Western Sentinel*, "Confederate Monuments," *The Western Sentinel* (Winston-Salem, NC), July 22, 1913, 4; North Carolina Historical Commission (hereafter NCHC), *The North Carolina Historical Commission: Forty Years of Public Service, 1903–1943* (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1942), 36–37.

¹⁹⁶ The NCHC also built Civil War monuments at Southwest Creek Battlefield near Kinston, NC, with the A. M. Waddell Chapter; Aversboro battlefield with the Chicora Chapter; Bentonville battlefield with the NC UDC; the Fayetteville arsenal with the J. E. R. Stuart Chapter; and the courthouse square in Halifax, VA, with the Halifax Chapter. NCHC, *The North Carolina Historical Commission*, 103–105; Mrs. Henry Armand London, *History of the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1895–1934* (Raleigh, NC: United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1934).

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and the NC UDC installed a similar monument to Brigadier General James Johnston Pettigrew near the Boyd House in Bunker Hill, West Virginia.¹⁹⁷

The Battlefield Markers Association Western Division (BMA Western Division), an organization modeled on the Battlefield Markers Association (BMA) of Richmond, Virginia, erected the **Middletown Battlefield Tablet (contributing object)** at Cedar Creek in 1926. Historian Douglas Southall Freeman (1886–1953) and J. Ambler Johnston (1885–1974) had founded the BMA in Richmond in April 1924 after leading Rotary Club automobile tours of the Richmond battlefields in the early 1920s. Battlefield tourism emerged as a departure from the large reunion gatherings attended by war veterans, and roadside stops and tour roads served later generations who traveled by automobile.¹⁹⁸ From 1925 to 1928, the BMA embarked on the first systematic project to identify Civil War sites with commemorative markers and erected roadside markers throughout the Richmond area. Each marker consisted of a bronze plaque embossed with a short narrative and mounted on an angled ashlar stone plinth. The sites chosen for commemoration were all associated with Confederate troops and events, and the text of the inscriptions reflected the prevalent Civil War historiography of the 1920s, which emphasized the common stories of valor and heroism in combat rather than the divisive issues of slavery and race. The BMA Western Division was created in September 1925 as a separate organization with a similar mission and built 25 similar markers at locations from Bull Run to Appomattox and throughout the Shenandoah Valley.¹⁹⁹ The Middletown Battlefield Tablet, on the north side of Valley Pike near Belle Grove, was dedicated on October 19, 1926, following the unveiling of one at Fisher's Hill in Strasburg, Virginia. The Stover Camp Chapter of the UDC assisted the BMA Western Division at the dedication.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ *Roanoke Times*, "Unveil Monument to Major-General S. Dodson Ramseur," *Roanoke Times*, September 17, 1920, 8; *World News*, "Two Memorials to be Unveiled," *World News* (Roanoke, Virginia), September 13, 1920, 15.

¹⁹⁸ Ann Hunter McLean, *Unveiling the Lost Cause: A Study of Monuments to the Civil War Memory in Richmond, Virginia, and Vicinity* (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 1998), 178.

¹⁹⁹ The battlefields commemorated with BMA Western Division markers were the Battlefield of Bull Run (moved and base replaced), First Battle of Kernstown, Rude's Hill, Battle of McDowell, Battle of Front Royal, First Battle of Winchester (not extant), Cross Keys Battlefield, Port Republic Battlefield (moved and base replaced), Battle of Cedar Mountain, Second Battle of Bull Run (moved and base replaced), Battle of Fredericksburg, Battle of Chancellorsville (not extant), Battle of Salem Church, Battle of Brandy Station, Second Battle of Winchester, Battle of the Wilderness, Battle of Spotsylvania, Battle of New Market, Piedmont Battlefield, Battle of Trevilians, Battle of Fishers Hill, and Appomattox. Two commemorative markers were erected for General Turner Ashby of Fauquier County and by the Maplewood Memorial Association for the Confederate soldiers of North Carolina and Georgia. Historical Marker Database (HMdb), Battlefield Markers Association Historical Markers, online database, <https://www.hmdb.org/results.asp?Search=Series&SeriesID=74>, accessed March 2023.

²⁰⁰ Olausen, Kline, Heitert, and Pineo, *National Register Nomination: Richmond National Battlefield Park*, 88–90; Janney, *Remembering the Civil War*, 302; Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh (eds.), *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 45; David Johnson, "Douglas Southall Freeman (1886–1953)," in *Encyclopedia Virginia* (Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 2014); Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, "J. Ambler Johnston Papers," Ms1974-012, Special Collections (Blacksburg, VA: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 2015); McLean, *Unveiling the Lost Cause*, 176–177; Richmond Battlefields Association, "Virginia's Early Battlefield Markers," *On Richmond's Front Line: Richmond Battlefields Association Official Newsletter* 9, no. 2 (Summer 2010); John T. Willett, *A History of Richmond National Battlefield Park* (Atlanta, GA: National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, 1956), 27–28.

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Public and private funding for monuments and markers largely disappeared during the Great Depression, (1929–1939) and no commemorative objects were installed at Cedar Creek between 1926 and 1985. Population growth and its associated development after 1950 threatened the Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove Plantation and prompted the formation of the NHP under the NPS's partner-park model in 2002. Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP's management focuses on the conservation of the battlefield, plantation, and agricultural resources. Recent commemorative objects are privately funded and placed along roadsides rather than within the federally held battlefield lands.

CRITERION A – AGRICULTURE (1720–1925)

The Shenandoah Valley was settled and developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for the purposes of agriculture and reigned as the region's "breadbasket" until railroads reached the Midwest farmlands. Resources that contribute to the district's agricultural significance consist of manor and farmhouses and their dependencies, such as housing for tenant farmers and enslaved people and icehouses, kitchens, smokehouses, root cellars, cemeteries, barns and sheds, walls and fences, and landscapes.

European Exploration and Settlement, 1720–1834

Late Woodland communities had largely departed the region by the mid-1600s for reasons that do not yet have academic and community consensus. It is likely that they may have been part of ancestral Siouan and Iroquoian cultural and linguistic groups, and the park had begun an ongoing cultural affiliation study in progress to identify connections to modern Tribal nations and affiliated groups. Before European exploration in the region (see **Criterion D**), Native Americans established a network of regional paths anchored on a southwest–northeast route colloquially known as the Great Warriors' Path that stretched between the Potomac River and North Carolina. The Great Wagon Road largely supplanted the Great Warriors' Path in the eighteenth century and became the basis for Valley Pike in the nineteenth century, which became US Route 11 in the twentieth century.²⁰¹ Counties, county seats, and small towns were established in the region during the mid-eighteenth century, including Frederick County in 1744 and the town of Middletown in 1767. Towns provided trade for local consumption and provisions for travelers on the Great Wagon Road but were not involved in inter-regional trade. Farmers and mill owners brought their goods directly to markets at port cities.²⁰²

Beginning in the 1720s, English authorities granted large tracts of the Valley to speculators and investors who in return had to establish settlers on the land within a certain time period.²⁰³

²⁰¹ Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 7, 14; Warren Hofstra, "Colonial Road," in *The Great Valley Road of Virginia*, ed. Warren R. Hofstra and Karl Raitz (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 80.

²⁰² Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 22–23.

²⁰³ Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 17–18; Karl Raitz, "The Lay of the Land," in *The Great Valley Road of Virginia: Shenandoah Landscapes from Prehistory to the Present*, ed. Warren R. Hofstra and Karl B. Raitz (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 44.

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Movement through the Shenandoah Valley was impeded by the rugged ridgelines to the west and east, which could be easily crossed only at wind or water gaps. As a result, settlers arrived primarily from the northeast and ascended the Valley, following the Shenandoah River. The first European settlers, who arrived in the Shenandoah Valley in the mid-eighteenth century, originated from Pennsylvania or Tidewater Virginia. Settlers from Pennsylvania were primarily of German or Scots-Irish ancestry, while settlers who crossed west over the Blue Ridge were typically planters of English origin. The initial settlement of the Valley was intended by the Virginia government to form a buffer between the Tidewater area and the Native Americans and their French allies to the north and west.²⁰⁴ During the first half of the eighteenth century, settlers formed dispersed farmsteads of a few hundred acres that had access to water and woodland.²⁰⁵ Settlers from Pennsylvania raised crops such as corn, cereal grains, hay, winter forage, and flax and animals such as cattle, swine, and sheep for subsistence and sold their excess at markets in Baltimore or Philadelphia. Many settlers from the Tidewater were planters, whose primary focus was tobacco.²⁰⁶

The Valley's geology made the region superior for agriculture. The lowland's limestone-rich soil could support vast amounts of grain. Limestone was burned and ground down into an amendment for acidic soils.²⁰⁷ The underlying karst geology influenced the Valley floor's rolling hills. Caverns and perched watertables created a complex hydrological system of creeks, sinking streams, and springs. Creeks with perennial flow provided power for gristmills and sawmills, while springs provided water for livestock.²⁰⁸

Early Planter and Farmer Homesteads

Although dispersed among large land grants, settlements in the Shenandoah Valley tended to be kinship-based and formed around paternal homesteads, with towns eventually forming at the crossroads of valley and over-ridge routes. The first crops grown for external markets were hemp and tobacco and then wheat in the late 1750s, as the French and Indian War (1754–1763) increased the demand for flour in the colonies. The market for wheat continued to increase in the late eighteenth century with an increased demand from Mid-Atlantic cities.²⁰⁹ Farmsteads contained the necessary infrastructure and buildings to get wheat from field to mill, including barns and granaries. Farm laborers threshed grain, an intermediate step between field and mill, by hand and processed it in a mill onsite or in one of the region's 600 gristmills. Mill owners transported the

²⁰⁴ Broomall, *'The Stars Fought from Heaven'*, 26.

²⁰⁵ Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 21.

²⁰⁶ Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 27, 39–40.

²⁰⁷ Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 9–10; John T. Schlebecker, "Farmers in the Lower Shenandoah Valley, 1850," 474.

²⁰⁸ Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 11, 15.

²⁰⁹ Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 41; Brian Katen, Mintai Kim, and Christine Calorusso, *Research and Documentation of the Agricultural Landscape and Agricultural Economy: Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park* (Blacksburg, VA: Virginia Tech, January 2020), 197.

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resulting flour directly to market ports along the coast, where it was transferred to domestic and foreign places. As a result, the mill owners controlled the Valley's international trade.²¹⁰

Unlike the Tidewater region, where plantations tended toward monoculture cultivation, the farms of the Shenandoah Valley generally practiced "mixed farming" and diversified production between grain and livestock. Many farmers raised livestock—swine and cattle, along with geese and poultry—for their own consumption and to sell at regional markets.²¹¹ To delineate their fields and pastures, they built the **System of Stone Walls and Fences (contributing structure)** in the district using rocks collected from tilled fields and wood rails.

Pennsylvanian Jost Hite (1685–1761) was one of the first settlers in the Valley. Hite settled on the Opequon Creek a few miles south of present-day Winchester in 1731. Virginia Governor Sir William Gooch (1681–1751) granted Hite 400,000 acres, including much of the area between Winchester and the North Branch of the Shenandoah River. The district is within the Hite land grant.²¹² Jost and his son John Hite (1715–1792), who settled near the North Fork of the Shenandoah River, relied on enslaved labor (see **Criterion A – Ethnic Heritage: Black**) to operate their farms, mills, and forges.²¹³

In 1740, Jost's son Isaac Hite (Sr.) (1721–1795) acquired land from his brother John and settled along the north bank of the North Fork of the Shenandoah River (at the south boundary of the district), where he established a farm called "Long Meadow" (**Long Meadow Landscape [contributing site]**). His farm was similar to that of his brother John in that he relied on enslaved laborers, either his own or hired from nearby farms.²¹⁴ Isaac Hite Sr. gave his son Major Isaac Hite Jr. (1758–1836) a tract of land north of his homestead, near Meadow Brook, where they had established a mill. By 1783, Major Hite had developed his 483-acre property called Belle Grove and lived in a limestone dwelling (**Old Hall Foundation [contributing site]**) previously built on the property. His father-in-law gifted him 15 enslaved persons to work on the newly established plantation. Major Hite initially cultivated tobacco for sale at regional markets but transitioned to wheat production when markets changed.²¹⁵

In 1742, Jost Hite sold a 760-acre parcel of land east of what later became Belle Grove to James Hoge (1706–1795). Hoge built a log dwelling that is now a portion of the later **Solomon Heater House (contributing building)** and established a farmstead called Cedar Grove Farm that included

²¹⁰ Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 43, 55–60; Katen et al., *Research and Documentation of the Agricultural Landscape*, 109.

²¹¹ Katen et al., *Research and Documentation of the Agricultural Landscape*, 200.

²¹² Hofstra, "Colonial Road," 88.

²¹³ Katen et al., *Research and Documentation of the Agricultural Landscape*, 275.

²¹⁴ Samuel Kercheval, *A History of the Valley of Virginia* (Winchester, VA: Samuel H. Davis, 1833), 73.

²¹⁵ Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 18–19; Katen et al., *Research and Documentation of the Agricultural Landscape*, 275–276; Lewes and Moore, *Historic Resource Context Study*, 55.

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several dependencies.²¹⁶ In 1819, Dr. Cornelius Baldwin Jr. (1791–1828) of Winchester, who married Isaac Hite Jr.’s daughter Eleanor “Nelly” C. Hite (1789–1830), purchased Cedar Grove Farm. Baldwin operated the farm with 11 enslaved persons; it is unclear if he had acquired them through purchase or perhaps as a wedding gift from his father-in-law. Solomon Heater (1808–1872) of Loudoun County purchased Cedar Grove Farm from Baldwin’s descendants in 1845.²¹⁷

By 1790, the Lower Shenandoah Valley contained about 75,000 people; by 1800, the population was almost 84,000.²¹⁸ Wheat farmers who had amassed capital chose to build stylish houses, often of brick or stone (see **Criterion C – Architecture**).²¹⁹ At Belle Grove, Major Hite was a progressive farmer who relied on the labor of at least 38 enslaved persons (in 1782) as he pursued a variety of agricultural ventures, including wheat, corn, livestock, grains for spirits, and grasses. By the late eighteenth century, he had amassed enough wealth to build the imposing **Belle Grove Manor House (contributing building)**.²²⁰ As part of the plantation operations, the Hites traded with Philadelphia merchants under the name Hite & Son as early as 1786, later doing business out of the **Plantation Office and Store (contributing building)**.²²¹ In 1821, Hite’s plantation of 6,000 acres dwarfed the typical Valley farm of 50–200 acres.²²² During years when the price of grain was low and it was more economically prudent to feed animals with the grain rather than grind it into flour, Hite purchased young cattle being driven down the Valley and fattened them over the course of a year with ground-up grain and grazing. He then sold the cattle, either whole animal or butchered and salted, for double the original purchase price. The plantation also had several threshing machines manufactured by a Mr. Wright of Middletown. These machines were driven by four to six horses and prepared grain for grinding or sowing. The farm’s output also relied on limestone fertilizers acquired from lime kilns.²²³

Mills and Industry

²¹⁶ Hoge’s will indicates he enslaved at least one person, leaving “negro Jude” to his wife Agnes. Frederick County, Virginia County Court, *Will Books, 1743 – 1898*, Vol. 6 (Richmond, VA: Virginia State Library, 1976), p. 90–92.

²¹⁷ Wells, “The Planter’s Prospect,” 15; Thomas Kemp Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants: A History of Frederick County, Virginia from its Formation in 1738 to 1908* (Berkeley County, WV: Eddy Press Corporation, 1909), 489–490; National Park Service (NPS), “Heater House,” <https://www.nps.gov/places/heater-house.htm>; United States Bureau of the Census (hereafter US Census), *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870* (NARA microfilm publication M593, 1,761 rolls, 1870); US Census, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860* (NARA microfilm publication M653, 1,438 rolls, 1860).

²¹⁸ Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 22.

²¹⁹ Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 42.

²²⁰ Hofstra, “Colonial Road,” 88; Katen et al., *Research and Documentation of the Agricultural Landscape*, 237–238.

²²¹ Katen et al., *Research and Documentation of the Agricultural Landscape*, 133, 275.

²²² The editor of *American Farmer*, who visited Belle Grove in 1821, described Hite’s progressive farm: “The general system pursued by Major H., is a mixed one—under which the cultivation of the staple grains, wheat, rye, oats, and corn are combined with the manufacture of some of these into spirit, and with grazing to a large extent.” *American Farmer*, “Virginia Husbandry,” 105.

²²³ *American Farmer*, “Virginia Husbandry,” *American Farmer* 3, no. 14 (June 29, 1821), 105–106.

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Most of the Valley's mills were built along fast-flowing streams where undershot waterwheels harnessed waterpower. At falls, wood flumes carried water to overshot wheels. Cedar Creek and Meadow Brook powered nearly a dozen mills to serve the surrounding farms. The first mills in the region were sawmills and gristmills. As the agricultural economy grew, merchant mills sprung up to support large-scale flour production. Unlike gristmills, where a portion of a farmer's grain was typically reserved for the miller as payment for the milled grain returned to the farmer, merchant mills purchased grain from the farmers and sold the flour directly to local and external markets. Other mills included flaxseed oil mills, paper mills, wool fulling mills, and tilt hammer mills for processing minerals.²²⁴ Although the county seat of Winchester was nearby, cattle and mill products were usually sold directly to markets in Alexandria, Baltimore, or Philadelphia.²²⁵

By 1809, the lower end of Cedar Creek had 16 mills in operation, many of which had been established in the mid-to-late eighteenth century. George Bowman (1699–1768), who migrated to the Shenandoah Valley alongside the Hites, established a plantation known as Fort Bowman on the east bank of Cedar Creek in the mid-eighteenth century (Figure 9). He owned one of the first mills on Cedar Creek, established before 1753 north of Fort Bowman but destroyed by fire in 1812. After Bowman's mill burned down, the water rights on the lower Cedar Creek remained unclaimed until 1815, when Daniel Stickley purchased land from George Bowman's descendants and constructed a new mill on the site (see **Criterion D**).²²⁶ In 1793, George's son Isaac Bowman constructed a gristmill and sawmill at the lowest reaches of Cedar Creek south of the Great Wagon Road. The **Bowman's Mill Millrace (contributing structure)** was dug across the narrow neck of a west-arcing oxbow to capture enough drop to power the mill's waterwheels.

While the Shenandoah River was too wide for mills, it provided an alternative to overland travel. In 1815, the New Shenandoah Company was chartered to improve river shipping between the Shenandoah Valley and Alexandria's ports. The company constructed dams and chutes for the passage of boats and barges. As early as 1816, flour from the region's farms was shipped by river.²²⁷

Farmer David J. Miller (1816–1888) established a gristmill on land formerly owned by Abraham Kendrick on Meadow Brook [REDACTED], the remains of which are the **Millbrook Mill Ruins (contributing site)**. Miller may have employed a tenant miller to operate his business or housed some or all his enslaved people, some of whom may have worked in the mill, in the **Miller's House Ruin (contributing site)**.²²⁸ An 1885 map of the area (Figure 10) shows an

²²⁴ Katen et al., *Research and Documentation of the Agricultural Landscape*, 123–125.

²²⁵ Warren R. Hofstra and Robert D. Mitchell, "Town and Country in Backcountry Virginia: Winchester and the Shenandoah Valley, 1730–1800," *The Journal of Southern History* 59, no. 4 (November 1993):636.

²²⁶ Katen et al., *Research and Documentation of the Agricultural Landscape*, 48, 129; Charles Varle, *Map of Frederick, Berkeley, & Jefferson Counties in the State of Virginia* (Philadelphia, PA: Benjamin Jones, 1809).

²²⁷ Katen et al., *Research and Documentation of the Agricultural Landscape*, 48, 86, 123–124, 128–129.

²²⁸ United States Bureau of the Census, *1850 U.S. Federal Census – Slave Schedules* (M432, 1,009 rolls) (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1850).

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unidentified building west of the mill that may have been a barn or warehouse for storing processed and unprocessed grain.²²⁹

Other milling operations were established at the lower portion of Meadow Brook near its confluence with Cedar Creek. The Anderson farm (**Anderson House**) had a small mill and tannery along the brook. In addition to tanning, James Anderson (b. 1786) farmed 130 acres of land and produced butter, corn, wheat, and pork. The Hite and Hottle families built mills, such as the **Hottel's Mill (contributing site)**, and channelized portions of the brook at the confluence, supporting the sides of the channel with **Stone Retaining Walls (contributing structure)**.²³⁰

Shenandoah Valley Breadbasket, 1834–1871

During the mid-nineteenth century, the Shenandoah Valley's wheat production increased exponentially and surpassed the productivity of any other region in the Commonwealth of Virginia. The production of flour was a critical aspect of the Shenandoah Valley's transition from an exchange economy to a commercial economy. The invention and availability of labor-saving farm equipment, such as threshing machines in the 1820s, cut costs for farmers. Control and access to the region became a contentious topic between the US Army and the Confederacy, who relied heavily on it for provisioning soldiers (see **Criterion A – Military**).²³¹

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Commonwealth of Virginia granted, and occasionally funded, chartered turnpikes between eastern ports and the Shenandoah Valley. While the state favored turnpikes that crossed the Blue Ridge and brought products to its ports, the need for a turnpike down the Shenandoah Valley to the Potomac River was soon realized. In March 1834, the Virginia legislature authorized the Valley Turnpike Company to construct a 68-mile macadamized turnpike between Winchester and Harrisonburg. The turnpike, known as Valley Pike, followed the earlier Great Wagon Road along the alignment of the **Valley Pike Road Trace (contributing structure)** and intersected the cross-ridge routes. Virginia's Board of Public Works supported the improvement of the land route and purchased 40 percent of the turnpike stock. The Valley Turnpike Company improved stream crossings with the construction of bridges and fords, including the **Old Valley Pike Bridge Abutments (contributing structure)**. In 1837, a second charter allowed the company to expand the turnpike from Harrisonburg to Staunton. The opening of the Winchester & Potomac Railroad in 1836 accelerated the final link from the turnpike to seaboard markets. The region's farmers and planters eagerly welcomed the railroad, which stretched 32 miles from the turnpike's terminus to Harper's Ferry, West Virginia. Isaac Hite Jr., of Belle Grove owned 100 shares of the railroad company in 1837.²³²

²²⁹ J.M. Lathrop and A.W. Dayton, *An Atlas of Frederick County, Virginia* (Philadelphia, PA: D.J. Lake & Co., 1885).

²³⁰ Varle, *Map of Frederick, Berkeley, & Jefferson Counties in the State of Virginia*; United States Bureau of the Census, Industry Census (hereafter US Census [Industry]), *Industry Census, 1860* (1860); United States Bureau of the Census, Agricultural Census (hereafter US Census [Agricultural]), *Agricultural Census, 1850* (1850).

²³¹ Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 3.

²³² Katen et al., *Research and Documentation of the Agricultural Landscape*, 66–68, 89.

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Small towns developed along Valley Pike, either at crossroads or at stage stops with taverns or other facilities. While towns provided a source of provisions for local farmers, most farmers traded at larger, regional markets. After construction of the turnpike, farms expanded significantly as a result of easier access to markets. The Stickley farmstead (**Daniel Stickley House**) added the **Stickley Workers' Dwelling** as housing for farm workers, possibly enslaved individuals; the **Stickley Smokehouse**; and the **Stickley Crib Barn**, suggesting the farm raised cattle. Cattle in the Shenandoah Valley were raised for meat that was either smoked or salted or driven directly to market via Valley Pike or over the Blue Ridge.²³³ In 1850, the Stickley farmstead consisted of 844 improved acres and 732 acres of unimproved farmland, 7 working horses, 10 milk cows, 30 cattle, 125 sheep, and 25 swine.²³⁴

George W. S. Bowman (1806–1877), a cousin of Isaac Hite Jr., acquired Isaac Hite Sr.'s homestead on the north banks of the Shenandoah River ca. 1840. Shortly thereafter, a fire destroyed the original log dwelling on the property, known as Travelers Hall. In 1848, Bowman built the **Long Meadow (contributing building)** manor house after tearing down the remnants of Travelers Hall.²³⁵ A secondary dwelling likely built by Hite Sr. is referred to by the late twentieth century owner as an **Overseer's House (contributing building)**.²³⁶ Bowman managed a 1,300-acre farm valued at \$22,000 and had 22 enslaved persons in 1850. While he produced large amounts of wheat and corn, Bowman's primary income came from livestock. In 1850, he owned 50 cattle, 70 swine, and 100 sheep, in addition to 15 milk cows and 14 horses. His farm's proximity to Valley Pike and the Shenandoah River meant Bowman could easily sell his livestock and goods to regional markets.²³⁷

George W. S. Bowman's youngest sister, Rebecca F. W. (1821–1892), and her husband, Charles Hite (b. 1822), lived northwest of Long Meadow on a farm they established ca. 1851 on the Bowman family's landholdings. The Hites built the **Bowman-Hite House (contributing building)** on a knoll overlooking Cedar Creek and surrounded it with dependencies. The property was connected to Fort Bowman on the other side of Cedar Creek by the **Bowman-Hite Farm Road Trace (contributing structure)**. The Bowman's manor house, Mount Pleasant (outside the district boundary), was on Cedar Creek opposite Rebecca's farm. Rebecca and Charles' farm encompassed approximately 393 acres, almost double the average farm in the Valley at that time. In 1860, the farm produced 1,700 bushels of corn and 1,250 bushels of wheat and had large herds of swine and cattle. Despite this pre-war prosperity, the Hites, like many farmers in the region, suffered major losses in property and struggled in the economic depression that followed the Civil War. Rebecca was left widowed with substantial debt and had no choice but to auction her farm

²³³ Raitz, "The Lay of the Land," 44, 48.

²³⁴ Katen et al., *Research and Documentation of the Agricultural Landscape*, 221.

²³⁵ Jacob Blosser, *A Guide to the Hite Family Cemetery at Long Meadow* (Middletown, VA: Belle Grove Plantation, 2000).

²³⁶ Maral S. Kalbian, *National Register of Historic Places Nomination Long Meadow* (Warren Co., Virginia, NRIS 95001169, 1995), 12.

²³⁷ United States Bureau of the Census, Slave Schedules (hereafter US Census [Slave Schedules]), *Seventh Census of the United States (1850), Slave Schedules, Warren County, Virginia* (Sheet 6, 1850); US Census [Agricultural], *Agricultural Census, 1850* (1850).

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in 1872.²³⁸ She moved with her children to a farm owned by her brother Robert Bowman near Mount Pleasant (outside the district), where she stayed until her death. She was buried near a cedar tree overlooking her old farm at the **Hite Family Burials (contributing site)**, beside the graves of two of her children.²³⁹

In 1854, the Manassas Gap Railroad was constructed to connect Strasburg to eastern Virginia via the wind gap at Front Royal. Even with the railroads in place, some farmers still preferred to bring their flour to market over land by wagon or by boat down the Shenandoah River.²⁴⁰ Larger landholdings were subdivided into smaller farms, either by the process of inheritance or by necessity. In the mid-nineteenth century, the children of Isaac Bowman (1757–1826) sold a portion of their land holdings around Fort Bowman. One of these tracts became a farm under the ownership of Jacob Shambaugh (1777–1855). His farm (associated with **Fort Bowman**) grew mostly wheat and corn, producing annual yields of 450 bushels and 350 bushels, respectively, on 220 improved acres. Shambaugh also raised milk cows, cattle, swine, and poultry.²⁴¹

In the mid-nineteenth century, Daniel (1825–1919) and Adaline Ritenour (1830–1919) established a farmstead on the north bank of Meadow Brook, north of Belle Grove. The 1865 Hotchkiss map of the area depicts two buildings labeled “D. Ritenour” that likely correspond to the extant **Ritenour House (contributing building)** and a large barn (not extant).²⁴² Unlike the neighboring Belle Grove Plantation, the Ritenour property was a modest, mixed agricultural farm. In 1860, it had 200 acres of improved land and 57 unimproved and produced 200 bushels of wheat, 20 bushels of rye, and 300 bushels of corn annually. The Ritenours raised milk cows, cattle, and swine and had nine horses to plough and harvest fields, transport goods to market, and power farm equipment. Historical records are unclear as to whether the Ritenours owned their farm or were tenant farmers. By the late nineteenth century, William Spiggle (1853–1941) owned the farm. The Spiggles added a **Shop Building (contributing building)**, which likely housed domestic industries or dairying equipment, and a **Wagon Shed (contributing building)** to the property. They also likely replaced the Ritenour barn with the extant **Barn (contributing building)**.²⁴³

²³⁸ Michael Spencer, *Draft National Register of Historic Places Nomination: Bowman-Hite House* (Warren Co., Virginia, 2013), 4, 15–17; Findagrave.com, “Rebecca F.W. Bowman Hite,” Find A Grave Memorial ID 151671892, last modified 2015, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/151671892/rebecca-f_w-hite.

²³⁹ Findagrave.com, “Rebecca F.W. Bowman Hite;” Jobes, *Cedar Creek Bowmans*, 48–53; J.M. Lathrop and B.N. Griffing, *Atlas of Shenandoah and Page Counties, Virginia* (Philadelphia, PA: Lathrop, 1885).

²⁴⁰ Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 63–64, 68; Katen et al., *Research and Documentation of the Agricultural Landscape*, 90.

²⁴¹ US Census [Agricultural], *Agricultural Census, 1850*; National Park Service (NPS), *Cultural Landscape Inventory: Whitham Farmstead, Cedar Creek & Belle Grove National Historical Park* (Boston, MA: Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, National Park Service, n.d.), 18–19.

²⁴² Jed. Hotchkiss, *Sketch of the Battle of Belle Grove on Cedar Creek, Wednesday October 19th, 1864*, No. 29, (New York: Julius Bien & Co., 1895).

²⁴³ US Census [Agricultural], *Agricultural Census, 1860* (1860); US Census, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*.

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The Shenandoah Valley's importance as the "breadbasket of the Confederacy" made it a strategic target for Federal Army forces (see **Criterion A – Military**). Federal troops stripped fields and orchards of produce, confiscated or killed livestock, and burned buildings and vital infrastructure. General Ulysses S. Grant, through General David Hunter (1802–1886), directed pilferage and consumption of farm products that left Valley farmers with ruined crops and ravaged lands. Furthermore, available farm labor was greatly reduced as men enlisted and left their homes. Without enough hands, unattended cropland and pastures reverted back to a naturalized state, significantly reducing land values across the Shenandoah Valley.²⁴⁴

Decline of Wheat, 1871–1925

After the Civil War and at the beginning of the Reconstruction period, farmers in the Lower Shenandoah Valley had to adapt to increased competition from Midwest grain producers. In 1871, the Baltimore & Ohio (B&O) Railroad crossed the Ohio River in West Virginia and connected with the Central Ohio Railroad in Ohio, opening the Midwest to East Coast markets. Shenandoah Valley grain producers, including those at Belle Grove, found their profits undercut by Midwest farmers. While the Civil War caused widespread destruction through the Valley and disrupted farm production, wheat production had increased by one percent during the 1860s and continued to rise until the end of the century, but farm profits fell. Consequently, farms diversified their crops and products, shifting to dairying and fruit production, to lessen their financial dependence on wheat. In 1874, the Valley Branch of the B&O Railroad was completed between Winchester and Staunton. For most of its length, the branch line paralleled Valley Pike and captured most of the route's freight load.²⁴⁵ With the invention of the refrigerated railcar in 1887, perishable farm products, like fruit and dairy, could make their way from the Shenandoah Valley to markets throughout the Eastern Seaboard.²⁴⁶

Late Nineteenth-Century Agriculture

After the Civil War, farms that had previously relied on enslaved labor adapted to employing local white and Black day laborers or tenant farmers. Some farmers, such as Amos Hinkens who purchased Fort Bowman by 1880, built accessory dwellings to house farmhands. J. M. Willy, his wife, and seven children lived in the small Fort Bowman Tenant House (non-extant) in 1880.²⁴⁷ Tenant farmers leased farmland on which to grow crops and in some cases rented a house on the property as well. If a farmer's landholding covered a large area, the tenant farmer may have occupied and oversaw operations on remote tracts.

Apple orchards quickly replaced many wheat fields throughout the Shenandoah Valley, including at Belle Grove and other small farms along Cedar Creek within the district. In 1864, 5 percent of

²⁴⁴ Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 71–73.

²⁴⁵ Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 68, 74, 82.

²⁴⁶ Michael Commisso, *Land Use History for Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park* (Boston, MA: National Park Service, 2007), 33–34.

²⁴⁷ US Census, *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880* (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls, 1880).

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the district's improved land was estimated to be orchards; by 1937, orchards covered over 20 percent of improved land.²⁴⁸ Cold storage facilities were established in Winchester; one of the earliest for apples was the C. L. Robinson Ice and Cold Storage building (NRIS 100007794). Livestock and poultry supplemented orchard profits. Iron furnaces and lime kilns extracted the Valley's mineral resources during this period to supply fertilizer for farms.²⁴⁹

Early Twentieth Century: Dairying and Bank Barns

By the early twentieth century, the Shenandoah Valley was no longer the region's primary producer of wheat. While wheat was still grown for mid-Atlantic markets, more farms focused on dairying, grass farming, and orchard production. Dairying began as a home industry, requiring the farmer to grow feed, raise milk cows, process the milk collected, and bring their products to market. Local creameries were established to serve as a centralized processing point for dairy farms and allowed farms to focus on increasing their production. In this way, creameries changed the region's field-to-market rural economy to a commercialized industry.²⁵⁰

Bank barns with large haylofts, silos, and milking floors were constructed as cattle raising and milk production increased. Adopted from Pennsylvania, bank barns are characteristically large frame buildings built with at least one wall built into a slope so that the lower level can shelter animals and the overhanging forebay shelters access to a barnyard. The barn's upper level stored animal feed, hay, and equipment and, therefore, seldom had windows. The district's bank barns—the **Belle Grove 1918 Bank Barn**, **Bowman-Hite Bank Barn**, **Ritenour Barn**, and **Brumback Bank Barn**—date to the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. Dairy farms also needed ancillary buildings such as the **Belle Grove 1930 Barn**, **Stickley Equipment Shed**, and the **Frame Workshop** at Long Meadow to store extra feed, horses and draft animals for haying and tilling, or farm equipment.²⁵¹

Shenandoah Valley Farmland, 1925–Present

After 1925, Valley Pike was incorporated into the federal highway system as US Route 11 and was subsequently widened, straightened, and realigned in some sections. Changes in transportation in the Shenandoah Valley, coupled with the shift of much of American agriculture to the Midwest, changed the region's agriculture, rural landscape character, and development patterns.²⁵²

By the mid-twentieth century, orchard products, particularly apples, had superseded wheat as the Shenandoah Valley's primary cash crop. Apples grew well in the soils along the region's shale

²⁴⁸ In 1864, the district's land use was 38% forested, 58% field/agricultural, and 3% orchards. In 1937, the district's land use was 36% forested, 50% field/agricultural, and 13% orchard. Improved land is considered to be the combination of field/agricultural and orchard land. Commisso, *Land Use History for Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park*, 15.

²⁴⁹ Commisso, *Land Use History*, 33–34.

²⁵⁰ Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 83–85.

²⁵¹ Raitz, "The Lay of the Land," 10.

²⁵² Raitz, "The Lay of the Land," 52.

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and limestone ridges, which were poorer for field crops. Farm owners constructed cold storage and shelter for equipment to support apple production and processing. Most farmers supplemented orchard production with livestock farming, which provided valuable manure. Eggs, dairy products, and animals for consumption were transported to market by railroad or trucks. Although minerals resources and mining had been exploited beginning with the earliest inhabitants, industrial-scale quarries grew rapidly in the second half of the twentieth century. Large tracts of land were converted to mining use for the extraction of iron ore, manganese, brownstone, sandstone, china clay, tin ore, limestone, and shale.²⁵³

As a result of improved transportation infrastructure and automobiles, communities throughout the Shenandoah Valley grew. In and around the district, development concentrated around Middletown and along the arterial roads along US Route 11. Mechanization in agriculture decreased labor demands, which resulted in an increase in retail and service sector industries regionally. In the late twentieth century, residential development in the district increased significantly. Farmers sold underused farmland to developers, who subdivided the land into marketable house lots. Land that was waterlogged, rocky, or inaccessible avoided redevelopment and often reverted to a forested state. Within the district, land conservation organizations have protected various tracts of farmland through purchase or easements. State-based aid and tourism have also helped farmers in the region. Virginia's Cooperative Extension Service, which was established in 1914 and expanded in scope through the late twentieth century, has assisted farmers throughout the region to establish sustainable farming practices, conserve land and soil, acquire grants and loans, and increase production. In the twenty-first century, the local food movement and an increase in agrotourism have reinvigorated Shenandoah Valley farming.²⁵⁴

CRITERION C – ARCHITECTURE

The 1763 Solomon Heater House and ca. 1771 Fort Bowman are eighteenth-century vernacular Georgian-style houses that employ Germanic building techniques. The 1797 Belle Grove Manor House is an example of the Classical Revival style, and six houses in the district exhibit the Valley's prevailing nineteenth-century Federal and Greek Revival architecture: the Daniel Stickley House, Long Meadow, the Miller-Kendrick-Walter House, the Bowman-Hite House, the Ritenour House/Spiggle House, and the Anderson House. The various dependencies associated with these plantations and farmsteads include representative examples of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century agricultural buildings.

Colonial Architecture in the Shenandoah Valley

²⁵³ Commisso, *Land Use History*, 33–35.

²⁵⁴ Commisso, *Land Use History*, 36–39.

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The earliest Euro-American dwellings in the Shenandoah Valley were single-cell buildings constructed of log or heavy timbers by German and Scots-Irish settlers from Pennsylvania.²⁵⁵ Buildings constructed in the area by early English settlers were similar in form to dwellings of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in Virginia's Tidewater region. Shenandoah Valley buildings were limited to available materials; settlers had access to a vast amount of woodland and the region's native limestone but could not easily obtain brick. Smaller houses were typically of wood, while larger, more ostentatious houses were built of stone and, later, brick. Early buildings were most commonly a hall-and-parlor plan, which consisted of a large room for cooking and eating and a smaller parlor for entertaining and sometimes sleeping. German settlers sometimes elected a three-room plan, with a large hall and two rooms sharing one chimney with corner fireplaces.²⁵⁶ The central passage plan emerged in the Tidewater region in the early eighteenth century but did not infiltrate the Shenandoah Valley until the end of the eighteenth century.²⁵⁷ The central passage layout was aptly suited for the symmetrical arrangements seen in Georgian architecture as well as the needs of Shenandoah Valley farmers and planters.²⁵⁸ Occasionally, craftsmen had access to popular builders' guides or pattern books, but more often they contrived plans solely from their knowledge of construction and desired aesthetics.

Settlers who accompanied Jost Hite from Pennsylvania (see **Criterion A – Agriculture**) built the **Solomon Heater House (contributing building)**, constructed by James Hoge, and **Fort Bowman (contributing building)**, built for widow Mary Bowman. As a result, both buildings are representative of the region's vernacular architecture, which blends components of Germanic architecture brought by settlers from Pennsylvania with Georgian-style architecture popular during the time period and adapted by local craftsmen.²⁵⁹ The Solomon Heater House is a rare surviving example of a mid-eighteenth-century vernacular log-and-frame building with a dove-tailed timber frame and limestone nogging—elements that point to the Germanic origins of the Hoges.²⁶⁰ Fort Bowman is a well-preserved example of a late eighteenth-century limestone dwelling. It has a central passage plan and a symmetrical façade influenced by Georgian-style architecture. However, unlike typical Georgian architecture, the side elevations of Fort Bowman are

²⁵⁵ Maral S. Kalbian, *Frederick County, Virginia: History Through Architecture* (Winchester, VA: Winchester Printers, Inc., 1999), 4.

²⁵⁶ Dell Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 2/3 (Summer–Autumn 1982), 97; Camille Wells, "The Planter's Prospect: Houses, Outbuildings, and Rural Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," *Winterthur Portfolio* 28, no. 1 (Spring 1993), 15; Kalbian, *Frederick County*, 4–5, 18.

²⁵⁷ Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," 102.

²⁵⁸ William M.S. Rasmussen, "Builders, and Architectural Traditions in Colonial Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 90(2), April 1982, 199, 202–203; Maral S. Kalbian, Dennis J. Pogue, and Margaret T. Peters, *Historic Overview and Physical Investigations of Fort Bowman, Shenandoah County, VA* (Middletown, VA: Maral S. Kalbian, LLC/Belle Grove, Inc., September 2014) 6.

²⁵⁹ Kalbian et al., *Historic Overview and Physical Investigations of Fort Bowman*, 6–7, 14; Claire Metcalfe, Kimberly Tinkham, and Clarence Geier, *An Assessment of the Archaeological Components at Bowman's Fort or Harmony Hall* (Harrisonburg, VA: James Madison University Department of Sociology and Anthropology, 2009).

²⁶⁰ Maral S. Kalbian, Dennis J. Pogue, Ph.D, and David L. Weir, *Heater House Investigations and Conditions Assessment [Redacted]*, Report prepared for the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation, Inc., Middletown, VA, 2021.

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asymmetrical with fenestration that corresponds to irregularly proportioned rooms (Figure 11).²⁶¹ The house has a large parlor west of the center passage and a dining room and cook room (kitchen) to the east. The second story has a central passage separating bedrooms. Interior finishes, many of which are extant, are characteristic of Germanic architectural traditions, including exposed ceiling joists and floorboards, paneled wood doors and partitions, and large hearths with paneled surrounds and overmantels. Notably, while the chimneys on the exterior of the house are centered in the gable end, but the interior chimney stack is angled to meet the fireplaces in the rear of the house. The building's roof structure, called "liegender Dachstuhl" or "leaning truss," consists of a truss system with angled posts inside the rafters to support the roof. It was a popular German roof form that would have required an experienced carpenter to execute.²⁶²

Earlier houses, such as Old Hall at Belle Grove (**Old Hall Foundation (contributing site)**) and the original block of the **Solomon Heater House (contributing building)**, were later replaced by or remodeled into larger, more ambitious houses, often with central passage plans, like the **Belle Grove Manor House (contributing building)**. The **Miller's House Ruin (contributing site)** may also be from an early Germanic house, possibly built by Abraham Kendrick.

Belle Grove Plantation

The **Belle Grove Manor House (contributing building)** is a remarkably well-preserved, late eighteenth-century, early Classical Revival-style plantation manor house that was modeled to an extent on Thomas Jefferson's plantation house, Monticello. The house is one of the earliest extant expressions of Classical Revival architecture in the Shenandoah Valley. The original building retains a high degree of integrity, despite the construction of a west wing in the early nineteenth century and minor alterations. Furthermore, the **Belle Grove Plantation Site (contributing site)** surrounding Belle Grove retains its historic spatial arrangement, associated features and functions, and general character of a plantation homestead.

The German settler Jost Hite's son Isaac Hite (Sr.) (1723–1795) established the Belle Grove Plantation and initially occupied a modest dwelling house (Old Hall) on the property. His son, Isaac Hite Jr. (1758–1836) married Eleanor "Nelly" Conway Madison (1760–1802) of Montpelier, Virginia, a sister of James Madison (1751–1836) and a principal framer of the US Constitution and fourth President of the United States. Through Madison, the Hites had access to the political elite of the Tidewater region, including Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826).²⁶³ Jefferson was the most influential advocate for Classicism and used his political office and prominence to shape the nation's architectural idiom as seen in Washington, DC; Virginia's capital at Richmond; and the University of Virginia's campus in Charlottesville. He drew on his studies of architecture books

²⁶¹ The name Fort Bowman was adopted after the Civil War. Beginning in the mid-twentieth century, Fort Bowman was interchangeably used with the name "Harmony Hall."

²⁶² Belle Grove, *Fort Bowman, ca. 1771*, printed brochure, 2022; Peter Sinclair, "From the Journal," *Hudson Valley Vernacular Architecture Newsletter*, November/December 2022, <http://hmvarch.org/news2/hvvanews4-11.htm>, accessed March 2023; Kalbian et al., *Historic Overview and Physical Investigations of Fort Bowman*, 32, 35–36.

²⁶³ Eichman Browne, Gilpin Dalgliesh, and P.C. Paxon, *Belle Grove: An Historic Structure Report*, (Middletown, VA: National Trust for Historic Preservation/Belle Grove, Inc., March 1996), 2.

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and his travels in Europe to craft his interpretation of the Roman Revival style, which became known as Jeffersonian Classical. Jefferson resisted Greek Revivalism, which was rampant in Europe during his travels and later emerged in the United States.²⁶⁴ He was well-studied in architecture but derived his work from a large number of architecture handbooks: Giacomo Leoni's *Architecture of A. Palladio* (1721), Freart de Chambray's *Parallele de l'Architecture* (1766), and various publications by the Italian architect Andrea Palladio (1508–1580).²⁶⁵

The typical Classical Revival-style form is a one- or two-story rectangular building with a low-pitched hip roof and a projecting portico on a high foundation to exaggerate the height of the façade. Wings and auxiliary buildings connect to the main building with colonnades or one-story hyphens. The full-height, pedimented portico is the style's most prominent feature and is often decorated with semi-circular, round, or oval windows. Aspects of the Classical Revival style align more with the Federal style, which also emerged in the late eighteenth century, rather than the competing Greek Revival style. The fenestration in Classical Revival architecture has a larger ratio of openings to building massing than that of Federal or Greek Revival styles; windows are symmetrical, never paired, and generally sparse. Classical Revival architecture typically has Federal-style interior detailing, characterized by prominent fireplaces, crown molding and baseboards, wainscoting, and molded door and window surrounds.²⁶⁶

For Belle Grove, Hite Jr. employed a craftsman, Mr. Bond, to study Jefferson's architecture and refer to architecture handbooks for stylistic details.²⁶⁷ The design of Belle Grove by a master craftsman or builder is not unusual for manor houses in the Shenandoah Valley, where there were no trained architects.²⁶⁸ A competent local mason well-versed in the use of limestone could easily construct a building given general dimensions and an example. Hite Jr. sought personal advice from Jefferson, who had completed his plantation house at Monticello over two decades earlier.²⁶⁹ The following text from a October 1794 letter from Madison to Jefferson suggests that the Hites' builder met with Jefferson:

This will be handed to you by Mr. Bond who is to build a large House for Mr. Hite my brother-in-law. On my suggestion He is to visit Monticello not only to profit of

²⁶⁴ Sidney Fiske Kimball, "Thomas Jefferson as Architect: Monticello and Shadwell," *The Architectural Quarterly of Harvard University* 2, no. 4 (June 1914), 91; Virginia Savage McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses: The Definitive Guide to Identifying and Understanding America's Domestic Architecture* (New York: Knopf, 2017), 238–242.

²⁶⁵ Browne et al., *Belle Grove*, 15–16; Kimball, "Thomas Jefferson as Architect," 90.

²⁶⁶ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 217–219, 235–236.

²⁶⁷ The identity of "Mr. Bond" remains vague due to a lack of conclusive information and documentation. A possible identity is John Bond (1775–1854), occupation unknown, who lived in Shenandoah and Frederick counties. While he would have been only 19 years old in 1796, Bond may have assisted Belle Grove's primary builder or mason and traveled to Monticello in his place. Samuel Bond Garrett, *Bond Genealogy: A History of the Descendants of Joseph Bond* (Muncie, IN: Samuel Bond Garrett, 1913), 233; Rasmussen, "Builders, and Architectural Traditions in Colonial Virginia," 202–203.

²⁶⁸ Rasmussen, "Builders, and Architectural Traditions in Colonial Virginia," 199, 202–203.

²⁶⁹ Browne et al., *Belle Grove*, 10.

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examples before his eyes, but to ask the favor of your advice on the plan of the House. Mr. Hite particularly wishes it in what relates to the Bow-room & the Portico, as Mr. B. will explain to you. In general, any hints which may occur to you for improving the place will be thankfully accepted. I beg pardon for being the occasion of this trouble to you, but your goodness has always so readily answered such draughts on it, that I have been tempted to make this additional one.²⁷⁰

In building the Belle Grove Manor House, Bond simplified the classical details found in Jefferson's architecture, which frequently incorporated triple-sash windows, octagonal bays, fanlights in pediments, and an abundance of columns. The influence of Jeffersonian Classicism extended from Belle Grove's exterior appearance to the layout of the interior. The main house's ten interior spaces are arranged around a T-shaped cross hall that is anchored to the entrance portico (Figure 12). These spaces housed the public and private activities of the Hite family, while the rooms in the raised basement were delegated to cooking and service functions. Vernacular aspects of Belle Grove include the use of native New Market limestone and a high ratio of solids to voids that was uncharacteristic of Classical Revival- or Federal-style architecture.²⁷¹

Hite Jr. had the Belle Grove Manor House expanded with the construction of the west wing in 1816–1818 using the same construction technique and styling as the original.²⁷² The west wing was built with a 25-inch space between it and the main house. A roof, porch, and crossover hall connected the two spaces. The manor house left the Hite family, survived the Civil War, and passed through several ownerships before the twentieth century. During this time, it sustained minor alterations and, without needed maintenance, began to deteriorate.²⁷³

Francis Welles Hunnewell purchased the house in 1929 and hired the Washington, DC-based architecture firm of Horace W. Peaslee (1884–1959) to renovate and restore it. Peaslee was a Cornell University-trained architect who began his career as a landscape architect and architect in Washington, DC's Office of Public Buildings and Grounds. Upon establishing a private practice, Peaslee earned a reputation as a restoration architect. His work includes a 1931 restoration of the Dumbarton House (1800) in Washington, DC; a 1934 reconstruction of the Old State House (1676) in St. Mary's, Maryland; and several eighteenth- and nineteenth-century buildings in the Mid-Atlantic states.²⁷⁴

Peaslee attempted to give Belle Grove a homogeneous appearance and elevate its elegance. He restored the building's nine-over-nine sash, enclosed the portico's piers with limestone walls,

²⁷⁰ Madison (1794) quoted in Browne et al., *Belle Grove*, 10.

²⁷¹ Browne et al., *Belle Grove*, 2, 21, 28, 86.

²⁷² Dr. DWH Miles, FSA, *Oxford Dendrochronology Laboratory Report, The Tree-Ring Dating of Belle Grove Plantation*, report prepared for Belle Grove, Inc., September 2022, 8.

²⁷³ Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission (hereafter VHLC), *National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form: Belle Grove*, Frederick Co., Virginia, NRIS 69000243, 1969, 2; Browne et al., *Belle Grove*, 28, 37.

²⁷⁴ Browne et al., *Belle Grove*, 13–14; Melissa Houghton, *Pioneers in Preservation: Biographical Sketches of Architects Prominent in the Field Before World War II* (Washington, DC: American Institute of Architects, February 1990), 62–64.

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installed central heating and electrical service, and repaired deteriorated elements. In the ca. 1820 west wing, Hunnewell added new bathrooms and altered the enclosed porch.²⁷⁵ Architectural historian Eichman Browne, who completed Belle Grove's *Historic Structure Report* in 1996, observed that Hunnewell's restoration "...subtly changed the character of the structure, by providing more academically correct detailing on the exterior and thus diminishing somewhat the vernacular character of the residence."²⁷⁶

Belle Grove is a rare example of a Classical Revival-style, plantation manor house executed using the Shenandoah Valley's native limestone. There are few extant comparisons in the region, and the house shares the most similarities with Jefferson's Monticello, which served as its primary model. Belle Grove has a characteristic symmetrical façade with a Classical portico. Its low-pitched roof and paired interior chimneys are consistent with Classical Revival-style buildings. Belle Grove does not rise to the level of ornamentation seen in Jefferson's buildings but represents a vernacular interpretation of the style.²⁷⁷

A 1992 book on the origin of Virginia's architecture identifies a pattern book by English architect William Pain (ca. 1730–ca. 1790) as the source for Belle Grove's interior woodwork and plasterwork. Plate XXX in *Pain's British Palladio, or, The builder's general assistant* (1788) was the basis for the door surrounds, and Plate X was the basis for the fireplace pilasters and mantel. Loth also identifies other houses in the region—Redlands (1798–1808) in Albemarle County, Elk Hill (1797) in Bedford County, and Annefield (ca. 1790) in Clarke County—as using Pain's pattern books.²⁷⁸ Annefield, which pre-dates Belle Grove's construction, is another example of a limestone masonry plantation manor in the Shenandoah Valley that incorporates Federal and Classical Revival styling. While Annefield is two stories and follows a central hall plan, its exterior massing and classical features are executed at a similar vernacular understanding. Its owner, Mathew Page, designed the house using builder's handbooks and local stone masons. When compared to Annefield's design, Thomas Jefferson's influence on layout and execution is emphasized and better represented in Belle Grove.²⁷⁹ Jefferson had advised James Madison on the design of his brother William Madison's plantation house, Woodberry Forest (1793), in Orange, Virginia. Although built of wood, Woodberry Forest shares many commonalities with Belle Grove, including a low-pitched hip roof pierced by internal chimneys, a projecting portico, a raised basement, and T-shaped cross hall.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁵ Browne et al., *Belle Grove*, 13–14, 47–49.

²⁷⁶ Browne et al., *Belle Grove*, 55.

²⁷⁷ Browne et al., *Belle Grove*, 2, 15–16.

²⁷⁸ Browne et al., *Belle Grove*, 16, 23; William Pain, *Pain's British Palladio, or, The builder's general assistant* (London: I. & J. Taylor, 1788); Charles E. Brownell, Calder Loth, Richard Guy Wilson, and William M. Rasmussen, *The Making of Virginia Architecture* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1992).

²⁷⁹ VHLC, *National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Annefield*, Charlotte Co., Virginia, NRIS 09000920, 1969, 2–3.

²⁸⁰ Woodberry Forest is now part of the campus of the Woodberry Forest School, with William Madison's house now the headmaster's residence. Browne, Dalglish, and Paxon, *Belle Grove*, 14–15.

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Variations of Early-Mid-Nineteenth Century Styles in the Shenandoah Valley

Federal-style architecture emerged in the late eighteenth century in the Eastern Seaboard cities and became the most popular style in the Shenandoah Valley in the early nineteenth century. It was based on the same symmetrical hierarchy as Georgian architecture but more frequently included projecting wings, larger openings with six-light sash, elaborate door surrounds, and Palladian windows. The most common Federal-style form in the Southern states was a five-bay, two-story, hip-roof form with or without a projecting gabled pavilion. Stone and brick remained the most popular building materials because they were more durable than log and could be sourced locally. The availability of architecture pattern books in the region increased the uniformity of houses and the incorporation of decorative elements, although local craftspeople often diluted or simplified stylistic components.²⁸¹

In the mid-nineteenth century, Greek Revival architecture became the dominant style in eastern United States. High-style plantation manors and urban dwellings often featured full-façade pedimented colonnades that resembled Greek temples, pilasters, or broad frieze bands. In the Shenandoah Valley, modest dwellings had a simplified Greek Revival form, often side-gable or without entrance pavilions. The vernacular architecture of the Shenandoah Valley also adopted individual aspects of the style such as pedimented porches, cornices or pilasters, recessed Classical entrance surrounds, and six-light windows, which were also added to earlier Georgian- and Federal-style buildings beginning in the mid-nineteenth century.²⁸² Side-hall Greek Revival-style houses with reserved decoration became popular in the district in the mid-nineteenth century. These houses, most often constructed of brick and limestone, have low-pitched side-gable roofs, three-bay façades, recessed entrances, and no entrance pavilions. Brick examples typically have narrow corbelled cornices, simple window surrounds, and modest interior decoration. Windows are usually six-over-six sash arranged singly.²⁸³

The Italianate style, which became nationally popular in the 1840s and 1850s, began to be used in the Shenandoah Valley and other rural parts of Virginia in the 1860s. Within the district, the Italianate style presents in late nineteenth-century additions and alterations to earlier houses. Railroad access into the Valley made it easier to acquire elaborate millwork and trim details such as brackets, cornices, and molding, which are distinct features of the Italianate style. Late nineteenth-century window replacements were typically two-over-two sash, a common arrangement for Italianate architecture not used in earlier styles.

The **Daniel Stickley House (contributing building)** is a good example of vernacular architecture in the Shenandoah Valley from the first half of the nineteenth century and represents the style and form of houses built by prospering farmers and millers. It is a vernacular interpretation of Federal- and Greek Revival-style architecture with later Italianate additions and alterations. The house's

²⁸¹ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 217; Kalbian, *Frederick County*, 38–39.

²⁸² McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 246–264; Kalbian, *National Register of Historic Places Nomination Long Meadow*, 37–38.

²⁸³ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 246–264.

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construction history is not clear: it may have been constructed as a three-bay, side-passage house that was expanded by two bays shortly after, or it may have been constructed as an asymmetrical, five-bay, center-passage or hall-and-parlor house. A rear, two-story, brick ell or addition may have housed the original kitchen or dining room. The building's imperfectly symmetrical façade reflects an amalgamation of local building traditions and architectural styles popularized in pattern books and builders' guides. The windows, although filled with late nineteenth-century two-over-two sash, have broad lintels with decorative Greek Revival-style corner blocks. The simple, single-leaf entrance has a four-light transom and minimal trim and is sheltered by a later three-bay, Italianate-style porch with large brackets, square posts, and a geometric balustrade.

Long Meadow (contributing building) is a well-preserved, mid-nineteenth-century, brick, transitional Federal/Greek Revival-style plantation house (Figure 13). As the second house built on the plantation, it demonstrates the wealth and prosperity earned by Shenandoah Valley farmers like Colonel George Bowman. The extant associated eighteenth- and nineteenth-century plantation outbuildings and cemetery add to the property's integrity and setting.²⁸⁴ Long Meadow follows the regionally common, five-bay, hip-roof Federal-style form. The tripartite window in the second-story center bay and lunette window decorated with wood tracery in the cross gable are common to the Federal style. In contrast, the house has a Greek Revival-style entrance flanked by fluted Doric pilasters and surmounted by a dentilled cornice under a portico supported by paired Tuscan columns. The interior has Federal-style wall trim and Greek Revival-style doors, casings, and fireplaces with ornate surrounds flanked by arched niches and closets.²⁸⁵

The **Bowman-Hite House (contributing building)** and the **Miller-Kendrick-Walter House (contributing building)** were built as nearly identical, side-hall Greek Revival-style houses that represent the style's most common regional variation. Both are brick masonry with brick and limestone foundations and gable-end chimneys. The Bowman-Hite House, also known as the Charles Hite House or Whitham Farmhouse, has a narrow, corbelled cornice, splayed brick lintels, and a broad door surround with transom and side lights, all common elements in masonry Greek Revival-style houses. The original houses each consisted of a two-story, single-pile main block with a stair hall and a parlor on the first story, a stair hall and bedroom on the second story, and a two-story rear wing with a dining room and a bedroom above. In the Bowman-Hite House, the second-story bedrooms were not connected, and a boxed staircase in the dining room accessed the room above it. Cooking facilities were most likely housed in a separate kitchen building or in the basement, accessible from the exterior. The stair hall opened to a porch at the rear, which may have sheltered a basement entrance.²⁸⁶

The Bowman-Hite House was expanded in 1876 to the 1880s with a rear, wood-frame addition and the enclosure of a side porch. The rear addition contained a kitchen and a sleeping room for

²⁸⁴ Maral S. Kalbian, *National Register of Historic Places Nomination Long Meadow*, Warren Co., Virginia, NRIS 95001169, 1995, 1–2.

²⁸⁵ Kalbian, *National Register of Historic Places Nomination Long Meadow*, 1–5, 11.

²⁸⁶ Michael Spencer, *Charlie Hite Farm, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*, Draft (Fredericksburg, VA: University of Mary Washington, 2013), 4, 6.

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family members, domestic servants, or boarders. Windows on the addition are two-over-two sash, but the original six-over-six windows on the main block were retained. The house was extensively altered in the 1970s with the construction of a rear addition and the partial encapsulation of the original rear wing.²⁸⁷ Despite the building's expansion and modernization, the interior retains a remarkable amount of intact trim, wall treatments, and details. The original pine flooring is present in most of the building, as is a distinctive baseboard trim with a beveled and beaded top. Portions of original wallpaper are extant on the plaster walls in the dining room. Interior openings have simple Greek Revival surrounds and original two-panel wood doors. The house's four original fireplaces are similar to those in Asher Benjamin's 1830 *The Practical House Carpenter*, which was familiar to carpenters and house builders in the region by the mid-nineteenth century. The primary staircase has square banisters, turned newel posts with pendant drops, and a landing at the wall opposite the entrance.²⁸⁸

The Miller-Kendrick-Walter House was also expanded in the late nineteenth century into a symmetrical five-bay, central-hall house styled with Italianate-style features and alterations. A brick extension of the rear wing was also constructed about that time and likely incorporated a kitchen into the main building. A wood cornice with small brackets was installed on the five-bay façade, which has a mixture of six-over-six, nine-over-six, and two-over-two sash windows. The central porch was likely constructed or altered at that time to match the Italianate addition and a new rear porch. Wood-frame additions and minor modifications were made to the house in the early to mid-twentieth century but did not impact the primary elevation.²⁸⁹

Plantation/Farmstead Architecture

Early plantation architecture typically consisted of a monumental main house with detached dependencies, including service areas. Plantations built after ca. 1770 had a dwelling house with service wings and connecting passages that visually presented a cohesive whole. Domestic buildings, including quarters for enslaved people who worked in the house, were sited near the main house, which was the center of plantation life. Agricultural and auxiliary dwellings, including quarters for enslaved people working in the fields or agricultural buildings, were built farther from the domestic core.

Plantations had a variety of outbuildings generally built to accommodate a specific task or process. In the eighteenth century, outbuildings were typically constructed in locations to emphasize the geometric layout of a property, such as at the corners of the barnyard or in other configurations. By the nineteenth century, outbuildings were arranged in long rows running parallel or

²⁸⁷ Spencer, *Charlie Hite Farm*, 4–6, 8–9.

²⁸⁸ Spencer, *Charlie Hite Farm*, 9–12; Asher Benjamin, *The Practical House Carpenter*, (Boston, MA: Asher Benjamin, 1830).

²⁸⁹ Kalbian, *Frederick County*, 63.

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perpendicular to the manor house. The outbuildings at Belle Grove Plantation, for example, were built in two rough rows running perpendicular to the west wing of the house.²⁹⁰

Outkitchens, sometimes referred to as summer kitchens, like the **Fort Bowman Summer Kitchen (contributing building)**, were common outbuildings as early as the mid-eighteenth century, even on small farms. Initially, cooking was done over a large brick hearth, but iron cookstoves replaced the hearth by the mid-nineteenth century. Interiors were often roughly finished, with simple ladders to access the attic loft space used for storage or sleeping space for enslaved workers. By the late nineteenth century, kitchens in service wings attached to the main dwelling began to replace outkitchens.²⁹¹

The yard space between the outkitchen and the main residence was a workyard for domestic chores that allowed property owners and managers to survey enslaved or indentured workers. During the eighteenth century, housing for enslaved persons might be in the main house or with white overseers. Later, their living spaces became separated into separate buildings and then, at larger plantations, separate quarters on the property.²⁹² The housing for enslaved workers, as in the **Belle Grove Enslaved Quarter (Quarter Site B) (contributing site)**, was placed to facilitate surveillance of the area from offices and the main house. Other buildings, such as the **Plantation Store and Office (contributing building)** at Belle Grove, were also situated with a view of enslaved living quarters and workspaces. Tenant houses were often permanent dwellings but smaller and less detailed than the farmer's own house. As with the Bowman Tenant House (non-extant), these dwellings were sometimes removed from the farmstead core but near farm roads, fields, and buildings.

Smokehouses or meat houses, such as the **Belle Grove Meat House (contributing building)**, **Belle Grove Smokehouse Foundation (contributing site)**, **Stickley Smokehouse (contributing building)** and **Bowman-Hite Smokehouse (contributing building)**, were built to smoke meat or store salt-cured meat and were pervasive in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the Shenandoah Valley. Smokehouses enabled farmers to preserve meat for their own consumption or for transport to distant markets. Another important structure for the preservation of foodstuffs and produce was the icehouse, like the **Belle Grove Icehouse (contributing building)**. An icehouse typically was a partially subterranean structure packed with ice and sawdust. If a cool water spring was accessible, a springhouse, such as the combination **Springhouse-Icehouse (contributing building)** at Long Meadow, was built to keep dairy items and other perishables cool. Springhouses contained wide troughs of flowing water where pots, jars, and barrels could be suspended in cool water. They were generally rectangular with gable roofs and entrances in the gable ends.²⁹³ The **Root Cellar (contributing building)** at the Miller-Kendrick-Walter House is an example of a

²⁹⁰ John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 78.

²⁹¹ Gabrielle M. Lanier and Bernard L. Herman, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 52–53.

²⁹² Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, 136–137.

²⁹³ Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, 79.

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partially subterranean chamber used for food storage. Fresh water for the household and farm was collected from springs or wells, which often had a structure built over them like the **Fort Bowman Well House (contributing structure)**. Other wells, like the **Well (contributing structure)** at the Miller-Kendrick-Walter House, were uncovered but physically separated from the living space by a fence or wall like the **Stone Gate Posts and Wall (contributing structure)** on that property.

A variety of barns and sheds, serving different purposes, are extant throughout the district. Bank barns are two- or three-story buildings with at least one wall built into an earthen embankment, either naturally occurring or manmade. Such barns were designed to be as efficient as possible by combining multiple operations under one roof. Examples of bank barns in the district are the **Belle Grove 1918 Bank Barn, (contributing building)**, **Bowman-Hite Bank Barn (contributing building)**, **Brumback Bank Barn (contributing building)**, and **Bank Barn, 1832 Chapel Road (contributing building)**. These barns have post-and-beam framing, and some have stone foundations. The lower story is generally divided into pens for animals, with access doors along the outer edge or from an inner aisle. The upper story, accessed by a ramp, was used for threshing and storing hay, among other activities.²⁹⁴

Crib barns are typically one-story, end-gable buildings with double doors at each end. Interior spaces were used for storing corn or other cereals, carried in by wagons.²⁹⁵ The **Stickley Crib Barn (contributing building)** is the primary example of this type of barn in the district. Other barns in the district, such as the **Anderson Barn (contributing building)**, **Belle Grove 1930 Barn (non-contributing building)**, and **Spiggle Barn (contributing building)**, were built in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries likely for mixed uses. Wagon and equipment sheds constructed to store mechanized farm equipment were also prevalent on farms. The **Spiggle Wagon Shed (contributing building)** and **Stickley Equipment Shed (contributing building)** are examples of these types of buildings, which are often low, one-story, wood-frame buildings with asymmetrical gable roofs and open fronts.²⁹⁶ Some farmsteads had small blacksmith shops, like the **Blacksmith Shop (contributing building)** at the Ritenour/Spiggle farm, for equipment repair. However, most tools or machinery were purchased from domestic or European manufacturers.²⁹⁷

Small cemeteries associated with families and plantations throughout the district were established before the formation of the Mount Carmel Cemetery in the early nineteenth century. Three of the cemeteries are enclosed. The **Hite Cemetery (contributing site)** at Long Meadow is surrounded by non-historic chain link fencing; the **Enslaved Burial Ground** at Belle Grove is enclosed by a wood post-and-rail fence; and the **Bowman Cemetery (contributing site)** is surrounded by the stone **Bowman Cemetery Wall (non-contributing structure)**. These cemeteries are outside the periphery of the main core of the property; the Bowman Cemetery is the farthest from the main house and is sited near the Bowman Tenant House (non-extant). Small, virtually unmarked family

²⁹⁴ Lanier and Herman, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic*, 183–184.

²⁹⁵ Lanier and Herman, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic*, 203–204.

²⁹⁶ Lanier and Herman, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic*, 207.

²⁹⁷ Koons and Noyalas, *Historic Resource Study*, 9–10; Wood, *Frederick County*.

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graves are also scattered throughout the district, including the **Hite Family Graves (contributing site)** on a hilltop near the Bowman-Hite farm. The graves of enslaved persons, which are unmarked or marked with fieldstones, are generally outside established family cemeteries, as at the Bowman cemetery (see **Criterion A – Ethnic Heritage: Black**).

CRITERION D – ARCHEOLOGY: HISTORIC – NON-ABORIGINAL

Several dozen academic and cultural resource management (CRM) archeological investigations have been conducted within the district, and the three-volume archeological overview and assessment (AOA) completed for the district through a cooperative agreement between the NPS and James Madison University (JMU) summarizes the archeological investigations conducted up to 2006.²⁹⁸ The AOA also includes a review of cultural and natural viewsapes within the district, a discussion of significant themes relevant to the identified resources in the district, a discussion of potential research questions that could be explored through additional investigations at the identified archeological sites, and recommendations regarding the management of the identified resources within the district. More recent investigations have refined understandings of the thematic elements reflected in the identified archeological sites in district and have begun to address the research questions formulated by JMU. The interpretive contexts and site descriptions discussed below are derived primarily from JMU's research for the AOA and these recent studies.

The CRIS (legacy ASMIS) inventory for Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP is limited to 18 entries of known archeological sites (CEBE00058.000 and CEBE00088.000 through CEBE00104.000) that were identified through archeological surveys or were reported by local residents. All these sites are registered with the VDHR and have state site numbers assigned to them. Two sites recorded in CRIS (CEBE00058.000 and CEBE00088.000) correspond to the **Bowman-Hite Farm Site** (44WR0164) designated by VDHR; CEBE00058.000 is the site's pre-contact component, and CEBE00088.000 is the site's post-contact component. Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP also encompasses 70 archeological sites recorded by VDHR but not recorded in CRIS as they are not on federally owned property. In the AOA, JMU proposed assigning CRIS designations to these sites and to new sites identified outside federally owned property, but the NPS and VDHR ultimately did not concur with this recommendation. Thus, JMU's proposed CRIS site numbers as listed in the AOA are only used in some places in this registration form to limit confusion.

²⁹⁸ Clarence R. Geier, Kimberly Tinkham, and Joseph Whitehorne, *An Overview and Assessment of Archeological Resources and Landscapes within Lands Managed by Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume I: Park History, Previous Research, Cultural Resources and Significant Historic Military and Domestic Themes, Threat to Resource, with Recommendations for Resource Management and Interpretation* (Harrisonburg, VA: James Madison University, 2006); Clarence Geier, Phoebe Harding, Karen Early, and Kim Stern, *An Overview and Assessment of Cultural Resources and Landscapes Within the Legislated Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume II: the Cultural Resources* (Harrisonburg, VA: James Madison University, 2006); Clarence R. Geier, Joseph W. A. Whitehorne, and Kimberly D. Tinkham, *An Overview and Assessment of Cultural Resources and Landscapes Within the Legislated Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume III: Cultural and Natural Viewsapes* (Harrisonburg, VA: James Madison University, 2006).

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The recorded sites in CRIS and those registered with VDHR date to before, during, and after the Civil War and include pre-contact Native American sites, post-contact sites associated with the historic occupation and use of the plantations and farmsteads within the district, and sites associated with the Battle of Cedar Creek. The latter resources provide material evidence of the organization, operations, tactics, and experiences of the Federal and Confederate soldiers who participated in the battle on October 19, 1864; the daily lives and practices of the Federal soldiers encamped within the bounds of the district before and after the battle, and the layout and organizational profiles of the camps where they resided. Since the battle was fought on a pre-existing cultural landscape dominated by a plantation economy dependent on enslaved labor, the resources within the district (especially those associated with the Belle Grove Plantation) also have the demonstrated and potential ability to provide significant new information about the lives and experiences of the free and enslaved individuals who lived on that landscape and how the landscape developed before the Civil War and was radically altered by its outcome.

The following criteria were used to define a contributing archeological resource: 1) the resource must have been subjected to some level of subsurface archeological investigation and reporting, or, in the absence of archeological survey, the resource must be physically identifiable through a patterning of artifacts, cultural features, or structural remains on the ground surface; 2) the recovered/observed archeological data must be defensibly linked to the resource in question; 3) the resource must have a demonstrated and/or potential ability to address substantive research questions; and 4) the resource must lie within the boundaries of the district as delineated in this document. For organizational clarity, the contributing resources within the district are discussed thematically with reference to their demonstrated and potential abilities to contribute to the research contexts described below. Because the district's developmental and military histories are addressed in great detail in the preceding criteria statements, that history is summarized only as necessary to contextualize and interpret the district's resources under Criterion D.

Order and Chaos of Battle

Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP contains several identified archeological sites associated with the October 19, 1864, Battle of Cedar Creek, the last major battle fought in the Shenandoah Valley during the Civil War (see **Criterion A – Military**). Disturbances to some of these sites in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been limited to agricultural plowing, and the Federal earthworks at the sites were largely left intact and still survive on the landscape. As a result, these sites retain sufficient integrity to provide significant information about the order and chaos of the battle as Confederate and Federal forces engaged over the course of the day. Historical accounts attest to the fighting being at times vicious, hectic, and marred by confusion and disarray; and tactical improvisation and spontaneous decisions appear to have defined many of the actions that occurred on the battlefield. As such, archeological investigations at the battlefield sites within the district have the potential to provide evidence on the precise movements of the Confederate and Federal forces on the battlefield, how different Federal forces caught off-guard in their camps responded to the initial Confederate attack, how the Federal counterattack was carried out, and the

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retreat of the Confederate forces as the Federal Army counterattack overran them and forced them to abandon their earlier gains.

The remnant field fortifications are the most visible element of the Civil War battlefield on the extant landscape in the district. Federal forces encamped on various landforms near the Belle Grove Plantation constructed the earthworks, trenches, and other fortifications, which were designed to transform those landforms into a more defensible and military landscape (similar to the earthworks at other Civil War battlefield sites like Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania).²⁹⁹ During the Battle of Cedar Creek, the earthworks influenced and dictated the early morning Confederate surprise attack and the initial Federal response as they unsuccessfully attempted to hold the line and prevent the enemy advance. Earthworks and trenches associated with Federal forces such as the VIII and XIX Corps have been identified at the Taft's Battery Site (44FK0516, contributing site), XIX Corps Trenches Site (44FK0517, contributing site), 11th Indiana Battle Position Site (44FK0518, contributing site), XIX Corps Earthworks Site (44FK0608, contributing site), Site 44FK0737 (contributing site), Site 44WR0169 (contributing site), Cedar Creek Battlefield Trenches Site (44WR0298, contributing site), and Site 44WR0467 (contributing site). Additionally, earthworks associated with the forward positions of Confederate forces during an earlier 1862 campaign were identified on the south side of Cedar Creek at Site 44SH0387 (contributing site) off Bowman's Mill Road. Major General Joseph Kershaw's division mobilized from this area to attack Thoburn's Redoubt at the outset of the battle, but it is unlikely that they were responsible for the construction of the earthworks.

Archeological investigations of these military constructions have largely been limited to pedestrian and assessment surveys and limited test pit excavations, which were conducted around the features and yielded few (if any) artifacts.³⁰⁰ Dovetail Cultural Resources Group (Dovetail) also conducted systematic metal detection surveys within the 44FK0169 and Cedar Creek Battlefield Trenches site areas (which contain earthworks and trench fortifications [REDACTED]), but these surveys were conducted during a CRM investigation for a new parking lot and trail and were constrained to the project's impact areas. As a result, they did not cover the entirety (or even most) of the two site areas. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Even so, Dovetail recovered some Civil War artifacts [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] These artifacts indicate that although the [REDACTED]

²⁹⁹ Stephen A. Olausen, Kristen Heitert, Laura Kline, Gretchen Pineo, and Elizabeth de Block, *National Register Nomination: Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park* (Fredericksburg, VA, NRIS 66000046, 2017).

³⁰⁰ Clarence R. Geier and Joseph Whitehome, *An Archaeological Assessment of Cultural Resources South of the Confluence of Meadow Brook and Cedar Creek in Frederick County, Virginia* (Harrisonburg, VA: James Madison University, 1994); Clarence R. Geier and Howard Morrison, *An Archaeological Assessment of Military and Domestic Cultural Resources on the Bayliss Tract, Cedar Creek Battlefield, Frederick County, Virginia* (Harrisonburg, VA: James Madison University, 2003); Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume II*.

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portions of the sites that overlapped the particular project's impact areas did not contain significant site deposits, Civil War deposits are present [REDACTED].³⁰¹

The earthwork sites have the potential to provide information about how the Federal fortifications were adapted to fit specific natural landforms in the district, such as Stony Hill at the Taft's Battery Site and how their engineering and design evolved from earlier Civil War battlefield fortifications and influenced the construction of fortifications at later battlefields. The Federal earthworks could also be compared to the Confederate earthworks at Site 44SH0387 to explore similarities and differences in the fortifications designed and used by the opposing sides. Data about the fortifications could be gathered through excavations around and of the earthworks, trenches, and other fortification features. To date, no such excavations have been conducted at any of the earthwork sites in the district, although JMU did document and map some fortification features on the landscape to varying extents during pedestrian surveys.³⁰²

Systematic metal detection surveys at the fortification sites and targeted excavations based on the results of the metal detection surveys could also provide information about the movements and actions of the Confederate troops that overwhelmed these positions, and the Federal forces that struggled to defend them and were forced to fall back. Many of the Federal soldiers were asleep when the attack started, and their rally to take their positions and engage the enemy was hurried and anything but orderly. Communications and orders from commanding officers failed to reach several of the brigades before soldiers reacted and moved on the battlefield on their own accord, and investigations of earthworks and fortification sites could illuminate precisely how these soldiers chose to react and retreat as they realized that they could not wait for decisions from their commanders.³⁰³

Archeological investigations at Matthews Hill at Manassas National Battlefield Park have shown that the recovery of battlefield debris at the locations of fortifications and analyses of their types and distributions could provide significant information about undocumented and hasty tactical maneuvers during a battle similar to those that occurred at the identified earthwork sites at Cedar

³⁰¹ D. Brad Hatch, *Archeological Research at Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation Thoburn's Redoubt Property in Preparation for Parking Lot Installation and Trail Construction (Thoburn's Redoubt Interpretive Trail Project)*, Cedar Creek Battlefield, Warren County, Virginia (Fredericksburg, VA: Dovetail Cultural Resources Group, 2018); D. Brad Hatch, *Addendum: Archeological Survey at Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation Thoburn's Redoubt Property in Preparation for Parking Lot Installation and Trail Construction (Thoburn's Redoubt Interpretive Trail Project)*, Cedar Creek Battlefield, Warren County, Virginia (Fredericksburg, VA: Dovetail Cultural Resources Group, 2018).

³⁰² Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume II*.

³⁰³ B. W. Crowninshield, *The Battle of Cedar Creek, October 19, 1864: A Paper read before the Massachusetts Military Historical Society, December 8, 1879* (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1879); Joseph F. Balicki and Mary Jane Balicki, *Archeological Metal Detection at the Hayes/Ramseur Trail Field (44FK0868), Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Frederick County, Virginia* (Middletown, VA: Balicki, 2022); Hatch, *Archeological Research at Thoburn's Redoubt Property*.

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Creek and Belle Grove NHP.³⁰⁴ Analyses of battlefield debris from these sites, such as an examination of the relative percentages of fired and unfired ammunition, could also help evaluate and compare the tactical stability of each Federal fortification and provide insight into why some buckled quicker than others, much to the surprise of their commanders.³⁰⁵ Such analyses have provided valuable information at other Civil War battlefields such as Chickamauga and Shiloh.³⁰⁶

As the attacking Confederate forces overwhelmed the Federal Army's forward positions and fortifications and Federal troops hastily fell back, the Battle of Cedar Creek progressed into the US Army encampments that had been set up behind the front lines. Some of the heaviest and most hectic fighting occurred at these encampments, which have been identified at the **Vermont Monument Property Site (CEBE00089.000/44FK0060, contributing site), Site 44FK0497 (contributing site), Site 44FK0501 (contributing site), the Claytor Field Site (CEBE00090.000/44FK0868, contributing site), and the Bowman-Hite Farm Site (CEBE00088.000/44WR0164, contributing site).** Archeological investigations at some of these sites were limited to pedestrian surveys and limited test pit excavations by JMU, but others have been the subject of more in-depth academic and CRM investigations. The studies associated with CRM projects were generally confined to specific impact areas within the sites.

To date, the most thoroughly investigated encampment sites are the Vermont Monument Property Site, the Claytor Field Site, and the Bowman-Hite Farm Site. The Vermont Monument Property Site was the location of pre-battle encampments of divisions of the Federal VIII Corps under the command of Brigadier General George Crook and was along the retreat route of VIII Corps divisions fleeing the attacking Confederate forces. It was also where the 2nd Brigade, First Division, XIX Corps, under Colonel Stephen Thomas, including the 8th Vermont Regiment of Volunteer Infantry, made a heroic and fierce stand against the Confederates to give other Federal forces time to retreat and reform. In 2012–2013, the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research (WMCAR) conducted a survey and evaluation of the Vermont Monument Property containing the site. This investigation consisted of a pedestrian survey, test pit excavations, a systematic metal detection survey, and excavation units placed at clusters of metal detector hits. WMCAR interpreted the significant amount of recovered fired and unfired ammunition across the site as reflecting the intensity of the fighting. Clusters of unfired ammunition likely indicated

³⁰⁴ Matthew Reeves, "Civil War Battlefield Archaeology: Examining and Interpreting the Debris of Battle," in *Historical Archaeology of Military Sites: Method and Topic*, ed. Clarence R. Geier, Lawrence E. Babits, Douglas D. Scott, and David G. Orr (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2011), 87–98.

³⁰⁵ Crowninshield, *The Battle of Cedar Creek, October 19, 1864*; Rutherford B. Hayes, "Incidents at the Battle of Cedar Creek," in *Sketches of War History, 1861–1865: Papers Prepared for the Ohio Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States*, ed. W. H. Chamberlin (Cincinnati, OH: The Robert Clarke Company, 1896), 235–245; Balicki and Balicki, *Archeological Metal Detection at the Hayes/Ramseur Trail Field (44FK0868)*.

³⁰⁶ John E. Cornelison, Jr., "The Archaeology of Retreat: Systematic Metal Detection Survey and Information System Analysis at the Battlefield of Chickamauga, September 1863," in *Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War*, ed. Clarence R. Geier and Stephen R. Potter (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2000); John E. Cornelison, Jr. and Tammy D. Cooper, *An Archaeological Report on a Metal Detecting Survey and Limited Site Testing at Shiloh National Battlefield, Shiloh, Tennessee* (Tallahassee, FL: Southeast Archeological Center, 2007).

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defensible fighting positions, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] that were abandoned as the Confederates charged.³⁰⁷

The Claytor Field Site [REDACTED] encompasses areas where divisions of the VIII Corps camped before the battle and positioned themselves during the morning stages of the battle. Archeological investigations of the site area were conducted in 2017 by Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc. (CRA) and in 2022 by Joseph and Mary Jane Balicki. The 2017 study consisted of magnetometer and metal detector surveys and the excavation of test pits and excavation units. The 2022 study consisted of a metal detector survey, and the Balickis are currently (2023) conducting additional research at the site. Despite the site's long history of unauthorized metal detection and excavation dating back to the 1960s, these latest investigations yielded a substantial collection of military artifacts [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The spatial distributions of these materials indicated a mix of Confederate and Federal soldiers in tight quarters on the battlefield, a testament to the heavy and chaotic fighting in the area. The Balickis also recovered ammunition associated with the Federal Army's afternoon counterattack, during which cavalry brigades under Brigadier General Wesley Merritt pursued Confederate troops through the site area.³⁰⁸

In addition to containing the core of the Bowman-Hite farmstead/plantation, the Bowman-Hite Farm Site was traversed by Kershaw's division (particularly Conner's Brigade under Major James M. Goggin) as it attacked the Federal forces at Thoburn's Redoubt during the morning stages of the battle and by retreating Confederate troops and Federal counterattackers in the afternoon. Three investigations within portions of the site area involved metal detection surveys and test pit excavations: in 2011 by WMCAR, in 2015 CRM projects by Commonwealth Heritage Group, Inc.; and in 2020 by Stantec Consulting Services, Inc.³⁰⁹ Because WMCAR's survey covered most of the 8-acre Bowman-Hite property, it provided the most substantial information about the site's content and research potential. Most of the recovered battlefield-related artifacts, such as minié balls, a knapsack ring, and a mess kit handle, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] WMCAR concluded that this area was likely where Conner's Brigade advanced

³⁰⁷ Thomas F. Higgins, III and David W. Lewes, *Archaeological Survey and Evaluation of the Vermont Monument Property (44FK0060)*, Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Frederick County, Virginia (Williamsburg, VA: William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, 2015).

³⁰⁸ Timothy Roberts and Nicholas Arnhold, *Archaeological Inventory and Evaluation, Claytor Field, Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Frederick and Warren Counties, Virginia* (Henrico, VA: Cultural Resource Analysts, 2018); Balicki and Balicki, *Archeological Metal Detection at the Hayes/Ramseur Trail Field (44FK0868)*.

³⁰⁹ William H. Moore, Jerrell Blake, Jr., Kevin T. Goodrich, Thomas D. Young, and David W. Lewes, *An Archaeological Assessment of the Bowman-Hite Farm Property, Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Warren County, Virginia* (Williamsburg, VA: William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, 2012); Charles E. Goode, *Phase I Archaeological Survey in Support of the Removal of Structures from the Claytor and Bowman-Hite Properties, Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Frederick and Warren County, Virginia* (Alexandria, VA: Commonwealth Heritage Group, Inc., 2016); Brynn Stewart and Ellen Brady, *Phase I Archaeological Surveys of Approximately 55 Acres Associated with the Proposed Cedar Creek Island Farm Mitigation Site, Warren County, Virginia* (Williamsburg, VA: Stantec Consulting Services, Inc., 2021).

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on the Federal positions, [REDACTED]

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Archeological investigations at the Vermont Monument Property, Claytor Field, and Bowman-Hite Farm sites and at the other sites of US Army encampments within the district could provide significant information about troop movements and tactical choices made by Federal defenders and Confederate attackers as the battle progressed through and past the Federal's front lines into "domestic" camp areas, where Federal soldiers were awakened to the sounds of battle and tried to stem the Confederate advance. These sites were where some of the most brutal fighting in the morning portion of the battle occurred, including during the 8th Vermont Regiment's frenzied defense of the regimental colors against overwhelming numbers of Confederate troops at the Vermont Monument Property Site.³¹¹ Systematic metal detection surveys and targeted excavations have the potential to yield data about these actions and the thought processes and decision-making behind them, as well as the actions of Confederate troops looting the encampments in the hours before the Federal Army's counterattack. Evidence of battlefield actions has also been identified at the **Solomon Heater Farm Site (44FK0509, contributing site)** and the **Burrows Tract Site (CEBE00104.00/44FK1042, contributing site)**, and additional archeological investigations at these sites could yield similar data and shed light on the less well-known and unrecorded actions during the Confederate attack in the morning and the Federal counterattack in the afternoon.

Life and the Effects of Battle at Military Camps and Quarters

The encampment sites within the district also have the potential to yield significant new data about the lives and experiences of soldiers at Civil War military camps. While battles and skirmishes tend to take center stage in histories of armed conflicts, the routine and repetitive nature of life in a military camp between such actions dominated the experiences of the soldiers engaged in those conflicts since, as Balicki states, "moments in battle were brief compared to time in a camp."³¹² Each of the three categories of military camps that have been studied (permanent camps, winter quarters, and surface camps) has a distinct archeological signature. The aforementioned Federal encampment and fortification sites within Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP were established following the Federal victory in the Battle of Tom's Brook on October 9, 1864, when Major General Philip Sheridan decided to use the Belle Grove Plantation as the temporary headquarters for the Army of the Shenandoah. While he recognized the continued threat posed by Lieutenant General Jubal Early's Confederate forces at Fisher's Hill, Sheridan knew that his forces outnumbered Early's. He did not expect an attack and left for Washington a few days before the Battle of Cedar Creek to consult with Secretary of War Edwin Stanton (1814–1869) about plans

³¹⁰ Moore et al., *An Archaeological Assessment of the Bowman-Hite Farm Property*.

³¹¹ Higgins and Lewes, *Archaeological Survey and Evaluation of the Vermont Monument Property (44FK0060)*.

³¹² Joseph Balicki, "Watch-Fires of a Hundred Circling Camps: Theoretical and Practical Approaches to Investigating Civil War Campsites," in *Historical Archaeology of Military Sites: Method and Topic*, ed. Clarence R. Geier, Lawrence E. Babits, Douglas D. Scott, and David G. Orr (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2011), 57–74.

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to fortify the Shenandoah Valley near Front Royal.³¹³ While the Federal forces had time to construct the identified earthworks and fortifications in the district before the battle, the troops at the encampments had little time (and perhaps little inclination, if the intent to eventually move to Front Royal was known to more than the commanding officers) to establish their camps as anything more than surface camps.

Surface camps were temporary constructions used for summer camps and short-term occupations, and soldiers at camps of this type sheltered as best they could in their tents. While the US War Department's 1861 army regulations served as the primary standard for regimental camps and their layouts followed by both Federal and Confederate forces, camp layouts varied in practice due to training, orders, topography, and stress from combat. Since surface camps were temporary by design, their archeological signatures are often ephemeral. Nonetheless, investigations using metal detection and excavation can provide information about their organization and how it varied from that outlined in the regulations, the different activities conducted at them, and the daily lives and practices of the soldiers who established, maintained, and sheltered within them.³¹⁴

Data gathered archeological investigations at the Vermont Monument Property Site and the Claytor Field Site have indicated that several of the VIII Corps' encampments by the Federal front lines were set up to take advantage of specific, defensible landforms.³¹⁵ These were ridgetops and bluffs overlooking ravines and other low-lying areas and consequently varied from the camp layouts prescribed in the regulations to fit the topographical conditions of those landforms. The encampment at the Claytor Field Site, for example, potentially had rows of shelters separated by rows of campfires, all organized around lanes for drainage where the landform was naturally incised.³¹⁶ Further investigation of these sites could potentially delineate the full layouts of the encampments and how the various commanding officers of the VIII Corps divisions chose to negotiate the topography for the organizations of their soldiers' camps. Identified features could also indicate which types of tents were used at the various encampments.³¹⁷

The two sites have also yielded data about the lives of the soldiers at the encampments. WMCAR's investigations at the Vermont Monument Property Site indicated that the soldiers at that encampment had acquired locally and regionally produced ceramic vessels for food and liquid storage, with the stored foods supplementing the daily rations of preserved meat. Coarse earthenware vessels overwhelmingly outnumbered those of more durable stoneware, which reflected of nineteenth-century ceramic trends in the Shenandoah Valley. This finding suggests

³¹³ Crowninshield, *The Battle of Cedar Creek, October 19, 1864*; Higgins and Lewes, *Archaeological Survey and Evaluation of the Vermont Monument Property (44FK0060)*; Roberts and Arnhold, *Archaeological Inventory and Evaluation, Claytor Field*; Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume I*.

³¹⁴ Balicki, "Watch-Fires of a Hundred Circling Camps."

³¹⁵ Higgins and Lewes, *Archaeological Survey and Evaluation of the Vermont Monument Property (44FK0060)*; Roberts and Arnhold, *Archaeological Inventory and Evaluation, Claytor Field*; Balicki and Balicki, *Archeological Metal Detection at the Hayes/Ramseur Trail Field (44FK0868)*.

³¹⁶ Roberts and Arnhold, *Archaeological Inventory and Evaluation, Claytor Field*.

³¹⁷ Balicki, "Watch-Fires of a Hundred Circling Camps."

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that the soldiers' consumption and acquisition of domestic material goods mirrored local patterns by deliberate choice, market availability, or potentially by looting during "The Burning" of the Valley before the Battle of Tom's Brook.³¹⁸ Further investigations of the camps and their disposal areas could illuminate whether this potential mirroring of local patterns extended to foods acquired to supplement rations and to other domestic goods such as glass bottles and personal items. Differences in provisioning at the camps may have stemmed from privileges extended to them by the commanding officers. Comparisons of the various encampment sites could provide insight into whether this was a factor at the camps established around Belle Grove.

Artifact clusters at the Claytor Field Site indicate some degree of spatial patterning in domestic activity areas at the encampments, and additional investigations could explore where activities typically occurred in relation to habitation areas (i.e., the tent rows), cooking areas (i.e., the fire pit rows), and disposal areas (i.e., middens and drainage channels).³¹⁹ Social and recreational activities at the camp have been indicated by recovered items such as alcohol bottle fragments, a harmonica fragment, and four carved minié balls possibly used as gaming pieces. The recovery of additional materials related to such activities could provide more insight into the daily lives of soldiers in the VIII Corps and at the other Federal encampments in the district and how they passed the time in the days before the battle.³²⁰

A JMU investigation of the Army of the Shenandoah's encampments at Belle Grove also provided an opportunity to examine the lives and experiences of the enlisted men in their surface camps compared to those of the officers quartered in and camped around the various plantation buildings. The **Belle Grove Site (44FK0016, contributing site)** contains the Belle Grove Plantation's mansion house, which was repeatedly used as a Federal army headquarters during the Civil War, first by Major General John Fremont in 1862, then by General David Hunter in May 1864, and finally by Sheridan in October 1864.³²¹ Historical accounts describe Belle Grove during the war as "rarely without a military tenant" and containing the camps of the highest echelon officers in Fremont's, Hunter's, and Sheridan's commands in the yard space surrounding the mansion house, such as "a semicircle of tents ... pitched in the front lawn under an immense lilac hedge."³²²

Archeological investigations conducted at the Belle Grove Site since the 1970s have primarily involved close-interval test pit excavations that have yielded substantial deposits associated with its eighteenth- and nineteenth-century occupation and use as a farmstead and plantation (see

³¹⁸ Higgins and Lewes, *Archaeological Survey and Evaluation of the Vermont Monument Property (44FK0060)*.

³¹⁹ Roberts and Arnhold, *Archaeological Inventory and Evaluation, Claytor Field*.

³²⁰ Balicki and Balicki, *Archeological Metal Detection at the Hayes/Ramseur Trail Field (44FK0868)*.

³²¹ Clarence R. Geier, Jr., Laurie Paonessa, Victoria Webdale, Charles "Wyn" Bedall, Sloan Frey, and Susan Marshall, *An "Immense Lilac Hedge in Full Bloom": The Archaeological Definition and Assessment of the Belle Grove Plantation (44FK16)* (Harrisonburg, VA: James Madison University, 1995); Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume II*.

³²² James E. Taylor, *The James E. Taylor Sketchbook: With Sheridan Up the Shenandoah Valley in 1864* (Dayton, OH: Morningside House, 1989); David Hunter Strother, *A Virginia Yankee in the Civil War: The Diaries of David Hunter Strother*, ed. Cecil D. Eby, Jr. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

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discussion below).³²³ Although some Civil War-era artifacts have also been recovered, JMU concluded in 2006 that the finds were inadequate to further investigate the site's use as a military camp. JMU's archeologists assumed that the limited number of military artifacts was due to unauthorized metal detector surveys to collect artifacts.³²⁴ However, relic hunting is unlikely to have removed all or most of the military-related artifacts and a more systematic investigation that combines test pit excavation and metal detection has the potential to yield more data.³²⁵ This has been true at several other archeological sites at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP, such as the Claytor Field and Cedar Creek Battlefield Trenches sites.³²⁶

Additional investigations at the Belle Grove Site using metal detection could provide insight into the camps of the officers closer to the core of the plantation and whether this proximity affected their soldiers' access to domestic materials and supplemental food resources and their overall quality of life. Civil War middens and trash deposits could also provide information about how the lives of officers such as Sheridan living in the mansion house and how their daily lives compared with the soldiers living in tents, even those just outside the building's walls. Similar investigations at the **Belle Grove Overseer's House Site (44FK0502, contributing site)**, could recover artifacts,

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The military encampment sites at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP also offer an opportunity to investigate the effects of a battle on the organization of, and life at, such places. As noted by WMCAR, the camps may have been variably affected by the fighting during the Battle of Cedar Creek.³²⁸ Fatigued soldiers may have done their best to restore the camps or may have simply decided to cook meals and bed down in the most convenient locations. At the Claytor Field Site, the Balickis could not find any clear artifact patterning to provide information about camp layout, which could have been a consequence of disturbance caused by the battle and/or post-battle actions. However, they acknowledged that an archeological signature of the camp's organization could still be identified at that site³²⁹ and at other encampment sites in the district and could show the extent to which the battle affected the camps and how each division returning to their pre-battle positions dealt with the disturbance the battle had caused. Additionally, Confederate troops are known to have stopped and looted the Federal camps instead of pressing their advantage on the battlefield (a contributing factor to their eventual defeat in the afternoon). While no clear evidence

³²³ Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume II*.

³²⁴ Geier et al., *The Archaeological Definition and Assessment of the Belle Grove Plantation (44FK16)*; Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume II*.

³²⁵ Balicki, "Watch-Fires of a Hundred Circling Camps."

³²⁶ Roberts and Arnhold, *Archaeological Inventory and Evaluation, Claytor Field*; Balicki and Balicki, *Archeological Metal Detection at the Hayes/Ramseur Trail Field (44FK0868)*; Hatch, *Archeological Research at Thoburn's Redoubt Property*.

³²⁷ Clarence R. Geier, Phoebe Harding, and Kimberly Stern, *A Program of Archaeological Testing and Assessment Conducted at the Belle Grove Plantation "Overseer's" House (44FK502)* (Harrisonburg, VA: James Madison University, 2006); Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume II*.

³²⁸ Higgins and Lewes, *Archaeological Survey and Evaluation of the Vermont Monument Property (44FK0060)*.

³²⁹ Balicki and Balicki, *Archeological Metal Detection at the Hayes/Ramseur Trail Field (44FK0868)*.

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of Confederate looting and the effect it had on the camps has yet been identified, additional archeological investigations could determine if Confederate looting left a signature of its own on these sites.

If additional archeological investigations can confirm that a post-battle Federal camp was established at the Bowman-Hite Farm, data from this site could be compared with those from the other encampment sites, especially those used after the events of the battle. A post-battle encampment at the Bowman-Hite Farm Site would likely be similar to the Civil War camp of the 14th Connecticut Infantry Regiment identified by John Milner Associates, Inc. at VDHR Site 44CU0146 in Culpeper County, Virginia. Data from that site indicated that the camp of the 14th Connecticut was a front-line, short-term camp established by troops returning from an active campaign, and the assemblage reflects a group having only what they were wearing and carrying on their backs.³³⁰ Any division that may have camped at the Bowman-Hite Farm after the Battle of Cedar Creek likely did so because they could not return to their pre-battle encampment, either because it had been thoroughly destroyed by the day's fighting or out of tactical necessity because new forward positions needed to be established. As a result, the troops there likely would have had only what was in their possession during the battle and what they could scrounge or salvage.

Antebellum Landscape and Experiences of the Enslaved

Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP is within an area of Virginia that was not settled by Euro-Americans until the early eighteenth century, when a pass through the Blue Ridge Mountains was identified and facilitated colonial expansion into the Shenandoah Valley (see **Criterion A – Agriculture**).³³¹ As the Valley's commercial farms transformed into larger plantations in the mid-to-late eighteenth century, they became increasingly dependent on enslaved labor, and the population of enslaved individuals working the plantations in the region steadily increased into the nineteenth century. Traditionally, historical narratives about the Shenandoah Valley have unintentionally overlooked or intentionally erased enslaved people, choosing instead to focus on white residents, especially the German and Scots-Irish families who were early settlers of the Valley.³³² Recent research and scholarly work have only just begun to include studies of enslaved people, and recent archeological investigations at farmstead and plantation sites within the district have demonstrated their potential to provide significant information about these lives and experiences in the Valley in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and how these experiences compared with those of the white families that established and operated the plantations.

The Belle Grove Site and the other identified sites associated with Belle Grove Plantation represent the most significant and thoroughly investigated plantation sites in the district dating to the late

³³⁰ Joseph Balicki, Sarah Traum, Kerri Holland, and Bryan Corle, *Archeological Investigations at Site 44CU146: The Bivouac of the 14th Connecticut Infantry Regiment, Culpeper County, Virginia* (West Chester, PA: John Milner Associates, Inc., 2007).

³³¹ Matthew Clark Greer, *Assembling Enslaved Lives: Labor, Consumption, and Landscapes in the Northern Shenandoah Valley* (PhD diss., Syracuse University, 2022); Moore et al., *An Archaeological Assessment of the Bowman-Hite Farm Property*.

³³² Greer, *Assembling Enslaved Lives*.

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eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In addition to the Belle Grove Overseer's House Site, these associated sites are the **Quarter Site B (44FK0520, contributing site)**, the **Belle Grove Barn Complex (44FK0521, contributing site)**, and the **Belle Grove Stable Complex (44FK0522, contributing site)**.

Belle Grove was part of the original 130,000-acre land grant to Jost Hite and Alexander Ross, and James Hoge and William Vance settled the original 483-acre core of the plantation. Isaac Hite Sr., son of Jost Hite, purchased the land from Hoge and Vance. The two-story "Old Hall" (**Old Hall Foundation [contributing site]**) was extant before 1783, though Hite Sr. never lived there. In 1783, he granted Belle Grove to his son Isaac Hite Jr., who lived with his family in Old Hall until the completion of the extant Belle Grove mansion house in 1797.³³³ After the Hites moved into the new house, Old Hall was used by extended family members until 1819, after which it may have been used to house enslaved people at the plantation (see **Criterion A – Ethnic Heritage: Black**). As Belle Grove was expanded in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the number of people enslaved by the Hite family continued to increase. The family continued to own and operate Belle Grove until 1860, when it was sold to the Cooley family, who also had enslaved workers at the plantation.³³⁴

During its 1994–1995 field school excavations on the former plantation property, JMU identified Quarter Site B as the possible location of enslaved quarters at Belle Grove. Archeological investigations led by Matthew Greer in 2015–2019 confirmed that the site contains quarters built ca. 1800 for enslaved people at Belle Grove and showed that the site is much larger than JMU archeologists originally believed. Greer's excavations indicated that the Quarter Site B represents the main quartering site during the Hite family's ownership of Belle Grove, and the enslaved quarters possibly consisted of as many as five log cabins with brick chimneys. Greer focused on one of these cabins at the site and used the recovered artifact assemblage and the identified cultural features to explore the daily lives and practices of the enslaved people living in the cabin. He wrote about how the enslaved at Belle Grove functioned within an oppressive political economy and how their quarters fit into the plantation's organized landscape.³³⁵ Further investigation of the Quarter Site B, including excavations of the other log cabins, could provide additional data to refine Greer's interpretations and assist with, as Greer suggests, "retelling Valley history in ways that use the region's political economies as a connective thread that unites the stories of enslaved people with enslaving and non-enslaving white Shenandoahans."³³⁶

Efforts to craft a truly inclusive history of the Shenandoah Valley would likely benefit from archeological studies comparing the lives of the enslaved people at the Quarter Site B with the lives of their enslavers living at Belle Grove and the Belle Grove Overseer's House Site and of those at smaller farmsteads and plantations in the area such as the Solomon Heater Farm Site. The owners of that farm before the Heater family generally enslaved fewer people. In the mid-

³³³ Greer, *Assembling Enslaved Lives*.

³³⁴ Greer, *Assembling Enslaved Lives*.

³³⁵ Greer, *Assembling Enslaved Lives*.

³³⁶ Greer, *Assembling Enslaved Lives*.

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nineteenth century, just over half of the enslavers in Frederick County enslaved fewer than four people each.³³⁷

Site 44FK0510 (contributing site) may have been the location of the enslaved quarters at the Heater Farm during its ownership by the Baldwin family, although historical documents suggest that it was instead where Baldwin's overseer resided. Archeological investigations at Site 44FK0510 could help to determine its historical use. The **Ashby Tenancy Site (44FK0511, contributing site)** may have been the nineteenth-century home of Alfred Ashby, a free Black man employed by Solomon Heater. Archeological investigations could provide information about Ashby's life and experiences that might be compared with those of white neighbors and with the enslaved people at the Heater Farm and Belle Grove.³³⁸

The district also encompasses several resources associated with the area's industrial enterprises, which developed to complement its agricultural ventures and helped shape the antebellum landscape. The **Millbrook Mill Ruins/Millbrook Mill Site (44FK0713, contributing site)** and **Hottel's Mill Site (44FK0714, contributing site)** were part of a network of mills and industrial operations on Cedar Creek and Meadow Brook that supported the area's farmsteads and plantations and helped process their products into exportable goods.³³⁹ To date, these industrial sites have not garnered as much attention in discussions of the history of the Shenandoah Valley as the agricultural businesses that historically formed its economic backbone. However, without the support of these industries, the Valley may not have experienced the same agricultural success, especially in the eighteenth century during the emergence of the plantations.³⁴⁰ JMU documented many of the industrial sites in the district during pedestrian surveys, but few archeological excavations have been conducted. Further investigation of these sites might provide significant information about the development and operation of the area's industries and how different mills supported the associated plantations and communities.

Transportation routes within the district played a pivotal role in how the antebellum landscape was organized and developed. The **Valley Pike Bridge Abutments/Valley Pike Bridge Site (CEBE00103.000/44FK0869, contributing structure)** was constructed to facilitate the Valley Turnpike's crossing of Cedar Creek to the east of the Daniel Stickley Farm. The bridge also was a key strategic point during the Battle of Cedar Creek and was used to control movement across Cedar Creek. The bridge was later destroyed, and all that remains are its limestone abutments. **Bowman's Mill Road Site (CEBE00097.000/44WR0463, contributing site)** connected residences along Meadow Brook and mills operated by the Bowman and Hite families with the

³³⁷ Greer, *Assembling Enslaved Lives*.

³³⁸ Laurie J. Paonessa, *Archaeological Investigations at the Heater House, Middletown, Virginia* (Locust Grove, VA: Laurie J. Paonessa, 1996); Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume II*.

³³⁹ The name of Hottel's Mill was misspelled when it was registered as an archeological site with VDHR. PAL has kept the site name as is listed in VCRIS for consistency.

³⁴⁰ Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume I*; Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume II*; Greer, *Assembling Enslaved Lives*.

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wider community in the nineteenth century. Additional investigations of these sites have the potential to provide information about how they were constructed and altered in the nineteenth century, which may in turn provide insight into the development of other turnpikes, roads, and bridges in the Shenandoah Valley, as these transportation routes served as models for others in the region.³⁴¹

Post-Civil War Transformations

The Federals' victory in the Civil War signaled the end of the plantation economy in the Shenandoah Valley and changed the agricultural landscape of the area (see **Criterion A – Agriculture**). Farms in the district quickly transformed into family-operated and tenant farms, and historical accounts attest to farmers and farm owners adapting to a new system of farming with grain and cattle production at their pre-war levels by the 1880s.³⁴² However, at that time, the farmers in the Valley found they could no longer compete in wheat markets with wheat from the Great Plains arriving by railroads and were again forced to adapt. Apples became the primary focus of the region's economy until the 1960s³⁴³ and served to keep the Valley's rural character and small-town atmosphere intact.

Archeological investigations of late nineteenth- and twentieth-century farm sites within the district—most of which have been recorded but not professionally investigated—have the potential to provide insight into how Valley farms adapted to post-Civil War agricultural shifts. These sites include farms established before the Civil War, such as the Solomon Heater Farm and the Bowman-Hite Farm, and those associated with farms established after the war, such as the **Heater Barn Site (44FK0507, contributing site)**, **Site 44FK0508 (contributing site)**, the **Bunker Silo Site (44FK0675, contributing site)**, the **Cedar Campground Multicomponent Site (CEBE00092.000/44FK0890, contributing site)**, and **Site 44WR0487 (contributing site)**.

Mills along Cedar Creek like those at the Millbrook Mill and Hottel's Mill sites contributed to the development of the Meadow Mills community, a major industrial community that formed northwest of Belle Grove near the confluence of Meadow Brook and Cedar Creek. Research at these sites and other industrial sites in the district such as the **Conner Lime Kiln Site (44FK0504, contributing site)** has the potential to provide new information about the comparatively under-documented industrial community at Meadow Mills and the industrial businesses that formed and supported it.³⁴⁴ These industrial sites and residential sites associated with their operators, particularly the **Hottle Miller's House Site (44FK0523, contributing site)** and the **Miller's House Ruin (44FK0818, contributing site)**, could also be compared to contemporaneous

³⁴¹ John Gentry, Sarah Vonesh, and Carleigh Hessian, *Draft National Historic Landmark Nomination, Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove Plantation* (Washington, DC: EHT Tracerics, Inc., 2020).

³⁴² Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume I*.

³⁴³ Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume I*.

³⁴⁴ Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume I*; Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume II*.

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agricultural sites to track how the everyday lives and experiences of individuals and families employed in the area's industries compared to those of their agriculturalist neighbors.

Post-Contact Archeological Potential of the District

In addition to the contributing post-contact archeological sites described above, Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP contains numerous archeological sites that have yielded materials that might provide data that show an association with the Battle of Cedar Creek. These sites have not been sufficiently investigated to determine any association or their potential eligibility for listing in the National Register. The recovered artifact assemblages from Sites 44FK0497, 44FK0501, and 44FK0519; the Claytor Property Site; and Site 44WR0483 suggest they may have been locations of Federal encampments before and/or after the battle. Additionally, evidence of battlefield-related actions has been recovered from Sites 4FK0492, 4FK0493, 4FK0494, 4FK0495, 4FK0496, 4FK0498, and 4FK0811, but none of these locations are included in historical accounts of the battle. Further investigations of these sites might resolve whether they are related to the battle or add to the archeological data about the district's contributing battle-related resources.

Few mid-eighteenth-century archeological sites that examine Shenandoah Valley life during that period have been identified in the district. Such Colonial period sites or site components may be within the district, including at the identified farmstead sites that have yielded materials suggesting they are associated with early Euro-American occupations. Site 44FK0511 might contain an eighteenth-century dwelling area, and Site 44FK0524 may have contained an early springhouse associated with the Hite family and a blacksmith shop on the high ground above the spring.³⁴⁵ Additional investigations at Belle Grove may also identify areas of eighteenth-century activity pre-dating the construction of Old Hall, when the property was inhabited by the Hoge and Vance families.³⁴⁶

CRITERION D – ARCHEOLOGY: PREHISTORIC – ABORIGINAL

Archeological investigations and research at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP have primarily focused on the district's plantation and Civil War sites. No comprehensive investigations have been conducted of the land along the North Fork of the Shenandoah River to identify pre-contact sites associated with the pre-contact period of significance, 8000BC–1500AD. As a result, the district's pre-contact history and resources are not well understood.³⁴⁷ A complex of significant Native American sites dating to the PaleoIndian Period (16000–8000BC) has been documented along the South Fork of the Shenandoah River, outside the district.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁵ Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume II*.

³⁴⁶ Geier et al., *The Archaeological Definition and Assessment of the Belle Grove Plantation (44FK16)*; Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume II*.

³⁴⁷ Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume I*.

³⁴⁸ Geier and Tinkham, *Belle Grove Plantation and Harmony Hall*; Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume I*; William M. Gardner, "The Paleoindians of the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia," *Archaeology* 39, no. 3 (May/June 1986), 28–34.

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The nomadic inhabitants of this era left six types of sites behind in the Shenandoah Valley: (1) quarry sites, (2) quarry reduction stations, (3) quarry-related base camps, (4) base camp maintenance stations, (5) outlying hunting stations, and (6) isolated point finds.³⁴⁹ Generally, the material culture points to a mobile subsistence lifestyle relying on transportable lithic tools. The nearby Thunderbird Site reflects the largest regional PaleoIndian site, where the inhabitants established a large quarry-related base camp on the floodplain of the Shenandoah River.³⁵⁰ The Early Archaic Period follows the themes of the PaleoIndian period in the region, but warming summers and environmental shifts to an oak-hickory forest led slowly to changes in regional occupation.

By the Middle Archaic period site locations shifted to the uplands adjacent to streams or other rivers, commonly found in this region, and by the Late Archaic an increase in number and development of established base camps may indicate an increase in sedentary lifestyles near rivers.³⁵¹ The transition to the Woodland period in the Shenandoah Valley is marked by pottery, especially steatite-tempered Marcey Creek ware and later Albemarle wares with surface impressions.³⁵² The Late Woodland Period is, of course, defined by the introduction of agriculture. Throughout this period, sedentary lifestyles significantly increased along the floodplains of the region's rivers, culminating in palisaded villages supported by trade networks.³⁵³ Detailed research and community consultation on Native American occupation of the region are ongoing, though it is believed that the inhabitants may have been part of ancestral Siouan and Iroquoian cultural and linguistic groups.

Data from the identified pre-contact sites in the district indicate a likely substantial Native American presence along the North Fork as well, and further investigation of such sites could provide significant new information about Native American occupation and land-use in the area and how they may have changed over time.

³⁴⁹ William M. Gardner, *Paleoindian Settlement Patterns and Site Distribution in the Middle Atlantic (Preliminary Version)*, unpublished manuscript, 1979 and William M. Gardner, "Get Me to the Quarry on Time: The Flint Run Paleoindian Model Revisited (Again)," paper presented at the 48th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1983.

³⁵⁰ E. Randolph Turner, "Paleoindian Settlement Patterns and Population Distribution in Virginia" in *Paleoindian Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, edited by J. Mark Wittkofski and Theodore R. Reinhart, Special Publication No. 19, Richmond, VA: Archeological Society of Virginia and Council of Virginia Archaeologists, 1989, pg. 71-94.

³⁵¹ Michael B. Hornum et. al., *Phase I Archaeological Investigation of Newly Acquired Lands (Burrows Tract), Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Frederick County, Virginia*, R. Christopher Goodwin & Associates, Inc., Frederick, MD: 2022.

³⁵² Douglas C. McLearen, "Virginia's Middle Woodland Period: A Regional Perspective" in *Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, edited by Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges, Special Publication No. 29, Richmond, VA: Archeological Society of Virginia and Council of Virginia Archaeologists, 1992, pg. 39-63.

³⁵³ Joan M. Walker and Glenda F. Miller, "Life on the Levee: The Late Woodland Period in the Northern Great Valley of Virginia," in *Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, edited by Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen Hodges, Special Publication No. 29 of the Archeological Society of Virginia, Richmond, VA: Dietz Press, 1992, pg. 165-186.

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The most significant pre-contact site identified in the district to date is the **Bowman Site (44SH0001, contributing site)**, a large multicomponent habitation site at Cedar Creek. The site's National Register eligibility has not yet been evaluated, but it is a recognized state historic landmark³⁵⁴ first identified and investigated by the Archeological Society of Virginia (ASV) in 1964. The ASV recovered artifacts indicating occupation as early as the Early Archaic Period, with occupation continuing through the entirety of the Archaic and Woodland periods. In 1999, JMU's excavations recovered additional pre-contact materials associated with the site [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] Post mold features at the site indicate that at one time, likely during the Late Woodland Period, it contained a palisaded settlement. Storage and refuse pit features and six burials were also identified.³⁵⁵ Further investigation of the Bowman Site, including re-analysis of the artifacts and feature data recovered by the ASV, could provide important information about Native American habitation along the North Fork and how occupation of the site evolved over time into a more sedentary, palisaded settlement during the Late Woodland Period. The site may also yield information to help explain why habitation sites along the North Fork were abandoned after the Late Woodland Period and why tribal groups had vacated the Shenandoah Valley by the time early Euro-American explorers first made forays into the area.

Pre-Contact Archeological Potential of the District

Additional archeological investigations along the North Fork of the Shenandoah River and its tributaries to identify new pre-contact sites and provide more information about known pre-contact sites could significantly augment understandings of Native American occupation in the area. The Baker Farm Site (44WR0006) near the confluence of Cedar Creek and the North Fork of the Shenandoah River³⁵⁶ has not been professionally investigated, but newspaper reports from the 1920s, cited in Geier et al. (2006), indicate that former landowner Robert Baker and researchers from the Smithsonian Institution recovered a substantial assemblage, including projectile points, knives, ground-stone tools, bone awls, Native American-manufactured ceramic sherds, beads, and stone and clay pipes. The site also reportedly contained seven flexed burials and a dog burial. Subsequent surface collection of the site area by members of the ASV yielded a triangular Late Woodland projectile point, shell-tempered ceramic sherds, and chipping debris. Further archeological investigations at the site could confirm if it is a habitation site similar to the Bowman Site and provide significant new information about Woodland Period settlement and land use along the North Fork.³⁵⁷

While it was not a long-term habitation site, the Panther Cave Site (44FK0017) may represent another significant pre-contact site in the district. The cave and rockshelter site was investigated in the 1960s by members of the ASV, who recovered Middle Archaic through Late Woodland

³⁵⁴ Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume II*.

³⁵⁵ Howard A. MacCord, "The Bowman Site, Shenandoah County, Virginia," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 2, no. 19 (1964), 43–49; Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume II*.

³⁵⁶ Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume II*.

³⁵⁷ Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume II*.

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materials, including projectile points, Native American ceramics, chipping debris, and faunal remains.³⁵⁸ The site appears to have been used as a temporary camp and task-specific site during the Late Woodland Period, but its use during earlier temporal periods is less clear. It was disturbed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including by nineteenth-century locals, who graffitied the walls of the cave, and by Boy Scouts who camped in the cave in the 1960s.³⁵⁹ Additional investigations at Panther Cave could determine the extent of the disturbances, clarify the site's stratigraphy (which the ASV was unable to do), and provide information about its pre-contact occupation, use, and potential relationship to habitation sites in the area such as the Bowman Site.

Some of the identified pre-contact, short-duration/temporary campsites and task-specific sites and pre-contact components of multicomponent sites could provide significant new information about Native American occupation of the area and what activities occurred in different portions of the district. These sites and components include the pre-contact component one at the Cedar Campground Multicomponent Site, which contained chipping debris and likely represents a lithic workshop; the pre-contact component of the Bowman-Hite Farm Site, which contained Early Archaic to Late Archaic materials and was likely a campsite repeatedly occupied during the Archaic Period; and Site 44FK0513, which contained chipping debris and a chert biface and may represent a temporary campsite.³⁶⁰ The Bowman-Hite Farm Site, in particular, has the potential to provide significant information about early Native American settlement and occupation in the district, because it contained a substantial pre-contact artifact assemblage with multiple tool classes indicating that hunting, tool production, and domestic activities were all carried out during various times in the Archaic Period.³⁶¹

In 2012 and 2019, the ASV and the VDHR documented the locations of several Native American burial mounds during pedestrian surveys. These earthen and rock mounds potentially containing burials are reported at Sites 44FK0721, 44WR0093, 44WR0456, 44WR0457, and 44WR0458 in Warren County within the district.³⁶² The mounds are similar to other confirmed Woodland Period burial mounds identified along the banks of the Shenandoah River, and some have depressions in their centers suggesting they were historically dug into and looted. Additional archeological investigations at these sites could confirm whether they are burial sites and provide information about pre-contact mortuary practices in the region and how they changed over time, especially when compared to what is known about the documented and potential burial features at the Bowman and Baker Farm sites. Additionally, the potential burial mounds are near the possible habitation site at the Baker Farm Site and may be related to its Woodland Period occupation. Further investigations could augment information about the individuals who resided at these locations.

³⁵⁸ George E. Scheulen, "Panther Cave: A Progress Report," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 3, no. 21 (1967), 75–76.

³⁵⁹ Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume II*.

³⁶⁰ Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume II*; Moore et al., *An Archaeological Assessment of the Bowman-Hite Farm Property*.

³⁶¹ Moore et al., *An Archaeological Assessment of the Bowman-Hite Farm Property*.

³⁶² Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek – Belle Grove National Historical Park, Volume II*.

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Frederick/Shenandoah/Warren, Virginia
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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

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☐ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
☒ previously listed in the National Register
☒ previously determined eligible by the National Register
☒ designated a National Historic Landmark
☒ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #VA-259, VA-210
☐ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #
☐ recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey #

Primary location of additional data:

☒ State Historic Preservation Office
☐ Other State agency
☒ Federal agency
☐ Local government
☐ University
☐ Other
Name of repository: Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, VA

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): VDHR ID 034-0002

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property 3,137 acres

Use either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates (decimal degrees)

Datum if other than WGS84:
(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

A. Latitude: 39.047818	Longitude: -78.268607
B. Latitude: 39.043977	Longitude: -78.265419
C. Latitude: 39.037319	Longitude: -78.273968
D. Latitude: 39.036528	Longitude: -78.282937
E. Latitude: 39.043273	Longitude: -78.285701
F. Latitude: 39.049952	Longitude: -78.278146
G. Latitude: 39.031844	Longitude: -78.285556

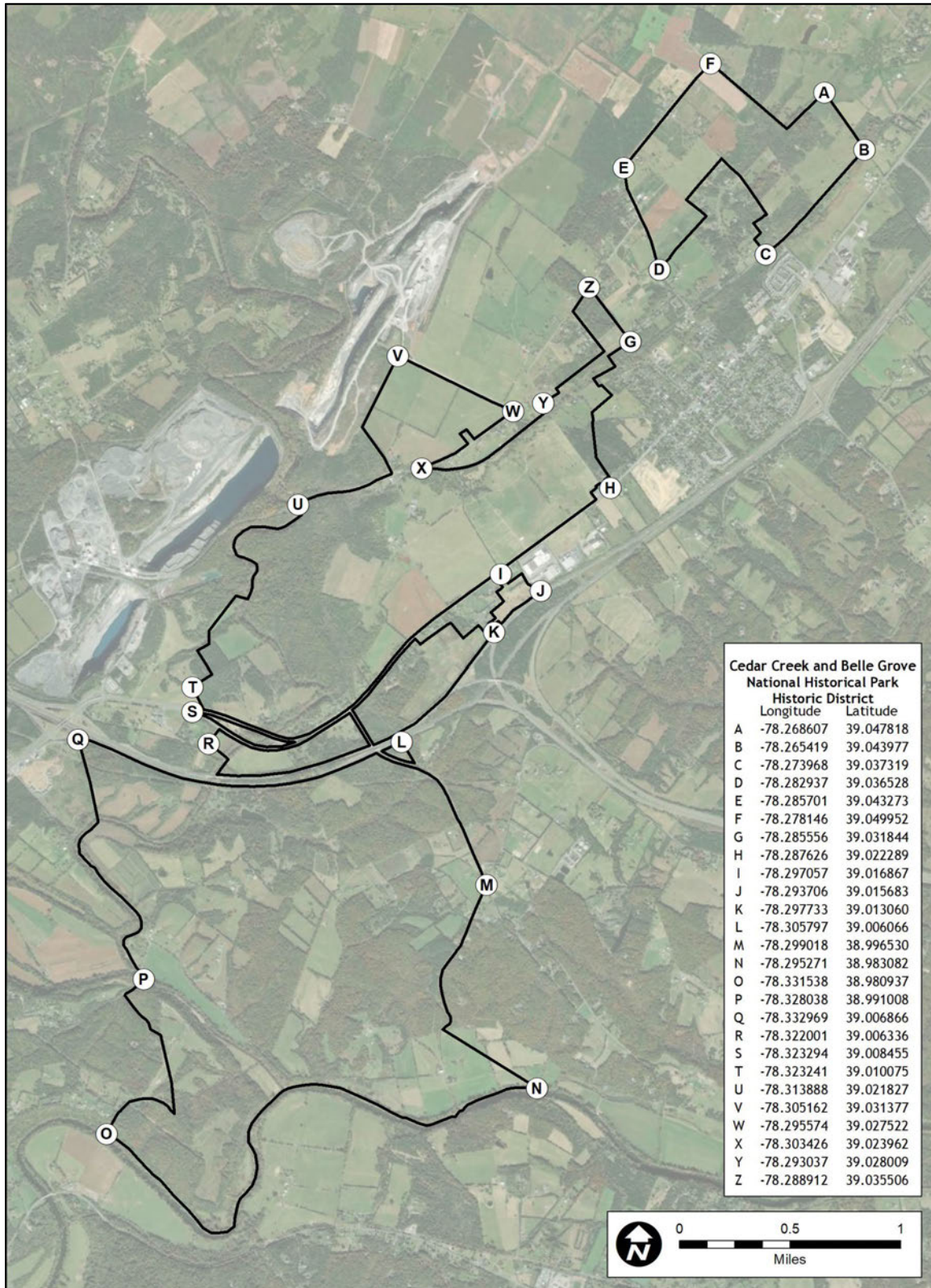
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Name of Property

Frederick/Shenandoah/Warren, Virginia
County and State

H. Latitude: 39.022289	Longitude: -78.287626
I. Latitude: 39.016867	Longitude: -78.297057
J. Latitude: 39.015683	Longitude: -78.293706
K. Latitude: 39.013060	Longitude: -78.297733
L. Latitude: 39.006066	Longitude: -78.305797
M. Latitude: 38.996530	Longitude: -78.299018
N. Latitude: 38.983082	Longitude: -78.295271
O. Latitude: 38.980937	Longitude: -78.331538
P. Latitude: 38.991008	Longitude: -78.328038
Q. Latitude: 39.006866	Longitude: -78.332969
R. Latitude: 39.006336	Longitude: -78.322001
S. Latitude: 39.008455	Longitude: -78.323294
T. Latitude: 39.010075	Longitude: -78.323241
U. Latitude: 39.021827	Longitude: -78.313888
V. Latitude: 39.031377	Longitude: -78.305162
W. Latitude: 39.027522	Longitude: -78.295574
X. Latitude: 39.023962	Longitude: -78.303426
Y. Latitude: 39.028009	Longitude: -78.293037
Z. Latitude: 39.035506	Longitude: -78.288912

Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park
Name of Property

Frederick/Shenandoah/Warren, Virginia
County and State



Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park Coordinate Map

Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park
Name of Property

Frederick/Shenandoah/Warren, Virginia
County and State

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

The National Register district boundary, shown on the attached district maps, encompasses 3,137 acres in two discrete areas and, with the exceptions noted below, generally conforms to the land within the authorized boundary of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP. The district boundary deviates from the authorized boundary where lines of convenience are drawn to exclude 576 acres on the fringes that contain no known contributing resources and where privately owned, non-historic residential and commercial development has impacted the integrity of former battlefield lands. This land is generally in the north portion of the park between the CSX Railroad and Hites and Veterans roads.

The northernmost section of the district (Map A) is an irregularly shaped area of 310 acres that contain historic resources associated with the Miller's Mill complex and agricultural land. The area is bounded by parcel lines parallel to Cougill Road on the northeast, the CSX Railroad line and agricultural parcels on the southeast, Capon Springs Turnpike on the west, and Hites Road on the northwest.

The largest area of the district (Maps B and C) contains 2,827 acres north of the Shenandoah River's North Fork in the counties of Warren, Frederick, and Shenandoah, excluding the rights-of-way for Interstate 81, Valley Pike (US Route 11), Old Valley Pike, and some smaller local roads. The north boundary begins at Veterans Road north of the Mount Carmel Cemetery and follows parcel lines and lines of convenience southwest to the CSX Railroad, where it follows the north edge of the railroad right-of-way to the intersection with Meadow Mills Road. It then juts northeast along Meadow Mills Road to McCune Road and follows the authorized boundary northwest then southwest and southeast back to the south edge of the railroad right-of-way at the Meadow Brook Bridge. The district boundary follows the CSX Railroad west to Cedar Creek then south along the east bank of Cedar Creek to Stickley Run, where it crosses the creek to encompass several parcels containing contributing resources, including a 15-acre parcel between Valley Pike and Interstate 81 owned by the Shenandoah Battlefields Trust. It crosses back over Cedar Creek south of the Fort Bowman property on the south side of Interstate 81 and follows the east bank of the creek to Bowmans Mill Road. The boundary then crosses the creek again and runs due southwest to the north bank of the Shenandoah River, which forms the district's south boundary. The boundary runs east along the river to a point just southeast of Long Meadow, roughly follows Long Meadow and Water Plant roads to Interstate 81, and runs northeast along the highway to the parcel containing the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation Headquarters then northeast along Valley Pike to the property at 8112 Valley Pike. It then follows parcel lines due north to the starting point.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

In accordance with NPS-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline, Appendix Q, the NPS is responsible for evaluating the entire area contained within the authorized boundaries of historical units within the national park system. National Register boundaries may contain less

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but not more area than the authorized boundary. The National Register boundary for the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP Historic District excludes portions of the area within the authorized boundary of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP, as identified above in the Boundary Description, to avoid donut holes where the authorized boundary surrounds interior parcels and where non-contributing development has occurred without the presence of historic resources. The area within the district boundary encompasses all historic resources within Cedar Creek and Belle Grove NHP that are associated with the areas of significance defined in this registration form and retain integrity.

11. Form Prepared By

name/title: Stephen A. Olausen/Sr. Architectural Historian; Gretchen Pineo/Sr. Architectural Historian; Jill Miller/Architectural Historian; John M. Kelly/Principal Investigator; Laura J. Kline/Sr. Architectural Historian; David Lewis/Associate Architectural Historian
organization: The Public Archaeology Laboratory, Inc.
street & number: 26 Main Street
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e-mail: solausen@palinc.com
telephone: (401) 728-8780
date: November 2024

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A USGS map or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.)

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Figures



Figure 1. Grant's and Sheridan's Campaigns, 1865 [and 1865]. From *History of the Civil War, 1861-1865* (New York, NY: The McMillan Co., 1917, facing page 430). Top portion of map showing the topography and railroads in the northern half of the Shenandoah Valley in eastern Virginia.

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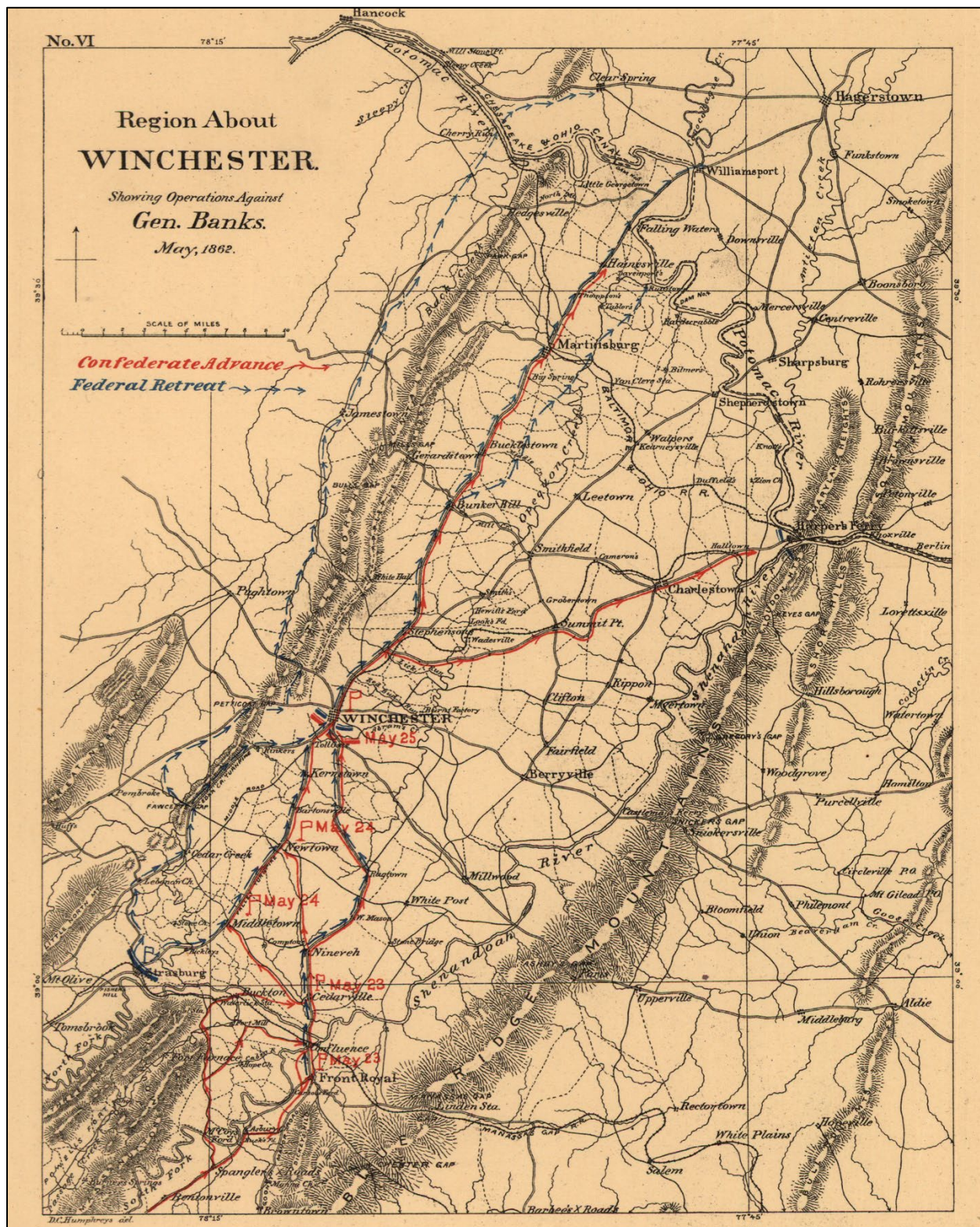


Figure 2. Region About Winchester, Showing [Jackson's] Operations Against Gen. Banks, May, 1862 (Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1880).

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Figure 3. The 3rd Custer Div. on the 7th of Oct. Retiring and burning the forage Etc. Somewhere near Mt. Jackson. Alfred R. Waud, 1864 (Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, DC).

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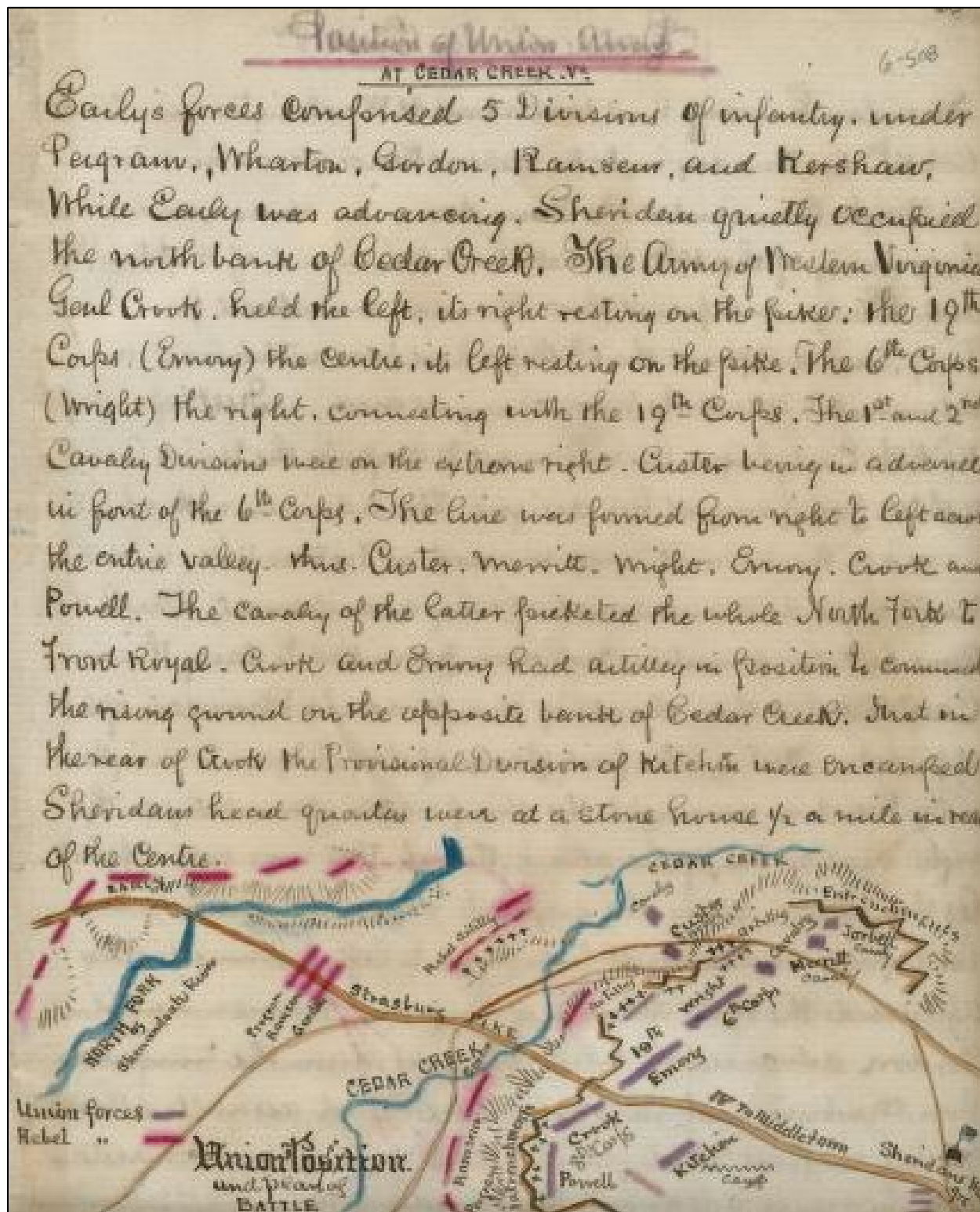


Figure 4. Position of Union Army at Cedar Creek, VA, Union Position and Plan of Battle. Robert Knox Sneden, 1864–1865 (Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, DC).

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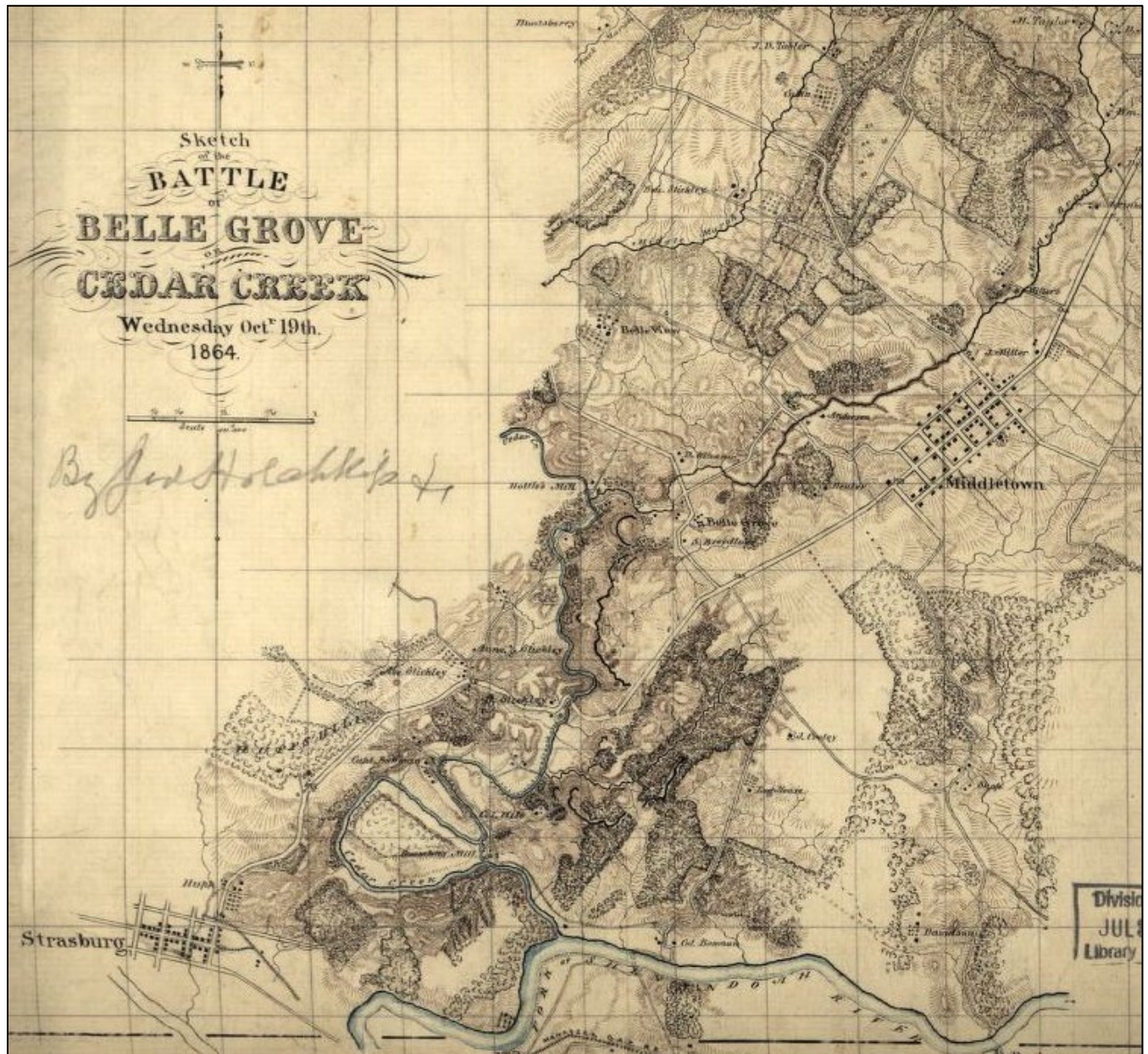


Figure 5. Sketch of the Battle of Belle Grove or Cedar Creek, Wednesday, Oct'r 19th, 1864. Jedidiah Hotchkiss, 1864 (Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, DC).

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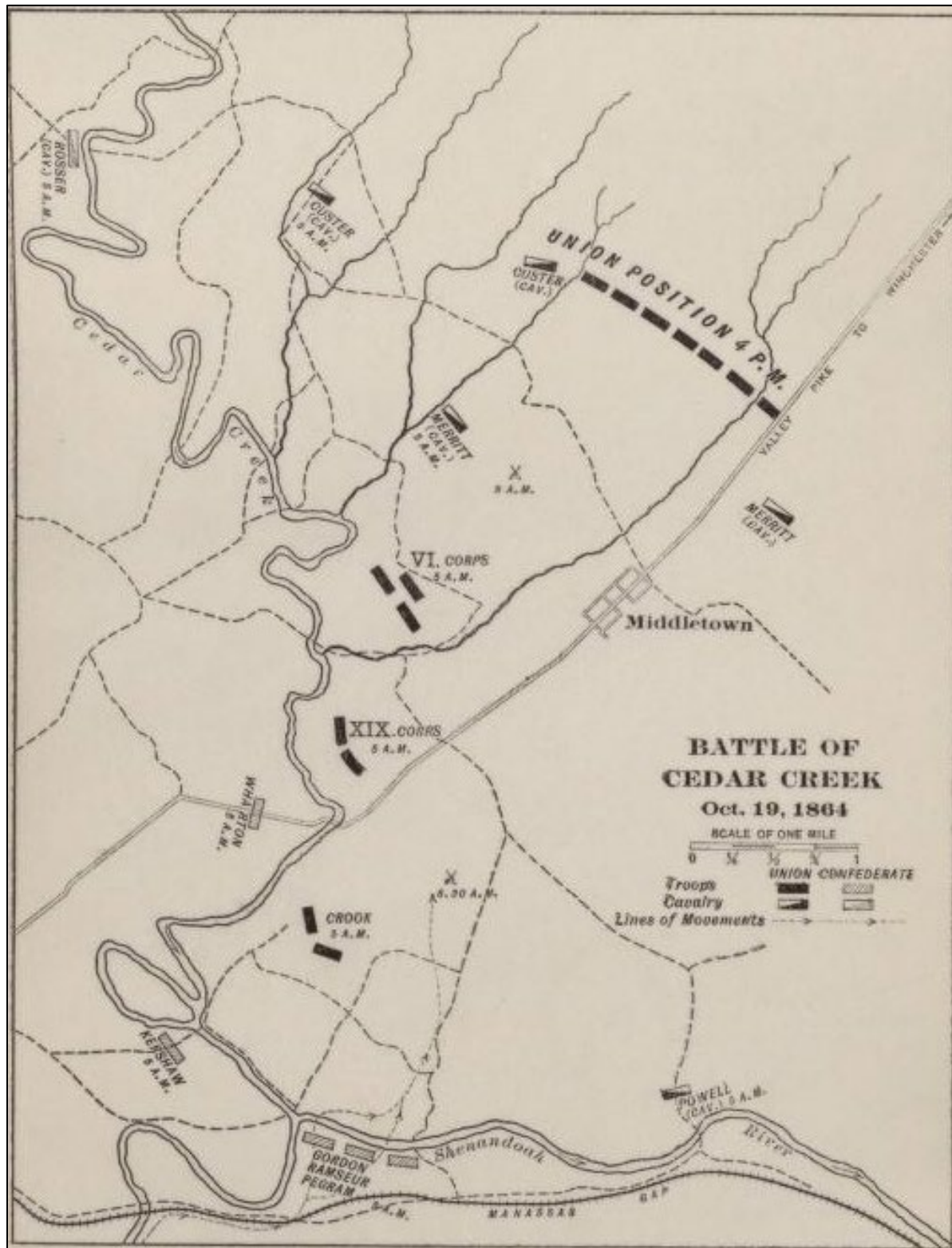


Figure 6. Battle of Cedar Creek, October 19, 1864. Gustav Joseph Fiebeger, *Campaigns of the American Civil War* (West Point, NY: U.S. Military Academy Printing Office, 1914, plate 41).

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Figure 7. Sheridan's Ride. L. Prang & Co., 1886 (Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC).

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ad Stage Line n Mail Route ia, respectful Travellers on w their former increased. ly at noon, and ay at 2 o'clock, o'clock, A. M. Passengers ashington next noon. na, Mississippi, ondays, Wed- \$5 00 10 00 11 50	in the 1st Regiment U. S. Infantry; that he continued in the war until its close, when he entered into mercantile business at New Orleans, in which he was unfortunate, and was then returning to his father's, who resided within eight or ten miles of the city. Salisbury, N. C. Aug. 16, 1824. [25—3w SIXTY SLAVES FOR SALE. ON the twenty-fifth day of October next, at my place of residence, I shall offer for sale, at public auction, a large number of HORSES and CATTLE, of various descriptions, descended from that celebrated breed imported by Miller. They consist of prime Milch Cows, Oxen, well broken to the yoke, and several young Bulls. Also, a great variety of PLANTATION IMPLEMENTS, viz: Wagons, Carts, Ploughs, &c. &c. On the day following, viz. 26th, I shall proceed to sell sixty SLAVES, of various ages, in families. The terms of sale, for all sums under \$20, cash; all above \$100, a credit of 1 2 3 and 4 years. Good personal security will only be required for all sums under \$1000, but all those above that sum must be secured by deeds of trust on land. Interest to be estimated from the day of sale. It will be incumbent on those who wish to purchase above \$1000 worth, to produce certificates from the Clerks of the District and County Court, that their lands are free from incumbrances, with their estimation of its value. ISAAC HITE. Belle-grove, Frederick County, Va. aug 4—3aw6w H. PECK, LATE proprietor of the Union Tavern, Georgetown, D. C. having taken that commodious house opposite the Mansion Hotel, formerly occupied by Mrs. Seuter, is prepared to accommodate 15 or 20 boarders by the day, week, month, or year. The house is situated conveniently for business, and its proximity to the Pub-	former Stand, v the Public path sept 3 dth PURSUANT States for t by virtue of the deceased, I sha testament, sell (but of course shall seal as ex Chillicothe in t September near upon a credit o give bond and lands to secure following LAN trict in the Sta of 450 acres up County; survey of Deer Creek 5806 and 6495 Creek, Union on Bokes Cree 287 2-3 acres, Logan County; Rush Creek, L of 980 acres, County; survey Harden County waters of Scioto of 1000 acres, vey No. 5378 River, Franklin on the waters survey No. 536 County; survey
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Figure 8. Isaac Hite Jr. placed an ad in the Washington, DC, *Daily National Intelligencer* on September 8, 1824, likely in an effort to downsize his plantation as a result of financial difficulties (Belle Grove, "Sixty Slaves for Sale," accessed November 2024).

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Figure 9. 1820 map showing location of Cedar Creek-area settlements of the Bowman family and others (Wood 1820).

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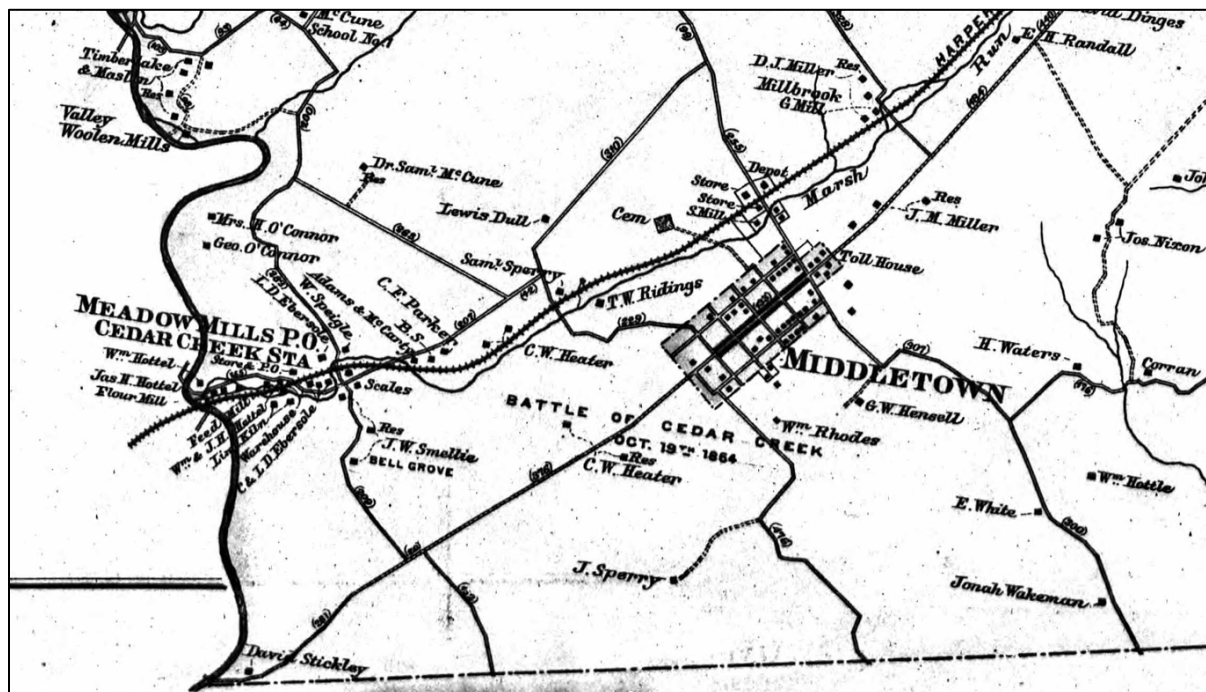


Figure 10. 1885 map showing Frederick County property owners near Middletown, Virginia (Lathrop and Dayton 1885).

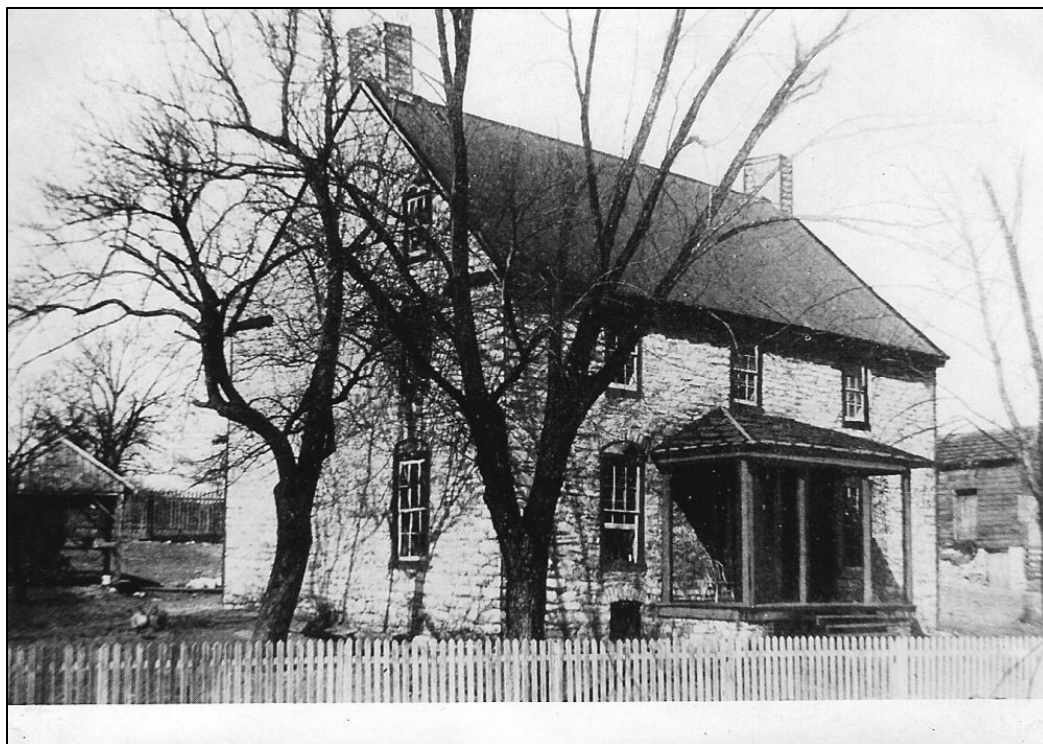
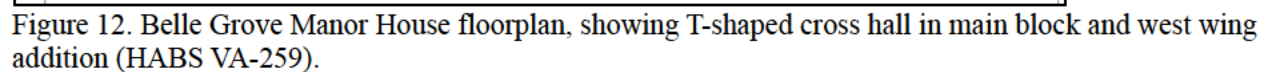


Figure 11. 1935 photograph of Fort Bowman, showing the building's symmetrical facade and asymmetrical side elevation. The carriage house is visible at the right edge of the photograph (VCRIS 085-0004).



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Figure 13. Long Meadow house, ca. 2022 (NPS 2022).

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Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

Photo Log

Name of Property: Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park

City or Vicinity: Middletown

County: Shenandoah, Warren, and Frederick counties

State: Virginia

Photographer: Gretchen Pineo and Theodore Dattilo

Date Photographed: December 5th–9th, 2022

Description of Photograph(s) and number, include description of view indicating direction of camera:

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1 of 55. Belle Grove Plantation Site, Belle Grove Road, Belle Grove 1930 Barn, and System of Stone Walls and Fence Remnants, facing southwest.

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2 of 55. Long Meadow Road and System of Stone Walls and Fence Remnants, facing southeast.

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3 of 55. Fort Bowman Road, Fort Bowman Landscape, and System of Stone Walls and Fence Remnants, facing west.

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4 of 55. Federal XIX Corps Entrenchments, facing north.

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5 of 55. Thoburn's Defensive Line, facing southwest.

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6 of 55. Miller-Kendrick-Walter House, Stone Gate Posts and Walls, and Well, facing northwest.

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7 of 55. Miller-Kendrick-Walter House, facing west.

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8 of 55. Miller-Kendrick-Walter Root Cellar, facing southeast.

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9 of 55. Miller's House Ruin, facing south.

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10 of 55. Mount Carmel Cemetery, Cemetery Road, and Mount Carmel Cemetery Grave Markers, facing southwest.

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11 of 55. Mount Carmel Cemetery, Mount Carmel Cemetery Hand Pump, and Mount Carmel Cemetery Shed, facing north.

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12 of 55. Anderson House, Anderson Garage, Anderson Woodshed, and Anderson Barn (from left to right), facing northwest from Veterans Road.

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13 of 55. Solomon Heater House and Heater Farmstead, looking northwest.

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14 of 55. (left to right) Belle Grove Plantation Site, Belle Grove 1930 Barn, Belle Grove Equipment Shed, Plantation Office and Store, Belle Grove 1918 Bank Barn, Belle Grove Manor House; and System of Stone Walls and Fence Remnants, facing north from Valley Pike

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15 of 55. Belle Grove Plantation Site and System of Stone Walls and Fence Remnants, facing south.

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16 of 55. Belle Grove Manor House and Belle Grove Meat House (behind), facing north.

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17 of 55. Belle Grove Manor House, facing southeast.

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18 of 55. Belle Grove Manor House, interior, northwest dining room, facing east.

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19 of 55. Belle Grove Manor House, interior, southwest parlor, facing west.

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20 of 55. Belle Grove Icehouse, facing southeast.

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21 of 55. Belle Grove Meat House, facing southwest.

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22 of 55. Belle Grove Shed 1, Old Hall Foundation, and Belle Grove Meat House (left to right), facing northeast.

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23 of 55. Belle Grove 1918 Bank Barn (behind), Belle Grove Shed 1, Belle Grove Shed 2, and Belle Grove Smokehouse Foundation, facing north.

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24 of 55. Belle Grove 1918 Bank Barn, facing northeast.

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25 of 55. Modern fence (part of the System of Stone Walls and Fence Remnants) surrounding the supposed boundary of the Belle Grove Enslaved Burial Ground, facing north.

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26 of 55. Plantation Office and Store, facing northwest.

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27 of 55. Belle Grove 1930 Barn, facing southwest.

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28 of 55. Stephen D. Ramseur Monument, facing south.

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29 of 55. Middletown Battlefield Tablet, facing west.

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30 of 55. Stone Retaining Walls, facing northeast along Meadow Brook from Matthew Mills Road.

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31 of 55. Meadow Mills Union Chapel, facing northwest.

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32 of 55. Ritenour House/Spiggle House, facing north.

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33 of 55. Spiggle Blacksmith Shop, and Ritenour Barn (left to right), facing northwest.

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34 of 55. Spiggle Wagon Shed and Ritenour Barn (behind), facing north from Matthew Mills Road.

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35 of 55. Valley Pike Bridge South Abutment over Cedar Creek, facing north.

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36 of 55. Stickley Workers' Dwelling, Stickley Crib Barn, and Stickley Equipment Shed (left to right), and Daniel Stickley House (behind), facing northeast from Valley Pike.

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37 of 55. 128th New York Infantry Regiment Monument and 8886 Valley Pike (behind), facing northwest.

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38 of 55. 8th Vermont Infantry Monument, facing northeast.

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39 of 55. Fort Bowman Landscape, Fort Bowman, and Fort Bowman Summer Kitchen, facing north.

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40 of 55. Fort Bowman and Fort Bowman Well House (behind), facing northeast.

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41 of 55. Fort Bowman, interior, central corridor, facing south.

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42 of 55. Fort Bowman Summer Kitchen, facing southeast.

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43 of 55. Bowman Cemetery and Bowman Cemetery Wall, facing northeast.

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44 of 55. Potential grave of Nellie "Mammie" Foster (1791–ca. 1890) outside Bowman Cemetery Wall, facing west.

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45 of 55. Bowman-Hite House, facing northeast.

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46 of 55. Bowman-Hite House, facing southeast.

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47 of 55. Bowman-Hite Smokehouse, facing north.

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48 of 55. Bowman-Hite Bank Barn and Bowman-Hite House, facing west.

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49 of 55. Bowman-Hite Bank Barn, facing southeast.

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50 of 55. Long Meadow Chicken Coop, Long Meadow Shed, Overseer's House, Long Meadow, and Long Meadow Equipment Shed (left to right), and Long Meadow Landscape, facing southeast from Long Meadow Road.

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51 of 55. Long Meadow Landscape, Long Meadow Equipment Shed, Overseer's House, Long Meadow, Long Meadow Springhouse-Icehouse, and Long Meadow Frame Workshop (left to right), facing east from Long Meadow Road.

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52 of 55. Long Meadow Landscape and Hite Cemetery, facing southeast.

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53 of 55. Brumback Bank Barn, facing southeast from Long Meadow Road.

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54 of 55. Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation Headquarters, facing east.

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55 of 55. Park Headquarters, 8693 Valley Pike, facing south.

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.