1. NAME AND LOCATION OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove Plantation

Other Name/Site Number: VDHR 034-0303, 034-0002

Street and Number (if applicable)**:**

City/Town: Middletown and vicinity **County:** Frederick, Shenandoah, Warren **State:** VA

2. SIGNIFICANCE DATA

NHL Criteria: 1, 5

NHL Criteria Exceptions:

NHL Theme(s): I: Peopling Places
III: Expressing Cultural Values
IV: Shaping the Political Landscape
2. governmental institutions
3. military institutions and activities
V: Developing the American Economy

Period(s) of Significance: 1771-1864

Significant Person(s) (only Criterion 2)**:**

Cultural Affiliation (only Criterion 6)**:**

Designer/Creator/Architect/Builder:

Historic Contexts: VI: The Civil War
B. War in the East
C. Political and Diplomatic Scene

3. WITHHOLDING SENSITIVE INFORMATION

Does this nomination contain sensitive information that should be withheld under Section 304 of the National Historic Preservation Act?

_X_ Yes

___ No

4. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

1. Acreage of Property: 10,851.75 total acres

Section 1 (Main Battlefield): 10,831 acres
Section 2 (Hupp's Hill): 18 acres
Section 3 (Spangler's Mill): 0.25 acres
Section 4 (Signal Knob): 2.5 acres

2. Use either Latitude/Longitude Coordinates or the UTM system:

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates (enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)**:**

Datum if other than WGS84: NAD83

Section 1

Point	Latitude	Longitude
A	39.06740426	-78.34960458
B	39.07509037	-78.33541546
C	39.08105262	-78.3293894
D	39.08329196	-78.32117476
E	39.07108487	-78.31769949
F	39.06933761	-78.29309689
G	39.07303985	-78.28707123
H	39.06711437	-78.27542658
I	39.05800188	-78.27748589
J	39.0514453	-78.25721649
K	39.05646469	-78.25088854
L	39.02474823	-78.25658203
M	39.0224627	-78.26442837

N	39.01986268	-78.28156794
O	39.01526447	-78.28699691
P	39.00500051	-78.29089122
Q	39.00207076	-78.28589811
R	38.99975158	-78.29065819
S	38.98621416	-78.30085904
T	38.98204169	-78.29448072
U	38.97433124	-78.3213276
V	38.98089266	-78.33155724
W	38.98212347	-78.32556332
X	38.98994445	-78.32975531
Y	39.00132326	-78.33854117
Z	39.00354138	-78.34116077
AA	39.00933029	-78.3307252
BB	39.02464714	-78.31561163
CC	39.03156361	-78.31666297
DD	39.03411995	-78.31125773
EE	39.05504828	-78.30437626
FF	39.06822016	-78.32232341
GG	39.06078603	-78.33532221
HH	39.06736041	-78.31704092
II	39.06502163	-78.29659762
JJ	39.05823804	-78.3030773

Section 2

Point	Latitude	Longitude
KK	39.00140518	-78.34970812
LL	38.99957477	-78.34781288
MM	38.99871869	-78.34933833
NN	38.99951241	-78.35334477

Section 3

Point	Latitude	Longitude
OO	38.98901934	-78.37195449

Section 4

Point	Latitude	Longitude
PP	38.96055205	-78.33167543
QQ	38.961627	-78.33105406
RR	38.96097858	-78.33079484
SS	38.95980856	-78.33133524

3. Verbal Boundary Description:

Section 1

Section 1 contains 10,831 acres and extends across portions of Frederick, Shenandoah, and Warren Counties. Beginning in Shenandoah County at Point A, located at the west corner of Shenandoah County Tax Parcel (SCTP) 9-A-121, the National Historic Landmark (NHL) boundary follows the line of the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) study area, running along Route 628 (Middle Road) for approximately 6,320 feet to Point B at the northernmost corner of SCTP 9-A-135. From Point B, the boundary leaves Route 628, extending in an arc to the northeast along the line of the study area for 3,745 feet to Point C at Cedar Creek. From Point C, the boundary continues to the northeast along the line of the study area for 3,240 feet, to Point D, located at Route 622 (Cedar Creek Grade Road).

From Point D, the boundary follows the line of the study area to the southeast in an arc of approximately 6,780 feet to Point E. Continuing From Point E, the boundary follows the study area for 9,090 feet to Point F, located at the eastern corner of Frederick County Tax Parcel 83-A-100. From Point F, the boundary runs to the northeast down Route 759 (Buffalo Marsh Road) 2,815 feet to Point G. The boundary continues to the southeast along Route 638 (Clark Road) for 5,510 feet to Point H at the intersection of Routes 638 and 625 (Hites Road). From Point H, the boundary runs along Route 625 in a southwest direction for 4,365 feet to Point I, situated at the intersection of Routes 625 and 633 (Klines Mill Road). The boundary continues from Point I along Route 633 to the southeast for 8,375 feet to Point J. From Point J, the boundary follows the study area to the northeast in a 3,450-foot arc to Point K at the boundary's crossing of the CSX rail line.

From Point K, the boundary continues to follow the line of the study area to the southwest for approximately 15,570 feet to Point L, crossing both the Valley Pike and I-81. From Point L, the boundary follows that of the study area, running along Route 636 (Huttle Road) for 3,600 feet to Point M, located at that road's intersection with Route 627 (Reliance Road). The boundary then follows the line of the study area to the west for 6,435 feet to Point N. It continues along the study area line to the southwest for 1,430 feet to Catlett Lane, running down that road to the southwest for an additional 1,190 feet to Point O. From Point O, the boundary follows the curve of Catlett Lane to the south, crossing into Warren County. From the terminus of Catlett Lane, it continues along the line of the study area to Point P situated in the right-of-way of I-66 (total distance of approximately 6,570 feet). The boundary then extends along the line of I-66 to the southeast for 2,295 feet to Point Q.

From Point Q, the boundary follows the curve of the study area in a general southwest direction for approximately 2,965 feet to Point R. It then continues with the study area boundary to the southwest, running 2,970 feet along the southeast lot lines of Warren County Tax Parcels 9E-6, 9E-5, 9-17D, 9-17A, and 9-19 to Route 612 (Gafia Lodge Road). From Route 612, the boundary follows that of the study area in an arc extending for 3,000 feet to the southwest, ending at Point S. From there, the boundary runs for 3,055 feet to the southeast along the lines of the study area, Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park (CEBE), and a portion of the 1969 NHL boundary, before ending at Point T.

The boundary then extends in a roughly straight line to the southwest for 10,450 feet along the 1969 NHL boundary to Point U. From Point U, the boundary crosses into Shenandoah County and follows the CEBE boundary to the northwest for 5,100 feet to Point V. It continues along the curve of the CEBE boundary for 2,825 feet to Point W, and then follows the boundary for an additional 4,020 feet to Point X. From here, the boundary runs for 740 feet to the northeast along the CEBE boundary to its intersection with the 1969 NHL

boundary. It then runs to the northwest with the CEBE and 1969 NHL boundaries for 330 feet to the northeast corner of SCTP 26-A-1. From this point, the boundary continues for 9,088 feet to Point Y in a broad curve to the southwest, northwest, and north. This curved segment follows the property lines of SCTP's 26-A-1, 25-A-176, 25-A-173A, 25-A-165, 25-A-181, 25-A-181F, 16D-3-A, 16D-3-37, 16D-3-38, 16D-3-59, 16D-3-60, 16D-2-D, and 16D-3-61. From Point Y, the boundary then extends to the northwest for 1,415 feet to Point Z, following the northeast lot lines of SCTP's 16D-2-24 through 16D-2-50 and 16D-2-A.

The boundary then runs along the Valley Pike for approximately 4,730 feet to Point AA, situated at the Valley Pike and Loving Lane. From Point AA, it extends to the northeast for 9,580 feet to Point BB, running along the eastern edge of the quarry pits operated by Chemstone, Inc. before joining with the study area boundary. The boundary continues to follow that of the study area, remaining in Shenandoah County to the west of Cedar Creek, and following the course of the creek for 6,775 feet to Point CC. It then follows the study area boundary and creek to the northeast for 2,320 feet to Point DD, before crossing into Frederick County and continuing with the study area to the north for 10,600 feet to Point EE, located in Frederick County Tax Parcel (FCTP) 83-A-80. From this point, the boundary follows that of the study area to the northwest for 9,335 feet to Point FF, located on the south property line of FCTP 83-A-19. The boundary then runs with the study area to the southwest for 5,980 feet to Cedar Creek and Point GG. Crossing the creek into Shenandoah County, the boundary follows that of the study area to the northwest for 6,510 feet to Point A.

Like the study area, the NHL boundary excludes a 236-acre triangular shaped area located in Frederick County.[1] Beginning at Point HH, the boundary of this excluded area runs to the southeast for approximately 7,650 feet to Point II. From Point II, it runs to the southwest for 4,030 feet to Point JJ. The boundary of this area then extends to the northwest for 6,850 feet to Point HH.

Section 2

Section 2 is located in Shenandoah County and contains 17.99 acres, encompassing Hupp's Hill. It is comprised of Shenandoah County Tax Parcel (SCTP) 25-A-1, 25-A-1B, 25-A-1c, and 25-A-2A. Beginning at Point KK, located at the northernmost corner of SCTP 25-A-1, the boundary follows the property line for approximately 1,215 feet to Point LL, located at the southeast corner of 25-A-1. The boundary then runs along the southeast property lines of all four SCTP's for 3,374 feet to Point MM, located at the southernmost corner of 25-A-2A. From Point MM, the boundary runs along the lines of SCTP's 25-A-2A and 25-A-1C for 905 feet to Point NN. The final segment extends for 1,595 feet across the northwest lines of SCTP's 25-A-1C and 25-A-1 to Point KK.

Section 3

Section 3 is located in Shenandoah County, on the south side of Stover Avenue, and contains Spangler's Mill. It is comprised of SCTP 25A3-A-49 (0.25 acres). UTM Point OO is located at the center of the parcel.

Section 4

Section 4 is owned by US Federal Government, United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), Forest Service. It contains the Confederate reconnaissance and signaling post atop Signal Knob comprising Virginia

[1] See below Boundary Justification section for further discussion of this void and clarification regarding the NHL *Bulletin* guidance regarding "donut holes."

Department of Historic Resource (VDHR) 44SH0355. It is located in Shenandoah and Warren Counties, on federal land within the George Washington and Jefferson National Forest. Beginning at Point PP, the boundary follows north to RR, then turns southeast following the ridgeline QQ then to SS, then turns northwest returning to PP.

4. Boundary Justification:

The NHL boundaries encompass a total of 10,851.75 acres and contain numerous sites associated with the development of the cultural landscape during the eighteenth century and antebellum period. Beginning in the first half of the eighteenth century, and continuing into the nineteenth, the Bowman, Hite, and other prominent early families established farmsteads, mills, and plantations within the NHL district occupied by their families, workers, and an enslaved community. Many of these significant resources have survived, along with the roadways that connected them within the landscape and are contained within the updated NHL boundaries.

The boundaries reflect the scale and extent of the Battle of Cedar Creek, which was an extended and tactically complex engagement that took place across a broad area of Frederick, Shenandoah, and Warren Counties. During the pre-dawn hours of October 19, 1864, Confederate forces launched a surprise attack on Union encampments located on high ground east of Cedar Creek and north of the North Fork of the Shenandoah River. During the mid-morning to mid-day phase, Confederates drove fleeing Union forces to the area north of Middletown, where they regrouped and launched an afternoon counteroffensive. During the afternoon retreat, Union cavalry pursued elements of the Confederate army up the Valley Pike and through Strasburg, breaking off their pursuit in the vicinity of Spangler's Mill.

Building on previous efforts to define the battlefield, the updated NHL district boundaries were developed based on historical research, necessary to understand the timeline and geographic extent of the engagement, coupled with guidance from the National Register Bulletin, *Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields*. NPS historian David Lowe established a core area for the Cedar Creek battlefield in his 1992 study, *Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia*. This core area contains 6,252 acres and encompasses much of the area where combat occurred during the battle. In 2009, the American Battlefields Protection Program (ABPP), Civil War Sites Advisory Commission (CWSAC) defined a much larger 13,995.28-acre study area for the battle that, in addition to the core area, includes the armies' starting points, corridors of movement prior to the battle, minor skirmishing locations, logistical areas, field hospitals, and other resources. The Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR) has assigned inventory number 034-0303 to the Cedar Creek Battlefield, and its boundaries contain 13,855 acres, approximating the size of the ABPP study area.[2]

The updated NHL district boundaries include all of the 6,252-acre core battlefield area, the existing 3,536-acre Cedar Creek and Belle Grove Plantation National Historical Park (CEBE), and much of the ABPP study area. This district encompasses the geographic extent of combat during the battle, and also includes important non-military cultural sites that demonstrate significance under NHL Criterion 5 and associated NHL Theme I (Peopling Places), Theme III (Expressing Cultural Values), and Theme V (Developing the American Economy).

[2] 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, December 2013), 3.

Within the northern half of the battlefield, the boundaries largely correspond to those of the ABPP study area (VDHR 034-0303), which effectively demarcates the large area in which combat occurred following the initial Confederate surprise attack, while incorporating key cultural sites such as Belle Grove Plantation, Old Forge Farm, the Heater Farmstead, and the Miller-Kendrick-Walter House. North of Middletown, the boundaries run along Klines Mill Road, Hites Road, and Clark Road to include the area where Union infantry and cavalry units regrouped and formed a line of battle prior to the afternoon counteroffensive. On the west side, the boundaries take in the areas along Back and Minebank Roads near Cupp's Ford on Cedar Creek, the site of cavalry battles during the morning and afternoon phases. Two important travel corridors used by Union cavalry units during the battle, linking the main portion of the battlefield with the Cupp's Ford area, are represented within the study area and NHL boundaries (the corridors frame the triangular-shaped void).[3] These corridors contained roads, now non-extant, that appear on the 1873 Gillespie map. Within the northern battlefield, the western boundary briefly follows the course of Cedar Creek and excludes most of the modern limestone quarry. On the east side of the northern battlefield, the boundaries extend to the east of Middletown and Interstate 81, and include the strategically important Valley Pike.

Within the southern half of the battlefield, the boundaries include significant cultural sites such as Fort Bowman, Mount Pleasant, the Bowman-Hite House, and Long Meadow. The boundaries also cover the area of the initial pre-dawn Confederate attack as well as the evening retreat. The boundaries within this southern half of the battlefield partially follow the line of the APBB study area, but also incorporate sections of the CEBE park boundaries and the boundaries of the original 1969 NHL.

The portion of the 2009 study area located west of Cedar Creek and south of Interstate 81, including Strasburg and its immediate vicinity, contains many resources that post-date the NHL period of significance. Extensive residential and commercial development has occurred in recent years on the east and northeast edges of Strasburg, particularly along the Valley Pike. The integrity of these areas, scene of the Union pursuit of retreating Confederate units on the evening of the battle, has been affected such that they have been excluded from the updated NHL district boundaries.

The boundaries also exclude those portions of the study area that contain the travel corridors taken by Confederate troops moving into position prior to the start of fighting (where there were no encounters with Union forces), as well as the remotely located Fisher's Hill campsite, which was established by the Confederate Army of the Valley prior to the Battle of Cedar Creek. Fisher's Hill is located 2 miles southwest of Strasburg, and during the Battle of Cedar Creek it served as the Confederate base camp both prior to and after the battle. The travel corridors used by the Confederate Army are located to the east, west, and south of Strasburg, and are contained within the ABPP Fisher's Hill study area (VDHR 085-0001).

[3] The National Historic Landmark Bulletin guidance prohibits "donut holes" when selecting boundaries. This triangular shaped area is not selected to exclude non-contributing properties. Rather, it is the result of including two travel corridors between two locations, only. The travel corridors connect what would otherwise be discontiguous sections of the district. They are discrete areas that have a direct and documented association with the district's national significance under Criterion 1, while the space between the two corridors lacks that association. As a result, an exception to the general prohibition on "donut holes," or voids, inside of an NHL boundary, is proposed. National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin: How to Prepare National Historic Landmark Nominations* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1999), 64. The corridors incorporate recommendations made by the American Battlefield Protection Program in: David Lowe, *Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia.* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1992), 110.

The boundaries include three discontiguous sections containing Hupp's Hill, Spangler's Mill, and Signal Knob. Hupp's Hill was a location of great tactical importance during the battle and was the site of combat during the evening retreat. It is included as an 18-acre parcel that corresponds to the property currently owned by Hupp's Hill LLC. During the chaotic retreat that marked the final stage of the battle, Union cavalry attacked and captured the Confederate supply and artillery train as it attempted to move to the south along the pike through Strasburg. The Union pursuit effectively ended near Spangler's Mill, located on the Valley Pike at the southwest edge of Strasburg.[4] Spangler's Mill is included as a 0.25-acre parcel that reflects that current property boundaries. The updated NHL boundaries also include the Confederate reconnaissance and signaling station atop Signal Knob. Signal Knob is located in Shenandoah County, at the northern end of Massanutten Mountain, approximately 2 miles southeast of Strasburg. Confederate forces obtained vital intelligence regarding Union troop positions from Signal Knob prior to the battle.[5] Signal Knob is represented by a 2.5-acre, government-owned site (VDHR 44SH0355). These discontiguous sections are directly related to the national significance of the NHL district, visual continuity is not necessary for them to convey their historical associations, and the intervening space lacks integrity.

[4] Theodore C. Mahr, *The Battle of Cedar Creek: Showdown in the Shenandoah, October 1-30, 1864*. Vol. 32 of The Virginia Civil War Battles and Leaders Series (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, 1992), 317-19, 322, 327.

[5] Mahr, 83-86, 272.

5. SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT AND DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION: SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove Plantation National Historic Landmark District (NRIS 69000243) was designated on August 11, 1969.[6] The designation was based on a 1969 special report on Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove prepared by John D. McDermott and Edwin C. Bearss for the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. A nomination update in 1976 by the NHL Program provided more clarification about the district. The physical description primarily focused on Belle Grove and on-site earthworks. Following the recommendation in the 1969 report by McDermott and Bearss, the boundary included "all the area where fighting occurred on October 19, 1864, except for Interstate Highway 81…" The boundary also included an area of exclusion, a "donut hole," which is no longer permitted by NHL *Bulletin* guidance. This version established a period of significance from 1797 to 1864. The only area of significance was "military." The statement of significance was the following:

> Belle Grove was one of the first mansions built in the Shenandoah Valley; it was completed in 1797 for a sister of James Madison and her husband. In 1864 it was made into Union General Philip Sheridan's headquarters, and served as a focal point for the Battle of Cedar Creek. Cedar Creek Battlefield, which extends for miles in every direction from Belle Grove, was the site of the last decisive conflict in the Shenandoah Valley. The Confederate defeat here forced their final retreat from the area, after which General Sheridan devastated it from end to end.

NHL Update

In 2011, the National Park Service entered into agreement with the William and Mary Center for Archeological Research to assess the NHL district and provide recommendations for an update; the findings produced by David Lewes and William Moore are the basis for the current update.[7] Their evaluations relied heavily on the study area recommended by David Lowe for the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP).[8] Because of the surviving resources and high level of integrity, both authors identified a larger area for the battlefield than what was currently used as the NHL boundary. As a consequence, the National Park Service through the National Historic Landmark Program and the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, in cooperation with the National Heritage Area Shenandoah Valley Battlefields National Historic District and partners, including Belle Grove and the National Trust for Historic Preservation, worked together to identify the scope of this update using the most up-to-date scholarship, while working to translate the original nomination into the current best practices and standards. This amended nomination proposes updates to the areas of significance, periods of significance, NHL criteria, and boundary, and applies current NHL standards. In doing so, it attempts to broaden the scope of inquiry and the definition of the district's significance, by incorporating recent scholarship on the Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1864, the Battle of Cedar Creek, and Belle Grove Plantation, while tracing the development of the cultural landscape within the context of the social, cultural, economic, and architectural history of the Shenandoah Valley.

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[6] This update changes the name to include "plantation" in response to a request that the property owner submitted to the National Park Service in 2003.

[7] David W. Lewes and William H. Moore, *Historic Resource Context Study*, 37.

[8] David Lowe, *Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia.* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1992).

Areas of Significance

One of the key observations advanced in the Lewes and Moore *Historic Resource Context Study* is that the "history of European settlement and the ensuing development of the cultural landscape contribute to the significance of the NHL beyond the role of the landscape in the unfolding of the Battle of Cedar Creek." As they note, the landscape is significant as a "microcosm of trends in the economic, cultural, and social history of the Lower Shenandoah Valley." Scholars have devoted extensive study to the area, using it as a lens for analysis in rural life, folk arts, commerce, and settler-colonialism.

Period of Significance

The NHL update expands the period of significance established in the 1975 NHL nomination of 1797-1864. The period of significance for the Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove Plantation NHL District update extends from 1771 to 1864. Early settler-colonialist Jost Hite received land grants totaling 140,000 acres in 1731 provided by the governor to populate the Virginia backcountry, and he arrived in the area with a group of families that year. The original grant acreage includes most of the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park and NHL district and was to the west of the lands held by Lord Fairfax. During the 1730s and 1740s, Hite distributed tracts from the grant to his heirs and close associates, who during the second half of the eighteenth century and antebellum period, created the cultural landscape between Middletown and Strasburg that formed the setting for the Battle of Cedar Creek. The oldest extant structure in the district is Fort Bowman, completed by 1771, and is the starting point for the district period of significance. Fought on October 19, 1864, the battle serves as the end date for the national significance of this landscape.

NHL Criteria

In an effort to apply current NHL Criteria to the existing nomination, this update relies on interpretation from the early nomination forms, the original National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings special report, as well as subsequent legislative actions taken by Congress to establish the National Heritage Area Shenandoah Valley Battlefield Historic District and Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, and recent scholarly analysis of the battlefield and NHL district (discussed in more detail below).

Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove Plantation NHL District is nationally significant under Criteria 1 and 5 in the areas of Military History and Politics/Government. The Battle of Cedar Creek, fought on October 19, 1864, was a decisive engagement in the Civil War that established Union control of the Shenandoah Valley, a strategic corridor for movement and supply. The battle had an important effect on the course of the war and, and along with Sherman's southern campaign, solidified President Lincoln's re-election in 1864. As such, the battlefield embodies Theme IV: Shaping the Political Landscape, and associated sub-themes (2) governmental institutions and (3) military institutions and activities. Areas of significance include military and politics/government. The collection of resources and features related to the Battle of Cedar Creek, including battle and encampment sites, fortifications, landforms, roads, fords, headquarters, and dwellings, outstandingly illustrate its historical significance.

Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove Plantation NHL District is also nationally significant under Criteria 1 and 5 as a rich and varied cultural landscape containing significant resources from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that collectively tell the story of the backcountry colonization and settlement of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. The remarkably intact collection of resources within this landscape includes eighteenth-century farmsteads, antebellum period plantations, mills, early roadways, and archaeological sites that together

comprise a landscape of exceptional historical significance. The disparate resources within this cultural landscape collectively embody Theme I (Peopling Places), Theme III (Expressing Cultural Values), and Theme V (Developing the American Economy). Areas of significance include agriculture, architecture, commerce, ethnic heritage, exploration/settlement, and social history. Applying these criteria follows the recommendations advanced by scholars in the 2013 assessment. These criteria also incorporate the original spirit of the earliest survey form, which reported that in the district, "a number of houses and farm buildings have survived from the historic period."[9] In addition, each early iteration of the NHL nomination included mention of Belle Grove as closely linked with the "history and development of that part of Virginia" with links to the Hite family. This update applies those associations beyond Belle Grove, documenting a fuller picture of the "history and development" of the Lower Shenandoah Valley to including neighboring farmsteads, mills, and other resources that illustrate settlement and development in the area. Together they serve as a collection that outstandingly illustrates the history and development of this area more acutely than the singular property of Belle Grove.

Despite the 44 contributing archaeological sites, the NHL district is not being nominated for Criterion 6. Properties that meet the high standards for national significance and integrity under Criterion 6 are those that have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by modifying a major historic concept, resolving a substantial historical or anthropological debate, or closing a serious gap in a major theme of American history. At the time of designation, there has not been sufficient professional evaluation and synthesis of the district's archeological potential to make this determination. Consequently, in this nomination archeological sites are individually counted and are considered to contribute to the district's significance and its integrity of location, association, and setting under Criteria 1 and 5.

Boundary

The original NHL boundaries contained 3,713 acres, as defined by John D. McDermott and Edwin C. Bearss in their 1969 special report, prepared for the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. The original NHL boundaries consisted of two discontiguous areas situated to the north and south of Interstate 81 and included an area of exclusion (referred to in the NHL *Bulletin* as a "donut hole"). This NHL nomination update includes the entire original district, but proposes an expansion based upon recent scholarship about the Battle of Cedar Creek, including a 1992 survey by David Lowe, as outlined in the above boundary justification.[10]

Significance Summary

The cultural landscape of Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove Plantation NHL district is intimately associated with the initial colonization and settlement of the Shenandoah Valley during the first half of the eighteenth century in Virginia's backcountry. At the time, two distinct settlement patterns emerged in the backcountry: one expanding westward from the tidewater region on the Lord Fairfax land patent, and the other expanding south from Pennsylvania to the Hite land patent. Jost Hite arrived in the colonies from Germany with his family in 1710, first settling in New York and later in Pennsylvania. In 1731, Hite and partner Robert McKay received grants from the colonial government of Virginia in the Lower Shenandoah Valley totaling 140,000 acres. The land grant was orchestrated by Governor Gooch and intended to create a buffer of

[9] John D. McDermott and Edwin C. Bearss, "Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove," National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, National Park Service, April 30, 1969, accessed from: Virginia NHL Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove, National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 79: Records of the National Park Service, Series: National Register of Historic Places and National Historic Landmarks Program Records, File Unit: National Register of Historic Places and National Historic Landmarks Program Records: Virginia, available at: https://catalog.archives.gov/id/41679027.

[10] David Lowe, *Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia.*

settlements against the Ohio Valley French and Native Americans, and also circumvent the claim to the area made by Lord Fairfax.[11] Hite and his party of German and Scots-Irish settler-colonial families were among the first to travel the Great Wagon Road south from Pennsylvania, through what is today western Maryland, and into the Shenandoah Valley. Hite's children and grandchildren subsequently established farms and plantations within the NHL district, expressing their Germanic roots while adopting aspects of colonial Virginia's dominant English culture, which included reliance on enslaved labor.[12] Historian Warren R. Hofstra, whose work has focused on the initial peopling of the Virginia frontier, has noted that the "social and economic construction" of immigrant society in the early Shenandoah "profoundly altered the identity of the colony."[13] These settler-colonialists brought with them agricultural traditions, based on the cultivation of cereal grains, that stood in contrast to the tobacco-based agriculture that dominated the tidewater and piedmont English settlements of Virginia. Hite, and the immigrant families that accompanied him, also drew on Germanic building traditions that are expressed within the landscape. At sites such as Belle Grove Plantation, the enslaved also developed a distinct culture during the late eighteenth century and antebellum period, and recent archeology has provided insights into their lifestyles, foodways, and domestic organization.[14] This cultural landscape represents not only the initial migration of early settlers into the Shenandoah Valley, but also reflects the ethnic and cultural diversity that has historically set the region apart from other areas of Virginia.[15]

The farms and plantations within this cultural landscape contributed significantly to the economic development of the Shenandoah Valley, and the eastern United States, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By the turn of the nineteenth century, the Valley had emerged as the leading region within the Mid-Atlantic for the production of livestock and wheat and was often referred to as the so-called "breadbasket." By the antebellum period, much of this agricultural output was produced on large plantations using enslaved labor. Flour milled in the Lower Valley, particularly in Frederick County, was exported in vast quantities to east coast urban centers such as Philadelphia and Baltimore and became a major export commodity on the trans-Atlantic market. By the mid-nineteenth century, Shenandoah Valley wheat and flour had established Baltimore as the central Mid-Atlantic hub for grain exports and as a clearinghouse for prices.[16]

In addition to its significant association with the initial settlement of Virginia's Shenandoah Valley under Criterion 1, the NHL district is noteworthy under Criterion 5 for its historic built environment. Several intact historic farmsteads within the district feature significant architectural examples that have been individually listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRIS) and are representative of a specific type, period, or method of construction. Fort Bowman (c. 1771, NRIS 69000279, VDHR 085-0004), Mount Pleasant (c. 1812, NRIS 11000553, VDHR 085-0072), and Long Meadow (c. 1848, NRIS 95001169, VDHR 093-0006) were constructed by Jost Hite's extended kinship network and reflect vernacular Germanic, Georgian, Federal, and Greek Revival attributes. The Solomon Heater house (c. 1790 with later additions, VDHR 034-0082) is an

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[11] Warren R. Hofstra, "Land, Ethnicity, and Community at the Opequon Settlement, Virginia, 1730-1800," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 98, 3 (1990): 427-278.

[12] Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, 34-35.

[13] Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, 92.

[14] Matthew C. Greer, "Archaeological Investigation of Two Possible 19th Century Quarters Sites at Belle Grove Plantation, Frederick County, Virginia: 44FK520 and 44FK521," Belle Grove, Inc., Middletown, VA, February, 2016.

[15] L. Scott Philyaw, "Personal Opportunities and Public Threats: Westward Expansion and the Reconceptualization of Virginia," in *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800-1900*, eds. Kenneth Koons and Warren Hofstra (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 235-37.

[16] Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, 274-78; Kenneth W. Keller, "The Wheat Trade on the Upper Potomac, 1800-1860," in *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800-1900*, eds. Kenneth Koons and Warren Hofstra (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 25-26.

example of a vernacular frame dwelling associated with a historic farmstead and plantation. The Daniel Stickley Farm (c. 1830-50, VDHR 085-0013) features a brick Federal-style dwelling and the remains of a mill complex, both of which were constructed during the first half of the nineteenth century. Other elements such as the Valley Turnpike, the principal roadway within the Shenandoah Valley from the earliest period of settlement, also contribute to the historical significance of this landscape. At the geographic and cultural center of the NHL district, Belle Grove Plantation (VDHR 034-0002) contains one of the finest, most intact examples of a late Georgian manor house in the Shenandoah Valley. Constructed from 1794 to 1797 by Jost Hite's grandson, Isaac Hite Jr., the house may have been designed with input from Thomas Jefferson, who was introduced to Isaac Hite through Hite's brother-in-law, President James Madison.

This agricultural landscape explains military interest in the wider Shenandoah Valley and also facilitated the nationally significant Battle of Cedar Creek in 1864. The Battle of Cedar Creek occurred within a broader Union campaign to eliminate the Confederate presence in the Shenandoah Valley. Confederate forces initially established control of the Valley following Gen. Stonewall Jackson's successful campaign of 1862. By 1864, the devastation of the Civil War had seriously degraded agricultural production in the South, and the farms and mills of the Shenandoah Valley provided vitally important provisions for the Confederate army. The Valley was also useful to the Confederacy as a corridor for movement towards Washington, DC, and Confederate forces held detailed knowledge of the region's topography, roads, and waterways.

In March of 1864, President Abraham Lincoln appointed Gen. Ulysses S. Grant commander of all Union forces. Grant understood the superiority enjoyed by the Union in terms of manpower and material, and his overall strategy involved engaging in a war of attrition with the South. By 1864, Union and Confederate forces had reached a stalemate in the war's eastern theater, and control of the Shenandoah Valley emerged as a key facet of Grant's attrition strategy. To establish Union control over the Valley, Grant placed Maj. Gen. Philip Sheridan in command of the Union Army of the Shenandoah. Prior to the battle at Cedar Creek, Sheridan engaged Confederate forces under the command of Gen. Jubal Early at Winchester and Fisher's Hill, located south of Strasburg. Sheridan's forces then moved south in the Valley before heading back towards Cedar Creek. Under orders from Grant, Sheridan conducted a systematic destruction of agricultural resources within the Valley. With winter approaching and Confederate supplies running low, Early orchestrated a daring pre-dawn surprise attack on Union positions along Cedar Creek, between the villages of Middletown and Strasburg, on the morning of October 19. Following an initial rout of Union troops, Sheridan famously regrouped his army and, that afternoon, led them to victory. The battle elevated Sheridan to national fame, and his actions on the afternoon of October 19 were celebrated in the months and years following the battle.

The Battle of Cedar Creek also held important political implications for the Lincoln presidency. By the time of the battle, Lincoln was struggling to maintain popular support for what had become a costly war of attrition with the South. During 1863, Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, and several months later instituted the draft, actions which were unpopular with many Northern voters. During the presidential campaign of 1864, Lincoln was challenged on these issues by Union Gen. George McClellan, who ran on a peace platform aimed at ending the war. The Union victory at the Battle of Cedar Creek, which was particularly inspiring due to Sheridan's rallying of his troops from the edge of defeat, became a national news story that bolstered public morale and support for the war, and contributed to Lincoln's re-election that November.

PROVIDE RELEVANT PROPERTY-SPECIFIC HISTORY, HISTORICAL CONTEXT, AND THEMES. JUSTIFY CRITERIA, EXCEPTIONS, AND PERIODS OF SIGNIFICANCE LISTED IN SECTION 2.

Historical Background

Summary

From its origins as a Native American travel corridor, the lower Shenandoah Valley of Virginia burgeoned economically and culturally during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to become one of the most prosperous agricultural regions in the Mid-Atlantic by the eve of the Civil War. Initial migration into the backcountry of Virginia in the Lower Valley was enabled by the land policies of Virginia's governors during the early eighteenth century, who sought to establish the region as a buffer against the French and Native Americans.[17] In the 1730s, Governor Gooch also sought to occupy lands under dispute with Lord Fairfax, who held a large land grant in the Northern Neck and included present-day Clarke County. New counties, towns, and roads were created as the landscape became increasingly domesticated by the turn of the nineteenth century. The Lower Valley's rich agriculture produced vast quantities of wheat, flour, and livestock, which fed the populations of America's east coast urban centers and contributed to the trans-Atlantic economy. The Valley's settlement and economic growth were underpinned by its abundant natural resources, from water power used to operate mills to local limestone and timber used for building.

The Hite family, led by patriarch Jost Hite, were among the first settler-colonial families to arrive in the Lower Valley, and played a central role in its economic and cultural development over the ensuing generations, establishing plantations and mills throughout the area. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Hite family of Belle Grove ascended from their German immigrant roots to the height of Virginia society because of wealth amassed through enslaved labor and the slave trade. At its apogee during the nineteenth century, Belle Grove was one of the most prosperous plantations in the Lower Shenandoah Valley, at the center of which stood an elegant and architecturally distinctive late Georgian manor house.

But Belle Grove's splendor came at a human cost. Slavery increasingly formed part of the Lower Valley's economic framework during the eighteenth century. By the mid-nineteenth century, the issue of slavery would come to cause intense political and social fragmentation, both locally and nationally, that would lead to the Civil War, which engulfed the landscape. The October 1864 Battle of Cedar Creek was the signature military engagement within the broader Union effort to wrest control of the strategically important Shenandoah Valley from the Confederacy. The Shenandoah Valley campaign effectively ended Confederate hegemony within the Valley, and the Battle of Cedar Creek provided President Abraham Lincoln with much needed political capital leading into the 1864 presidential elections.

Introductory Context, 1650-1731

Indigenous Groups

The Shenandoah Valley was inhabited by Indigenous peoples for thousands of years prior to European arrival. According to the archeological record, cultures developed throughout present-day Virginia, beginning approximately 12,000 years ago with the earliest Paleoindian hunters to migrate into the region. These groups

[17] Hofstra, "Land, Ethnicity, and Community at the Opequon Settlement, Virginia, 1730-1800," 427-278.

practiced subsistence strategies structured around the seasonal harvesting of game and other resources. Agriculture first emerged in present-day Virginia, around 1,000 years ago.[18]

Native cultures in the region continued to flourish until the time of initial contact with Europeans. By approximately 950 A.D., the Shenandoah Valley and northern piedmont of Virginia were inhabited by an Indigenous group known by archeologists as the Earthen Mound Burial Culture. During the seventeenth century, their cultural descendants, the Mannahoacs, lived south and east of the Shenandoah Valley, near the upper Rappahannock River, and the related Monacans, at the falls of the James River. Both were Siouan-speaking peoples, compared with the Algonquian and Iroquoian-speaking communities of eastern and southern Virginia.[19] Through contact with European traders based out of coastal towns, native groups spread diseases such as smallpox into the interior along well-traveled corridors, which included the Shenandoah Valley. By the late seventeenth century, many Indigenous peoples that had populated the area resettled away from disease-affected regions.[20]

Initial European Colonization and Settlement

The land policies of Virginia Governor Alexander Spotswood, formed during the initial decades of the eighteenth century, laid the groundwork for the settlement of the Shenandoah Valley. Governor Spotswood looked to expand settlement and trade into the territory west of the Blue Ridge Mountains beyond the land grant held by Lord Fairfax. The governor also sought to create buffer settlements on the western frontier as a means of providing security against the external threats facing Virginia, which included the expanding French presence in North America from the Ohio Valley and possible incursions into the colony by hostile Indigenous groups. In order to implement this policy and to occupy lands under dispute with Lord Fairfax, Alexander Spotswood's successor, Virginia Governor Sir William Gooch, quickly issued patents for Valley land totaling 400,000 acres between 1730 and 1732.[21] Many of these early patents were issued to German settlers, such as Jost Hite.[22] Hite was an early recipient of grants and became one of the most prominent landowners in the Shenandoah Valley during the mid-eighteenth century. Hite's extended kinship network went on to establish plantations and mills throughout the NHL district.

Hans Joest Heydt (Jost Hite) was born in 1685 in Bonfeld, in the Kraichgau region of south-central Germany. A linen weaver by trade, he migrated with his family to New York in 1710.[23] By 1717, Hite and his family had moved to Perkiomen Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, where he acquired extensive acreage and established a grist mill.[24] Jost Hite subsequently became interested in Virginia land, having obtained

[18] Keith Egloff and Deborah Woodward, *First People: The Early Indians of Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press in association with Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2006), 40-42.

[19] Ronald L. Heinemann, et al., *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth: A History of Virginia, 1607-2007* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 4.

[20] Michael McConnell, "Before the Great Road, Indian Travelers on the Great Warriors' Path," in *The Great Valley Road of Virginia: Shenandoah Landscapes from Prehistory to Present*, eds. Warren R. Hofstra and Karl Raitz (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 64-66.

[21] Warren R. Hofstra, "The Colonial Road," in *The Great Valley Road of Virginia: Shenandoah Landscapes from Prehistory to Present*, eds. Warren R. Hofstra and Karl Raitz (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 88.

[22] John Walter Wayland, *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia* (Charlottesville, VA: Michie Company, 1907), 42-45.

[23] Henry Z. Jones, Ralph Connor, and Klaus Wust, *German Origins of Jost Hite, Virginia Pioneer, 1685-1761* (Edinburg, VA: Shenandoah History, 1979), 7-14; Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, 34.

[24] Jones et al., 15-17; Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, *Historical Sketches: A Collection of Papers Prepared for the Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania*, vol. 4 (Norristown, PA: Herald Printing, 1910), 122.

information in 1730 that the "Government of Virginia proposed to give Encouragement for the Settlement of the Frontiers of that Colony which were much exposed to the Incursions of the Indians and other enemies."[25] By 1731, Jost Hite sold his land holdings in Pennsylvania, and along with partner Robert McKay, acquired grants in the lower Shenandoah Valley totaling 140,000 acres. The present NHL district is contained within a portion of this acreage. Hite took possession of 5,018 acres of the grant, and established a homestead and mill on Opequon Creek, approximately five miles south of present-day Winchester (located outside of the NHL boundaries).[26] By the end of 1735, Hite and McKay settled 100 mostly German and Scots-Irish families on the combined 140,000-acre grant.[27]

Eighteenth-Century Growth, 1731-1800

Sites such as Fort Bowman, Long Meadow, and Belle Grove, all established by the Hite family and its extended kinship network, arose during the initial settlement and subsequent economic development of the Lower Shenandoah Valley. Agriculture formed the basis for the early economy and wheat farming was an important part of the agricultural tradition that European immigrants brought to the region. Wheat farming became commercial in scale during the second half of the eighteenth century and was a main export commodity within the trans-Atlantic economy. Price increases extended the geographical range to which wheat and flour could be sent profitably while still offsetting transportation costs, opening the port town of Alexandria, Virginia to the Valley's farmers. By the 1760s, farmers turned surplus wheat into profit by grinding it into flour at local mills, transporting it to Alexandria, and selling it through commission merchants on the Atlantic market. Baltimore and Philadelphia also emerged as leading export destinations for Shenandoah Valley wheat and flour, and by the 1770s, Frederick and Berkeley Counties were shipping millions of pounds of flour to these cities annually.[28]

Hemp, tobacco, and livestock also constituted part of the Valley's agricultural output during the second half of the eighteenth century. Hemp was primarily used for the manufacture of cordage, and Virginia was the leading hemp producer in North America during the 1760s. Tobacco cultivation was first introduced in the Valley by migrants from eastern Virginia. By the American Revolution there were approximately 350 to 400 acres of tobacco in cultivation in the Shenandoah Valley. The Valley also raised great numbers of cattle and hogs. Open spaces across property boundaries and between fenced enclosures functioned as a commons on which livestock could graze. Drovers herded cattle up the Valley Road to northern markets, particularly Philadelphia. The Valley's farmers also produced enormous quantities of dairy products for export, such as butter and cheese.[29]

Population declines in the Valley during the final decades of the eighteenth century led to a greater reliance on enslaved labor. While enslaved persons appeared in approximately three percent of household inventories during the 1740s, the number of slave-owning households rose to around 30 percent by 1800. Much of the increase in enslavement occurred during the 1790s. Outmigration to Kentucky during the decade eased land-

[25] Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, 34.

[26] Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, 34; Maral S. Kalbian, Dennis J. Pogue, and Margaret T. Peters, *Historic Overview and Physical Investigations of Fort Bowman, Shenandoah County, Virginia* (Belle Grove, Inc., September 2014),14.

[27] Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, 34, 39; T. K. Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants: A History of Frederick County, Virginia* (Berkeley County, WV: Eddy Press, 1909), 253.

[28] Hofstra and Mitchell, "Town and Country in Backcountry Virginia," 2, 274-78.

[29] Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, 279-80.

use pressures, and farm productivity rose as a result. The amount of capital invested in labor also grew, and the enslaved population of Frederick County increased by 27 percent during this decade alone.[30]

The institution of slavery in the South was based on control, and Virginia's Slave Codes, first passed during the seventeenth century, considered the enslaved the property of their masters and allowed for the harsh punishment of slaves. Such laws made it illegal for a slave to strike a White person other than to protect their master, to use abusive language, to be at large without a pass, to learn to read and write, to possess liquor without the master's consent, to trade or own property without consent, possess firearms, or become involved in any legal proceeding. In addition, laws prohibited African-descended people from engaging in traditional African religious practices or gathering in large groups.[31] This legal landscape informed and shaped the experience of enslaved and free African-descended people of the Shenandoah Valley.

During the mid-eighteenth century, counties, courts, and towns provided the institutional framework for growth in the Lower Shenandoah Valley. In 1738, the Virginia House of Burgesses created Frederick County.[32] In 1772, the Virginia General Assembly created Dunmore County from a portion of Frederick. Dunmore County was renamed Shenandoah County in 1778.[33] By the time Winchester was incorporated in 1779, it had grown to become the largest Virginia town west of the Blue Ridge. Middletown and Newtown (today known as Stephens City) were surveyed and established during the 1790s.[34] These county towns were all sited on the Valley Road, and could be accessed by the secondary roads that connected to it. The network of roads within Frederick and Shenandoah Counties connected farms to local mills and towns, as well as distant markets such as Alexandria, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. Winchester, the county seat of Frederick County, formed the central hub of this network of local roads. By 1800, most residents of the Valley lived within a half-day's ride from a town.[35]

Extended Hite-Bowman Family Cultural Landscape

Jost Hite distributed choice tracts from the 140,000-acre land grant to his children and close friends, beginning soon after his arrival in Virginia in 1731 and continuing until his death in 1761. Reflecting NHL Theme I (Peopling Places), the plantations, farms, and mills that Hite's extended family established in the area, which were among the first in the Lower Shenandoah Valley, set in motion the creation of the cultural landscape that today comprises much of the NHL district. During the eighteenth century, Hite's extended kinship network left a distinct cultural imprint within the landscape, and resources such as Fort Bowman illustrate the merging of English and Germanic building traditions, representing Theme III (Expressing Cultural Values). Agricultural and milling sites within the extended Hite-Bowman cultural landscape represent the more intensive land use and economic growth that established the Lower Shenandoah Valley's importance within the regional and trans-Atlantic economy during the second half of the eighteenth century, embodying Theme V (Developing the American Economy).

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30 Hofstra and Mitchell, 636; Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, 284-85.

31 Thomas L. Webber, *Deep Like the Rivers: Education in the Slave Quarter Community, 1831-1865* (New York: Norton, 1978), 32-35.

32 Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, 8; Hofstra and Mitchell, 624.

33 M. N. Kangas and D. E. Payne, *Frederick County, Virginia: Wills & Administrations, 1795-1816* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1983), 1; John Walter Wayland, *A History of Shenandoah County, Virginia* (1927; repr., Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1980), 7-9.

34 Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, 8, 11, 285.

35 Ibid., 285, 290-91.

Fort Bowman

Fort Bowman, completed c. 1771, is the oldest extant dwelling within the extended Hite family landscape within this district.[36] The property was initially settled by George Bowman and his wife Mary, the daughter of Jost Hite.[37] In 1734, Hite sold 1,000 acres located on Cedar Creek, approximately a half mile northeast of Strasburg, to his son-in-law George Bowman.[38] Three hundred acres of the Bowman tract were located east of Cedar Creek in present-day Warren County and 700 acres were in what is today Shenandoah County. In 1741, George Bowman sold 280 acres of the parcel, located at the north end, to John Stickley, another early settler from Pennsylvania.[39]

Bowman, who was christened Hans Jerg Baumann in 1699, was originally from Eppigen, Germany, located near Bonfeld. He married Mary Hite in 1731.[40] They had thirteen children, born between 1732 and 1757: sons George (died as an infant), Jacob, John, George, Abraham, Joseph, and Isaac, and daughters Mary, Elizabeth, Sarah, Regina, Rebecca, and Catherine.[41]

Bowman's property on Cedar Creek functioned as a farmstead, and it consisted of a dwelling and multiple outbuildings. Oral and family history maintains that the Bowman family lived in a log house on the property prior to the completion of the c. 1771 stone dwelling known historically as Fort Bowman. [redacted] The complex may have included a wash house, dairy, and icehouse. In addition, George Bowman held enslaved workers (two specific people are mentioned in his will, although there may have been more left unmentioned), and their dwelling(s) may have also been present on the property. A barn appears to the southwest of the house on later nineteenth-century maps.[42]

Bowman constructed a grist mill on Cedar Creek sometime after acquiring the 1,000-acre tract from Jost Hite in 1734. The earliest reference to the mill appears in the diary of a Moravian missionary traveling through the area in 1753: "We went five miles further and came to Baumann's mill, where we bought several bushels of oats."[43] The mill was located approximately one-half mile north of Fort Bowman on Cedar Creek, and was contained within the northern portion of Bowman's property.[44] The original mill reportedly burned c. 1812 and Daniel Stickley, who acquired the property sometime during the first half of the nineteenth century, constructed a new

[36] Kalbian et al, 4.

[37] During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, antiquarians incorrectly believed that the house served as a defensive structure to protect local settlers against Indian raids during the French and Indian War, hence the name "Fort Bowman."

[38] Cecil O'Dell, *Pioneers of Old Frederick County* (Marceline, MO: Wallsworth Publishing Company, 1995), 349.

[39] Kalbian et al., 14.

[40] Lewes and Moore, 44.

[41] Kalbian et al., 15.

[42] Claire Metcalfe, Kimberly Tinkham, and Clarence R. Geier, *An Assessment of the Archaeological Components at Bowman's Fort or Harmony Hall* (Harrisonburg, VA: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, James Madison University, for Belle Grove, Inc., January 2009), 15; Kalbian et al., 15, 17.

[43] Kalbian et al., 15.

[44] Michael Spencer, *The Bowman-Hite Property Warren County, Virginia*, *Bowman-Hite Farmhouse Historic Structure Report*, (Washington, DC: National Park Service, Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, October 2013), 20.

mill to the southwest of George Bowman's earlier eighteenth-century mill.[45] The mills were destroyed by Union forces during Sheridan's campaign of October 1864 and are labeled as "Burnt Mills" on an 1873 map of the battlefield.[46] A pedestrian survey of the site complex was completed in 2003 and later in 2013 resulting in the inventory and documentation of the two mill foundations and mill races (VACRIS 44SH0470).[47]

Fort Bowman was likely constructed by George Bowman's sons after his death in 1768. Dendrochronological testing conducted in 2012 suggests that the two-story gabled stone dwelling was completed c. 1771. Bowman's will contains no references to a house being planned or under construction at the time. George Bowman bequeathed the portion of his property containing the original farmstead and dwelling to his son Isaac Bowman, who resided there with his family until the early nineteenth century. Isaac Bowman served as an officer under George Rogers Clark in 1778 during the American Revolution. In a diary entry dated January 23, 1778, Clark noted that he "lodged at Isaak Bowmans; appointed J. Bowman Captn., Isack Lieut., To raise a company for my Ridgement."[48] For his service, Isaac Bowman was awarded a grant of 2,156 acres in Indiana and 2,000 acres in Virginia. After his military service, he led a group of settlers westward, but was captured on the Ohio River by Chickasaw Indians and spent three years in captivity before escaping and returning to Virginia. Isaac Bowman married Elizabeth Gatewood in 1785. They lived at Fort Bowman and had five children prior to her death in 1790. In 1792, Bowman married Mary Chinn of Lancaster, Virginia. They had 10 children, all but one of whom survived into adulthood.[49]

Isaac Bowman held enslaved people, reflecting the increase in slave-holding that occurred in the Lower Shenandoah Valley during the late eighteenth century. The 1783 Shenandoah County census recorded eight enslaved persons on the property at this time.[50] In the 1787 tax lists, Isaac Bowman was again assessed for eight enslaved people. Three of these enslaved individuals were over the age of 16, while the others were under 16 years of age.[51]

Isaac Bowman constructed a mill complex on Cedar Creek downstream from Fort Bowman. Developed during the 1790s, the mill complex consisted of a 40 x 30-foot merchant mill, a 40 x 13-foot sawmill, and a mill race. Merchant mills were often used for the processing of both wheat and corn. An advertisement for the sale of a large plantation in Frederick County, which appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* in 1774, includes a reference to a "complete Merchant Mill, with a Pair of the best French Burrs for grinding of wheat, and a pair of common Stones for grinding of Indian Corn."[52] Insurance documents in 1803 valued Isaac Bowman's merchant mill at $3,000 and the sawmill at $300. By 1806, the complex had grown with the addition of a frame dwelling, a blacksmith shop, and two frame accessory structures.[53] The mill stood until the late twentieth century. Two

[45] Clarence R. Geier, et al, *An Overview and Assessment of Cultural Resources and Landscapes Within the Legislated Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park*, vol. 2 (Harrisonburg, VA: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, James Madison University, 2006), 287.

[46] Lewes and Moore, 44, 49.

[47] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Stickley/Bowman Mill," VDHR 44SH0470, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 30, 2019); Clarence R. Geier and Stephen Lotts, *A Cultural Inventory Resource Study of the Hite-Hottle Mill Complex….* (Harrisonburg, VA: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, James Madison University, 2003).

[48] Kalbian et al., 18.

[49] Kalbian et al., 9, 18; Lewes and Moore, 53.

[50] Metcalfe et al., 13; *An Assessment of the Archaeological Components,* 13.

[51] Kalbian et al., 18; Lewes and Moore, 53.

[52] "Classified Advertisement," *Virginia Gazette*, June 23, 1774, 3.

[53] Lewes and Moore, 53.

limestone block foundations and evidence of the mill race were noted during the 2003 and 2013 pedestrian surveys.[54]

Long Meadow

Long Meadow Plantation was established by Jost Hite's son Isaac, who lived on the property with his family until his death in 1795. Between 1740 and 1742, Jost Hite sold a total of 1,948 acres to his son John Hite. In 1744, John Hite sold one of these tracts, 300 acres located below the mouth of Cedar Creek on the North Fork of the Shenandoah River, to his brother Isaac Hite Sr.[55] Issac Hite Sr. was born in 1723 at Perkiomen Township, Pennsylvania. Hite married Eleanor Eltinge, the sister of John Hite's wife, Sara Eltinge. Among their five children were Major Isaac Hite Jr. of Belle Grove Plantation.[56] Isaac Hite Sr. constructed the first house on the Long Meadow property where he resided with his family. The current dwelling on the property was constructed by Isaac Hite's son George Hite in 1848, replacing the earlier eighteenth-century house.[57]

By the late eighteenth century, Long Meadow had grown into a relatively large plantation. Frederick County tax records indicate that in 1783, Isaac Hite Sr. owned 100 head of cattle, pointing to the importance of livestock within the regional economy during this period.[58] In 1788, Hite patented his combined land holdings, which had grown to 1,689 acres. The patent extended from his home on the Shenandoah River north to the future site of Belle Grove Plantation on Meadow Brook, a tributary of Cedar Creek.[59] Long Meadow's prosperity, however, was dependent upon enslaved labor. The 1783 tax assessment reveals that Hite owned 33 enslaved individuals at this time. Except for 11 individuals named in his will, we know little regarding the names, gender, or ages of the enslaved at Long Meadow.[60]

Resources dating to Isaac Hite's eighteenth-century period of ownership still exist on the property. These include a one-and-a-half-story, frame, front-gabled overseer's house, which stands near the main dwelling to the northeast. An eighteenth-century stone springhouse with attached frame icehouse is located to the southwest of the house. To the north of the main dwelling is a Hite family cemetery which contains graves dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The cemetery contains about twenty-five gravestones, twenty of which are unmarked. In addition, the cemetery holds the graves of related members of the McDonald, Maury, Grymes, Davison, and Lodor families. The burials of the enslaved at Long Meadow have not been located.[61]

The will of Isaac Hite Sr., dated January 4, 1794, attests to the property and wealth he acquired during his lifetime. Hite conveyed extensive acreage that he had accumulated in Frederick, Shenandoah, and Hampshire Counties, Virginia, as well as in Maryland and Kentucky, to his heirs.[62] Reflecting the emphasis on grain farming and processing that dominated agriculture in the Lower Valley during the second half of the eighteenth

[54] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Stickley/Bowman Mill," VDHR 44SH0470, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 30, 2019).

[55] O'Dell, 24-25.

[56] Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, *Historical Sketches*, 130

[57] National Register of Historic Places, Long Meadow, Middletown vicinity, Warren County, Virginia, National Register #95001169, 7:1.

[58] Frederick County Personal Property Tax Assessments, Isaac Hite Sr. (transcription of original), 1782-1796, Stewart Bell Archives Room, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, Virginia.

[59] National Register of Historic Places, Long Meadow, 8:9.

[60] Frederick County Personal Property Tax Assessments, Isaac Hite Sr. (transcription of original), 1782-1796, Stewart Bell Archives Room, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, Virginia.

[61] National Register of Historic Places, Long Meadow, 7:6-7.

[62] O'Dell, 26-27.

century, the will also refers to a 4.75-acre tract located on Meadow Run that Hite acquired in 1788, "on which a new merchant mill stands, built in partnership with my said son."[63] Isaac Hite Jr. owned and operated the mill after his father's death in 1795 until his death in 1836. During the nineteenth century, the mill complex was purchased by the Hottle family, who owned it at the time of the Civil War.[64]

Hite's will also contains references to the enslaved held at Long Meadow. To his son Isaac, he left the responsibility of supporting "during their lives" five "old and infirm" enslaved people named Moses, Bob, Lib, Dinah, and Jenney. He also conveyed to his son three enslaved people: Lewis, Molly, and Daniel, a blacksmith. To his daughter Rebecca, he left a "Negro man named Cato" on the "condition of her paying the value at which he shall be appraised." To his daughter, Ann Buchanan, he bequeathed a "lad" named James and a girl named Nancy, with instructions that they be sold "at public auction for ready money" upon her death.[65]

Old Hall – Belle Grove

Belle Grove Plantation was established during the late eighteenth century by Isaac Hite Jr. and is the most significant resource associated with the Hite family in the Lower Shenandoah Valley. In 1748, Isaac Hite Sr. purchased 300 acres from James Hoge, located south of present-day Middletown on Meadow Brook. Hoge was the son of William Hoge, a Scottish Presbyterian who accompanied the Hite party from Pennsylvania in 1731. Isaac Hite Sr. bought an additional 183 acres from William Vance in 1770. Situated on Meadow Brook and Cedar Creek, this tract adjoined the 300 acres Hite had purchased from Hoge in 1748.[66] Isaac Hite Sr. later conveyed this combined 483-acre parcel to his son, Isaac Hite Jr., upon his marriage to Nelly Conway Madison, the sister of President James Madison, in 1783.[67]

Isaac Hite Jr. (1758-1836) was perhaps the most noteworthy member of the Hite family in Virginia. A highly successful plantation owner and distinguished military officer, his rise to wealth and prominence illustrates the degree to which the Hite family attained material and social status following their initial migration into the Shenandoah Valley through generations, much due to the labor of enslaved people. Isaac Hite Jr. was born on February 7, 1758, most likely at his father's Long Meadow plantation. The folklore of the Shenandoah Valley refers to him as a man of "energy, enterprise, and industry." Hite maintained large farms and orchards, cultivated hemp, owned mills, and was one of the first to send cattle from the Shenandoah Valley to the markets of Baltimore and Philadelphia. A graduate of the College of William and Mary, Isaac Hite Jr. was the first member elected to the Order of Phi Beta Kappa in 1777. At the outbreak of the American Revolution, he enlisted as a private, but was soon commissioned ensign in the 8th Virginia Cavalry. He later attained the rank of lieutenant. In 1782, Hite served as aide-de-camp to General Peter Muhlenberg during the siege of Yorktown. His journal entries during the siege are contained in his personal papers and refer to him drafting the articles of capitulation for the British surrender. They also contain detailed records of surrendered troops, armaments, and supplies. After the Revolution, Hite was commissioned as a major in the Frederick County militia. A student

[63] Ibid.

[64] Lewes and Moore, 55.

[65] "Last Will and Testament of Isaac Hite Sr.," January 4, 1794, Stewart Bell Archives Room, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, Virginia.

[66] Cartmell, 411-12; O'Dell, 26-27.

[67] Clarence R. Geier, *An Immense Lilac Hedge in Full Bloom: The Archaeological Definition and Assessment of the Belle Grove Plantation (44FK16)*, Belle Grove, Inc., February 1995, 10.

of science and politics, Isaac Hite was a close friend and brother-in-law of James Madison, and was reportedly at times a guest in the White House during the Madison presidency.[68]

Nelly Conway Hite was born on February 14, 1760.[69] She was the daughter of James Madison Sr., the largest landholder in Orange County, Virginia, and Nelly Rose Conway Madison. At the time of her marriage, her father conveyed 15 enslaved persons from his Montpelier plantation to Isaac Hite as a dowry. Isaac and Nelly Hite's first child, James Madison Hite, was born in 1788, but died as a young child in 1791. Their two surviving children were Nellie Conway Hite (1789) and James Madison Hite (1793). As mistress of Belle Grove, Nelly Hite entertained the family's guests and managed the household economy, overseeing the enslaved house servants, kitchen and kitchen garden, and textile production. Nelly Conway Hite seems to have suffered from poor health following the death of the couple's first child. In a letter written in the fall of 1802, Isaac Hite Jr. noted that "Mrs. Hite is in a very low state of health indeed." Nelly Conway Hite later died on Christmas Eve, 1802.[70]

Old Hall

An earlier dwelling stood on the property prior to the construction of Belle Grove. Known as Old Hall, the two-story, end-gabled stone house stood to the west of the present manor house. Old Hall may have been built by James Hoge or possibly by Isaac Hite Sr. It likely served as the first residence for Isaac Hite Jr. and his wife Nelly.[71] This was a common practice in Virginia during the years after the American Revolution. During this period, landowners often postponed the construction of a substantial, well-finished manor house until after they had begun to cultivate a quantity of arable land sufficient to meet their expectations for profit, or, traditionally, until the owner or couple had met their thirtieth birthday. After the completion of Belle Grove, Old Hall possibly functioned as a guest house or storage building.[72]

Design and Construction of Belle Grove

Isaac Hite Jr. commissioned the construction of Belle Grove, which was begun in 1794 and completed in 1797. The house, one of the finest and most significant eighteenth-century houses in the Shenandoah Valley, reflects the tidewater influence that was beginning to transform the economy and society of the region during the 1790s. Belle Grove serves as a significant high-style example in the backcountry region and was in competition with elite tidewater-inspired estates to the north in present-day Clarke County. The 1969 special report, which informed the designation, surveyed Belle Grove separately from Cedar Creek Battlefield, noting its reputation as "one of the most elegant homes in the county; some said one of the most elegant west of the Blue Ridge." The property was later identified as a primary contributing resource in the 1976 NHL form and its significance credited as "one of the first mansions built in the Shenandoah Valley." Belle Grove's central role in the district

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[68] Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, *Historical Sketches*, 130-31; John W. Wayland, "Two Early Members of Phi Beta Kappa," *William and Mary Quarterly* 5, no. 4 (October 1925): 274; "Genealogical Notes and Queries," *William and Mary Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (January 1937): 119; Louise Pecquet Du Bellet, *Some Prominent Virginia Families* (Lynchburg, VA: J.P. Bell, 1907), 4:366; for Hite's personal papers see Jacob M. Blosser, ed., "Letters from Belle Grove…," vol. 1, The Private Papers of Major Isaac Hite Jr. (unpublished document), Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

[69] Wayland, *A History of Shenandoah County, Virginia*, 703.

[70] "Family Records," *William and Mary Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (October 1901): 120-21; Katherine L. Brown, *The Women of Belle Grove, 1783-1851* (Staunton, VA: Lots Wife Publishing, 2009), 8-23.

[71] Geier, *An Immense Lilac Hedge*, 12.

[72] Edward A. Chappell and Julie Richter, "Wealth and Houses in Post-Revolutionary Virginia," in *Exploring Everyday Landscapes: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, VII*, ed. Annmarie Adams and Sally McMurry (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 8.

is carried forward in this update, but with an acknowledgement that Belle Grove was part of a plantation complex that went beyond the mansion.

Properties comparable to Belle Grove are limited in the Shenandoah Valley, and are largely isolated to present-day Clarke County, formed from the eastern portion of Frederick County and historically more dependent on slavery than the western half (resulting in the 1830s split).[73] Most comparable properties cluster north of the turnpike that connected Winchester to Alexandria and Washington, DC (present-day US Route 50), occupying the historic Fairfax land grant. Unlike Belle Grove, these properties do not reflect the generational story of backcountry settlement and occupation encouraged by the Hite land patent. Instead, these surviving estates largely depict the westward expansion of tidewater families, particularly the Carter-Burwell family.[74] An exception is Saratoga (designated NHL 1973, NRIS 70000788), constructed in 1779 and designated because of its association to Daniel Morgan (1735/36 –1802), general in the Continental Army and Winchester-based wagoner and militia captain. Saratoga is a vernacular Federal-style, two-and-a-half-story random limestone house with small gabled portico; it still has supporting structures, including a stone kitchen and dairy. The house was later purchased by Nathaniel Burwell, Jr (1779–1849). Nearby Carter Hall (NRIS 73002003) was built by Nathaniel Burwell, Sr (1750–1814) between 1792 and 1800 and named after the Carter Burwell ancestral tidewater home Carter's Grove. Carter Hall is a five-bay, two-story Georgian limestone house; a two-story Ionic portico was added in 1814. The house was heavily remodeled in the 1930s. The complex includes a mill (originally owned with Daniel Morgan of Saratoga), kitchen, enslaved quarters, and several other outbuildings; by 1800 Burwell, Sr was the largest landowner in the county and enslaved 184 people across Carter Hall and associated industrial operations.[75] Equally impressive and representative of the high-style properties constructed by tidewater families is Annfield, (NRIS 69000231), a Federal-style, two-story, seven bay, stone house with two-level pedimented porch and Chinese lattice railing constructed in 1790 by Matthew Page of Hanover County; it was later purchased by Thomas Carter. Also in Clarke County, but south of the turnpike and built slightly later, is Long Branch Plantation (NRIS 69000232) constructed by Robert Carter Burwell in 1811. The main house is a two-story brick house and informed by plans provided by Benjamin Latrobe, although the degree of influence is unknown; it includes front and rear porticos added in 1845. Over the years, the estate lost all its outbuildings. Unlike Belle Grove, none of these properties are open to the public and provide limited information about the full plantation complex. These properties have also experienced alterations and renovations, unlike Belle Grove, which retains a high degree of integrity to the late eighteenth century.

The Belle Grove appellation was possibly suggested by Nelly Conway Hite. The estate of her grandparents, known as Belle Grove, was located on the Rappahannock River and her brother, President James Madison, was born there. Nelly Conway Hite would have been very familiar with the plantation and it possibly inspired the name of her and her husband's own dwelling.[76] It was through Nelly Conway Hite, and her brother James Madison, that Thomas Jefferson was invited to contribute to the design of Isaac Hite's Belle Grove. In a letter to Jefferson, sent in October of 1794, James Madison introduced Mr. Bond, the builder, and wrote seeking advice:

[73] Warren R Hofstra, *A Separate Place: The Formation of Clarke County, Virginia* (Madison, WI: Madison House Publishers, 1999), 27.

[74] Hofstra, *A Separate Place*, 11-12

[75] Megan Turner, *Carter Hall: A Landscape History* (Richmond: The Garden Club of Virginia, 2013), 16.

[76] Eichman Browne, Gilpin Dalgliesh, and P.C Paxton, *Belle Grove: An Historic Structure Report* (The National Trust for Historic Preservation and Belle Grove, Inc., March 1996), 10.

> 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 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 so readily answered such draughts on it, that I have been tempted to make this additional one.

The "Mr. Bond" referred to in Madison's letter to Jefferson was likely Robert Bond, an Alexandria mason who was active in Frederick County during the 1790s.[77] Reflecting the potential influence of Thomas Jefferson, the floorplan of Belle Grove is like that of Monticello. Interior woodwork was based on *Pain's British Palladio.* During construction, Isaac Hite procured building supplies that included lumber, nails, paint, and window glass from Philadelphia. Elements such as the graceful and sophisticated fanlight over the south entrance may have also been fabricated in Philadelphia.[78]

Isaac Hite insured Belle Grove through the Mutual Insurance Society. The first policy, drafted in 1803, describes the building as a "Dwelling house 40 feet by 74, one story high, walls built of stone & covered [roofed] with wood." The second policy, dating to 1805, provided the same description, but includes a reference to a smaller, square-plan, frame house located 45 feet to the west of the main house.[79] Archaeological investigations conducted in 1972-1973 confirmed the presence of this structure, the footprint of which extended across the west wall of Belle Grove's west wing, which was added during the early nineteenth century. It is believed that this building functioned as a fairly substantial support structure.[80]

The Plantation Landscape at Belle Grove

By the 1790s, Belle Grove had grown into a diverse and prosperous agricultural complex, and it is likely that a range of support structures common to working farms and plantations of the period existed on the property. These buildings may have included a springhouse, smokehouse, slave quarter, kitchen, laundry, stables, barns, and sheds. The 1972-73 archaeological excavations identified the foundations of a possible outdoor baking oven and a building that may have functioned as a smokehouse or dairy. Their placement suggests that the greater number of support buildings may have been located to the rear and north of Old Hall. Excavations also recovered evidence of a possible enslaved quarter immediately to the west of Old Hall across Belle Grove Road that consisted of one or more log or wood frame dwellings.[81]

Only one outbuilding survives from the early period of Isaac Hite Jr.'s occupancy of the property. A one-story, side-gabled, limestone dwelling, interpreted today as the Belle Grove Plantation Office and Store, stands approximately 700 feet to the southwest of the Belle Grove manor house. Dendrochronology conducted in 2016 on framing members located throughout the building established that it was constructed c. 1788.[82] According to architectural historians Gabrielle M. Lanier and Phoebe G. Harding, architectural evidence suggests that the building initially functioned as a possible plantation store, or as a combined dwelling and

[77] Ibid., 11.
[78] Ibid., 10-11.
[79] Ibid., 11.
[80] Geier, *An Immense Lilac Hedge*, 16.
[81] Ibid., 12-13.
[82] Oxford Dendrochronology Laboratory, "The Tree-Ring Dating of the Overseer's House, Belle Grove Plantation, Middletown, Virginia," 2016, unpublished report, Belle Grove, Inc., Middletown, VA.

storehouse. Lanier and Harding point to diagnostic features, such as the building's two entrances, intended to provide access to a counting room where books were tended and customers received, and a less finished, unheated storeroom. While it is possible that the building may have also been subsequently converted into a living space for a resident overseer or farm manager, it was likely not intended to function as such when first constructed.[83] [redacted]

Hite owned a mill and distillery complex, the archaeological remains of which are located [redacted]. In April of 1793, he purchased the patent rights to build two new steam-powered water wheels, which were designed by James Rumsey of Shepherdstown, West Virginia. Rumsey was known as an inventor, and it appears that Hite was seeking out the latest in mill technology by retaining his services. Hite's merchant mills produced large quantities of flour for export to Alexandria. Hite also owned at least one sawmill. In addition, Hite operated a distillery which produced whiskey that was sold both locally in Winchester and to the Alexandria firm of C. J. Ross & Co.[85] All of these processing operations likely relied on wage and enslaved skilled labor.

Enslavement at Belle Grove During the Early Hite Period

Enslaved persons lived and worked at Belle Grove from its earliest days. Soon after his marriage, in August of 1785, Hite's father-in-law, James Madison Sr., conveyed 15 enslaved individuals to him from his Montpelier Plantation as a dowry. This is the earliest documentation for the presence of enslaved persons on the property. They included Jerry (23 years of age), Jimmy (20), Sally (22), Milly (17), Eliza (35), and Truelove (31). Also included were Eliza's five children: Joanna (12), Diana (10), Demas (8), Pendar (6), and Webster (4); and Truelove's four children: Peggy (9), Priscilla (7), Henry (5), and Katy (3).[86] During this period, Southern planters at times forcibly relocated the enslaved to new properties, or between their various landholdings, removing them from family members and existing social networks.[87] When these individuals arrived at Belle Grove, they joined a small existing community of enslaved workers.[88]

In October of 1785, Hite hired Benjamin Little of Frederick County to serve as his overseer. Little's duties consisted of paying "due attention to the welfare of" Hite's "stock as well as crop," and to keep "all things" in "good repair." The contract names Jerry, Sally, Truelove, Ned, and Primus as Little's primary field hands, and outlines their work tasks as mowing, hauling, and stacking hay, building and repairing fences, seeding the fields, and tending the Hites' garden. An item appearing at the end of the contract states that "if Primus does

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[83] Gabrielle M. Lanier and Phoebe G. Harding, *Belle Grove Plantation Overseer's House: Historical Architectural Assessment* (Harrisonburg, VA: James Madison University, 2006), vi.

[84] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Belle Grove Overseer's House," VDHR 44FK0502, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

[85] "Patent Rights, Edward Rumsey to Isaac Hite and Son," April 27, 1793, Belle Grove Collection, 890 THL, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, Virginia; Geier, *An Immense Lilac Hedge*, 13-14, 18; Greer, "Archaeological Investigation of Two Possible 19th Century Quarters Sites," 5.

[86] "Enslaved Children at Belle Grove," unpublished research provided by Belle Grove, Inc.; Lanier and Harding, 47.

[87] Matthew C. Greer, "Starting Over After Being Taken Away…." (Presented at the 50th Annual Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology, Fort Worth, TX, January 6, 2017).

[88] Matthew C. Greer, "Panopticism and the Practical Politics of Slavery in the Shenandoah Valley" (Presented at the 47th Annual Middle Atlantic Archaeology Conference, Virginia Beach, VA, March 18, 2017).

not work in the crop," Little would be obliged to make up the time or give up a portion of his compensation.[89] Primus, who was born in 1754, later escaped from Belle Grove, although the exact date this occurred is unknown.[90] Viewshed analysis of the plantation landscape undertaken by archaeologist Matthew C. Greer suggests that the Plantation Office and Store was positioned to allow for distant surveillance of Quarter Site B. Greer has drawn upon the work of twentieth-century French theorist Michel Foucault in his analysis of sightlines and control of the enslaved at Belle Grove, identifying the Plantation Office and Store as a key feature within this panoptic landscape.[91] The plantation owner's efforts to order time and function also illuminate a "geography of containment" across the plantation landscape.[92] At the same time, hints of a resistive geography also manifest on the Belle Grove plantation landscape with overt resistance such as self-emancipating and covert resistance such as Primus' work slowdowns.[93] All of these analytical frameworks contribute to the significance of Belle Grove and similar properties throughout the district.

The number of enslaved at Belle Grove fluctuated between 1785 and 1800. During this period, Hite frequently exchanged or gave enslaved persons to his close associates, primarily his cousin George Hite and father-in-law James Madison.[94] As previously discussed, Hite inherited eight enslaved persons from his father in 1795, which included five elderly individuals (Moses, Bob, Lib, Dinah, and Jenney) as well as Lewis, Molly, and a blacksmith named Daniel.[95] Between 1796 and 1797, the enslaved population at Belle Grove more than doubled, from 15 to 32. This coincided with a marked increase in Hite's land holdings, from 554 to 1512 acres.[96]

Generations of enslaved individuals lived, worked, and died at the plantation. Children born to enslaved mothers were also enslaved, and the offspring of Hite's enslaved workers contributed in part to the population increase at Belle Grove. Milly, among the 15 enslaved persons given to Isaac Hite by James Madison Sr., bore four sons between 1787 and 1796. Each of Eliza's daughters also bore children at Belle Grove, beginning in the late 1790s. In addition to the four children that accompanied her to Belle Grove in 1785, Truelove subsequently gave birth to four more children between 1788 and 1797, as did her daughter Katy, who bore five children between 1799 and 1808.[97] Despite their lack of freedom, and the hardships of their existence, the enslaved at Belle Grove created strong family networks during the late eighteenth century, and through their labor collectively formed the basis for the Hite family's prosperity.

Antebellum Period, 1800-1861

The Shenandoah Valley continued to represent one of the most productive agrarian landscapes in the state of Virginia during the nineteenth century. As it had been during the preceding century, this landscape was defined by a "continuum" of individual farms and plantations, rural kinship networks, and towns. During the 1790s, the

[89] Lanier and Harding, 47; "Articles of Agreement between Isaac Hite and Benjamin Little," October 14, 1785, Belle Grove Collection, 890 THL, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, Virginia.

[90] Blosser, vol. 1, "Letters from Belle Grove," Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

[91] Greer, "Panopticism and the Practical Politics of Slavery in the Shenandoah Valley," 1.

[92] Stephanie Camp, *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

[93] Vanessa M. Holden, *Surviving Southampton: African American Women and Resistance in Nat Turner's Community* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2021).

[94] Blosser, vol. 1, "Letters from Belle Grove," Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

[95] "Last Will and Testament of Isaac Hite Sr.," January 4, 1794, Stewart Bell Archives Room, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, Virginia.

[96] Lanier and Harding, 57.

[97] Brown, 28-30.

population of the Shenandoah Valley had grown by 12 percent, reaching 84,000 inhabitants by 1800. Two-thirds of this population resided in the Lower Valley, which had historically experienced a higher rate of settlement and town formation. This trend continued into the initial decades of the nineteenth century, a period of increased slaveholding, agricultural production, and wealth formation. There was also an increase in building, and a flowering of both vernacular and high-style architecture, as old log and frame dwellings were replaced. Antebellum agriculture in the Shenandoah Valley was based on a mixed system that coupled grain and cereal production with livestock, and it ranged in scale from smaller family farms to large plantations with considerable enslaved populations. Flour milled within the Lower Valley continued to be sent in large quantities to Baltimore and other major export centers of the period, representing Theme V (Developing the American Economy). The number of enslaved people in these counties increased dramatically during this period and recent archeology, combined with archival research, has yielded new insights into the material culture and lifestyles of the enslaved at Belle Grove Plantation, representing Theme III (Expressing Cultural Values). As farms and plantations grew in size and productivity, so too did the counties, towns, and villages of the Lower Valley. In 1836, the state legislature created Warren County from part of Frederick and Shenandoah Counties. Middletown was home to over 300 residents by 1839, Strasburg to over 400, and Winchester to over 3,000.[98] Nationally, the antebellum period was marked by increased political polarization and sectionalism, as the abolition movement offered a vocal critique of slavery.

Nineteenth-Century Agriculture in the Lower Shenandoah Valley

By the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Shenandoah Valley had gained the reputation as one of the most fertile and productive agricultural regions in Virginia, noteworthy for the mixed agricultural system being pursued by its farmers. During the nineteenth century, the Shenandoah Valley was the leading region within the state of Virginia for wheat farming, a development that had its foundations in the rise of commercial wheat production during the previous century. The Valley's rich limestone soils were especially conducive to the cultivation of wheat. In 1850, the farmers of Warren, Frederick, and Shenandoah Counties produced an average of 17.97 bushels of wheat per capita, compared with 7.88 bushels for the entire state. As in the eighteenth century, the Valley's wheat was processed at area mills and exported to cities such as Alexandria, Georgetown, Baltimore, Fredericksburg, and Richmond.[99]

While wheat was the most prevalent crop, it was cultivated within a mixed agricultural system that featured a diversity of farming activities. Corn was the next most important staple crop after wheat and it was cultivated in the Valley in large quantities, totaling more than half of the state's per capita output in 1850. Cereal grains such as oats and rye, and grasses such as clover and timothy, provided food for human consumption and fodder for livestock. Grains were also used for distilling whiskey, which was produced for both local consumption and export.[100]

Animal husbandry continued to form an important component within the Valley's agricultural production. In addition to horses, cattle and hogs remained the most common animals found on area farms and plantations.

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[98] Mitchell, "The Settlement Fabric of the Shenandoah Valley," 34-42.

[99] Kenneth Koons, "'The Staple of Our Country:' Wheat in the Regional Farm Economy of the Nineteenth-Century Valley of Virginia," in *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800-1900*, eds. Kenneth Koons and Warren Hofstra (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 3-4, 6; John T. Schlebecker, "Farmers in the Lower Shenandoah Valley, 1850," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 79, no. 4 (October 1971): 466.

[100] Schlebecker, 466; Koons, 4.

The Valley was the principal corridor for the movement of cattle from the uplands of Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio to the markets of America's eastern cities.[101]

Merchant Milling and Market Systems

By the early nineteenth century, a network of farms, mills, warehouses, towns, and roads linked the Valley's wheat farmers with coastal port cities. Area rivers also played a lesser role in the transport of agricultural commodities. Navigable sections of the Potomac River were used for transporting flour and wheat by keelboat, and a river port at Charles Town, West Virginia functioned as a hub for the shipment of Shenandoah Valley flour. On their return up the river, these keelboats would bring items such as salt, fish, and plaster to be used as fertilizer. The South Fork of the Shenandoah River was also used seasonally for transporting flour during the early nineteenth century, and in 1824 the New Shenandoah Company completed work to enhance the river's navigability. The Chesapeake and Ohio (C & O) Canal opened from Georgetown to Harper's Ferry in 1833, and it was used to transport flour from the Lower Valley to Georgetown, Washington, and Alexandria. Wheat and flour prices were published in regional newspapers such as the *Virginia Gazette*, *Charles Town Farmer's Register*, and the *Martinsburg Gazette* as well as in journals such as the *Baltimore American Farmer*.[102]

The Valley's farmers petitioned the Virginia legislature for transportation improvements and in the 1830s the Commonwealth began laying out turnpike roads.[103] The Valley Turnpike Company was chartered in 1834 to improve and maintain this key artery, as its use for both travel and the movement of goods increased during the nineteenth century. In 1840, a Valley resident observed that "they have got the Macadamized Road nearly completed from Staunton to Winchester." The limestone abutments (VDHR 034-5301) of a bridge that was constructed during this period to carry the Valley Pike across Cedar Creek are still extant within the NHL district. During the antebellum period, the Valley Turnpike became one of the most well-known turnpike roads in the country.[104]

With the advent of railroads, Baltimore became the leading destination for flour produced in the Lower Shenandoah Valley. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad opened to Harper's Ferry in 1834. Two years later, in 1836, the Winchester and Potomac Railroad connected Harper's Ferry with Winchester. Firms charged $0.33 to transport a barrel of flour from Harper's Ferry to Baltimore. As railroad rates dropped, use of the C & O Canal was phased out. Additional new railroad lines, such as the Western Maryland and the Cumberland and Pennsylvania Railroads, both of which connected to Baltimore, had been established by 1860. With these new railroad connections to Baltimore, Alexandria's position as an export hub declined. The Virginia Central Railroad opened in 1854 and connected the Shenandoah Valley with Richmond's extensive grain milling district, yet Baltimore remained the leading export destination for Virginia wheat and flour.[105] Baltimore connected the Valley's producers with the wider world market and the city's merchants acted as a clearing house for information on global prices.[106]

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[101] Koons, 4-6.

[102] Keller, 21-24.

[103] Keller, 24.

[104] Gabrielle M. Lanier, "An Early Road to the Old West, 1780-1837," in *The Great Valley Road of Virginia: Shenandoah Landscapes from Prehistory to Present*, Warren R. Hofstra and Karl Raitz, eds. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 109; Koons, 6.

[105] Keller, 24-25.

[106] Keller, 25-26.

Farm Economy and Slavery

The Valley's mixed agriculture system required labor to implement. On smaller family farms, wives, children, and kin provided essential labor. Landless White day laborers, who lived in the surrounding rural communities and towns, also contributed. White farmers on smaller farms also hired enslaved persons to supplement the amount of labor they could draw on. On larger plantations, however, enslaved people served as the primary source of labor.[107]

An expansion of slavery occurred in Virginia during the antebellum period. Despite an increase in the free Black population, and the movement of capital and enslaved people to the plantations of the Deep South and its booming cotton economy, slavery remained firmly entrenched in Virginia. In the Lower Shenandoah Valley, slavery was prevalent and deeply connected to wheat farming. Abolitionists and contemporary critics of slavery argued that slavery was too inefficient for the Valley's wheat farming and mixed agriculture. Yet, documentary evidence shows that the enslaved in the Lower Valley were active year-round and were employed in a variety of tasks. These included laying off and clearing new fields, cutting trees and hauling wood, ploughing, spreading manure and lime, sowing seed, building and repairing fences, harvesting, threshing, and stacking wheat, cutting clover, and foddering cattle. Other chores included hauling coal, cutting ice, salting and smoking meat, planting and tending gardens, tending livestock, making shingles, mowing and cutting oats, making butter and cheese, shucking corn, and repairing roads and cisterns.[108]

An increase in slavery between 1840 and 1861 coincided with the prevalence of larger plantations versus smaller family farms. In 1850, the Shenandoah Valley was home to almost 25,000 enslaved, which constituted nearly 20 percent of its population. Within the three counties of Frederick, Warren, and Shenandoah, enslaved persons made up a much smaller 13.6 percent of the population. The number of free Blacks in the three-county area constituted 4.4 percent of the population, compared with 3.8 percent statewide. These free African Americans mostly worked on area farms. Overall, the census data reveals that by 1850 the Lower Valley contained a smaller percentage of slaves, and a higher percentage of free African Americans, than seen in the rest of the state. Yet, area newspapers frequently published advertisements for the public sale of enslaved persons as well as notices placed by plantation owners seeking to recover self-emancipated individuals ("runaways") – a reminder that slavery continued to form a significant percentage of the Lower Valley's agricultural work force.[109]

The Plantation System in the Shenandoah Valley During the Antebellum Period

Juxtaposed against the Lower Valley's small family farms and modest I-houses and log dwellings were the extensive, slave-based plantations of the area's wealthy landowners. The plantation system had spread geographically into the Valley during the eighteenth century. Rather than being based on tobacco production, as in the eastern tidewater region, the plantation model in the Valley centered on large-scale wheat farming. These Valley "planters" worked enormous acreage, and often carried debts, despite their voluminous land holdings. While the plantation system represented an attempt to scale up production and profits, risk was mitigated somewhat by the mixed agricultural system being practiced in the Valley, with some plantation owners diversifying further into textile production and distilling. The institution of slavery defined the plantation system, and enslaved dwellings and outbuildings formed part of the landscape. As seen throughout

[107] Koons, 6.

[108] Keller, 27; Michael Hucles, "The Nineteenth Century," in *"Don't Grieve After Me": The Black Experience in Virginia, 1619–2005*, ed. Christina S. Draper (Hampton, Va.: Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Hampton University, 2005), 31.

[109] Koons, 6; Schlebecker, 263.

the broader region, architecture served as an expression of the wealth being generated during the antebellum period. New, stylistically distinctive houses appeared within the Hite-Bowman cultural landscape during this period and are associated with the plantation system.

Mount Pleasant

In 1812, Isaac Bowman constructed a new stylish brick residence that was located to the southwest of Fort Bowman on Cedar Creek. Known as Mount Pleasant, the two-and-a-half-story, brick, side-gabled dwelling is an example of a center passage double-pile plan. During its construction, the Bowmans possibly lived in a one-story limestone wing that is believed to predate the main block. A brick smoke house, constructed c. 1812, is also located on the property, in addition to later nineteenth- and twentieth-century outbuildings.[110]

Built in the Federal style, Mount Pleasant communicated Isaac Bowman's wealth and status as a plantation owner. Compared with Fort Bowman, which blends traditional German and English attributes, Mount Pleasant reflects the degree to which subsequent generations of German immigrants in the Shenandoah Valley had adopted the cultural trappings of Virginia's plantation elite. The interior of the house is particularly rich in stylistic detail. The high-ceilinged center hall features an elliptical archway with pilasters. Other details include plaster wainscoting with chair rails, Federal-style mantels, windows with elaborate surrounds, and arched niches.[111]

Isaac Bowman's plantation grew substantially following the construction of Mount Pleasant. In 1815, improvements totaling $1,000 were documented on his combined 842 acres. Five years later, the 1820 tax assessment recorded $4,375 worth of improvements, which suggests a growing plantation operation.[112] Also supporting this interpretation, the federal census for 1820 recorded 47 enslaved persons on the property, a substantial increase over the eight enslaved persons documented at Fort Bowman in 1787. In addition to the 47 enslaved, the census also documented the presence of 13 free African Americans, who were all female and children.[113]

Isaac Bowman died in 1826. During his lifetime, he acquired land in Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, some of which he had received for his military service during the American Revolution. Prior to his death, he conveyed property and enslaved persons to his older children born during his first marriage to Elizabeth Gatewood. In his will, written in 1824, he distributed additional shares of his property and enslaved persons to his younger children through his second marriage to Mary Chinn. To his son, Isaac S. Bowman, he bequeathed Mount Pleasant. Unfortunately, no itemized appraisal of Isaac Bowman's property and those he enslaved was prepared at the time of his death. Isaac S. Bowman retained ownership of Mount Pleasant until his death in 1866, when the property passed to his daughter Mary Elizabeth Davison.[114] In the 1850 federal Census, Isaac Bowman is recorded as enslaving one 21-year-old woman.[115]

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[110] Kalbian et al., 19; National Register of Historic Places, Mount Pleasant, Shenandoah County, Virginia, National Register #11000553, 7:12-13.

[111] National Register of Historic Places, Mount Pleasant, 7:9-11, 8:16.

[112] Kalbian et al., 10, 18-19.

[113] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fourth Census of the United States (1820), Columbia Furnace, Shenandoah County, Virginia, Sheet 17, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, DC.

[114] Kalbian et al., 20; National Register of Historic Places, Mount Pleasant, 8:16.

[115] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United State (1850), Shenandoah County, Schedule 2-Slave Inhabitants, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, DC.

Long Meadow

Following the death of Isaac Hite Sr. in 1795, his son, Isaac Hite Jr., inherited much of the Long Meadow estate. Prior to his death in 1836, he had the tract surveyed and divided into five lots. Lot five included the Long Meadow plantation, and in his will, Isaac Hite Jr. bequeathed it to his daughter Matilda M. Hite Davison.[116]

In 1840, Matilda Davison and her husband Alexander M. Davison, sold lot five to Isaac Bowman's sons George and Isaac. In 1848, George Bowman replaced Isaac Hite Sr.'s eighteenth-century dwelling with a two-story, hipped-roof manor house with a pedimented portico. Stylistically, Long Meadow is a noteworthy example of the transition from Federal to Greek Revival and, like Mount Pleasant, is characteristic of the large plantation houses built by wealthy planters in the lower Shenandoah Valley during the antebellum period.[117]

George Bowman married Elizabeth Hupp, and the 1850 federal census records them living at Long Meadow with their three children. The value of Bowman's real estate was listed as $20,000, an enormous sum for this period.[118] Indicative of the scale of Bowman's plantation operation at Long Meadow, the 1850 slave schedules list 22 individuals under his ownership. The 10 males and 12 females ranged from one to 50 years of age. Nine of Bowman's enslaved workers were between 17 and 40 years of age, and these individuals would have likely constituted the plantations field hands, with the older adults and children working as enslaved house servants or in agricultural processing or light manufacturing tasks.[119] By 1860, the number of enslaved individuals on the property had risen to 32, and the census recorded six "slave houses" on the property at this time.[120] Bowman's estate was valued at $35,120 in 1860, which was considerably higher than that listed for his immediate neighbors.[121] Long Meadow was still owned by George Bowman at the time of the Battle of Cedar Creek in October of 1864. While the plantation served as a corridor the movement of Confederate forces, no fighting appears to have occurred on the property.[122]

Bowman-Hite House

In his will, Isaac Bowman divided his Virginia property among his six younger children. To his daughter Rebecca, Bowman gave a 498-acre tract along the east side of Cedar Creek that contained the merchant mill complex he had constructed in 1793. Rebecca Bowman formally took possession of the tract in 1843 at the age of 21, following a chancery suit instituted by Bowman's heirs. In 1849, she married Charles Hite, who was the great-great-grandson of Jost Hite through his son Jacob's family. They had five children born between c. 1850 and 1859.[123]

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[116] National Register of Historic Places, Long Meadow, 8:10.

[117] National Register of Historic Places, Long Meadow, 7:1, 6-7.

[118] Cartmell, 261; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States (1850), Warren County, Virginia, 69th District, Sheet 40, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, DC.

[119] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States (1850), Slave Schedules, Warren County, Virginia, Sheet 6, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, DC.

[120] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census of the United States (1860), Slave Schedules, Warren County, Virginia, Sheet 16, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, DC.

[121] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census of the United States (1860), Warren County, Virginia, Sheet 109, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, DC.

[122] National Register of Historic Places, Long Meadow, 8:10-11.

[123] Spencer, 22-24; Du Bellet, 4:351.

Tax assessment records suggest that Charles and Rebecca Hite constructed the Bowman-Hite House sometime around 1851-53. Located on a high prominence above Cedar Creek, the house had a clear line of sight to Mount Pleasant as well as the Bowman Cemetery located to the northwest of Fort Bowman. The two-story, side-gabled, brick dwelling exhibits Greek Revival elements, seen in the rectangular side and transom lights that embellish the front entry surround. Yet, the house is smaller and less developed stylistically than other nearby family homes such as Long Meadow. Deed records from 1861 refer to "household & kitchen," and a map of the Battle of Cedar Creek, prepared by Confederate topographical engineer Jedediah Hotchkiss in 1864, shows four buildings on the property at this time. The presence of a kitchen and other secondary buildings have been confirmed through recent archaeological investigations, which located the presence of an earth-fast domestic structure to the southwest of the house, a nearby cistern, and a stone foundation to the south of the earth-fast structure.[124]

Charles and Rebecca Hite established a prosperous middling plantation on the property during the 1850s. The 1852 assessment reveals the couple's rapidly growing wealth, and lists 34 head of cattle, furniture, silver plate, and bonds. The 1860 agricultural schedule recorded the value of the farm at $13,000, which was almost double that of the average farm in Warren County. The census also lists $350 in farm machinery, which was also higher than the county average. Livestock recorded in 1860 included sheep, hogs, cattle, dairy cows, mules, oxen, and horses. In addition, the farm embodied the mixed agricultural system being pursued by the Valley's farmers, and crops recorded in 1860 included wheat, corn, rye, oats, potatoes, hay, clover, and orchard produce.[125]

Charles Hite relied on enslaved workers to provide the labor for his plantation operation. The number of enslaved persons documented under his name in the census and tax records increased from one in 1850 to eight in 1860. These eight individuals ranged from one to 50 years of age. The slave schedule of the 1860 census, however, does not indicate the presence of "slave housing," and the Hites' enslaved workers may have lived in a portion of the detached kitchen.[126]

As rapidly as they had risen, Charles and Rebecca Hite experienced financial difficulties during the 1860s that resulted in a decline of the plantation and an end to their ownership of the property. Between 1859 and 1861, the Hites assumed over $13,000 in debt. By 1867, they were living in Middletown and were leasing the farm to tenants. Charles Hite subsequently abandoned Rebecca Hite and their children. With debts mounting, the farm was sold at public auction in 1872 to William Stickley. In 1876, Stickley sold the property to John Pirkey, who constructed a frame rear addition, or "ell" onto the house, extended the side porch, and built the extant bank barn located to the southeast of the house.[127]

Daniel Stickley Farm and Mill

The Stickley family were Germans who had migrated into the Shenandoah Valley from Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century.[128] In 1741, John Stickley purchased 280 acres of land from early settler George Bowman.[129] During the nineteenth century, Daniel Stickley constructed a dwelling and mill complex on Cedar

[124] Spencer, 24-25.
[125] Spencer, 25-26; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census of the United States (1860), Slave Schedules, Warren County, Virginia, Sheet 16, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, DC.
[126] Spencer, 25-26; Slave Schedules (1860).
[127] Spencer, 27-28.
[128] Cartmell, 488.
[129] Kalbian et al., 14.

Creek adjacent to this tract. The mill is believed to have been built on the site of an earlier eighteenth-century mill established by Bowman.[130]

Daniel Stickley established his farm and mill to the south of that of his father, David Stickley, who was John Stickley's grandson. In a letter to Isaac Bowman in 1817, Isaac Hite Jr., refers to "our mutual friend and neighbor David Stickley."[131] In the 1850 federal census, David Stickley (68 years old) is listed as the head of a household that included Daniel Stickley (49) and Anne Stickley (42) in addition Elizabeth Stickley (18) and three farmhands. Both David and Daniel Stickley are listed as farmers, with David's real estate valued at $20,000 and Daniel's at $5,000.[132] The David Stickley Farm is located north of the Valley Pike, approximately one-half mile northwest of the Daniel Stickley house and mill complex. By 1860, David Stickley had died, and Daniel Stickley is listed as the head of a household that included his wife Elizabeth (39), their young children Mary (7), James (2), Margaret (1), and Frances (infant), several resident farmhands, and 27-year old teacher Mary Robertson. Daniel Stickley had gained considerable property, and the value of his real estate in 1860 is listed at $24,180.[133] In an early twentieth-century volume containing oral history accounts of the Civil War, an unidentified person closely matching the demographic profile of Mary Stickley stated that:

> When the war broke out my father had a large flouring mill here on Cedar Creek. It was doing a good business and he was making money. He had a sawmill, too, and used it constantly … Up to that time the people in this vicinity were right prosperous. I was the oldest of the children of the family, and I was small. Father was a very old man. He was sixty, I reckon. Mother was a good deal younger. They were opposed to slavery, but a family of slaves was willed to mother, and they came here to live … Several white tenants of ours lived across the creek and worked for us, and we hired others.[134]

Daniel Stickley is credited with the construction of the extant two-story, brick, late Federal-style dwelling although the exact date it was completed is unknown. According to research conducted by JMU, outbuildings on the Daniel Stickley farm may have included the extant barn, a smokehouse, possible worker's quarters, and a springhouse, the remains of which are located north of the house. Mary Stickley's oral history also makes mention of a log "hog house," corn crib, and tenants houses.[135] Daniel Stickley's sister Anne continued to live on the David Stickley farm after her father's death, and her name appears on an 1864 map of the Cedar Creek battlefield prepared by Jedediah Hotchkiss.

Solomon Heater Farm

Located on the Valley Pike, to the east of Belle Grove, the Solomon Heater Farm was first established by the Hoge family during the eighteenth century. In 1735, Jost Hite sold a 3,395-acre patent to early settler James Hoge. Hoge died in 1795, and after his death ownership of the tract passed to his son Solomon Hoge. The two-story, frame, side-gabled, vernacular dwelling on the property was begun by James Hoge as a log cabin in the

130 Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment*, 287.

131 Isaac Hite to Isaac Bowman, March 27, 1817, in "Letters from Belle Grove," vol. 1.

132 U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States (1850), Shenandoah County, Virginia, 58th District, Sheet 30, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, DC

133 U.S. Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census of the United States (1860), Shenandoah County, Virginia, Strasburg District, Sheet 309, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, DC

134 Clifton Johnson, *Battleground Adventures: The Stories of Dwellers on the Scenes of Conflict in Some of the Most Notable Battles of the Civil War* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915), 382.

135 Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment*, 293.

1790s. During his occupation, Solomon Hoge constructed a one-story frame addition onto the west elevation of the house and clad its exterior in clapboards.[136]

In 1819, Dr. Cornelius Baldwin Jr. and his wife Nellie Conway Hite (daughter of Isaac Hite Jr.), acquired 274 acres of the original Hoge tract containing the house and farm. Under Baldwin's ownership, the property became known as Cedar Grove Plantation (not to be confused with the contributing Cedar Grove property at Cupp's Ford). Baldwin purchased an additional 50 acres of land adjoining the farm, and he also expanded the cellar of the dwelling. Enslaved persons lived and worked at Cedar Grove during Baldwin's ownership of the plantation, and the 1820 federal census recorded 11 enslaved (six males and five females) at this time. Cornelius and Nelly Baldwin had five children prior to their deaths in 1828 and 1830. After their deaths, the orphaned children continued to live at the house under the care of their aunt Rebecca Hite (daughter of Isaac Hite Jr.) and her husband John Lodor.[137]

Solomon Heater of Loudoun County purchased the 324-acre plantation in 1846. Between 1860 and 1864, Heater expanded the plantation through the purchase of an additional 114 acres. Throughout the Civil War, the Heaters entertained Union officers and provided lodging and supplies for Union troops. Skirmishes between Union and Confederate forces later occurred on the property during the Battle of Cedar Creek. Like many of their neighbors, the Heaters lost livestock, fences, and outbuildings during the Civil War. By the time of Solomon Heater's death in 1872, the Heaters had returned to agricultural prosperity, and the plantation had grown to encompass a total of 540 acres. Solomon Heater bequeathed the property to his wife, Caroline. She was among the first residents in the Middletown area to seek compensation from the federal government for damages sustained to the property during the war. Caroline Heater's first petition was rejected by the government, and she was formally admonished for her support of the Union during the war by her fellow parishioners at Strasburg Presbyterian Church. After years of effort, Caroline Heater and her son Charles finally received compensation from the government in 1901. The farm remained in the Heater family's ownership until 1919.[138]

Census records indicate that the Heater family did not hold enslaved workers, a fact that aligns with their purported Union sympathies during the Civil War. Solomon Heater is not listed as an owner in either the 1850 or 1860 census slave schedules. In the population schedule for 1860, the household consisted of Solomon (52) and Caroline (44) Heater, farm hands John (22) and Henry (17) Heater, Charles Heater (7), and Elizabeth Gum (18), who is listed as a domestic servant. The family clearly prospered during this period, and the value of Solomon Heater's real estate is listed at $16,260, with his personal estate listed at $3,470.[139]

The Heater farm featured a number of outbuildings which have since been demolished. [redacted]

[136] Ibid., 349.

[137] Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment*, 349-50; Cartmell, 258; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fourth Census of the United States (1820), Pugh, Frederick County, Virginia, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, DC

[138] Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment*, 350; National Register of Historic Places, Monte Vista, Middletown vicinity, Frederick County, Virginia, National Register #87002018, 8:4-5.

[139] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census of the United States (1860), District 8, Frederick County, Virginia, Sheet 173, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, DC

[redacted][140]

Belle Grove Plantation During the Antebellum Period

Belle Grove had experienced a dramatic transformation by the early nineteenth century. Isaac Hite Jr. acquired additional land and his holdings had grown to 4,106 acres by 1805 and 7,535 acres by 1813.[141] By the 1830s, Hite was farming four large tracts located in Frederick and Clarke Counties. At Belle Grove, a new imposing limestone mansion house and Plantation Office and Store stood at the center of the plantation, which included a slave quarter and numerous outbuildings. A thriving mill complex and distillery were located at the confluence of Meadow Brook and Cedar Creek and were connected to the plantation center by a road situated in a ravine to the southwest of the house and enslaved quarter.[142]

Belle Grove plantation employed the mixed agricultural system that characterized farming in the Valley during the nineteenth century. During his tour of the Shenandoah Valley in 1820, John Skinner visited Belle Grove and reported on his time spent with Isaac Hite in the June 29, 1821 issue of *American Farmer*. Skinner wrote:

> Leaving Winchester from Staunton, a kind letter from Judge H. introduced me the same evening to the civilities of Major H. whose spacious mansion of more than 100 feet in length attracts the notice and admiration of the traveler soon after passing Middletown. It serves to adorn a fertile farm of *six thousand acres* and is built of a kind of stone that abounds in that country, and which is beautifully adapted to the purposes of building and fencing.[143]

Skinner noted that Hite was using "cultivators of the best model, much employed for working corn," as well as the "most efficient *Threshing Machine*, which has been made or used in this country." These machines were manufactured by George Wright of Middletown, who offered both fixed and portable models driven by four or six horses. The iron threshers utilized cylindrical rakes to shake off the straw and clean and fan the grain. Isaac Hite owned both models, and in a letter to Skinner, quoted in the article, he stated that "both operated beyond my most sanguine expectation," allowing him to "conveniently get out one hundred and fifty bushels of wheat per day."[144]

As his farming operations grew, so too did Hite's family. In 1803, one year after the death of Nelly Conway Hite, Isaac Hite married Ann Tunstall Maury. Born in 1782, she was the daughter of Reverend Walker Maury, an ordained deacon in the Church of England and a professor at the College of William and Mary.[145] Isaac and Ann Tunstall Hite had ten children born between 1805 and 1819: Ann Maury Hite, Isaac Fontaine Hite, Mary Eltinge Hite, Rebecca Grymes Hite, Walker Maury Hite, Sarah Clarke Hite, Penelope E. Hite, Hugh Holmes Hite, Cornelius Baldwin Hite, and Matilda Madison Hite.[146] In 1812, Ann Tunstall Hite's widowed mother, Mary Grymes Maury, and her sister, Penelope Maury, took up residence at Belle Grove, and helped in raising

[140] Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment,* 351-52.
[141] Greer, "Archaeological Investigation of Two Possible 19th Century Quarters Sites," 6.
[142] Ibid., 5-6, 8.
[143] John Skinner, "Virginia Husbandry," *American Farmer* 3, no. 14 (June 29, 1821): 105.
[144] Ibid., 106.
[145] Brown, 44-45, 50-52; Du Bellet, 397.
[146] "Family Records." *William and Mary Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (October 1901): 120-21.

the Hite's large family. Mary Maury later died at Belle Grove in 1839 and is buried in the Hite family cemetery at Long Meadow.[147]

Enslavement at Belle Grove During the Antebellum Period

The enslaved population at Belle Grove both increased and declined dramatically during the antebellum period. Isaac Hite Jr. regularly purchased slaves, and by 1820 he owned 101 individuals (58 males and 43 females). These individuals were mostly young, with almost half (44) under the age of 14 and only three over the age of 45.[148] These enslaved persons worked on four tracts that Hite owned and farmed. Located in Frederick, Shenandoah, and Clark Counties, these included the Belle Grove tract, Guilford tract, Rockville tract, and his father's Long Meadow tract.[149] For unknown reasons, Hite sold "sixty SLAVES, of various ages, in families" at an auction held at Belle Grove on October 26, 1824. The sale may have been necessitated by the need to pay off debts, or it may have been due to Hite's use of threshing machines and the resulting increase in productivity he documented in his 1820 letter to John Skinner, which obviated the need for large numbers of field hands. The sale must have introduced a high level of anxiety into the plantation's enslaved quarter.[150] Following the sale, the 1830 census recorded 55 enslaved persons at Belle Grove (31 males and 24 females). Documented were 12 children under the age of ten and 11 enslaved persons over the age of 55.[151] By the time of Isaac Hite Jr.'s death in 1836, Belle Grove's enslaved population totaled 44. It had fallen to four by the time of Ann Hite's death in 1851.[152]

The enslaved navigated a difficult existence in antebellum Virginia in which many of their fundamental human rights were denied. Children began work at a remarkably young age, typically between six and ten, with chores such as carrying water, gathering firewood, or milking cows. Planters and overseers regarded this adolescent period as the beginning of the "breaking" process prior to full-scale work in the fields, which typically did not occur until after 12 years of age. The training of children selected to be house servants also began at an early age.[153] In addition to census data, Isaac Hite's plantation records, which include a detailed ledger of his enslaved workers, indicates that the plantation was home to a large number of enslaved children, and it is likely that they would have endured a similar experience.[154]

Seeking to escape this control, Hite's plantation records indicate that men named Primus, Jacob, Henry, and Daniel made attempts to flee, although it remains unknown whether these attempts were successful. Newspaper advertisements commissioned by Hite indicate that he made attempts to recover these individuals. For example, in November of 1800, Hite took out an ad in the *Baltimore American* seeking the capture and return of a self-emancipated enslaved person that could have possibly been Primus or Jacob. A similar ad in 1806 mentions both Henry and Daniel, who had escaped two years prior and had not been recovered.[155] Given the status of the

147 Brown, 53-55.

148 U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fourth Census of the United States (1820), Frederick County, Virginia, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, DC

149 Greer, "Archaeological Investigation of Two Possible 19th Century Quarters Sites at Belle Grove," 8.

150 "Sixty Slaves for Sale," *Daily National Intelligencer*, September 8, 1824, 1; Greer, 8.

151 U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fifth Census of the United States (1830), Western District, Frederick County, Virginia, sheet 113, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, DC

152 Greer, "Archaeological Investigation of Two Possible 19th Century Quarters Sites," 8.

153 Thomas L. Webber, *Deep Like the Rivers: Education in the Slave Quarter Community, 1831-1865* (New York: Norton, 1978), 10-11, 20-21.

154 Blosser, vol. 1, "Letters from Belle Grove," Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

155 Unpublished research compiled by Kristin Laise, Executive Director, Belle Grove, Inc., Middletown, VA.

Hite family in Frederick County, it is likely that they could have relied upon their neighbors, and the broader White community, in exercising control over the enslaved population at Belle Grove.[156]

Hite's plantation records lists the names of 276 African American men, women, and children, and provides insight into the family structure of the enslaved at Belle Grove during the antebellum period. Several of the children who were among the 15 enslaved persons given to Isaac Hite in 1785 by his father-in-law James Madison Sr., such as Katy, Diana, and Pendar, in turn had children of their own during the early nineteenth century. For instance, Judah (sometimes referred to as "Judy"), who served as the Hite family's cook. Born in 1794, she arrived at Belle Grove with two small children, Sam and George. By 1836, the year of her death, she had given birth to ten more children (four boys and six girls).[157]

Slave labor for the Hites extended far beyond Belle Grove, presenting difficulties for family life among the enslaved. The correspondence of Ann Hite reveals that the Hites would periodically loan enslaved workers to their relatives to perform household tasks. In an 1826 letter to her daughter Ann Hite Williams of Woodstock, Virginia, Hite stated that "Judy [Judah] can return home after your washing is all done."[158] In another letter to Williams, written three days later, Hite relates that "Anthony [an enslaved man] is very impatient for the return of his wife as the children are very troublesome to him at night and he complains that he can get no rest for them."[159] Recent scholarship has suggested that Anthony, who was born in 1789, may have been the father of Judah's children.[160]

Housing within the enslaved quarter was modest, often of log construction, chinked with mud, sticks, stones, and lime mortar. On plantations of moderate size, the quarter was often located several hundred yards from the main house, with access to firewood and drinking water, either from a spring or well.[161] Larger plantations with an enslaved population of more than 70 or 80 often had an "upper" quarter, located near the more distant fields, and a "lower" quarter situated close to the main house. Buildings could be arranged neatly in rows, resembling streets in a small town, or more haphazardly.[162]

Recent archeology has sought to locate and interpret the antebellum enslaved quarter at Belle Grove.

[redacted]

[156] Kristin Laise, "Were the Hites "Nice" or "Kind" to the People They Enslaved?" unpublished manuscript, Belle Grove, Inc., Middletown, VA, February 25, 2017.

[157] Blosser, vol. 1, "Letters from Belle Grove," Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA; Brown, 29-31.

[158] Ann Tunstall Hite to Ann M. Williams, December 27, 1826, in Blosser, vol.1, "Letters from Belle Grove," Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

[159] Ann Tunstall Hite to Ann M. Williams, December 30, 1826, in Blosser, vol. 2, "Letters from Belle Grove," Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

[160] "Connection of Judah to Anthony," unpublished research compiled by Kristen Laise, Executive Director, Belle Grove, Inc., Middletown, VA.

[161] Webber, 3-5, 8-9.

[162] Ibid.

[163] Greer, "Archaeological Investigation of Two Possible 19th Century Quarters Sites," 1-2, 12.

[redacted] These studies will inform future interpretations of the landscape, consumption practices, and the labor that the enslaved undertook for the Hites as well as for themselves. [redacted] Final documentation of these excavations is forthcoming.[164]

[redacted]

In addition, oral and family history maintains that an enslaved burial ground exists in the fenced area located north of the house. [redacted].[167]

The cemetery offers a reminder that in antebellum Virginia, the enslaved were often held in bondage for the duration of their lives. Yet, documentary evidence reveals that, in a few isolated instances, some of the enslaved at Belle Grove were able to secure their freedom. In addition to the four enslaved men who managed to escape (Primus, Jacob, Henry, and Daniel), Hite's ledger of enslaved persons at Belle Grove lists a female named Molly as having been "set free." Molly, born in 1736, was one of the eight enslaved persons bequeathed to Hite in 1794 under the terms of his father's will.[168] In 1837, one year after the death of Isaac Hite Jr., Ann Tunstall Hite, along with the other executors of his estate and his heirs, sold a 21-year-old enslaved man named Emanuel Jackson Jr. to his father, Emanuel Jackson Sr., a free African American who lived in Birmingham, Pennsylvania. While the deed of sale states that Emanual Jackson Sr. had formerly been a resident of Frederick County, Virginia, it is unknown whether he too had been enslaved by the Hites. While his name does not appear in Hite's ledger, his son is listed along with his mother's name (Hannah) and his date of birth (April 1, 1815). Emanuel Jackson Sr. apparently knew Isaac Hite Jr., as the deed states that the sale had been agreed to

[164] Matthew C. Greer, personal communication, August 2019.

[165] Matthew C. Greer, "Poaching Pots and Making Places: Slavery and Ceramic Consumption in the Shenandoah Valley," Presented at Society for Historical Archaeology, New Orleans, Louisiana. 2018.

[166] Greer, "Archaeological Investigation of Two Possible 19th Century Quarters Sites," 56.

[167] Michelle G. Proulx, Reagan A. Cronin, and R. Shane McGary, "A Ground Penetrating Radar Survey of Belle Grove Cemetery," undated and unpublished document, Belle Grove, Inc., Middletown, VA.

[168] Blosser, vol. 1, "Letters from Belle Grove," Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

between the two men prior to Hite's death.[169] In 1841, Emanual Jackson Sr. formally freed his son through a deed of manumission filed in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.[170]

Women and Gender Roles

During the decades following the American Revolution, the notion of "separate spheres" emerged as a guiding principle for gender ideals among middle- and upper-class White people in the South and throughout much of the United States. Men were idealized for their public or civic virtue while women were portrayed as dependent, vulnerable, and removed from public life. This sequestering of gender roles was partly a product of the religious evangelicalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which placed women's virtues within the private realm and not in the public realm. Religion and domesticity, therefore, served as two of the overarching themes within the lives of elite White women during the nineteenth century, with the home seen as the "seat of virtue and morality."[171]

By the mid-nineteenth century, women assumed a more prominent place within church congregations. This was an outgrowth of the Second Great Awakening, a Protestant evangelical movement in the 1820s and 1830s. Women of the period found the evangelical message appealing, and many literate women in the South kept religious journals in which they reflected on their spiritual growth.[172] From the tone of her letters, it appears that Ann Tunstall Hite was a devout Christian. In a letter to Elizabeth Steenbergen, written in 1827, Hite wrote:

> I heartily rejoice with you that God in mercy has granted you the privilege of again attending his sanctuary and offering up your grateful thanks for all his mercies and blessings.[173]

Southern evangelicals accepted and embraced inequality along gender, class, and race lines, and greater female participation in church congregations during the antebellum period coincided with broad support for slavery among mainstream Protestant denominations. While strong family ties could serve as support for women's reform movements, as seen in the Quaker community, Southern evangelical Christianity discouraged social reform among its congregations, particularly after 1830.[174]

Educational opportunities for women and girls improved during the early nineteenth century. In the South, the daughters of elite families increasingly attended academies and boarding schools. Ann Tunstall Hite's mother, Mary Maury, reportedly operated a school for girls in Orange County. These schools often domesticated the educational experience, however, and curriculum was geared towards turning young women into wives and mothers who would serve as models of Christian morality. Some social critics even argued that too much education would distract women from their domestic duties.[175]

Elite women such as Ann Tunstall Hite served as managers of the household. In addition to child rearing, they oversaw the enslaved working in the house and the operation of the kitchen. Women such as Nelly Conway

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[169] Allegheny County, Pennsylvania Deed Book DBV 3M-61, folio 297, recorded January 25, 1837.

[170] Allegheny County, Pennsylvania Deed Book DBV 3M-61, folio 298, recorded February 3, 1841.

[171] Cynthia A. Kierner, *Beyond the Household: Women's Place in the Early South, 1700–1835* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998), 140.

[172] Kierner, 141-43.

[173] Ann T. Hite to Elizabeth Steenbergen, July 5, 1827, in "Letters from Belle Grove," vol. 2.

[174] Joan M. Jensen, "Now You See Her, Now You Don't: Historians and Rural Women," in *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800-1900*, ed. Kenneth Koons and Warren Hofstra (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 223; Kierner, 141.

[175] Kierner, 140; Brown, 53.

Hite and Ann Tunstall Hite acted as "administrative chefs." They decided what dishes would be served to the family and guests, supervised food preparation, and kept the keys to food storage areas.[176] Records documenting provisions at Belle Grove contained in the personal papers of Isaac Hite, and a list of kitchen equipment in the estate inventory of Ann Hite, suggest that the Hite family dined and entertained at a high level.[177]

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Southern households produced coarse homespun woolen, cotton, and linen cloth. In elite households, this material was primarily produced by slaves.[178] The correspondence of Ann Tunstall Hite, however, contains references to her weighing wool, dyeing yarn, and cutting cloth, which suggests that she took part in this work.[179] In addition, the personal papers of Isaac Hite include records of cloth produced both by the plantation and by neighboring households, who seem to have been under contract to Hite. These records begin in 1819 and extend to 1837. One undated wool entry reads, "8 pound rolls to Truelove."[180] Truelove was one of the slaves conveyed to Hite by James Madison Sr. in 1783. Similarly, original documents housed at the Virginia Historical Society include an undated memorandum produced by Isaac Bowman's wife, Mary, in which she refers to the weaving of "huckaback," a stout linen fabric.[181]

Enslaved women were charged with additional household tasks. These included washing clothes, making soap and candles, and caring for the sick. Both soap and candles were made in the spring and fall, when tallow was available from slaughtered cattle. Enslaved women also served as wet nurses for the children of plantation owners, which was a typical practice in the South at this time.[182]

Belle Grove During the Later Antebellum Period

Isaac Hite Jr. died on November 24, 1836.[183] In his will, dated October 31, 1827, Hite bequeathed land and slaves to his sons Madison, Isaac, and Walker. To his daughter Nelly, he gave a portion of his estate as well as property from the estate of James Madison Sr. To his son Hugh, Hite bequeathed land in Frederick and Shenandoah County. To Cornelius Hite, he gave a portion of the Belle Grove plantation along with "my merchant mill and distillery on Long Meadow run." To his wife Ann, Hite bequeathed "my Belle Grove tract of land together with my mills and distillery, all my goods and chattels viz: all my slaves, household and kitchen furniture, all my livestock of every description and plantation implements of every description…" In his will, Hite specified that his minor sons receive "a classical education" after which they be sent "at least two years to the University of Virginia." Hite also instructed his wife to give each of his sons enslaved persons, "stock, and plantation implements" at her discretion upon their marriage.[184]

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[176] Brown, 34-35.

[177] Blosser, vol. 1; "Ann T. Hite Inventory," February 24-25, 1851, transcription of original contained in Will Book 23, pages 184-90, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives Room, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, Virginia.

[178] Kierner, 15.

[179] Brown, 59.

[180] "Household Records: Wool and Yarn," in "Letters from Belle Grove," vol. 1.

[181] Kalbian et al., 20.

[182] Brown, 34-40.

[183] Cartmell, 257.

[184] Jacob M. Blosser, ed., "Letters from Belle Grove: An Edited Collection of Hite Family Papers from the Archives of Handley Regional Library & The Virginia Historical Society," vol. 3, The Public Papers of Major Isaac Hite Jr. (unpublished document), Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

Ann Hite died in 1851. Research suggests that, following her death, the property may have been managed by the estate of Cornelius Hite in the interest of the Hite family heirs. In 1860, Belle Grove was sold to John W. and Benjamin B. Cooley.[185]

Antebellum Political Developments and the Rise of the Abolitionist Movement

Plantations such as Belle Grove, Mount Pleasant, and Long Meadow flourished during the antebellum period. Yet, amid their prosperity and grandeur, political and cultural storm clouds began to gather during the years leading up to the Civil War, a transformational event that would engulf the landscape of the Lower Shenandoah Valley and bring an end to the plantation system and the institution of slavery in the South. The Battle of Cedar Creek was an event of national significance within the context of the Civil War, representing NHL Theme IV (Shaping the Political Landscape), and associated sub-themes (2) governmental institutions and (3) military institutions and activities.

Suffrage reform and emancipation surfaced as cultural and political fault lines separating the growing western counties of Virginia from the tidewater and piedmont regions during the antebellum period. Suffrage reform for free White men arose in the South during the antebellum period, and was enacted in Alabama in 1819 and Mississippi in 1832. Prior to this, voting rights only extended to landowners in those states. In South Carolina, the hegemony of the planter class stifled reform. In Virginia, a similar dynamic was at work, but it proved more difficult for the eastern planters to dominate the political discourse. The western counties of the state beyond the Allegheny Mountains had rapidly grown in population during the 1820s, compared with nominal growth in the tidewater and piedmont. With a population of Pennsylvania German, Dutch, and Scots-Irish, these counties were more akin to the free-labor North than the slave-labor South, and many free White people there were opposed to slavery. The Shenandoah Valley was located geographically, culturally, and politically between these extremes. While the Valley's small-scale ethnic farmers held few slaves, slave owning "émigrés" from Virginia's eastern counties were prospering through the application of the plantation system to the Valley's mixed agriculture.[186]

Within this context, suffrage reform presented a way for the state's western counties to challenge the east's political domination, with implications for the growing debate over emancipation. At a convention of western counties held at Staunton in 1825, attendees decried the political monopoly on power held by the "slave owning eastern aristocracy." During subsequent debate in Richmond, westerners argued that property ownership as the basis for political representation was a tyrannical violation of their natural rights. Easterners countered with the old argument that through the payment of property taxes, the landed class held a greater "stake in society" that justified their dominance. In addition to suffrage, western delegates also pressed for a more equitable apportionment of legislative seats in the state assembly's lower house based on White population. In the debates, both issues became entangled with the related issue of slavery. In the end, the eastern and piedmont delegates were able to maintain their majority in the lower house.[187]

The Nat Turner slave insurrection, which occurred in Southampton County, Virginia in August of 1831, placed the slavery issue at the forefront of debate in Virginia. The following year, Thomas Jefferson Randolph of Albemarle County predicted that slavery would eventually lead to war and the dissolution of the Union. He presented a plan to rid Virginia of slavery and proposed the emancipation of all slaves born after July 4, 1840 once they reached adulthood. These freed slaves would then become the property of the state and would be

[185] Personal communication, Kristin Laise, Executive Director, Belle Grove Plantation; Browne et al., 13.
[186] Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005), 341-42.
[187] Ibid., 341-45.

transported by ship to Africa, where they would establish a colony. Randolph's plan was modeled on the American Colonization Society, a group founded in 1816 by New Jersey minister Robert Finley that had led to the establishment of Liberia using federal grant funding. Randolph's Virginia proposal was met with enthusiasm by the state's leading newspapers as well as by members of the legislature, including some slave holders. Randolph's plan was never implemented, and instead reformers drafted a more generalized proposal calling for legislative action against slavery. Representatives from the trans-Allegheny region voted unanimously for the proposal, and it was supported by three quarters of the members from the Shenandoah Valley. The eastern faction, however, maintained their "manipulated" majority in the legislature and the proposal was defeated. The issue was never again broached for consideration in the legislature, and historians have regarded the 1832 Virginia slavery debates as a decisive moment for pro-slavery politics in the South.[188]

During the 1840s and 1850s, a rapid and well-documented chain of political and cultural events hastened the secession crisis, culminating in the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860. These catalysts included legislation such as the Compromise of 1850, the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, all of which involved the balance of political power as new free and slave states entered the Union. Other important political and cultural developments included the publication of the anti-slavery novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852 by Harriet Beecher Stowe, the 1856 Brooks-Sumner incident in the U. S. Senate, and *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857), in which the U.S. Supreme Court rejected the authority of Congress to prohibit slavery in the western territories. Following John Brown's unsuccessful attempt to incite a slave rebellion in Virginia in 1859, sectional tensions over the slavery issue reached a climax with the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency in 1860.[189]

During the campaign, Lincoln was clear in stating his opposition to slavery on moral grounds, charging his opponent Stephen Douglas with:

> …blowing out the moral lights around us, when he contends that whoever wants slaves has a right to hold them; that he is penetrating, so far as lies in his power, the human soul, and eradicating the light of reason and the love of liberty, when he is in every possible way preparing the public mind, by his vast influence, for making the institution of slavery perpetual and national.[190]

But Lincoln was also careful not to call for immediate emancipation in the South, and stated that, "I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black race."[191] Despite this, a radical faction of Southern secessionist politicians, known as the "fire eaters" perceived Lincoln's election as a direct threat to the institution of slavery and the plantation system. On December 20, 1860, South Carolina formally seceded from the Union. By February of 1861, six additional Southern states had followed. Slaveholders largely led the move to secede, while the non-slaveholding mountainous counties of the Southern states displayed the greatest reluctance to separate from the Union. On February 4, delegates from South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas met in Montgomery,

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[188] Ibid., 331, 345-46.

[189] David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 20-22, 87-88, 112-18, 140, 206-16, 267-93, 362-84; Wilentz, 594-601, 633-91, 707-17.

[190] Abraham Lincoln, and Stephen A. Douglas, *Political Debates Between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas* (Columbus, OH: Follett, Foster and Company, 1860), 186.

[191] Ibid., 136.

Alabama and established the Confederate States of America. Congressional efforts to affect a peaceful compromise were unsuccessful.[192]

Lincoln now faced the greatest political crisis in the nation's history. In his inaugural address, delivered March 4, 1861, he adopted a determined, yet conciliatory tone. Lincoln sought to prevent the crisis from spreading further by avoiding any act that might compel the states of the Upper South (Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Missouri) to secede as well. The president also looked to buy some time by assuring those seceding states that the Republicans would not abolish slavery. However, Lincoln was unequivocal in his denunciation of secession and in his conviction that the integrity of the Union must be maintained. Lincoln hoped that cooler heads would prevail in the South, and in his inaugural remarks, he promised to defend federal property and to avoid military confrontation unless attacked. Despite his cautious approach to dealing with the crisis, Lincoln was eventually forced to act when, on April 12 and 13, Confederate artillery bombarded Fort Sumter, a United States installation located off the coast of Charleston, South Carolina. The commanding officer, Major Robert Anderson, was forced to surrender the fort to the Confederates as the American flag was lowered and replaced with the Confederate battle flag. On April 15, Lincoln requested 75,000 militiamen to serve for 90 days to quell the rebellion. Several times that number soon enlisted as patriotic sentiment surged.[193]

The state of Virginia seceded on April 17, 1861. The Shenandoah Valley initially displayed only tepid support for secession. During the election of delegates to the state secession convention in February of 1861, Unionists had won the majority in 11 of the Shenandoah Valley's 19 counties. The election returns resulted in strong margins of victory for Unionists in almost all counties, including 68 percent in Frederick County.[194]

Despite this demonstrated support for the Union, a complex reality existed beneath the surface. In Frederick County, there was an overall toleration of slavery by the county's White population, with the exception of minority reformist religious groups, such as the Mennonites, who remained opposed to slavery. In 1850, only half of the county's White households owned real property, and enslaved persons were held by only the wealthiest tenth of the population. While some of the county's professionals and tradesmen held enslaved persons, the majority did not. Yet, by the late antebellum period, support existed for the institution among many of the county's White residents. Even if they did not own enslaved persons, many small-scale farmers hired enslaved workers to supplement family labor and relied on them during planting and harvesting. As seen throughout the South, whites found solidarity in their desire to maintain an African American underclass.[195]

Following the election of Abraham Lincoln and the secession of the Southern slave states, a spirited support for the Confederacy began to surface among Frederick County's plantation elites. Senators and representatives of the seceded Southern states, passing through Winchester on their way home from Washington, delivered passionate speeches, assuring the assembled public of triumph in the event of war. Frederick County resident Cornelia Peake McDonald recalled that at dinner parties given by local elites, toasts were raised "as if we were not standing on the brink of an abyss. No one took much time to think [and] everyone seemed to be frantic, bereft of their sober senses." Yet, White citizens of Frederick County remained divided on the question of secession, with many of Winchester's artisans and laborers supportive of the Union. When news that Virginia

[192] Potter, 490-99.

[193] Ibid., 538-43.

[194] Michael J. Gorman, "Our Politicians Have Enslaved Us: Power and Politics in Frederick County, Virginia," in *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800-1900*, ed. Kenneth Koons and Warren Hofstra (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 274.

[195] Gorman, 277.

had seceded from the Union reached Winchester, a Confederate flag sewn by local women was brought out and displayed as church bells in the town sounded.[196]

Opening Stages of the Civil War

The first year and a half of the Civil War featured campaigns to the east and west of the Appalachian Mountains. The eastern campaign, particularly the fighting that occurred in Virginia, was of great strategic importance given the close proximity of the opposing capitals of Washington and Richmond. In July of 1861, President Lincoln instructed commanding Union Gen. Irvin McDowell to prepare 35,000 troops for an attack on the railroad junction of Manassas, about 30 miles southwest of Washington. At the ensuing Battle of Bull Run, on July 21, McDowell sustained a demoralizing defeat, as retreating Union troops overran shocked civilians who had assembled to view the battle from a distance.[197]

Lincoln replaced McDowell with Gen. George B. McClellan as commander of the Army of the Potomac. McClellan was a talented administrator, but lacked the decisiveness desired by Lincoln following the defeat at Bull Run. After prodding from Lincoln, in May of 1862, McClellan began an offensive up the peninsula from Yorktown towards Richmond. In command of a Union force of approximately 130,000, McClellan's forces were attacked by Confederates led by Gen. Joseph Johnson about six miles from Richmond. Johnson was killed in the exchange and was replaced by Robert E. Lee, who along with Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson and James E. B. "Jeb" Stuart, led the Confederate effort in the eastern theater. In the Seven Days Battle (June 25-July 1, 1862), Lee pushed McClellan back down the peninsula, but at great cost to both sides, with approximately 30,000 Union and Confederate soldiers dead or wounded.[198] During the Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1862, Jackson secured control of the region through victories at Front Royal, Winchester, Cross Keys, and Port Republic.[199]

Lincoln subsequently replaced McClellan with Gen. John Pope. Under Pope, the Union suffered another defeat at the Second Battle of Bull Run in August of 1862. After the loss, Lincoln reassigned Pope and restored McClellan as commander in the eastern theater. Following this series of Confederate victories, Lee crossed the Potomac and invaded Maryland. At the Battle of Antietam Creek on September 17, 1862, McClellan repulsed Lee's Confederates, but at great cost to both sides, with approximately 6,000 dead and 17,000 wounded. Lincoln again removed McClellan and replaced him with Gen. Ambrose Burnside in November of 1862. Despite enjoying a numerical advantage, Union forces suffered a stinging defeat at Fredericksburg, Virginia in December against entrenched Confederate positions on the heights above the Rappahannock River.[200]

The western theater featured decisive encounters between Union and Confederate forces in a deadly contest to control the strategic Mississippi, Tennessee, and Cumberland Rivers. Tennessee was a vital region for the production of supplies and provisions. In the struggle for Tennessee, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant emerged as a talented and capable commanding officer. Grant understood the numerical superiority maintained by the North, and its ability to replace men and materiel, and he began a strategy of attrition. Grant crushed the Confederate's ability to control the west with the Union victory at the Battle of Shiloh on April 6-7, 1862. By the end of 1862,

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196 Ibid., 274.

197 Bruce Catton, *The Centennial History of the Civil War*, vol. 1, *The Coming Fury* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961), 439-65.

198 Bruce Catton, *The Centennial History of the Civil War*, vol. 2, *Terrible Swift Sword* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1963), 269-77, 311-14, 321-37.

199 Ibid., E-2, 12-13.

200 Catton, vol. 2, 428-37, 452-58; Bruce Catton, *The Centennial History of the Civil War*, vol. 3, *Never Call Retreat* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), vol. 3, 12-24.

Union forces were in control of the Mississippi Valley, including the cities of Memphis and New Orleans. The fall of Vicksburg, Mississippi on July 4, 1863, combined with the Union blockade of Atlantic and Gulf ports, formed part of the "Anaconda Plan" devised by Gen. Winfield Scott at the outset of the war to encircle and isolate the South militarily and economically.[201]

As the conflict progressed, Lincoln increasingly became aware of the importance of slavery to the Confederate war effort. Enslaved workers built fortifications, hauled supplies, tended crops, and labored in ironworks and shipyards. Yet, emancipation posed political risks. While Lincoln was opposed to slavery on moral grounds, he was attuned to public opinion in the North, and the possible political price of recasting the war as a struggle for African American freedom. Under pressure from abolitionists, Lincoln in August of 1862, stated that "My paramount objective in this war is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery." Lincoln eventually saw the "military necessity" of freeing the Confederacy's enslaved workforce, and he issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. Democrats leveraged the controversy generated by the policy to their political advantage in the November congressional elections and gained 34 congressional seats. With casualties growing, the federal government instituted the draft to conscript new recruits in March of 1863, resulting in violent riots that consumed New York City that summer, as poor, working-class Irish opposed to fighting a war to free Black people, attacked African American neighborhoods, killing innocent civilians and damaging property.[202]

Meanwhile, the military struggle continued in the east. In the early summer of 1863, Lee led an army of 75,000 in an attempted invasion of Pennsylvania but was defeated at the Battle of Gettysburg on July 1-3. Lincoln placed Grant in command of all Union forces in March of 1864. During the bloody campaign in Virginia of May and June 1864, Grant engaged Lee in northern Virginia at the Battles of the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, and Chancellorsville. These savage engagements resulted in approximately 53,000 Union and 34,000 Confederate casualties. They were followed by the Battle of Cold Harbor on June 3, 1864, in which Union forces sustained 13,000 casualties to 5,000 Confederate. Grant began a siege of Petersburg, a strategic railroad crossing south of Richmond. The protracted struggle began in June of 1864 and lasted into the spring of 1865, resulting in Lee's eventual surrender of the city. While he battled Lee in Virginia, Grant sent Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman south on a campaign aimed at destroying Southern infrastructure and morale.[203]

At the time of the 1864 presidential elections, a lack of decisive victories in the costly Union war of attrition posed political risks for Lincoln. That fall, Grant was pinned down at Petersburg and Sherman was engaged in a protracted siege of Atlanta. Republicans and Lincoln faced the unpopularity of the draft and the drawn-out war, inflation, and emancipation, and were attacked on these issues by Democrats, who nominated Gen. George McClellan to run against Lincoln on a peace platform aimed at ending the war. Republicans countered that the Democratic position would forfeit the sacrifices made in the war and amount to a surrender to the rebels. With a military stalemate and the heightened political climate of an election year, Lincoln needed a decisive Union victory.[204]

Valley Campaign and the Battle of Cedar Creek, 1864

Few major battles were fought in the Shenandoah Valley during the initial phase of the Civil War. The Valley was not a useful corridor for the movement of Union armies, as its orientation did not provide a direct route to

[201] Catton, vol. 2, 229-38; vol. 3, 203-05.
[202] Ibid., 123-25, 363-69, 461-68; Catton, vol. 3, 214-17.
[203] Catton, vol. 3, 146-56, 178-92, 318-29, 343-68, 441-43.
[204] Ibid., 369-70, 373-80.

Richmond and the central portions of Virginia. The Shenandoah Valley, however, represented a valuable resource for the Confederacy, and because of this, Union control of the Valley was of great strategic importance. Agriculturally rich, its farms and mills supplied provisions, and the Valley served as a convenient corridor for the movement of Confederate forces towards the Potomac River and Washington. Confederate forces controlled the Valley for the first three years of the war following Gen. Stonewall Jackson's successful campaign of 1862, which secured the region for the Confederacy. Because of its topography, Confederates could rely on a smaller, more mobile force to defend the Valley, compared with the sizeable Union effort required to dislodge them. The Blue Ridge served as a screen that made it difficult to track Confederate movements within the Valley. The Confederates also possessed a greater knowledge of the Valley's road network, watersheds, and fords. This was demonstrated by Jackson at his victories at Front Royal, Winchester, Cross Keys, and Port Republic in 1862. During these campaigns, Jackson was aided by cartographer Jedediah Hotchkiss.[205]

In the summer of 1864, Confederate control of the Valley was challenged when Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant placed Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan in command of the Union Army of the Shenandoah. Sheridan, the son of Irish immigrants, was born in Albany, New York and grew up in Ohio. He graduated from West Point in 1853 in the bottom third of his class. Known for his aggressiveness and hot temper, he was described by his contemporaries as short in stature and muscular in build, with "uncommonly keen eyes" and a constitution "insensible to hardship and fatigue." Prior to the Valley Campaign of 1864, Sheridan had distinguished himself in the western theater as a cavalry colonel and as an infantry commander at the Battles of Stones River, Chickamauga, and Chattanooga in Tennessee. Impressed with Sheridan's tenacity, Grant placed him in charge of the Army of the Potomac's cavalry corps during the spring of 1864. During the Overland Campaign, which began on May 5 as a three-prong strategy in Virginia led by Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, Sheridan broke away from the Battle of Spotsylvania to lead a raid on Richmond that resulted in the wounding and death of key Confederate Gen. Jeb Stuart at the Battle of Yellow Tavern on May 11. This important development was not without controversy, however, as Sheridan was criticized by his commanding officer, Maj. Gen. George C. Meade, for weakening the overall strength of the Union effort at Spotsylvania through his departure, which had been endorsed by Grant. His appointment as commander of Union forces in the Shenandoah Valley by Grant was met with skepticism by President Lincoln, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, and senior Union officers who were unsure whether the young 33-year-old possessed enough maturity and experience for so important a commission. Grant was eventually successful in persuading Lincoln as to Sheridan's qualifications, although Stanton reportedly remained unconvinced, with Sheridan noting that he "remained silent … never once indicating whether he, too, had become reconciled to my selection or not."[206]

Sheridan's Army of the Shenandoah was composed of three Corps: the VI Corps under Maj. Gen. Horatio Wright, the Army of West Virginia under Brig. Gen. George Crook (unofficially designated as the VIII Corps), and the XIX Corps under Brig. Gen. William H. Emory. Cavalry under the command of Gen. Alfred Torbert consisted of three divisions led by Brig. Gen. Wesley Merritt, Col. William H. Powell, and Brig. Gen. George A. Custer, who would later attain infamy after the war at the Battle of the Little Bighorn in Montana. In addition, Sheridan's army included three artillery brigades as well as horse artillery associated with the cavalry units.[207]

[205] Joseph W. A. Whitehorne, *Self-Guided Tour: The Battle of Cedar Creek.* Washington: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1992, 1; Lewes and Moore, 72.

[206] Gary W. Gallagher, "Two Generals and a Valley: Philip H. Sheridan and Jubal A. Early in the Shenandoah," in *The Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1864*, ed. Gary W. Gallagher (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 3-6.

[207] Mahr, 361-66.

Sheridan was opposed by the Confederate Army of the Valley, under the command of Gen. Jubal Early. A native of Franklin County, Virginia, Early graduated from West Point in 1837, ranked eighteenth out of a class of 50. He practiced law and served in the Virginia House of Delegates before entering the Confederate Army as a colonel in the 24th Virginia Infantry. Having demonstrated strong leadership abilities between 1862 and 1864 as a Brigadier and Major General during the Battles of Second Bull Run, Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville, Early was promoted to Lieutenant General in May of 1864. Lee assigned him to replace Richard S. Ewell as head of the Confederate Second Corps in the Shenandoah Valley, a unit formerly commanded by Gen. Stonewall Jackson. Early held the admiration and respect of Gen. Robert E. Lee, despite his profanity and sardonic wit, and Lee referred publicly to Early as "my bad old man." In contrast to the short, stocky Sheridan, Early was tall and energetic, despite being bent by severe arthritis. Unlike his polished Union counterpart, Early was described by a Confederate soldier as a "plain farmer-looking man." A member of his staff commented that the indefatigable Early was known for habitually "prowling around at all hours to see if everything was in shape," while another commented that he virtually slept in the saddle.[208] The threat posed by Early was demonstrated in July of 1864, when he marched down the Shenandoah Valley and crossed the Potomac with a raiding force of 14,000 that menaced the fortifications surrounding Washington before withdrawing in the face of strong Union opposition.[209] The action was successful, however, in diverting the Union XIX Corps away from joining Grant against Lee at Petersburg. In addition, the Union VI Corps were forced to withdraw from Petersburg to protect the capital. In late July, Early defeated Gen. George R. Crook at Kernstown, Virginia and then moved against federal logistics facilities at Martinsburg, West Virginia. On August 30, 1864, Early's Confederate cavalry attacked the town of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, in retaliation for the Union assault on Lexington, Virginia the previous year.[210]

At the time of the Battle of Cedar Creek, the Confederate Army of the Valley was a diminished, yet still dangerous, fighting force. It was comprised of five infantry divisions led by Maj. Gen. John B. Gordon, Maj. Gen. Joseph B. Kershaw, Brig. Gen. John Pegram, Maj. Gen. Stephen Dodson Ramseur, and Brig. Gen. Gabriel C. Wharton. Two cavalry divisions were commanded by Maj. Gen. Lunsford L. Lomax and Maj. Gen. Thomas L. Rosser. The army also included four artillery battalions.[211]

The Union enjoyed military superiority over Confederate forces in the Valley, both in terms of manpower and materiel. By the time of the Battle of Cedar Creek, the Union Army of the Shenandoah consisted of approximately 30,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry. In contrast, Early's Army of the Valley was comprised of approximately 10,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry. Losses during previous battles at the Wilderness and Spotsylvania in May had significantly deteriorated Confederate morale and efficacy. While Confederate cavalry units possessed better horses than their Union counterparts during the early stages of the war, by the fall of 1864, Union cavalry commanders had called for and received better animals, while Confederate cavalry were riding replacements of generally poor quality by this time. In addition, Union cavalry units were armed with seven-shot Spencer carbine repeating rifles, which were effective at medium range against both cavalry and infantry, and greatly increased the firepower of Union cavalry units compared with their Confederate counterparts.[212]

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[208] Whitehorne, 2; Gallagher, 6-7.

[209] Benjamin F. Cooling and Walton H. Owen, *Mr. Lincoln's Forts: A Guide to the Civil War Defenses of Washington* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishing, 1988), 14-15.

[210] Whitehorne, 1.

[211] Mahr, 356-60.

[212] Mahr, 12-17.

After the initial Union movement into the Valley, Sheridan engaged in a series of battles with the Confederates. On September 19, 1864, Union forces defeated Early's Army of the Valley at the Third Battle of Winchester. Following this engagement, Sheridan pursued the Confederates to Fisher's Hill south of Strasburg, where Early had regrouped and maintained a strong position. Sheridan's forces engaged Early's position on September 21, and outflanked the Confederates, compelling Early to withdraw to the south near Waynesboro in order to preserve his already weakened army. With these victories, Sheridan controlled the lower and central Shenandoah Valley.[213]

By the later stages of the war, Union strategy had shifted in an effort to deny the Confederates provisions and supplies, which would limit their ability to maintain and field military forces. Agricultural production across the South had been severely disrupted by the war's devastation, and the fertile Shenandoah Valley emerged as a vitally important region for the supply of Lee's forces in the eastern theater. On August 26, 1864, Grant ordered Sheridan to:

> Give the enemy no rest, and if it is possible to follow the Virginia Central Railroad, follow that far. Do all the damage to railroads and crops you can. Carry off stock of all descriptions, and negroes, so as to prevent further planting. If the war is to last another year, we want the Shenandoah Valley to remain a barren waste.[214]

Destruction of the Valley's agricultural infrastructure was aimed at denying the Confederacy this valuable resource, albeit at the expense of the local population, which endured extreme hardship. Following the action at Fisher's Hill, Sheridan's Army of the Shenandoah moved south, up the Valley, towards Harrisonburg, his cavalry and infantry devastating the countryside near Staunton and Waynesboro. With his supply lines becoming dangerously extended and susceptible to Confederate attack, Sheridan pulled his army back to the north, down the Valley, destroying farm outbuildings and mills, looting houses, burning crops, and taking livestock in what became known as "The Burning" or "Red October." Reporting back to Grant on October 7, Sheridan noted that:

> The whole country from the Blue Ridge to the North Mountain has been made untenable for a rebel army. I have destroyed over two thousand barns filled with wheat, hay, and farming implements, over seventy mills filled with wheat and flour. Four herds of cattle have been driven before the army, and not less than three thousand sheep have been killed and issued to the troops. This destruction embraces the Luray and Little Fork Valleys as well as the main Valley. To-morrow I will continue the destruction of wheat, forage, etc., down to Fisher's Hill. When this is completed, the Valley from Winchester to Staunton, ninety-two miles, will have little in it for man or beast.[215]

Following the action at Fisher's Hill on September 22, Early's army had been reinforced by Maj. Gen. Joseph B. Kershaw's division, and as Sheridan moved north, Confederate forces harassed his advance. On October 6, Confederate cavalry under Rosser and Lomax engaged Torbert's Union cavalry at Tom's Brook. Torbert's decisive victory over the Confederates signaled Sheridan's increasing military superiority in the Valley.[216]

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213 Lewes and Moore, 75.

214 John L. Heatwole, *The Burning: Sheridan's Devastation of the Shenandoah Valley* (Charlottesville, VA: Rockbridge Publishing, 1998), 31.

215 Mahr, 26-27; Lewes and Moore, 75; Heatwole, 213.

216 Lewes and Moore, 75.

On October 10, the Army of the Shenandoah assumed a defensive position along the north bank of Cedar Creek, to either side of the Valley Pike. The XIX Corps held a line of trenches that extended along Cedar Creek west of the pike. Its eastern flank overlooked the Cedar Creek Bridge near the current location of the 128th New York monument. Portions of the XIX Corps' artillery were positioned on the corps' west flank, on high ground near the present location of the Meadow Mills railway trestle. Crook's VIII Corps was positioned to the left of the XIX Corps, to the east of the Valley Pike.

The First Division of the VIII Corps, under the command of Col. Joseph Thoburn, was encamped on a high ridgeline above Cedar Creek to the northeast of the Bowman-Hite farmhouse. Thoburn's division occupied trenches on these heights and was supported by three batteries of artillery. Battery B of the Fifth U.S. and Battery D of the 5th Pennsylvania Artillery were positioned 400 yards apart on a ridge overlooking Bowman's Mill Ford. Battery L of the 1st Ohio Artillery was stationed to the northwest monitoring the Cedar Creek Bridge over the Valley Pike. The VIII Corp's Second Division was encamped approximately 1,300 yards to the north and were beginning to prepare earthworks to the [redacted].

The Union VI Corps occupied unentrenched positions to the right (west) and rear of the XIX Corps and were augmented by Torbert's cavalry. The VI Corps' Third Division was positioned overlooking Meadow Brook and was oriented southward towards Cedar Creek. The First Division was located farther to the west on the Red Hills Plateau, and the Second Division was stationed to the north and east of the Red Hills and the present-day limestone quarry. By October 16, Merritt's cavalry was encamped about a mile northwest of the Red Hills. Custer's cavalry division monitored possible crossing points along Cedar Creek in the vicinity of Hite's Chapel (VDHR 034-0251). Sheridan established his headquarters at Belle Grove, located to the west of the pike and behind the line of the XIX Corps.[217] At the time, Belle Grove was owned by John W. Cooley, and in an early twentieth-century oral history of the battle, one of his free African American workers, an unnamed woman, described the atmosphere:

> When Sheridan's army come to Cedar Crick it looked right frightful, there was so many men … There were tents all over the yard, and some of the scouts slept upstairs in our cabin. Oh, my goodness! The soldiers were in and out all the time.[218]

On October 11, Early received intelligence that Sheridan was preparing to send the VI Corps to support Grant in the siege of Petersburg, a crucial railroad junction for the Confederacy. Union control of Petersburg threatened to cut off supply lines to Lee's forces and the Confederate capital at Richmond. On October 13, Early moved Confederate forces to Hupp's Hill, located between Cedar Creek and Strasburg, and arrayed his troops in battle formation. Confederate artillery then opened fire on Union camps along Cedar Creek near Belle Grove. Two brigades from the First Division of the VIII Corps, under the command of Col. Joseph Thoburn, moved across Cedar Creek to engage the Confederate artillery positions. Thoburn was supported by Union artillery stationed near the Daniel Stickley house. Confederate troops under Kershaw effectively deterred Thoburn and caused him to withdraw after a brief engagement that resulted in 209 casualties. Among those killed was brigade commander Col. George Wells. On the night of October 13, Early withdrew his forces to Fisher's Hill, but he continued to engage in reconnaissance to observe federal activity and probe for weaknesses.[219]

[217] Whitehorn, 7; Sheridan, 61-62.
[218] Johnson, 394.
[219] Lewes and Moore, 76-77; Whitehorn, 4; Sheridan, 61-62.

A stalemate ensued as both sides monitored the other's movements across Cedar Creek. On October 13, Sheridan received a telegram from Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton requesting that he travel to Washington to report to a meeting of Lincoln's cabinet. Prior to leaving for Washington, Sheridan placed command of the Army of the Shenandoah under Maj. Gen. Horatio Wright of the VI Corps. His subordinate, Brig. Gen. James B. Ricketts, took charge of the VI Corps during his reassignment. Sheridan had planned on sending Torbert's cavalry corps to destroy the bridge over the Rivanna River near Charlottesville. However, he changed his plans after receiving fake intelligence on October 16, which falsely stated that Early's army was soon being reinforced. The intercept, from a Confederate signal station atop Massanutten Mountain (VDHR 44SH0355), was forwarded to Sheridan by Wright. The message, from Lieut. Gen. Longstreet to Early, read "Be ready to move as soon as my forces join you, and we will crush Sheridan." In light of this information, Sheridan instead directed his cavalry to patrol Early's west flank, considered the most likely avenue of attack, with a smaller force guarding the approach from the east at Buckton's Ford in the vicinity of Front Royal. After receiving a telegram from Army Chief-of-Staff Maj. Gen. H. W. Halleck, which discounted the Confederate intelligence intercept and again requested Sheridan's presence in Washington, he departed for the capital on October 16.[220]

In reality, Early was faced with a potential reduction of his forces as winter approached and local soldiers grew concerned for their families given the devastation. With new enlistments slowing, Early sought to achieve a decisive victory while his army was still relatively intact. The element of surprise and effective use of the local terrain were critical factors in the face of a superior, more well-equipped Union army. Early dispatched Maj. Gen. John B. Gordon to scout the enemy's flanks for weak points. On October 17, Gordon and his small reconnaissance force ascended Massanutten Mountain, accompanied by his chief of staff Maj. Robert W. Hunter, Brig. Gen. Clement Evans, and chief topographical engineer Jedediah Hotchkiss. From the Confederate signal station atop Signal Knob (VDHR 44SH0355), Gordon and his party observed that the Union left flank was vulnerable to a surprise attack from the south and east across Cedar Creek and the North Fork of the Shenandoah River. Seeing Massanutten Mountain as a natural defensive barrier, Sheridan had concentrated his forces along the Valley Pike and the more level terrain to the west of his right flank. The lack of Union cavalry reconnaissance east of the Valley Pike rendered the position held by the Union VIII Corps open to a surprise attack.[221]

Informed by the reconnaissance obtained by Gordon, Early decided to direct the majority of his forces against the left flank of the VIII Corps in the initial attack. The battle plan proposed a series of nighttime maneuvers to position the Confederates for a coordinated pre-dawn attack. The senior officers all synchronized their watches. Gordon was to lead a combined force that included his own units as well as those of Maj. Gen. Stephen D. Ramseur and Brig. Gen. John Pegram along a path that ran between the foot of Massanutten Mountain and the North Fork of the Shenandoah River. Upon reaching Long Meadow, the force would cross the river at Bowman's Ford and would stealthily advance to within 1,000 yards of the left flank of the VIII Corps. Once Union forces were sufficiently distracted by Gordon's initial attack, Gen. Gabriel C. Wharton's division would move across Cedar Creek at the Valley Pike from their position on Hupp's Hill (VDHR 44SH0353).[222] On the Union right flank, Brig. Gen. Thomas Rosser was instructed to attack the Union cavalry at Cupp's Mill (VDHR 44FK0857). A cavalry brigade under Brig. Gen. William Payne, covering Gordon's advance, was to then break off and launch an attack on the Union headquarters at Belle Grove with the object of kidnapping Sheridan, who

220 Whitehorne, 7-8; Sheridan, 63-65.

221 Whitehorn, 8; Jonathan A. Noyalas, *The Battle of Cedar Creek: Victory from the Jaws of Defeat* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2009), 26.

222 [redacted]

unknown to Early was already enroute to Washington. Cavalry under Lomax was to then swiftly move down the Valley Pike in order to block the Union retreat. After crossing Cedar Creek at Bowman's Mill Ford, Kershaw's division was to launch a direct attack on the VIII Corp's fortified positions, which was to be coordinated with Gordon's move from the east. The strategy depended on the Confederates maintaining the element of surprise.[223]

While Early and his officers prepared their battle plans, a sense of security pervaded within the Union camps. Brig. Gen. William Emory of the XIX Corps, however, remained anxious over the possibility of an impending Confederate attack. Emory had received reports that Confederates had been observed spying on Union positions from the top of Massanutten Mountain on October 17, and later from the base of the mountain on the following day. Emory relayed this information to Wright, and appealed to him to prepare for an assault, but Wright dismissed the reports. Union scouts, finding Early's position on Fisher's Hill deserted on October 18, assumed that the Confederates had pulled back, and were unaware that the plan had already begun to unfold. Given this intelligence, Wright countermanded an order issued by Sheridan before he left, which stipulated that reveille be blown at 2 a.m. each morning to reduce the chance of a surprise attack. On the evening of the 18th, Wright sent Emory orders to allow his men to sleep longer and be ready to move at 5:30 a.m. on the morning of the 19th. A soldier of the 14th New Hampshire related in his journal that "Probably no army turned into its blankets with a more perfect feeling of security than that which possessed Sheridan's troops on the night of October 18."[224]

The Battle of Cedar Creek began during the pre-dawn hours of October 19. Confederate units had been on the move all night and by 3:30 a.m. they were nearing their initial battle positions. Early had accompanied Kershaw to Cedar Creek and pointed out the Union campfires to his commander and provided last-minute instructions regarding the attack. At around 4 a.m., a heavy ground fog materialized, further concealing the Confederates. At this time, Rosser attacked the pickets of the 7th Michigan Cavalry at Cupp's Mill, on the Union right flank, in a diversion as planned. Nearby Union cavalry units came to the aid of the 7th Michigan, and Rosser quickly pulled back across Cedar Creek.[225]

On the Union left, the main body of the Confederate army stealthily moved through the early morning fog towards the camps of the Union VIII Corps. Kershaw had crossed Cedar Creek unobserved at Bowman's Mill Ford at 4:30 a.m., and his division rapidly formed a line of battle. Four Georgia regiments, known as Bryan's Brigade, and commanded by Col. James P. Simms, advanced toward the Union lines. To their right were Humphrey's Brigade, four Mississippi regiments led by Col. Daniel Moody, and Wofford's Brigade, consisting of three Georgia regiments commanded by Col. Henry P. Sanders. Conner's Brigade, a South Carolina unit led by Maj. James M. Goggin and composed of six regiments and one battalion, formed to the left of Bowman's Mill Road (State Route 635). As the Confederate forces silently crept towards the camp of the VIII Corps above Cedar Creek, they could hear the Union soldiers talking to each other in their tents. At the same time, Gordon's three divisions crossed the North Fork of the Shenandoah at Bowman's Ford after Brig. Gen. William Payne's cavalry overwhelmed pickets of the 34th Ohio Infantry. Gordon then moved up Long Meadow Road against the Union VIII Corps camps. Pegram's divisions followed Gordon across the river and moved into position.[226]

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223 Whitehorne, 9-10.
224 Noyalas, 28-31.
225 Whitehorne, 16; Noyalas, 34.
226 Whitehorne, 16; Lewes and Moore, 79.

At approximately 5 a.m., Kershaw's units stormed the trenches of Thoburn's VIII Corps positions above Cedar Creek, opening fire as they charged into the fortifications. At the initial 4 a.m. skirmish between Payne's Confederate cavalry and Union pickets, the sound of small-arms fire had reached the encampment of the VIII Corps. Under orders from Lt. Col. Thomas F. Wildes to man the fortifications, the 116th and 123rd Ohio and the 34th Massachusetts had just managed to make it from their tents to the entrenchments by the time of Kershaw's assault. The 54th Pennsylvania, however, remained in camp, which created a dangerous gap in the Union line. Battery D of the 1st Pennsylvania Light Artillery opened fire on Simms's attacking units at close range with canister shot, but to no avail. Upon seizing six of their guns, Simms's men turned them on the retreating Union infantry, inflicting devastating casualties. Approximately 400 yards to the west, Battery B of the U.S. 5th Artillery opened fire on Conner's Brigade as they approached the works. Unable to see the enemy due to the thick fog, they fired into the general direction of the Confederate advance. As the West Virginians of the VIII Corp's 3rd Brigade fell back, Simms's Georgians rushed laterally down the trenches towards the position held by Battery B. While the unit was able to pull back most of its artillery to the rear, almost all of the men of Battery B were captured. A surgeon in Thoburn's VIII Corps described the intensity of the Confederate assault that morning, stating that "They jumped over our works with fixed bayonets, bayoneting and shooting down our men by the hundreds before they could get fairly awake…to rally them seemed almost impossible." Having been pushed back to Middletown, Thoburn was trying to organize and rally his remaining forces on Church Street when they were attacked by Confederate cavalry wearing scavenged Union coats. Thoburn was shot in the back and died later that evening. In this first deadly phase of the battle, Kershaw's Confederate forces killed, wounded, or captured almost 600 men.[227]

A few minutes after Kershaw's attack had begun, around 5:20 a.m., Gordon attacked the Second Division of the VIII Corps, which was commanded by future president of the United States Rutherford B. Hayes, along with Col. J. Howard Kitching's Provisional Division of the VIII Corps. Confusion and disorganization ensued as Hayes's men fell back into Kitching's troops as they were trying to form a line of battle. Several minutes later, the entire VIII Corps had retreated across the Valley Pike in a state of disarray.[228] In his memoirs, Confederate soldier Randolph H. McKim related that Gordon "fell upon the Federals like an eagle descending out of the clouds, surprising them, driving them, routing them, pursuing them through their camps."[229]

Oral history conducted during the early twentieth century provides an eyewitness account of the aftermath of the attack on the VIII Corps' encampment. A sixteen-year-old boy living in the vicinity reported hearing the initial firing at 4 a.m. Later in the morning, after the fighting had moved north toward Middletown, he went out to explore the battlefield, accompanied by two local teenage girls:

> We had to cross the crick, and when we were on the bridge we saw that the water was full of guns. The Yanks had thrown their guns away. Soon we got to the battlefield, and we walked right along to the Yankee camp. Men had run out of their bunks who did not get their guns at all, and we saw soldiers in the tents who had been shot there. Some of 'em were not dead. Behind the breastworks the dead and wounded were layin' five deep, and we waded through blood as we looked around.[230]

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227 Whitehorne, 16-17; Noyalas, 35-40; Lewes and Moore, 80-81.

228 Whitehorne, 24; Thomas A. Lewis, *The Guns of Cedar Creek* (New York: Dell, 1991), 202.

229 Randolph H. McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections: Leaves from the Diary of a Young Confederate, with an Oration on the Motives and Aims of the Soldiers of the South* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1910), 236.

230 Johnson, 403.

With the first stage of the attack successful, Gen. Gabriel Wharton moved his division of Confederates towards Cedar Creek as planned. Early joined Wharton at around 5:15 a.m., having moved over from Kershaw's position. As Wharton's division overwhelmed the pickets of the 128th New York at the Daniel Stickley farm, Confederate artillery bombarded the camps of the Union XIX Corps. Maj. Gen. William H. Emory positioned his XIX Corps to face the Confederate attack, removing units covering the Cedar Creek Bridge over the Valley Pike, which allowed Wharton to move unchallenged across the Valley Turnpike bridge (abutments still extant, VDHR 034-5301) at approximately 5:40 a.m. and capture seven Union artillery pieces.[231]

As the XIX Corps tried to prevent the Confederate advance, Emory deployed the portions of the First Division, VIII Corps, commanded by Lt. Col. Thomas F. Wildes, to counterattack. Wildes led the 116th and 123rd Ohio forward. Horatio Wright, whom Sheridan had appointed acting commander of the Army of the Shenandoah before leaving for Washington, accompanied Wildes, and was wounded in the chin, his beard caked with dried blood.[232]

As the casualties mounted, the Daniel Stickley home (VDHR 085-0013) was converted into a makeshift field hospital. Later that afternoon, after exploring the abandoned trenches and camps of the VIII Corps, the local boy and his female companions walked down to the house:

> The wounded were inside the house and outside both. The front yard was full, and they lay there close together arranged in sections so as to have convenient walkways. On the back porch the surgeons were sawing off limbs, and as soon as they got through with a man he was laid back on the ground where he'd been before. They had about a four-horse wagon load of limbs outside of the porch in a heap just as you might pile up corn or manure.[233]

At the time of the initial attack, Emory was unable to clearly discern which direction the firing was coming from due to the heavy morning fog. By 5:30 a.m., the fleeing soldiers of the VIII Corps began to stream across the pike as the sound of fighting drew nearer. Emory then recognized the seriousness of the threat posed by Kershaw and Gordon, and his vulnerability to a flanking movement from the east. In response, he repositioned elements of the XIX Corps' Second Division into a line facing east and parallel to the Valley Pike. The First Division maintained their position facing Cedar Creek. Emory also sent supply wagons staged around Belle Grove further north to avoid capture. These actions were of importance to the eventual outcome of the battle and allowed Sheridan to regroup later that afternoon.[234]

As XIX Corps regrouped, Emory sent Col. Stephen Thomas and his Second Brigade of the XIX Corps' First Division from their entrenched positions along Cedar Creek across the Valley Pike to deter the Confederate advance. Consisting of the 12th Connecticut, 47th Pennsylvania, 160th New York, and 8th Vermont, the Second Brigade was able to slow Early's advance for approximately a half hour in the face of overwhelming fire, which survivors of the attack described as coming from every direction. The speed and ferocity of the Confederate advance caused the Second Brigade's line to fragment, so that each regiment became isolated. In the chaos, the 8th Vermont became trapped in a deep ravine east of the Valley Pike and were surrounded by Confederate forces, who attempted to take their regimental colors. The 8th Vermont defiantly resisted, and in what later

231 Whitehorne, 17; Lewes and Moore, 84.
232 Whitehorne, 17-18.
233 Johnson, 404.
234 Whitehorne, 17; Lewes and Moore, 85.

became known as the Death Trap, 106 of the unit's 159 men were killed, wounded, or captured in intense hand-to-hand action.[235] An officer in the First Division described the encounter:

> The 8th Vermont was on the left of our line, the most exposed position. We were hotly pressed on our front and left. The timber was ablaze with musketry and the air was filled with the yells of our confident foes. They flung themselves on us in a mass and for a moment the struggle was hand to hand … skulls were crushed with clubbed muskets, bayonets dripped with blood. Men actually clenched and rolled upon the ground in the desperate frenzy of the contest for the flags … There was not much attempt at order. Not many orders were given. The men realized that they were in a terrible mess and fought like tigers. Stephen Thomas, "Colonel commanding" as we loved to call him, was a very present help in trouble. He raged like a lion and was everywhere present to encourage and hold fast the line. Of course, only one result was possible. The time came when valor and devotion proved vain. In a moment, without warning, and as if by common consent we were being swept back, every man for himself and the enemy on every hand.[236]

Years later, during a visit in 1883 to commemorate the battle, Emory and Thomas visited the site. Emory reportedly grasped Thomas by the hand and, filled with emotion, told him, "I never gave an order in my life that cost me so much pain as it did to order you across the pike that morning. I never expected to see you again." For his bravery, Thomas was awarded the Medal of Honor in 1892, the nation's highest military honor.[237]

While the Union counterattack bought time, the line of the XIX Corps on the west side of the Valley Pike was stretched too thin to effectively counter the Confederate advance. In addition, troops holding the earthworks along Cedar Creek were attacked in a flanking maneuver from the east by Gordon. As the situation became more perilous, Union forces of the XIX Corps began a steady retreat back towards Belle Grove. As the soldiers of the XIX Corps retreated, they passed the remains of Crook's VIII Corps gathered in front of the manor house. Clerks and staff officers were running in and out of the house, desperately trying to save the papers, maps, and records of Sheridan's headquarters. Meanwhile Torbert's staff frantically tried to break their nearby tent camp as Confederates advanced towards them across the fields below the house. Near the manor house, elements of the VIII and XIX Corps, including Col. Thomas and the remains of his battered regiments, engaged Confederate troops in an effort to buy time for the headquarters units and supply trains to withdraw to safety. This action also allowed the VI Corps time to organize as the Confederate onslaught approached their positions on the Union right. Lt. Col. Wildes of the VIII Corps described the fighting at Belle Grove as "the very hardest and most stubborn fighting of the day." According to Wildes, "a great many line and staff officers took muskets and lay down in the ranks of the men, while all mounted officers used their holster revolvers."[238]

The Confederate advance on Belle Grove, and the intense fighting that occurred there, were described by a free African American woman living on the plantation at the time, who, along with others, attempted to take shelter in their log cabin, located "right at the yard":

> I run and looked out, and then shut the door. It was already daylight and the fightin' had begun. The Confederates were drivin' the Union men across the field down below the house. We kept

[235] Whitehorne, 18; Noyalas, 43-44; Lewes and Moore, 85.

[236] Henry Steel Commager, ed., *The Civil War Archive: The History of the Civil War in Documents*, rev. ed. (New York: Workman Publishing, 2000), 726-27.

[237] Noyalas, 45.

[238] Whitehorne, 18; Lewis, 208-09; Noyalas, 49.

> as far back in our cabin as we could, and we set there not knowin' when we'd be killed. It was too late to get to the big house … Some of the Yankees got back of a wall side of Belle Grove house, but Lord! They didn't stop there long. In a little while the guns wasn't firin' right around us no mo'. So I went to the door and looked out. The tents that had been in the yard were all gone, and I could see men layin' about over the fields every which way.[239]

At around 7:15 a.m., Ricketts' Union VI Corps engaged Kershaw's Confederates at Cedar Creek. The Third Division, under the command of Gen. Joseph W. Keifer, formed a line along Cedar Creek to the west of its confluence with Meadow Brook. Elements of the XIX Corps positioned themselves on Red Hill, northwest of Belle Grove, joining with the VI Corps' lines and supported by Merritt's Union cavalry. To the northeast, the VI Corps, First Division, under Brig. Gen. Frank Wheaton, fought against Gordon's units. Following Confederate bombardment and infantry assaults, the Union line fell back along Middle Marsh Brook.[240]

The Union Army of the Shenandoah initially maintained discipline as it pulled back. As the VI Corps' Second Division, commanded by Brig. Gen. George W. Getty, deployed along Meadow Brook towards Middletown, they were attacked by Confederate skirmishers positioned east of the stream in a wooded ravine on the north side of the Solomon Heater Farm. Getty counterattacked and moved his three brigades onto the high ground situated northwest of the Heater dwelling. At around 8 a.m., Early instructed Pegram's Division to attack Getty's Second Division, which had attempted to join with Wheaton's First Division of the Union VI Corps in the open plain between the Valley Pike and Meadow Brook. When Wheaton gave ground in face of the strong Confederate advance, Getty moved back towards Middletown and took up a position on Cemetery Hill, forming a line of battle with his three brigades. Attempted frontal assaults on the cemetery by Pegram's division and Grime's brigade resulted in heavy Confederate losses. After these failed attacks, Early trained his artillery on Getty from the Valley Pike and bombarded the VI Corps' Second Division for half an hour. Gen. Ricketts was wounded in the chest and Getty assumed command of the VI Corps, as Kershaw and Wharton prepared to attack the cemetery. Union Brig. Gen. Lewis Grant assumed command of the Second Division, which at 10 a.m. pulled back to the north of Middletown to join the remainder of the Army of the Shenandoah. Wright ordered Merritt's Union cavalry to maintain discipline among the soldiers during the retreat, with orders to kill if necessary.[241]

Early was unable to maintain the Confederate momentum. His troops were exhausted, having been up all night maneuvering into position, and Confederate officers were unable to prevent their hungry, poorly outfitted men from stopping to loot Union supplies left behind by fleeing units. Early also perceived the threat on his right flank posed by Merritt's cavalry, which had joined up with elements of the VI Corps during the struggle for Cemetery Hill. As Confederate troops from Wharton's Division pursued retreating Union infantry through Middletown at around 10 a.m., they were repulsed by Merritt's troopers, who were supported by five artillery batteries. This slowing of the Confederate advance proved to be a decisive turning point in the battle by allowing the Union forces time to regroup.[242]

While Confederate forces paused, Sheridan returned from Washington to find a full-scale battle underway. After arriving by train at Martinsburg, West Virginia on October 18, he rode with an escort of 300 Union cavalry to rejoin his army. Unaware of the unfolding Confederate attack plan, Sheridan had opted to stay in Winchester after receiving a communication from Wright assuring him that all was well. He was awoken at 6

[239] Johnson, 392-93.
[240] Whitehorne, 20.
[241] Whitehorne, 20; Noyalas, 51-54; Lowe, part 3, section 15.
[242] Noyalas, 54-55; Whitehorne, 20.

a.m. on the morning of October 19 by the officer on picket duty, who reported the sound of distant artillery fire. After questioning the soldier, Sheridan assumed it was only a minor exchange, but he soon rose, dressed, and ordered his men to saddle up and for his breakfast to be hurried. As he reached the edge of town a little after 9 a.m., he paused, and later described the sound of distant artillery in his memoirs as an "unceasing roar." As he rode south from Winchester, just past Mill Creek, Sheridan encountered the:

> Apalling 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…[243]

Sheridan at once sent word to Col. Edwards, the commander of the Union brigade at Winchester, to form a line along Mill Creek in order to stop all fleeing soldiers. He also instructed Edwards to stage all wagons and horses on the north side of town. Soon after, Col. Wood, Sheridan's chief commissary officer, arrived and provided him with a report of the morning's events. With two of his aides-de-camp and 20 cavalry troops from his escort, Sheridan rode south toward the front, rallying Union troops along the way in what famously became known as "Sheridan's Ride." In his memoirs, Sheridan describes the scene:

> For a short distance I traveled on the road, but soon found it so blocked with wagons and wounded men that my progress was impeded, and I was forced to take to the adjoining fields to make haste. When most of the wagons and wounded were past, I returned to the road, which was thickly lined with unhurt men, who, having got far enough to the rear to be out of danger, had halted, without any organization, and begun cooking coffee, but when they saw me they abandoned their coffee, 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, and with Forsyth and O'Keefe rode some distance in advance of my escort, while every mounted officer who saw me galloped out on either side of the pike to tell the men at a distance that I had come back. In this way the news was spread to the stragglers off the road, when they, too, turned their faces to the front and marched toward the enemy, changing in a moment from the depths of depression to the extreme of enthusiasm. I already knew that even in the normal condition of mind enthusiasm is 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. I said nothing except to remark, as I rode among those on the road: "If I had been with you this morning this disaster would not have happened. We must face the other way; we will go back and recover our camp."[244]

Reaching Newtown (Stephens City), Sheridan found the streets filled with retreating Union soldiers. Unable to pass through the throng, he rode around the village after instructing Major McKinley of Crook's staff to spread the word of his return. Nearing the Valley Pike, just south of Newtown, Sheridan encountered Rickett's and Wheaton's Divisions of the VI Corps. Rather than stopping, Sheridan continued towards the front. Crossing to the west of the pike between Newtown and Middletown, Sheridan approached the rear of Getty's Division, which along with Merritt's cavalry, were acting as a rear guard following the pullback from Cemetery Hill. These troops were positioned on a rise approximately one mile north of Middletown, behind a barricade made of fence rails. As he rode up to meet Sheridan, Torbert exclaimed, "My God! I am glad you've come." Sheridan jumped his horse over the barricade and rode to the crest of the hill, taking off his hat as the men

[243] Sheridan, 66-76.
[244] Sheridan, 77-81.

greeted him with "cheers of recognition." The color bearers of the VIII Corps were staged behind Getty's troops, and Sheridan rode past them to a crest on the opposite side of the shallow valley in rear of Getty's line, where he established a temporary headquarters. His staff joined him, and Sheridan ordered the XIX Corps and two divisions of Wright's VI Corps to move up to the front to join with Getty's line. Sheridan next rode to a high point on the east side of the Valley Pike, where he could clearly observe the Confederates preparing for an attack. After returning to the Union position, he again rallied his troops:

> Major Forsyth now suggested that it would be well to ride along the line of battle before the enemy assailed us, for although the troops had learned of my return, but few of them had seen me. Following his suggestion I started in among the men, but when a few paces had been taken I crossed to the front and, hat in hand, passed along the entire length of the infantry line.[245]

Confederate soldiers positioned near Middletown reported hearing the distant cheers of Sheridan's energized troops as he rallied them, and they assumed that Union reinforcements had arrived. A New York infantry soldier later recalled that, a "powerful enforcement had arrived, but it was only one man."[246]

Sheridan had rejoined the main force at around 10:30 a.m. and over the next several hours, he regrouped his army and planned for the second phase of the battle. The VI and XIX Corps formed the main line, with Merritt's cavalry posted on the Union left and Custer's cavalry covering the Union right flank. The VIII Corps, having suffered heavy losses during the morning fighting, fell back to the rear and regrouped behind these units as a reserve force. Confederate units, led by Gordon, Kershaw, Ramseur, Pegram, and Wharton, moved up and arrayed to face them in a long line of battle north of present-day Chapel Road, from just east of the Valley Pike to near Belle View Lane.[247] At 1 p.m., Early ordered Gordon, supported by troops from Evans, Kershaw, and Ramseur's divisions, to test the strength of the Union line. The Confederate advance was quickly driven back by Emory's XIX Corps.[248]

At around 3 p.m., Union cavalry advanced on the Confederate left and right, pushing them back. This was followed by a vigorous Union assault on the entire Confederate line at around 4 p.m. Confederate units staged a fierce resistance north of Middletown for about an hour. Custer and the XIX Corps attacked Gordon and Kershaw from the Union right. Custer purposely extended the action to the west which effectively spread out the Confederate line, allowing him to penetrate Gordon's division near Middle Marsh Brook. Heavy fighting occurred along the center of the Confederate line as Ramseur's forces held ground. During a sharp exchange near the D. J. Miller House (VDHR 034-0131, Miller-Kendrick-Walter House), which occurred around 5 p.m., Ramseur was mortally wounded by a bullet to the chest after having two horses shot from under him. By 5:30 p.m., the Union advance had fractured the Confederate line, and Confederate troops began retreating to the south.[249]

At Belle Grove, members of the Cooley family and their workers took shelter in the cellar as the battle swept over the property for the second time that day. A free African American woman described what she saw:

> Some of the wounded was still layin' in the yard and out in the lot when the troops come back that evening. We'd got news that they were comin', and we had all gone to the cellar of the big

[245] Sheridan, 81-86.
[246] Noyalas, 62.
[247] Whitehorne, 21; Lewes and Moore, 88.
[248] Noyalas, 62-63.
[249] Whitehorne, 21; Lewes and Moore, 88; Noyalas, 70.

> house. The cellar was where the cookin' was done, and the rooms down there were nice and large and had rock walls. I didn't feel much like keepin' quiet when I could hear those wounded men groanin' in the yard, even if the battle was goin' on. So I jus' spent my time walkin' from one door to another and peepin' out. But the others were settin' down and squattin' in the corners, anywhere's they thought it was safest. We stayed in the cellar till we heard no mo' shootin' or nothin', and then we come out. There was Southern infantry in back of the house then makin' for the pike.[250]

The Confederate retreat grew panicked as Custer maintained pressure on the rear of Early's army, despite attempts to resist at the Daniel Stickley farm and Hupp's Hill. Confederate forces fled through Strasburg. As they crossed a wooden bridge south of town near Spangler's Mill (VDHR 306-0002), a wagon spoke became lodged in a gap in the damaged bridge's framing, partially blocking the structure. Unable to cross the bridge, the Confederates abandoned all wagons, ambulances, and artillery and retreated on foot. The remnants of Early's army withdrew to Fisher's Hill as the Union cavalry broke off their pursuit.[251]

Upon returning to his former headquarters at Belle Grove, Sheridan rendezvoused with a triumphant Custer, heartily embracing him and thanking him for his performance on the battlefield. Amid the jubilation, a captured Confederate ambulance in the yard, unable to pass through Strasburg, contained the mortally wounded Maj. Gen. Stephen Dodson Ramseur. After questioning the driver, Union cavalry troopers carried Ramseur into the house, where surgeons examined his wound and administered a strong dose of laudanum. In his final moments, Ramseur was comforted by his former West Point classmates Merritt, Custer, and Union officer Henry A. DuPont.[252]

Col. Charles Russell Lowell of Massachusetts, who commanded the Reserve Brigade of Merritt's First Division cavalry, had been wounded earlier in the day when a ricocheted bullet struck him in the chest, inflicting a shallow flesh wound, along with more serious internal injuries. He tried to regain his strength during the early afternoon pause in the fighting but, due to his injuries, could barely speak above a whisper. Despite this, Lowell instructed his men to help him mount his horse, and he participated in the Union counterattack. As he charged forward, sword raised, he was mortally wounded when a second bullet struck his spine. Afterwards, Lowell's men carried him to a house on Main Street in Middletown. Paralyzed below the shoulders, he died the following morning. After the battle, Lowell's death was elevated as a symbol of patriotic sacrifice by the northern press. Merritt wrote of him, "Young in years, he died too early for his country, leaving a career which gave bright promise of yet greater usefulness and glory."[253]

Aftermath of the Battle of Cedar Creek

The Union victory at Cedar Creek came at a tremendous cost. Union forces sustained 5,655 casualties, with 644 killed, 3,430 wounded, and 1,591 missing or captured. Confederate casualties totaled 2,910, with 320 killed, 1,540 wounded, and 1,050 missing or captured. In addition, Union forces captured 43 Confederate guns, 200 wagons, and ten regimental flags.[254] Col. Edward Molineux of the XIX Corps, Second Division, described the battlefield on the evening of October 19 as a "perfect slaughter house filled with killed and wounded, dead

[250] Johnson, 394-95.
[251] Ibid.
[252] Lewis, 289-90.
[253] Noyalas, 70-71; Lewis, 290-91; Lewes and Moore, 96.
[254] Lowe, part 3, section 15.

horses, shell and shot." After the battle, local civilians offered their assistance to the wounded. A free African American woman at Belle Grove described the scene there:

> After the armies got away men began to clear up the wounded. They brought 'em to the big house and laid 'em in the yard … Soldiers were goin' all the time and the ambulances were comin' to get the wounded and take 'em off. Mr. Cooley's sister's daughter and I went down the hill right smart with our wooden buckets to fetch water. If any of the wounded or the other soldiers asked us for a drink as we passed by we gave it to 'em.[255]

Those soldiers stable enough to be transported were sent to a large field hospital north of Winchester, and were later sent to Martinsburg, West Virginia. The Daniel Stickley home, which had served as a Confederate field hospital during the battle, was taken over by Union doctors. St. Thomas Episcopal Church (VDHR 260-5001) in Middletown also served as a Union hospital during the battle's aftermath.[256]

News of the battle gradually reached Washington and Richmond. Telegrams dispatched to the War Department from Harper's Ferry, West Virginia by Brig. Gen. John D. Stevenson on the evening of October 19 contained only the basic information that a battle had been fought, stating that the "particulars received are not official, and are not favorable, though no serious disaster could have occurred without direct news from Sheridan." On the morning of October 20, Sheridan sent Grant a telegram containing his preliminary report of the battle. Sheridan wrote that, "We have again been favored by a great victory – a victory won from disaster by the gallantry of our officers and men." That evening, Grant, who was stationed at City Point, Virginia, ordered a 100-gun salute fired in honor of Sheridan's victory.[257] On October 21, both the Washington *Evening Star* and the *New York Times* published Sheridan's report to Grant, along with telegrams from Grant and Secretary of War Edwin Stanton providing news of the battle. The *Evening Star* proclaimed, "OUR VICTORY COMPLETE" while the *New York Times* headline more succinctly read "VICTORY!"[258] A report from a *Times* correspondent stationed at the V Corps headquarters in Virginia read:

> The greatest enthusiasm prevailed last night along our lines on the receipt of the news of the glorious and unexpected victory of Gen. Phil. Sheridan. Bands were playing until a late hour, and repeated cheers could be heard from time to time with hearty emphasis by the brave "vets" of the Army of the Potomac. All hail to the gallant Army of the Shenandoah and its brilliant Commander.[259]

On October 27, E. A. Paul, *New York Times* Special Correspondent with Sheridan's army, published his account of the battle. Writing from Strasburg, Paul began his piece by observing that "The battle of Cedar Run, on Wednesday, Oct. 19, 1864, will be recorded in history as one of the most remarkable that has thus far taken place in this rebellion."[260]

Southern newspapers cast the battle not as a great victory for the Union, but rather as a lost opportunity for the Confederacy. Reporting on October 25, the *Richmond Enquirer* noted that:

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[255] Johnson, 394.
[256] Noyalas, 74-75.
[257] "Official War Bulletins," *Soldier's Journal*, October 26, 1864, 295.
[258] "Official War Bulletin," *Evening Star*, October 21, 1864, 1; "Victory!," *New York Times*, October 21, 1864, 1.
[259] "Our Armies in Virginia," *New York Times*, October 24, 1864, 1.
[260] E. A. Paul, "The Battle of Cedar Creek," *New York Times*, October 27, 1864, 1.

> Our information respecting the battle near Cedar Creek, on Wednesday last, assures us that one of the most brilliant victories of the war had been gained by our troops, but that in an evil hour, when a portion of our men were plundering the property they had captured, a small force of Yankee cavalry appeared on our left flank, the plunderers took fright, and the words "we are flanked!" passed rapidly along the line, the left gave way, and the rest followed, panic-stricken and demoralized, in a moment … The victory of the enemy, if such an affair can be dignified with a name which suggests the clash of arms and the glory of a gallant conflict, was achieved solely by a small and insignificant band of cavalry, which had doubtless accidentally gotten on our flank, and might have been captured … The attempt of Sheridan to make a hero of himself, and to put up this affair (disgraceful though it was to us,) as the most magnificent victory of the war, sufficiently show him up as a complete military charlatan.[261]

Confederate soldier Randolph H. McKim, reflecting in his memoirs voiced the frustration of the Confederate loss: "…the sun, which in rising had looked down on a glorious Confederate victory, beheld, as he sank to rest, that victory turned into defeat."[262]

With Lincoln facing an uncertain election in 1864 against former Union general George B. McClellan, Sheridan's remarkable victory at Cedar Creek on October 19, combined with Sherman's capture of Atlanta on September 2, provided Lincoln and the Republican party with much needed political momentum. Following the battle, events in Washington to celebrate and commemorate the victory were imbued with political overtones. On the evening of October 21, Lincoln's supporters held a torchlight procession through Washington to celebrate the victory at Cedar Creek. One supporter from New Jersey carried a large portrait of McClellan with the slogan "Great Failure of the War" printed across it. At the White House, Lincoln addressed the crowd, praising both Sheridan and Grant in his impromptu remarks. Two days later, on October 23, Custer arrived in Washington to present ten captured Confederate battle flags to Secretary Stanton. The flags were mounted onto the locomotive that triumphantly carried Custer into the city. Custer also brought captured Confederate cannons to Washington to present to Stanton, and they were paraded through the streets of the city accompanied by a brass band. That fall, Lincoln won a resounding victory at the polls, winning 212 electoral votes to McClellan's 21. In a telling metric, Lincoln captured 78 percent of the votes from Union soldiers in the field. In a regimental history of the 128th New York Infantry, veteran David Henry Hanaburgh wrote: "Turning now to the ballot box, it is needless to say that the regiment was almost a unit for *Father Abraham*." In addition to Lincoln's re-election, Republicans gained seats in that fall's congressional elections. Combined, the outcome represented a mandate for Lincoln to continue the war to its completion.[263]

Sheridan's fame grew during the months following the battle. Shortly after the victory at Cedar Creek, on October 22, Lincoln sent Sheridan a brief congratulatory letter, in which he wrote, "With great pleasure I tender to you and your brave army the thanks of the nation." After the election, on November 14, 1864, Lincoln promoted Sheridan to the rank of Major General in the regular army, praising his "personal gallantry, military skill, and just confidence in the courage and patriotism of his troops." Northern newspapers related the story of his ride from Winchester on the morning of October 19 in melodramatic prose. Days after the battle, poet Thomas Buchanan Read wrote his famous poem, *Sheridan's Ride*, which was recited on October 31 to an enthusiastic audience at Pike's Opera House in Cincinnati. The poem was later published by newspapers across

261 "The News," *Richmond Enquirer*, October 25, 1864, 1.

262 McKim, 236-37.

263 Noyalas, 78-80; David Henry Hanabaugh, *History of the One Hundred and Twenty-Eighth Regiment, New York Volunteers (U.S. Infantry) in the Late Civil War* (Poughkeepsie, NY: Enterprise Publishing, 1894), 172.

the North, including the pro-Republican *New York Tribune*, which featured it on the front page on election day. The November 5, 1864 issue of *Harper's Weekly* included a feature story on Sheridan, and the cover presented an image of Sheridan charging on his horse and rallying his troops. After the war, the Union League of Philadelphia commissioned Thomas Buchanan Read to produce an oil painting based on his famous poem. Read's painting of Sheridan, astride his horse with sabre drawn, was unveiled at the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts in 1870 and was viewed by over 30,000 visitors during the first month of the exhibition. Prints of Read's and other subsequent paintings of Sheridan became popular decorative items in Northern households after the war, and Sheridan's likeness was used by companies to market various goods and services.[264]

Philip Sheridan died in 1888. Regarded as a national hero, his funeral mass was held at St. Matthews Church in Washington, DC His remains were interred at Arlington National Cemetery. The Battle of Cedar Creek defined his legacy, as well as that of his soldiers.[265]

Diminished Confederate Military Presence in the Shenandoah Valley

Confederate forces attempted to regroup during the weeks after the battle. On October 25-26, Lomax's Confederate cavalry successfully deterred an attempted attack by Union cavalry on the rear of Early's army in the Luray Valley, south of Front Royal. The engagement ended Union attempts at pursuit following the Battle of Cedar Creek. On October 31, Confederate soldiers in the Army of the Valley were issued back pay, however, food shortages had reached a critical point. Again, sensing the impending breakup of his army, Early went on the offensive. On November 11, Early's forces approached Sheridan's entrenched Union position north of Middletown. Sheridan ordered his cavalry to engage Early's flanks. Custer attacked Rosser's Confederate cavalry division on the Back Road, pushing them to Cedar Creek. Reinforced by Wickham's and Payne's brigades, Rosser counterattacked, driving Custer back towards Newtown. To the east, the Second Division of Torbert's Union cavalry, under the command of Col. William H. Powell, engaged McCausland's Confederate cavalry brigade near the village of Nineveh on November 12. The Confederate cavalry were repulsed, resulting in approximately 200 killed, wounded, or captured. With this defeat, and with winter fast approaching, Early marched the ragged remains of his army south to New Market on November 13. Much of his army was subsequently reassigned to Petersburg, and by December, Wharton's infantry division and Rosser's cavalry were all that remained of his original force. In March of 1865, Sheridan crushed the remains of Early's army at Waynesboro, effectively ending Confederate resistance in the Shenandoah Valley.[266]

Conclusion

The Battle of Cedar Creek was an event of great strategic consequence within the Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1864 and the broader Union effort to attain victory in the eastern theater. Rallying his troops to victory at Cedar Creek, in one of the most dramatic moments of the American Civil War, Gen. Philip Sheridan consolidated Union control over the Shenandoah Valley, depriving the Confederate army of a vital supply base and travel corridor. This singular military engagement, which resulted in over 8,500 combined Union and Confederate casualties, was the scene of transcendent courage, sacrifice, and patriotism. The battle consummated Sheridan's legacy, and his memorable ride to the front on the morning of October 19, 1864 became enshrined in national folklore. In addition, the Battle of Cedar Creek occurred at a politically fraught moment for President Abraham Lincoln. Facing substantial political headwinds by the fall of 1864, resulting from the war's unpopularity and human cost, the Union victory at Cedar Creek reinvigorated Lincoln's re-

[264] Noyalas, 78-86.
[265] Noyalas, 88-89.
[266] Mahr, 346-48; Whitehorne, 24.

election campaign, and provided him with a mandate to prosecute the war to its eventual completion at Appomattox in April of 1865.

The Battle of Cedar Creek transpired across a cultural landscape that was shaped by the initial settlement and subsequent development of the Lower Shenandoah Valley during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. German immigrant settler Jost Hite and his progeny established farms, mills, and plantations in what is today Frederick, Shenandoah, and Warren Counties. The rise of early settler families such as the Hites, Bowmans, and Stickleys occurred amid the concurrent trends of heightened agricultural production and town formation that characterized growth in the Lower Valley during the late eighteenth century. By the antebellum period, slavery had become integral to the socio-economic fabric of the region, and the great wealth generated by the area's large plantations gave rise to the construction of large, stylistically distinct manor houses such as Belle Grove. Debate over the very institution that created this prosperity led to the sectionalism and conflict that precipitated the demise of the plantation system, as blood soaked the fields surrounding Belle Grove on October 19, 1864.

Comparison With Other Properties

The original NHL designation for Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove Plantation NHL combined emphasis on the histories of the Hite family and completion of Belle Grove in 1797 with the 1864 Battle of Cedar Creek that took place on the historic estate of Belle Grove and wider valley across farms and fields. This update incorporates these two areas of significance and weaves them together as a unified cultural landscape district with significance under Criteria 1 and 5. Belle Grove and the histories of the Hite family have been broadened to look beyond one elite family to consider the wider community and all members that formed and sustained the landscape, reflecting a more inclusive historical analysis. It understands the mansion of Belle Grove within a broader network that included the full plantation and the surrounding valley homesteads, reflecting a contemporary approach to documentation of plantations. The collection of resource types across Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove Plantation NHL, including houses, outbuildings, agricultural structures, fences, roads, and fields in combination with the valley geography and creek form a landscape of components that together convey the story of settlement, exploration, agriculture, slavery, and war in the Lower Shenandoah Valley.

The Shenandoah Valley agricultural landscape and its status as a high producer of wheat (the so-called "breadbasket") explains the emphasis that military leaders placed on this region during the Civil War; the availability of open space via agricultural fields also facilitated the physical battle. Currently, there are no other NHL properties besides Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove Plantation NHL that represent the agricultural history, or "breadbasket" status, of the Shenandoah Valley and connect it to broader themes of the Civil War and this strategic campaign. After the Battle of Cedar Creek, this eighteenth and nineteenth century agricultural landscape was overlaid with a battlefield, bringing a new layer of historical significance and additional resources. In the century and a half since the battle, the combination of historic structures and open space along with surviving military resources have resulted in an exceptionally preserved collection of interrelated resources. Together, it is an agricultural landscape of high integrity overlaid by the battlefield that composes an entity of exceptional historical or artistic significance, and outstandingly commemorates or illustrates a way of

life or culture, in this case, the shift in the Lower Shenandoah Valley from backcountry settlement, to breadbasket, and then battlefield.[267]

Comparable properties for a cultural landscape district like the one represented by Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove Plantation NHL are limited. This is unlike the National Register of Historic Places, which although lacking a Criterion specifically for districts, has encouraged the recognition of rural historic districts since the 1980s.[268] In 2023, there are approximately 116 National Register Rural Historic Districts, 34 of which are in Virginia. Most Virginia districts are concentrated in the tidewater or piedmont regions. Two districts are in Clarke County and represent the historic Lord Fairfax land holdings and subsequent westward settlement by primarily tidewater families and include Chapel Rural Historic District (NRIS 14000010) and Long Marsh Run Rural Historic District (NRIS 96001173). A third in Clarke County focuses on the Washingtonian weekend mountain retreat community of Bear's Den Rural Historic District (NRIS 08001112). There do not appear to be any National Register-listed rural landscapes that are overlaid with battlefield resources. Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove Plantation NHL presents a unique opportunity to highlight the significant settlement into the backcountry of Virginia to the Hite land holdings; it is also a unique collection of rural agricultural resources overlaid with a nationally significant battlefield.

Comparable NHLs include the 14,000-acre Green Springs NHL District in Virginia (designated 1973, NRIS 73002036). However, that designation paid particular emphasis to the impact of the rich soil, arguing that "from the earliest days of the settlement of Piedmont Virginia the Green Springs area of Louisa County has been known as a region of exceptional fertility, prosperity, and beauty. Its farms, buildings, and families represent over two hundred years of distinct architectural and social history."[269] Recent examples of singular agricultural complexes that use Criterion 5 include Magnolia Plantation NHL (designated 2001, NRIS 7900107), which documented the main house as well as all outbuildings and agricultural structures. Similarly, Dudley Farm NHL in Florida (designated 2021, NRIS 100006234) also used Criterion 5 for the full agricultural landscape.

Other recent NHL examples have used Criteria 5 to capture layered periods of occupation and associated resources. Lower Pecos Canyonlands Archeological District NHL (designated 2021, NRIS 100006256) applies Criterion 5 for the evidence of deep historic occupation across multiple sites, paying particular attention to resources in relation to the natural environment. Additional examples have focused on cultural expression in distinct ethnic settlements, such as Namur Historic District NHL in northern Wisconsin (designated 1990, NRIS 87002553) representing Belgian-American rural settlement. It spans 3500 acres and includes agricultural land, expanses of natural landscape, farmhouses and other agrarian structures, residential dwellings, a local parish church and its cemetery, and two commercial establishments. A similar property is Locke NHL in California (designated 1990, NRIS 71000174) representing a rare surviving Chinese-American rural community, and includes 50 frame commercial and residential buildings and several outbuildings within approximately 14 acres along the east bank of the Sacramento River. Old Salem District NHL (designated 1966, updated 2016, NRIS 66000591) also applied Criteria 1, 4, 5, and 6 for representing an outstanding, intact example of a theocratically

[267] This phrase adapted from interpretation materials at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, see: National Park Service, "Series: From Backcountry to Breadbasket to Battlefield and Beyond," Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, https://www.nps.gov/articles/series.htm?id=DC0E2DC5-D317-C525-40D18AD98D8F0E52 (accessed December 28, 2023).

[268] Robert Z. Melnick, Daniel Spoon, and Emma Jane Saxe, *Cultural Landscape: Rural Historic Districts in the National Park System,* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1984.

[269] National Historic Landmarks Program, "Green Springs Historic District," Zion Crossroads vicinity, Louisa County, Virginia, National Register # 73002036.

governed, eighteenth-century utopian settlement established by German immigrants in the backcountry of North Carolina.

Most other NHL districts that might serve as comparables are actually designated under Criterion 4 for architecture (or presumed Criterion 4 if predating the NHL Criterion) and do not apply Criterion 5; they might also apply Criterion 1 or 2. Examples include the Hudson River NHL District (designated 1990, NRIS 90002219), which encompasses nearly 40 estates, 4 town riverfronts, 4 villages or hamlets and spans from the eastern shore of the Hudson River inland nearly a mile covering resources from the colonial period to the twentieth century. This district, despite being referred to several times as a significant cultural landscape in the nomination, is not designated under Criterion 5; instead, it is designated under Criteria 1, 3, and 4. The Nantucket NHL District (designated 1966, expanded 1975, updated 2018, NRIS 66000772), which encompasses the three islands of Nantucket, Tuckernuck, and Muskeget, includes 5,027 contributing buildings and 6,686 noncontributing buildings and considers agricultural landscapes, paths, and roads. It was also designated using Criterion 1 and 4.

In contrast to the unique original designation of Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove Plantation, the other 14 designated Civil War battlefields follow a pattern applying Criterion 1 for the event (or, presumed Criterion 1 if it predates the creation of the NHL Criteria), limiting the area and period of significance to the battle, and most do not include buildings and structures as contributing resources; no NHL nomination for a battlefield includes specific mention of a building. Recent designations, particularly the update to Ball's Bluff in Virginia and Maryland (designated 1984, updated 2016, NRIS 84003880) served as a useful model to follow for the level of documentation needed for this update. However, this district and others like it also highlight the exceptional nature of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove Plantation NHL, which was a departure from the other battlefield designations in acknowledging both military significance and the historical significance of the broader landscape.

Shenandoah Valley campaign sites considered for inclusion

The Battle of Cedar Creek was recognized as nationally significant by the Secretary of the Interior in the original designation. The Battle of Cedar Creek was the last major battle fought in the Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1864. Union and Confederate armies engaged in two extended periods of combat in 1862 and 1864-65 to control the Valley and its resources.[270] Following the successful effort of Confederate Gen. Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson to secure control of the region through victories at Front Royal, Winchester, Cross Keys, and Port Republic in 1862, Confederate forces held this vital corridor until 1864.[271] In June 1864 Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee placed Lt. Gen. Jubal A. Early in command of the Confederate Army of the Valley. Early proceeded to use the Valley as base from which to wage attacks on strategically important targets in Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Washington, DC, frustrating Grant and raising Confederate morale in Richmond.[272] Union efforts to counter Early in the Shenandoah Valley entered a new phase with Lincoln's appointment of Sheridan as commander of the Army of the Shenandoah on August 7, 1864. Sheridan laid waste to much of the Valley's agricultural resources as part of Grant's overall attrition strategy. Sheridan also crushed Confederate resistance at the battles of Third Winchester (September 19), Fisher's Hill (September 22), and Tom's Brook (October 9), culminating with the dramatic and nationally celebrated Union victory at Cedar

[270] National Register of Historic Places, Multiple Property Documentation Form, The Civil War in Virginia, 1861-1865, National Register #64500680, E-7.
[271] Ibid., E-2, 12-13.
[272] Gallagher, *The Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1864*, 9-12.

Creek (October 19), which represented the turning point in the struggle for the Shenandoah Valley.[273] The Union Army of the Shenandoah, under the command of Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, successfully eliminated the Confederate presence in the Valley in 1864 at the Battle of Cedar Creek.

During the NHL update, other sites of engagement from the broader Shenandoah campaigns were evaluated for consideration within the updated boundary. They were not included in this nomination update because they were not closely associated with the Battle of Cedar Creek to warrant inclusion, were not as significant, or did not possess appropriate integrity.

New Market Battlefield (VDHR 085-0027)

Gen. Ulysses S. Grant initially sent Maj. Gen. Franz Sigel on the first expedition into the Valley during the spring of 1864, but he was defeated at the Battle of New Market on May 15. The New Market Battlefield (VDHR 085-0027) was listed in the NRHP and Virginia Landmarks Registry (VLR) as a historic district in 1970. It was nominated under National Register Criterion A, in the area of "Military," with a period of significance of 1864.[274] The battlefield is located in a rural setting, and the National Register boundaries constitute 160 acres of the former Bushong farm overlooking the Shenandoah River, off the Valley Pike, approximately one-half mile from New Market. The National Register historic district falls within the larger 280-acre New Market Battlefield State Park (VDHR 269-5001). The American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) study area for New Market extends across a much larger 5,928-acres, with a core area of 2,260 acres.[275] The battle, which occurred on May 15, 1864, is famous for the efforts of 247 teenaged Virginia Military Institute cadets, who held a portion of the Confederate line against seasoned Union troops. The Confederate victory at New Market allowed for continued control of the Shenandoah Valley through the vitally important wheat harvest. The victory also maintained Confederate control of the western end of the important Virginia Central Railroad.[276] In 2009, the ABPP Civil War Sites Advisory Commission (CWSAC) determined that while portions of the landscape have been altered, most of the essential features of the battlefield remain.[277] The New Market Battlefield forms part of the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields National Historic District, a National Heritage Area.

Third Winchester (VDHR 034-0456)

The Third Battle of Winchester (also known as Opequon) occurred on September 19, 1864 approximately three miles northeast of Winchester in Frederick County. It was one of the largest battles of the Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1864, involving over 54,000 combined Union and Confederate forces. Today, the battlefield is located within the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields National Historic District National Heritage Area. While the battlefield has not been individually listed in the NRHP or VLR, the 11,670-acre ABPP study area for Third Winchester (VDHR 034-0456) was determined to be potentially eligible for NRHP listing in 2007 by the

273 Gallagher, 13-14.

274 National Register of Historic Places, New Market Battlefield, New Market, Shenandoah County, Virginia, National Register # 70000824.

275 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 269-5001, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed April 6, 2020).

276 New Market Battlefield, National Register # 70000824.

277 U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program, *Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission's Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields* (Washington, DC: NPS, 2009), 22.

VDHR.[278] In 2009, the CWSAC expanded the study area to 13,688 acres, with a core area of 5,288 acres. The CWSAC also determined at this time that much of the landscape had been altered and fragmented, leaving only some essential features of the battlefield.[279] A 477-acre portion of the battlefield has been preserved by the Civil War Trust and contains three interpretive trails that follow the course of battle around Red Bud Run.[280]

Fisher's Hill (VDHR 085-0001)

Also outside the proposed boundary for Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove plantation is Fisher's Hill south of Strasburg. On September 21 and 22, Union forces launched an attack on the Confederate position at Fisher's Hill, and successfully pushed the Confederate Army of the Valley to the south towards Waynesboro, allowing Sheridan's forces to begin the economic destruction of the Shenandoah Valley from Staunton to Strasburg.[281] The ABPP Fisher's Hill study area (VDHR 085-0001) is located in Shenandoah County and extends across 10,248 acres to the south and west of Strasburg. The core area contains 2,750 acres. The battlefield has not been listed in the NRHP or the VLR. The study area was recommended potentially eligible by VDHR in 2006. In 2009, the CWSAC found that while portions of the landscape had been altered, the most essential features of the Fisher's Hill battlefield remained intact.[282] The area remains mostly rural and has not experienced the development seen in the vicinity of nearby Strasburg. The battlefield forms part of the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields National Historic District National Heritage Area and mostly consists of privately owned land.

Tom's Brook (VDHR 085-5045)

The Battle of Tom's Brook, also evaluated, but not included within this boundary,was a cavalry battle that occurred on October 9, 1864, as Sheridan's Army moved north, down the Valley, destroying farms and mills after pursuing Early to Staunton following the Battle of Fisher's Hill. At Tom's Brook, five miles south of Strasburg, Union cavalry under Brig. Gen. Alfred Torbert routed Confederate cavalry divisions commanded by Brig. Gen. Thomas Rosser and Brig. Gen. Lunsford Lomax.[283] The Tom's Brook study area (VDHR 085-5045) consists of 9,989 acres and the core area contains 2,018 acres. Overall, the battlefield remains largely rural, consisting of privately owned parcels, with less recent development having occurred in the Tom's Brook area than found around Strasburg and Winchester. While the battlefield study area has been recommended potentially eligible by VDHR, it has not been listed in the NRHP or VLR.[284] The Tom's Brook Battlefield forms part of the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields National Historic District National Heritage Area.

278 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 034-0456, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed April 6, 2020).

279 *Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission's Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields,* 20, 22.

280 American Battlefield Trust, Battlefields, "Third Battle of Winchester," https://www.battlefields.org/visit/battlefields/third-winchester-battlefield (accessed April 6, 2020).

281 American Battlefield Trust, Battlefields, "Fisher's Hill," https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/fishers-hill (accessed April 6, 2020).

282 *Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission's Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields,* 22.

283 American Battlefield Trust, Battlefields, "Tom's Brook," https://www.battlefields.org/learn/civil-war/battles/toms-brook (accessed April 6, 2020).

284 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 085-5045, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed April 6, 2020).

6. PROPERTY DESCRIPTION AND STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

Ownership of Property	Category of Property
Private: X	Building(s):
Public-Local:	District: X
Public-State:	Site:
Public-Federal: X	Structure:
	Object:

Number of Resources within Boundary of Property:

Contributing	Noncontributing
Buildings: 34	Buildings: 789
Sites: 44	Sites: 38
Structures: 4	Structures: 3
Objects:	Objects: 4
Total: 82	Total: 834

PROVIDE PRESENT AND PAST PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF PROPERTY

Summary

The Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove Plantation National Historic Landmark (NHL) District extends across portions of Frederick, Shenandoah, and Warren Counties, Virginia. In addition to comprising the well-preserved Cedar Creek Battlefield, site of a major Civil War engagement that occurred on October 19, 1864, the NHL district is also a significant cultural landscape containing numerous eighteenth- and nineteenth-century architectural resources, mill ruins, historic cemeteries, and important archaeological sites. The expanded NHL historic district is approximately 7.5 miles in length, and between 1.75 and 5.5 miles in width. It is comprised of four discontiguous sections. The first is an 10,831-acre area containing the majority of the Cedar Creek battlefield. It largely corresponds to the study area defined in 2009 by the ABPP, CWSAC, but reduced in size to exclude from consideration areas of diminished integrity in the vicinity of Strasburg. The second is an 18-acre area containing Hupp's Hill (VDHR 44SH0353), a high ridge that rises above the Valley Pike (U.S. Route 11), north of Strasburg, that was of strategic importance during the battle and the broader Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1864. Third is a 0.25-acre area located on the Valley Pike to the south of Strasburg that contains Spangler's Mill (VDHR 306-0002, 44SH0497), a significant architectural resource and an important site relating to the Union pursuit of retreating Confederate units during the final stage of the battle. Fourth is a 2.5-acre area (VDHR 44SH0355), located approximately 2 miles southeast of Strasburg, containing the Confederate signal station atop Massanutten Mountain known as Signal Knob, which was of military importance both prior to and during the battle.

This amended NHL nomination documents a diverse array of resources that are associated both with the Battle of Cedar Creek and the development of the broader, underlying cultural landscape during the eighteenth century

and antebellum period. Contributing resources include **34 buildings**, **44 sites,** and **4 structures**. Noncontributing resources include **789 buildings**, **38 sites**, **3 structures**, and **4 objects**. The district contains considerable archaeological resources, which were not accounted for in the original 1969 documentation. There are a total of 73 recorded archaeological sites that fall within the period of significance (38 contributing and 35 noncontributing). These sites range from military camps and earthworks, to sites associated with historic farmsteads and plantations, to historic road traces and cemeteries, and are connected with the historic context themes Eighteenth-Century Growth (1731-1800), the Antebellum Period (1800-1861), and the Battle of Cedar Creek (1861-1864).

The terrain and character of the landscape exist much as they did at the time of battle, consisting of a combination of rolling, open agricultural land and forested upland ridges. Surface features related to the battle, such as trenches, earthworks, and artillery positions, still exist within the NHL district. The most notable non-military resource within the district is Belle Grove Plantation, established by Revolutionary War veteran Isaac Hite Jr. The manor house at Belle Grove was completed in 1797 and is one of the most significant late eighteenth-century dwellings in the region. The house also played a central role in the battle, serving as the headquarters of Union commander Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan. Belle Grove is also an important archaeological site that has contributed to the study of enslavement in the Lower Shenandoah Valley during the nineteenth century. Principal waterways within the district include Cedar Creek and the North Fork of the Shenandoah River. The historic Valley Turnpike (U.S. Route 11) extends across the NHL district from northeast to southwest, passing through both Middletown and Strasburg. In addition, the district is roughly bisected by Interstate 81. Residential and commercial development, primarily associated with recent growth around the northern and eastern edges of Strasburg, have impacted the integrity of certain areas of the battlefield, and where possible, these areas have been excluded so that the NHL district exhibits a sufficient degree of integrity to convey its national significance.

Setting

The NHL district falls within the Shenandoah Valley, which constitutes part of the much larger Great Valley of Virginia. The Great Valley is oriented from northeast to southwest along the Blue Ridge Mountain Range, and extends for approximately 150 miles from the Potomac River to Lexington, Virginia. Located at the northern end of the Great Valley, the Shenandoah Valley is comprised of Berkeley and Jefferson Counties in West Virginia and Frederick, Clarke, Warren, Shenandoah, Page, Rockingham, and Augusta Counties in Virginia. The counties north of Strasburg are referred to as the Lower Shenandoah Valley. The Shenandoah Valley rises in elevation from north to south, with its highest point located at the southern end. As a result, traveling south has traditionally been referred to as moving “up” the Valley, while traveling north has been termed moving “down” the Valley. Principal waterways within the Lower Shenandoah Valley include Cedar Creek, which drains into the Shenandoah River. The Shenandoah River, in turn, flows north to Harper’s Ferry, West Virginia where it empties into the Potomac River.

The Shenandoah Valley is framed by long mountainous ridges. To the northwest of the Valley is North Mountain, the first range of the Allegheny Mountains. To the southeast, the Valley is bounded by the Blue Ridge Mountains, which separate it from Virginia’s piedmont and coastal plain regions. The Valley is approximately 25 miles across at its widest point. A distinctive topographical feature of the Valley is Massanutten Mountain. This mountainous ridge extends for approximately 50 miles from Strasburg southwest to Harrisonburg, Virginia. Massanutten Mountain divides the central Shenandoah Valley, with the portion of

the Valley located to the west of the mountain watered by the North Fork of the Shenandoah River, and the narrower Luray Valley, located to its east, drained by the South Fork of the Shenandoah.[285]

The Shenandoah Valley features varied geology that is characterized by the contact between its valley and upland formations. The region was a seabed during the Paleozoic era (252 to 541 million years ago (mya)), and its present landscape was formed by the uplifting, faulting, and folding of the bed into a series of valleys and steep ridges. The Shenandoah's rolling valley land consists mainly of Silurian-Ordovican-era limestone and dolomite (410 to 500 mya), which is framed by sandstone and shale uplands formed during the Mississippian-Devonian eras (320 to 410 mya). This geological diversity has resulted in the varied topography and soils of the Lower Valley. The Valley's limestone and dolomite lands have weathered into rounded landforms and low ridges aligned with the Valley, while the sandstone and shale zones feature deeply dissected valleys with narrow bottomlands. The rich, limestone valley land was sought out by early European settlers while the steep shale uplands, or "pine barrens," and their thin, unfertile soils were less conducive to agriculture.[286]

The Battle of Cedar Creek occurred within a cultural landscape that formed during the eighteenth century and antebellum period. The development of transportation networks, critical for commerce and cultural exchange, contributed to the development of this landscape. The Shenandoah's central limestone valley formed the setting for the Valley Pike, the Valley's principal transportation corridor. Prior to the initial European colonialization of the region during the 1730s, the road existed as a footpath used for millennia by numerous Indigenous groups. Now referred to as the "Great Warrior's Path," "Great Indian Warpath," or "Seneca Trail," it was known by many other names distinctive to each Indigenous Nation that used it. This path served as a vital corridor for communication, trade, and connection for Indigenous Nations east of the Mississippi River from present-day northern New York to Georgia.[287] Over the course of the eighteenth century, English, Scottish, and Pennsylvania German settler-colonialists established towns along the road such as Winchester, Stephens City, and Middletown. By the mid-nineteenth century, the Valley Pike had been macadamized, which facilitated travel during wet weather when many secondary roads were muddy, rutted, and impassible. The pike allowed for rapid travel up and down the Valley and was, therefore, of great strategic importance during the Civil War.[288] The Valley Pike served as an important northeast-southwest axis during the Battle of Cedar Creek. The road ascends in elevation from approximately 550 feet at Cedar Creek to around 700 feet at Middletown, and Confederate infantry and artillery largely controlled it during the initial phases of the battle. The road generally maintains its historic alignment, but over the years has been widened and its course shifted in some segments. The national importance of the Valley Pike as a major transportation corridor was recognized in 1926 when it was designated U.S. Route 11.[289] In addition to this roadway, the Shenandoah River was also a transportation resource used seasonally during the early nineteenth century to transport flour and other agricultural commodities to Harper's Ferry, West Virginia.[290] By 1854, the Manassas Gap Railroad had been

285 Lowe, *Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah*, part 2, section 2.

286 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, *Guidelines for Conducting Historic Resources Survey in Virginia*, rev. ed. (Richmond: VDHR, 2017), 105; Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, 31-33.

287 Michael McConnell, "Before the Great Road,", 57-73.

288 Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, 31-33.

289 Lewes and Moore, *Historic Resource Context Study,* 29.

290 Keller, "The Wheat Trade on the Upper Potomac, 1800-1860," 23.

constructed from Manassas Junction to Strasburg.[291] After the Civil War, the Valley Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was extended into the Lower Valley.

The landscape features a network of streams and waterways, which played an important role in the historical development of the area and during the Battle of Cedar Creek. Originating from a point on the south slope of Paddy Mountain in Shenandoah County, Cedar Creek meanders to the northeast before turning east, crossing through a gap in Little North Mountain. From there, Cedar Creek flows southeast and empties into the North Fork of the Shenandoah River approximately 1.5 miles east of Strasburg. Cedar Creek forms a natural boundary between Frederick and Shenandoah Counties for approximately 15 miles. It also forms a 2.25-mile section of the boundary of the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park (CEBE). The Cedar Creek valley is deeply entrenched with steep bluff-like walls to the north and west of the Valley Pike, while the valley broadens and flattens to the south of the Pike. During the battle, the Union Army of the Shenandoah sited its campsites and defensive fortifications on the high ridges located east of Cedar Creek. In addition, a number of historic fords on Cedar Creek served as strategic crossing points.

To the west of the Valley Pike, important secondary streams that cross limestone geology and flow into Cedar Creek include Meadow Brook, Middle Marsh Brook, Watson Run, and Buffalo Marsh Run. These streams all flow in a northeast to southwest direction. Meadow Brook forms a deep gorge at its confluence with Cedar Creek and was historically the site of a large mill complex and distillery. Stickley Run flows into Cedar Creek just north of the Daniel Stickley Farm (VDHR 085-0013), approximately a half-mile north of the Valley Pike. To the south of the Valley Pike, Thoburn Run is a small stream that flows for approximately 2 miles in a west-southwest direction before emptying into Cedar Creek.

Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, and continuing throughout the antebellum period, numerous mills were constructed on Cedar Creek and other waterways within the district, and played a vital role in the local and regional economy. These included mills at Old Forge Farm (VDHR 44FK0774) located on Cedar Creek in the northwest corner of the district, the Millbrook Mill (44FK0050) located on Meadow Brook north of Middletown, mills operated by the Hite family at the confluence of Meadow Brook and Cedar Creek (034-0206), the Stickley Mill complex at the Valley Pike and Cedar Creek (085-0014, 44SH0470), and the Bowman mill complex on Cedar Creek (093-0103).

The arrival of the plantation system in the Lower Shenandoah Valley was another significant factor that contributed to the cultural, social, and economic development of the NHL district. The plantation system first emerged in the Lower Valley during the eighteenth century and was characterized by wheat cultivation on large tracts using enslaved labor.[292] The wealth generated by plantation-scale agriculture resulted in the creation of domestic and agricultural landscapes that included large, architecturally distinctive dwellings, enslaved quarters, overseer's dwellings, and other associated outbuildings such as smokehouses, kitchens, stables, and dairies. Several plantation landscapes have survived within the NHL district, and include the contributing Belle Grove (VDHR 034-0002), Mount Pleasant (VDHR 085-0072), and Long Meadow (VDHR 093-0006) properties. Through historical research and archeology, these and other sites in the district have added to the understanding and interpretation of enslavement in the Lower Valley, the plantation economy, and the social and cultural dynamics of plantation life, which were discussed in greater detail in the statement of significance.

[291] Lewes and Moore, 71.
[292] Keller, 21-27.

Historic Physical Appearance

Land use within the NHL district during the period of significance (1771-1864) was dictated by agriculture, and beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, the landscape consisted of farms, mills, and plantations that were connected to major towns by a network of roads. Wheat farming and flour milling constituted much of the Lower Valley's agricultural production during the eighteenth century and antebellum period, and connected the Lower Valley economically with coastal urban centers such as Baltimore and Philadelphia. Farmers transported flour and wheat overland as well as by the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers.[293] At the time of the Battle of Cedar Creek, the Lower Shenandoah Valley was one of the most productive agricultural regions within the state of Virginia. In 1850, the Lower Valley counties of Frederick, Warren, and Shenandoah contained 2,006 farms and a population of approximately 36,350 people, with approximately 24,234 free and enslaved people living and working on farms. Production of commodities such as rye, wheat, corn, potatoes, livestock, and related dairy products in many cases exceeded per capita figures for the state of Virginia in 1850, with wheat production at more than double the state total per capita.[294] Situated along the Valley Pike, within this agrarian landscape, were the principal towns of Winchester, Newtown (now Stephens City), Middletown, and Strasburg.[295]

The character of this agrarian landscape is depicted on a map of the Cedar Creek battlefield prepared by Confederate cartographer Jedediah Hotchkiss in 1864. The map shows large cleared agricultural fields and pastureland juxtaposed against sizeable, forested areas. Houses, mills, and area roadways are annotated. Within the northern portion of the district, large, wooded areas existed west of the Valley Pike at the time of the battle. The largest of these extended across much of the area between Klines Mill Road to the north and Cougill Road to the south. Other forested areas lay to the west of Hites Road. Within the southern portion of the district, forests covered the upland slopes that rise to the north and east of Cedar Creek. These wooded slopes provided cover for advancing Confederate forces on the morning the battle, as units under the command of Maj. Gen. Joseph B. Kershaw moved against the camps of the Union VIII Corps.

Yet, much land had been cleared by 1864, as depicted on the Hotchkiss map and surviving historic photographs. The land to either side of the Valley Pike had been cleared both to the north and south of Middletown between Klines Mill Road and Belle Grove Road. This afforded expansive views of the surrounding countryside, as seen in a group of photographs taken by brothers T. Dwight and Walter S. Biscoe during an 1884 tour of battlefield sites throughout Virginia. While these photographs post-date the battle, Union veterans who traveled to the battlefield for reunions and memorial dedications during the 1880s noted how little the landscape had changed by this time.[296] A photograph taken from the pike, south of Middletown, looking northwest towards Cemetery Hill, shows the open nature of the landscape. In addition to the large areas of cleared land, the photograph shows corn planted in the bottom land along Meadow Brook. This photo, along with others taken from the pike, indicate that the road was graded smooth, macadamized, and bounded by wooden fencing, and in some places, low walls of fieldstone. In many areas across the landscape, split-rail fencing was erected to enclose acreage on which livestock grazed. The Biscoe photographs show an expanse of cleared agricultural land surrounding Belle Grove Plantation, much as it was at the time of the battle. The account of a free African

293 Hofstra, 274-78.
294 Schlebecker, "Farmers in the Lower Shenandoah Valley, 1850," 463-66.
295 Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, 285-86.
296 Noyalas, *The Battle of Cedar Creek*, 92-93.

American worker at Belle Grove described Confederate soldiers advancing across these fields on the morning of the battle.[297] In the southern portion of the district, a Biscoe photograph taken from the location of the Union VIII Corps encampment, looking west across the Valley Pike, also reveals the extent of land clearing that had occurred by the time of the battle and the years following. Likewise, a photo taken from the Valley Pike, looking east from a position west of the Cedar Creek bridge, shows that the high ridgeline on which the VIII Corps were encamped was completely cleared at this time.

The area's principal farmsteads and plantations are annotated on the 1864 Hotchkiss map of the Cedar Creek battlefield. Located just west of the Valley Pike, to the north of Middletown, was the William Dinges house and farm (Dinges House, VDHR 034-0237), first established during the 1830s. During the battle, Union commanders reorganized and rallied their forces in the vicinity of the Dinges property prior to the afternoon counteroffensive.[298] To the south, on Meadow Brook at Cougill Road, was the D. J. Miller farm and mill (Miller-Kendrick-Walter House, VDHR 034-0131; Millbrook Mill Site, 44FK0713), the site of intense combat during the battle. To the east, across the Valley Pike, was Thorndale Farm (NRIS 16000528, VDHR 034-0081), annotated by Hotchkiss as "Mrs. Larick." Union forces took up positions on the property during the afternoon fighting.[299] North of Belle Grove Plantation, and west of the Valley Pike, several farms were situated along Middle Marsh Brook. These included the farms and dwellings of Benjamin Stickley, J. D. Tabler, and Mollie McLeod (Western View Farm, VDHR 034-0236). Prior to the battle, Union cavalry under the command of Brig. Gen. Wesley Merritt were camped to the south of the Benjamin Stickley farm and Brig. Gen. George A. Custer's Union cavalry swept through this area during the afternoon counteroffensive.[300] To the west, at Cupp's Ford on Cedar Creek, the 1873 Gillespie map of the battlefield depicts the farms of W.P. Kupp (Cedar Grove, VDHR 034-0189) and J. Bealer (Log House at Smith Mill, VDHR 034-0200), which were present in 1864. Cupp's Ford was a prominent crossing point for both Confederate and Union cavalry units during the battle.[301] Upstream, to the northwest, the Gillespie map shows the Old Forge Farm (NRIS 04000036, VDHR 034-0125). This property, established during the eighteenth century by Isaac Zane, included a mill and iron works.[302] In the vicinity of Belle Grove Plantation, the 1864 Hotchkiss map depicts the Solomon Heater farmstead (VDHR 034-0082), located south of Middletown and west of the Valley Pike. Two houses, marked "S. Perry" and "Anderson," are illustrated near the intersection of present-day Meadow Mills Road and Veterans Road, an area that stood at the center of the mid-morning phase of the battle, as the Confederates pushed Union forces to the northeast towards Cemetery Hill.[303] North of Belle Grove, in the present-day community of Meadow Mills, the 1864 Hotchkiss map depicts a house and farm that is marked "D. Ritenour" (Spiggle House, VDHR 034-0215). West of Cedar Creek, near the location of the Valley Pike bridge, the Hotchkiss map illustrates the Daniel Stickley farm and mill complex (VDHR 085-0013; 085-0014), with the farm and dwelling of his sister, Anne Stickley, shown on the high ground to the west (VDHR 085-0065). Fighting occurred on these properties and the Daniel Stickley farmhouse served as a makeshift hospital both

297 Johnson, *Battleground Adventures*, 392-93.

298 Maral S. Kalbian, *Frederick County, Virginia: History Through Architecture* (Boyce, VA: Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society, 1999), 226.

299 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Larrick-Nixon House/Green Hill," VDHR 034-0081, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 27, 2019).

300 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Nieswander's Fort," VDHR 034-0012, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 10, 2019).

301 Theodore C. Mahr, *The Battle of Cedar Creek: Showdown in the Shenandoah, October 1-30, 1864*. Vol. 32 of The Virginia Civil War Battles and Leaders Series (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, 1992), 324.

302 Kalbian, *Frederick County, Virginia: History Through Architecture*, 232.

303 Noyalas, 53.

during and after the battle.[304] South of the Valley Pike and east of Cedar Creek, scene of the initial Confederate attack, the map illustrates the large farms and plantations established by the extended Hite and Bowman families during the eighteenth century and antebellum period. These include Mount Pleasant (NRIS 11000553, VDHR 085-0072), the Bowman-Hite House (VDHR 093-0138), and Long Meadow (NRIS 95001169, VDHR 093-0006). Fort Bowman (NRIS 69000279, VDHR 085-0004), and its associated outbuildings, are marked on the map but are not annotated. Also depicted is the site of the Bowman mill complex on Cedar Creek, and two small farmsteads located on present-day Long Meadow Road, to the north of Long Meadow Plantation.

Within the NHL district, a number of secondary roads exist from the time of the Civil War or earlier, and are depicted on the 1864 Hotchkiss map. These include Long Meadow Road (Virginia Route 611), Belle Grove Road (727), Meadow Mills Road (624), Belle View Lane (758), Chapel Road (627), Hites Road (625), Cougill Road (634), Klines Mill Road (633), and Middle Road (628). While these roads have been resurfaced with modern materials, they largely retain their original, historic alignments. During the afternoon phase of the Battle of Cedar Creek, both Union and Confederate troops formed battle lines along key east-west roadways within the northern battlefield, such as Chapel Road, Cougill Road, and Klines Mill Road. Fort Bowman Road is an unimproved secondary road that is located south of the Valley Pike, providing access to Fort Bowman. The road is believed to have been created during the eighteenth century.[305] Historically, it crossed Cedar Creek east of Fort Bowman and joined with Bowman's Mill Road (635). Bowman's Mill Road and Water Plant Road (612) both appear on nineteenth-century maps of the area, but their alignments have since been altered. The section of Long Meadow Road that extends from Bowman's Mill Road to Long Meadow likely dates to the initial period of settlement during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Hotchkiss also illustrated landscape features of military importance within the battlefield. Hupp's Hill, a high ridge that served as a staging area and defensive position during the battle is illustrated. Also shown are the fortifications of the Union VIII Corps, located atop a high northeast-to-southwest trending ridge line to the east of Cedar Creek, as well as those of the Union XIX Corps, located on the high ground north of Cedar Creek and west of the Valley Pike.

Present Physical Appearance

The character of this cultural and military landscape has largely remained intact. Generally, more tree cover exists today than was depicted by Hotchkiss in 1864, although the overall patterns of forested and open land are still apparent. Forest cover has been reduced somewhat to the west of the Valley Pike, in the area between Klines Mill and Cougill Roads. The open character of the landscape along the Valley Pike, south of Middletown, as captured by the Biscoe brothers in 1884, is still evident. The heights above Cedar Creek, containing the entrenchments of the Union XIX Corps, is today forested, but was mostly open at the time of the battle. The large battlefield area situated to the south and east of the Valley Pike, and east of Cedar Creek, still reflects the mix of forested and open agricultural land illustrated by Hotchkiss in 1864.

As discussed, many roadways present at the time of the battle still exist within the landscape. Despite minor changes in alignment, this road system is remarkably similar to that depicted by Hotchkiss. The Valley Pike largely follows its historic alignment, with changes including a slight shift to the east at the Daniel Stickley

[304] Johnson, 382-91.

[305] Claire Metcalfe, Kimberly Tinkham, and Clarence R. Geier, *An Assessment of the Archaeological Components at Bowman's Fort or Harmony Hall*, 11.

Farm and the creation of a new access road, which runs to the south of the main road segment at this location. Perhaps the most visible modern alteration to the landscape is the presence of Interstates 81 and 66. Developed during the 1960s, I-81 runs to the east and south of the Valley Pike, parallel to its alignment. I-66 enters the NHL district at an interchange with I-81 located south of Middletown and east of the Valley Pike. The northern portion of Bowman's Mill Road, which extends from Long Meadow Road on the east to the site of the VIII Corps camps on the west, was not present at the time of the battle. The section of this road, however, that extends from the VIII Corps camps to the Bowman Mill complex on Cedar Creek existed in 1864 as an unimproved road.

Many of the dwellings annotated by Hotchkiss in 1864 still exist within the NHL district and exhibit fair to good integrity. Architectural resources that are no longer extant within the northern battlefield include the Benjamin Stickley, J. D. Tabler, and S. Perry dwellings. The dwelling annotated "Anderson" by Hotchkiss appears on current aerial imagery, but has not been assigned a VDHR resource number, and access to the property was not available at the time of the present survey. Dwellings illustrated by Hotchkiss within the southern portion of the battlefield that are no longer extant include two houses situated on Long Meadow Road labeled "Log House" and "J. Cooley."

The rural agricultural setting that characterizes the NHL district and enabled the battle is maintained by ongoing preservation and land conservation efforts, adding to the overall integrity of the district. Active efforts to preserve battlefield-associated open space is ongoing and includes 300 acres and the Heater House owned by Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation, 100 acres and Fort Bowman owned by Belle Grove, Inc., 283 acres and Belle Grove owned by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, 150 acres owned by Shenandoah County, and 940 acres owned by the Shenandoah Battlefield Foundation.[306] The American Battlefield Trust has been instrumental in purchasing land associated with the battle.

The integrity of the landscape, while able to convey the national significance of the NHL district, has been threatened in recent years by new residential and commercial development in the Middletown and Strasburg areas. A recently developed industrial/business park is sited on the east side of the Valley Pike, about a half mile southwest of Middletown, and consists of several large, low-rise buildings. The area between Cemetery Hill and Middletown has seen the development of townhouses and apartments in recent years. New residential development occurred south of Cougill Road along Meadow Trace Lane beginning in the 1990s. Other new development in the Middletown area includes Lord Fairfax Community College and the new Middletown Elementary School. On the northeast side of Strasburg, new commercial and residential development has occurred along the Valley Pike to the south of its junction with Interstate 81. A large-scale limestone quarry is located to the north and west of Belle Grove Plantation along Cedar Creek and Middle Marsh Brook. The quarry was established prior to World War II and was operated by the Strasburg Lime Co. until 1954, when that company was bought by the Chemstone Corporation.[307] The plant was modernized and expanded in 1965.[308]

[306] National Park Service, "Partners," Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, https://www.nps.gov/cebe/getinvolved/partners.htm (accessed September 10, 2023); Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation, "Cedar Creek Battlefield," Shenandoah Valley Battlefields National Historic District, https://www.shenandoahatwar.org/cedar-creek-battlefield (accessed September 10, 2023).

[307] "GOP Names A. R. Dunning to Oppose Rep. Harrison," *News Leader* (Staunton, VA), September 1, 1956, 9.

[308] "Strasburg Plant Plans Expansion," *News Leader* (Staunton, VA), July 1, 1965, 2.

The quarrying operation is largely obscured and occurring below ground level, although industrial structures at the quarries can be seen from various parts of the battlefield.[309]

Resource Descriptions

1. Cedar Creek Battlefield (VDHR 034-0303) (1 contributing site)

The Battle of Cedar Creek occurred across an agrarian landscape that today extends across portions of Frederick, Shenandoah, and Warren Counties. Natural landscape features largely influenced the course of action during the battle and the topography of the area exists much as it did in 1864. On the morning of the battle, the Union VIII Corps occupied a series of camps, south and east of the Valley Pike, along a chain of high ridgelines and upland meadows extending from just northeast of the Bowman-Hite Farmhouse to near present-day Claven Lane. These landforms average between 600-700 feet in elevation with steep wooded slopes. Within the southern portion of the district, strategic crossing points such as Bowman's Mill Ford facilitated the movement and massing of troops prior to the Confederate surprise attack on the morning of October 19, 1864.

The large expanse of battlefield in Frederick County that lies to the north and west of the Valley Pike, and east of Cedar Creek, is characterized by rolling farmland and wooded areas. South of Belle Grove Plantation, the steep slopes that descend to Cedar Creek provided a natural defensive barrier, and the Union XIX Corps positioned their campsites, fortified trenches, and artillery emplacements on the high ground above the creek. To the north of Belle Grove Plantation, the Union VI Corps formed a line of battle to repel the Confederate advance on a high plateau above Cedar Creek known as the Red Hills. Cemetery Hill, located just west of Middletown, served as a defensive position for the VI Corps, Second Division, as the unit attempted to stop the Confederate advance between approximately 9 and 10 a.m. on the morning of the battle. At the far northwestern corner of the battlefield, Cupp's Ford served as a strategic crossing point on Cedar Creek for both Confederate and Union cavalry units during the morning and afternoon phases of the engagement.

The following landscape elements constitute character-defining features of the contributing Cedar Creek Battlefield site, and were of military importance in dictating the events and outcome of the battle on October 19, 1864. Many of these landscape elements, such as Bowman's Mill Ford, also formed part of the cultural landscape that existed at the time of the battle. Several of these character-defining landscape features, such as Hupp's Hill, constitute contributing resources in their own right and receive further discussion subsequently under their own headings.

The Red Hills Plateau

This is a significant natural landform that was of strategic importance during the Battle of Cedar Creek. The Red Hills Plateau is located in Frederick County, to the north of the community of Meadow Mills on private property situated on the east side of Cedar Creek. This upland plateau extends across a large area north of Meadow Mills Road and is crossed by McCune Road. A series of high ridges, measuring approximately 650 to 700 feet in elevation, define the plateau to the south and west. During the early morning of October 19, the Union VI Corps were encamped on the Red Hills Plateau, as depicted on the 1864 Hotchkiss map of the battlefield. As the XIX Corps came under attack to the south of this position, the VI Corps broke camp and, at around 7 a.m., formed an arced line of battle on the heights of the plateau surrounding their camp. After coming under a fierce attack from Confederate forces commanded by Maj. Gen. John B. Gordon and Maj. Gen.

[309] Lowe, part 2, section 2.

Stephen D. Ramseur, The VI Corps were forced to abandon this position. The resistance staged from this position by the VI Corps helped maintain the cohesiveness of the Union army, allowing it to regroup for the afternoon counteroffensive.[310]

Hottle's Mill Ford

This strategic crossing point on Cedar Creek, near its confluence with Meadow Brook, is located in Frederick County, approximately 0.50 miles west of Belle Grove Plantation. Historically, the ford was associated with a mill complex operated by the Hottle family. During the battle, Union cavalry under Brig. Gen. George Custer crossed Cedar Creek at Hottle's Mill Ford at around 6:30 p.m., prior to launching an attack on Gordon's Confederate infantry.[311] The ford appears on both the 1864 Hotchkiss and 1873 Gillespie maps of the Cedar Creek battlefield.

Defensive Position of the XIX Corps

Located in Frederick County, to the northeast of Cedar Creek, on property owned by the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation and the National Trust for Historic Preservation, this is a southwest-trending ridge that parallels the historic alignment of the Valley Pike. On the morning of the battle, Brig. Gen. William Emory positioned elements of the Union XIX Corps along the southeast-facing slopes of the ridge to create a defensive line against advancing Confederate forces under Maj. Gen. Joseph B. Kershaw. The defensive line formed here allowed for the relatively safe withdrawal of what remained of the Union VIII Corps and the main body of the XIX Corps, who manned a line of entrenchments to the north of this position.[312]

Fort Bowman Ford

This is a major stream crossing on Cedar Creek, south of the Valley Pike, approximately 650 feet to the southeast of Fort Bowman. At the time of the Battle of Cedar Creek, the historic road that leads to Fort Bowman (sections of which are represented in present-day Fort Bowman Road) continued past the house and crossed Cedar Creek at the ford, before continuing uphill and connecting with Bowman's Mill Road at the Bowman-Hite Farm. The ford provided a route from the west to the fortified encampment of the Union VIII Corps on the high ridgeline east of the creek, and it was of strategic value during the Battle of Cedar Creek.[313]

Pennsylvania Light Artillery

This character-defining landscape element is located in Warren County, on property owned by the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation, and [redacted] Battery D of the 1st Pennsylvania Light Artillery was stationed on this upland knoll (approximately 630 feet in elevation), and it commanded a view of the land to the south and southwest, through which Kershaw's division of Confederates advanced on the morning of the battle. The battery was commanded by Capt. William Munk and consisted of six 10-pound artillery pieces. During the

310 Geier, *An Immense Lilac Hedge*, 166-69.
311 Mahr, 315-16.
312 Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment*, 278.
313 Ibid., 99.

ensuing early morning action, the position was overrun, and the battery was captured by Bryan's Brigade of Georgia infantry, commanded by Col. James P. Simms.[314]

Widow Bowman's Ford

This strategic crossing point on Cedar Creek is located approximately one-half mile to the southwest of Fort Bowman Ford. It was historically associated with Mount Pleasant, the early nineteenth-century plantation of Isaac Bowman. Mount Pleasant is accessed by Hite Road, which at the time of the Battle of Cedar Creek continued to the southeast through the property and across the creek at the ford, proceeding along the north bank of Cedar Creek to the Bowman's mill complex downstream. The ford likely served as the crossing point used by troops of the Union VIII Corps in advancing on Confederate artillery stationed to the west on Hupp's Hill on October 13, 1864, in action that occurred prior to the battle.[315]

Carter's (Wharton's) Artillery Position

This landscape element is located in Frederick County, on both sides of the Valley Pike, within the edge of an industrial park (south of the Pike) and on open pastureland owned by the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation (north of the Pike). The site is on the apex and slopes of a long northeast-trending upland ridge east of Meadow Brook. On the morning of the battle, Confederate artillery commanded by Col. Thomas H. Carter was stationed from this position and bombarded the Second Division of the Union VI Corps who had taken up a position on Cemetery Hill, across the Valley Pike to the north.[316]

Cemetery Hill

This knoll is located on private property in Frederick County, just west of Middletown. Cemetery Hill was the site of heavy fighting during the mid-morning phase of the battle. As Confederate forces pushed elements of the Union VI Corps to the north, towards Middletown, Brig. Gen. George W. Getty positioned three brigades of the VI Corps, Second Division atop Cemetery Hill. Getty's troops held this position for several hours until around 10 a.m., enduring Confederate artillery bombardment and infantry assaults.[317] The cemetery is now operated as Mt. Carmel Cemetery.

DuPont's Artillery Park

Located on private property in Warren County, southeast of the point where I-81 crosses Cedar Creek, this landscape feature was occupied by Capt. Henry A. DuPont's Union artillery brigades. Consisting of a high ridge to the northwest of the camps of the VIII Corps, First Division, the nearby bottomlands along Thoburn Run provided forage and water for horses and a location for DuPont's artillery camp, caissons, and wagons.[318]

DuPont's Artillery Position

This landscape element, located in Warren County on property owned by the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation, is situated [redacted] Union VIII Corps. [redacted]

314 Ibid., 124.
315 Ibid., 107-09.
316 Ibid., 356.
317 Whitehorne, *Self-Guided Tour: The Battle of Cedar Creek,* 51-54.
318 Geier, et al, *An Overview and Assessment,* 95-96.

Battery B of the 5th U.S. Artillery, part of the overall Union artillery associated with the VIII Corps and commanded by Capt. Henry A. DuPont, was located at this position. The site would have provided a clear field of fire on Confederate units crossing at either Bowman's Mill or the Widow Bowman's Fords.[319]

Bowman's Ford

Bowman's Ford is a historic crossing point on the North Fork of the Shenandoah River, approximately 1,000 feet to the southwest of Long Meadow Plantation. During the pre-dawn hours of October 19, 1864, a column of Confederate infantry under the command of Maj. Gen. John B. Gordon crossed at this point while maneuvering into position for an attack on Union camps located to the north. The ford was also likely used by the Hite and Bowman families who owned Long Meadow during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[320]

Bowman's Mill Ford

This historic and strategic ford is located at the point where Bowman's Mill Road crosses Cedar Creek. During the 1790s, Isaac Bowman developed a mill complex on Cedar Creek adjacent to the ford, and the road would have connected the mill with nearby Strasburg and the surrounding farms and plantations. The ford and mills are depicted on the 1864 Hotchkiss map of the battlefield. During the pre-dawn hours of October 19, 1864, Kershaw's Confederate division crossed Cedar Creek at the ford prior to launching an attack on the VIII Corps' campsites to the northeast. Bowman's Mill Road is still in use, and the original ford has been modified by the construction of a low-water cement crossing.[321]

McInturf's Ford

This historic ford, located approximately 0.50 miles upstream from Bowman's Ford, near the confluence of the North Fork and Cedar Creek, is depicted on the 1873 Gillespie map of the battlefield, although it is not believed to have been used during the battle. The ford is associated with the ruins of a historic farmstead (VDHR 44WR0487), located north of Long Meadow Road.[322]

Cupp's Ford

Cupp's Ford is located in a bend of Cedar Creek at the northwestern corner of the battlefield. At around 4:30 a.m. on the morning of the battle, Confederate cavalry under Maj. Gen. Thomas L. Rosser crossed Cedar Creek at Cupp's Ford and attacked Union cavalry units in a planned diversionary tactic. During the afternoon, at around 4 p.m., Rosser's cavalry withdrew through this area after coming under attack.[323] The ford is located near the historic farm and mill property Cedar Grove.

Signal Knob

Signal Knob (VDHR 44SH0355) is located in Shenandoah County, at the northern end of Massanutten Mountain. At approximately 2,000 feet in elevation, this position provides an unobstructed view of the surrounding area, and it served as a Confederate reconnaissance and signaling station during the Valley

[319] Ibid., 109-10.
[320] Ibid., 145.
[321] Ibid., 133-36.
[322] Ibid., 139-41; Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), Archaeological Site 44WR0487, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 4, 2019).
[323] Mahr, 324.

Campaign of 1864. On October 17, 1864, two days before the Battle of Cedar Creek, a small Confederate scouting party, led by Maj. Gen. John B. Gordon, ascended Signal Knob to observe the positions of the encamped Union army below. The reconnaissance obtained by Gordon was instrumental in shaping the direction of the subsequent Confederate battle plan. During the battle, on October 19, the signal station relayed information to Confederate commanders on the field regarding the position of Union cavalry and infantry forces.[324]

Hupp's Hill

Located on private property in Shenandoah County, just north of Strasburg on the Valley Pike, this was a location of strategic importance during the Valley Campaign of 1864 and the Battle of Cedar Creek. Prior to the battle, on October 13, Confederate Gen. Jubal Early positioned troops and artillery on Hupp's Hill and bombarded the camps of the Union XIX Corps south of Belle Grove. Two brigades of the Union VIII Corps moved across Cedar Creek to engage the Confederates on Hupp's Hill, resulting in 209 Union casualties. Afterward, Hupp's Hill served as a location from which Early's Confederates engaged in reconnaissance of the Union positions to the east and northeast. On the morning of the Battle of Cedar Creek, Wharton's division of Confederate infantry were staged on Hupp's Hill prior to advancing toward the Valley Pike bridge over Cedar Creek. During the evening, upon reaching Hupp's Hill, retreating Confederate units attempted one of several last-ditch efforts to push back pursuing Union cavalry.[325]

2. Dinges House (VDHR 034-0237) (1 contributing building)

The Dinges House property, also known as the Abel Tract, is located in Frederick County, just northeast of Middletown, and is owned by the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation. David Dinges Sr. arrived in the Middletown area in 1831 and purchased this property soon afterward. It remained in the Dinges family for over 100 years.[326] Today, the property is comprised of two separate parcels (62.55 and 2.01 acres) which are divided by a railroad right-of-way owned by the Baltimore & Ohio Railway. A section of Meadow Brook, a tributary of Cedar Creek, runs through the larger of the two parcels. The Dinges House was constructed during the first half of the nineteenth century. The Greek Revival-style dwelling consists of an original main block of log construction, with a frame south addition, and a rear two-story frame ell.[327] The dwelling has been modified over time (including the installation of vinyl siding, replacement windows and doors, rebuilt chimney flues, etc.) but retains its original form and some interior finishes. While access to the property was not available at the time of the present survey, the VDHR surveyed the property in 1989 and 2013. Resources documented during these visits include a large frame barn (date unknown), a frame tenant house (c. 1880), two smokehouses (dates unknown), and a frame privy (date unknown).[328] The main dwelling and an associated outbuilding, labeled "Wm. Dinges," appear on the 1864 Hotchkiss map.

It was on the Abel Tract, as well as neighboring farms, that Union commanders attempted to rally their forces and reorganize their lines for the afternoon counterattack during the Battle of Cedar Creek on October 19, 1864.

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[324]Mahr, 83-86, 272.

[325] Whitehorne, 4, 9-10, 21.

[326] Kalbian, *Frederick County, Virginia: History Through Architecture*, 226.

[327] Ibid., 226.

[328] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Abel Tract, Cedar Creek Battlefield," VDHR 034-0237, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

This historic property is significant for the military engagements and battle activity that occurred on it, and [redacted].[329]

3. Western View Farm (VDHR 034-0236) (1 contributing building)

Western View Farm is located in Frederick County, on private property, just west of Hites Road on Western View Lane. Constructed c. 1840, the main dwelling is a two-story, frame, three-bay, Greek Revival-style house with a standing-seam metal hipped roof. The house is built on a limestone foundation, is clad in wooden weatherboard siding, and features a pedimented Doric portico. The frame rear wing was originally located elsewhere on the farm and was moved to its present location.[330] While access to the property was not available, VDHR survey documentation compiled in 1989 notes a spring house, frame bank barn, and several frame sheds, but provides no date for these secondary resources.[331] During the Battle of Cedar Creek, elements of the Union XIX Corps and Custer's Union cavalry were positioned just to the south of the farm during the afternoon counteroffensive. The farm appears on both the 1864 Hotchkiss and 1873 Gillespie maps of the battlefield, labeled "Ms. McLeod" and "Mollie McCloud."

4. Old Forge Farm (NRIS 04000036, VDHR 034-0125) (2 contributing buildings, 8 noncontributing buildings, 1 noncontributing structure, 2 contributing sites, 2 noncontributing sites)

Old Forge Farm is a significant farm and industrial complex that was first occupied during the mid-eighteenth century. The privately owned, 29-acre property is located in Frederick County on Middle Road, to the east of Cedar Creek. The land was first granted to John Branson in 1739, and was owned by Lewis Stephens, the founder of Stephens City. Isaac Zane Jr. acquired the property in 1767 and operated a large iron works and mill complex. The iron works (VDHR 44FK0046 and 44FK0050) employed around 150 free and enslaved workers and exported finished products to Alexandria, Boston, London, Bristol, and Glasgow. Zane was a well-known local figure who served as justice of the peace for Frederick County and in the Virginia House of Burgesses. During the American Revolution, Zane converted the ironworks into a munitions factory.[332] The dwelling, forge, and mill complex are depicted on the 1873 Gillespie map of the Cedar Creek battlefield. During the battle, Union cavalry of the Third Division, Second Brigade, commanded by Col. William Wells, moved through the area around 3 p.m. in pursuit of Maj. Gen. Thomas L. Rosser's Confederate cavalry. Prior to the battle, Custer's Union cavalry was camped approximately 0.50 miles to the west of the property. Old Forge Farm was individually listed in the VLR and the NRHP in 2003 with a period of significance of 5,000 B.C.-1600 A.D. and c. 1750-1954.

4a. Main Dwelling (1 contributing building)

The main dwelling consists of a two-story, limestone, three-bay, main block with a side-gabled metal roof and brick exterior end chimneys; and a two-story frame side addition. The main block was constructed during the mid-eighteenth century and its centered entrance is sheltered by a hip-roofed portico with turned wooden columns. The main block was covered in stucco during the 1920s, and the addition, which was built during the

329 Ibid.

330 Kalbian, *Frederick County, Virginia: History Through Architecture*, 248.

331 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Western View Farm," VDHR 034-0236, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 2, 2019).

332 Kalbian, *Frederick County, Virginia: History Through Architecture*, 232.

early nineteenth century, is clad in wooden weatherboard siding. The dwelling's windows are two-over-two, double-hung, wood sash.[333]

Additional resources on the property include:

4b. a stone, eighteenth-century icehouse **(1 contributing building)**,

4c. a hammer mill constructed in 1932 **(1 noncontributing building)**,

4d. a c. 1920 frame shed **(1 noncontributing building)**,

4e. a frame privy, built c. 1900 **(1 noncontributing building)**,

4f. a c. 1900 root cellar **(1 noncontributing building)**,

4g. a large frame shed erected in 1983 **(1 noncontributing building)**,

4h-j. three additional frame sheds, all built after 1960 **(3 noncontributing buildings)**,

4k. the stone abutment of a covered bridge of unknown date that burned during the 1930s **(1 noncontributing structure)**,

4l and 4m. Zane's Furnace (VDHR 44FK0046) and Marlboro Iron Works (VDHR 44FK0050) (2 contributing sites)

These two early industrial sites (discussed in greater detail above) are associated with Old Forge Farm. [redacted]

4n. Cemetery at Old Forge Farm (VDHR 44FK0545) (1 noncontributing site)

A small mid-nineteenth century cemetery is located on the Old Forge Farm property. VDHR documentation is limited, and it appears that the site has not been formally surveyed or investigated.[334] Given the lack of available data regarding this resource, it does not appear, at this time, that the cemetery contributes to the national significance of the NHL district.

[redacted].[335]

5. Cedar Grove (VDHR 034-0189) (1 contributing building, 1 contributing site)

Cedar Grove is an historic residence and mill site in Frederick County on a 11.99-acre privately owned parcel situated in a bend of Cedar Creek at Cupp's Ford. Both Union and Confederate cavalry used the ford as a

[333] National Register of Historic Places, Old Forge Farm, Frederick County, Virginia, National Register #04000036, 7:1-5; Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Old Forge Farm," VDHR 034-0125, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 2, 2019).

[334] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44FK0545, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 30, 2019).

[335] National Register of Historic Places, Old Forge Farm, Frederick County, Virginia, National Register #04000036, 7:4.

crossing point during the battle, and these units would have likely passed in close proximity to Cedar Grove.[336] The property contains the following resources:

5a. Cedar Grove (1 contributing building)

Cedar Grove is a two-story, brick, Federal-style dwelling that was constructed during the mid-nineteenth century. The house has exterior brick end chimneys and is covered by a side-gabled, standing-seam metal roof. Windows are nine-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash. The house exhibits good integrity overall and occupies a prominent historical location at Cupp's Ford.

5b. Mill Ruins (1 contributing site)

Access to the property was not available at the time of survey, however VDHR documentation notes the presence of nineteenth-century mill ruins on the property. The dwelling, mill, and ford are depicted on the 1873 Gillespie map of the battlefield and the property is annotated "W. R. Kupp." After the war, the mill was owned and operated by M. P. and J. R. Smith.[337]

6. Log House at Smith Mill (VDHR 034-0200) (1 contributing building)

This early nineteenth-century log dwelling is located in Frederick County on a 44.62-acre privately-owned property that adjoins Cedar Grove (VDHR 034-0189) to the south. The two-story, side-gabled, log dwelling was constructed c. 1820. Built on a limestone foundation, the house features exterior stone end chimneys; a one-story, four-bay, frame porch; and six-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash windows. While access to the property was not available for survey, VDHR documentation notes the presence of a corncrib and kennel of unknown date.[338] The dwelling appears on the 1873 Gillespie map labeled "J. Bealer." Like Cedar Grove, the property is situated at Cupp's Ford and the log dwelling formed part of the cultural landscape at this location during the battle.

7. Cupp's Mill (VDHR 44FK0857) (1 contributing site)

This site is located in Frederick County, [redacted]. It was the site of a mill that was extant at the time of the Battle of Cedar Creek, and is situated near the strategic Cupp's Ford crossing point. VDHR surveyed the site from the road in 2017, and recorded a rectangular depression and limestone foundation remains.[339] [redacted]

336 Mahr, 324.

337 Kalbian, *Frederick County, Virginia: History Through Architecture*, 243; Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Cedar Grove," VDHR 034-0189, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 1, 2019).

338 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Log House at Smith Mill," VDHR 034-0200, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 30, 2019).

339 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44FK0857, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

8. Merritt's Camp (VDHR 44FK0770) (1 contributing site)

The site was investigated as part of a Phase I survey conducted by James Madison University (JMU) between 2008 and 2010, and underwent surface and subsurface testing. [redacted] The site is interpreted as being the encampments of the Union cavalry's First Division under the command of Brig. Gen. Wesley Merritt, and was occupied between October 13 and October 19, 1864. Two of the three documented areas are believed to have been used by the Reserve Brigade commanded by Col. Charles Russell Lowell and the Second Brigade under Col. Thomas Devin. The third camp site may represent the division headquarters.[340] [redacted]

9. Union Cavalry Encampment (VDHR 44FK0771) (1 contributing site)

Along with Merritt's Cavalry Camp (VDHR 44FK0770), this site was investigated as part of a Phase I survey conducted by JMU between 2008 and 2010, and underwent surface and subsurface testing. [redacted]

10. House, Route 634 (VDHR 034-0231) (1 contributing building)

This two-story frame dwelling is located in Frederick County, west of Middletown, on Cougill Road (Route 634), and occupies a 66.12-acre, privately owned parcel. Built c. 1840, the house consists of a main block and attached ell and is clad in wooden weatherboard siding, with a cross-gabled standing-seam metal roof pierced by a single interior brick chimney. A frame porch wraps around the ell. The dwelling's windows are six-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash. According to VDHR documentation, the house features jib doors under some of the first-story windows and side and transom lights around the main entrance.[342] This property is situated in an area of the northern battlefield that witnessed intense fighting during the mid-morning and afternoon phases of the battle.

11. Miller-Kendrick-Walter House (VDHR 034-0131) (1 contributing building, 2 contributing sites)

The Miller-Kendrick-Walter House is an early nineteenth-century dwelling located in Frederick County, north of Middletown, at the intersection of Cougill Road and Mineral Street. The main dwelling and associated outbuildings occupy a combined 8.9-acre property (Lots 122, 122A, and 122B). The property was conveyed to Abraham Kendricks in 1773, and at the time of the Battle of Cedar Creek it was the site of a thriving industrial complex. This complex included a grist mill on Meadow Brook, the ruins of which are located south of Mineral Street on Lot 122. During the battle, Confederate Gen. Stephen Dodson Ramseur was mortally wounded just to the south of this location.

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340 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Merritt's Camp," VDHR 44FK0770, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

341 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Union Cavalry Encampment," VDHR 44FK0771, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

342 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "House, Rt. 634," VDHR 034-0231, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 25, 2019).

11a. Miller-Kendrick-Walter House (1 contributing building)

The main house was built in phases, with the three south bays completed c. 1830 and the remainder of the main block and rear frame ell constructed soon afterward. The two-story, brick, rectangular-plan dwelling features a five-ranked façade and a side-gabled standing-seam metal roof with interior brick end chimneys. The dwelling is an example of the Greek Revival style and the centered primary entrance is sheltered by a tetrastyle, flat-roofed portico. Beneath the portico, the entrance is a single-leaf wooden door surmounted by a multi-light rectangular transom. A bracketed cornice with dentils extends across the façade at the roofline. The brickwork is laid in Flemish bond and the house has retained its original six-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash windows.[343] While access to the property was not available at the time of the present survey, VDHR documentation from 1989 recorded the presence of a large frame bank barn, root cellar, shed, corncrib, and miller's house, all believed to date to the antebellum period.[344] The main dwelling, miller's house, and grist mill all appear on the 1864 Hotchkiss map. Despite being in poor condition, the main house retains historic integrity to the period of significance and the property, a prominent feature within the 1864 landscape, was the site of fierce combat that marked the afternoon phase of the battle.

11b. Millbrook Mill (VDHR 44FK0713) (1 contributing site)

Located in Fredrick County, northwest of Middletown, this site is associated with the Miller-Kendrick-Walter House (VDHR 034-0131). The site was surveyed by VDHR in 2011. The ruins of the grist mill [redacted].[345]

11c. Miller's House (VDHR 44FK0818) (1 contributing site)

[redacted] VDHR surveyed the site in 2016, and recorded the presence of two partial brick walls and a chimney, in addition to wooden framing and roofing.[346] [redacted]

12. Thorndale Farm (NRIS 16000528, VDHR 034-0081) (2 contributing buildings, 2 noncontributing buildings, 1 contributing structure, 1 noncontributing structure)

Thorndale Farm is located in Frederick County on N. Buckton Road, just east of Interstate 81, approximately 2 miles northeast of Middletown. The dwelling and associated outbuildings occupy a 41.42-acre parcel.[347] Thorndale Farm was listed in the NRHP and the Virginia Landmarks Register in 2016, both for its architectural significance and for its important role during the Battle of Cedar Creek. Its National Register period of significance extends from 1790 to 1940. Thorndale Farm is the historic name of the property originally settled

[343] Kalbian, *Frederick County, Virginia: History Through Architecture*, 230-31.

[344] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Miller-Kendrick-Walter House," VDHR 034-0131, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

[345] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44FK0713, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

[346] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44FK0818, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

[347] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Larrick-Nixon House/Green Hill," VDHR 034-0081, accessed September 27, 2019).

in 1760 by Capt. John Larrick (1726-1782). In the recent past, it was sometimes mislabeled Green Hill Farm, which is the name of another nearby Larrick family property. John Larrick was a captain in the Frederick militia, serving from 1779 until 1782. Capt. Larrick received two separate grants from Lord Fairfax at different times in 1760. The exact date of the first grant, for the 400-acre tract on which Thorndale was built, is not known. The second, issued on August 9, 1760, was for 285 acres on which Capt. Larrick established Green Hill. His son George, who was already residing there at the time of his father's death, inherited the smaller 285-acre tract, while his son John Jr. inherited the larger 400-acre tract. Jacob Larrick, the son of George Larrick, served as a lieutenant in the Confederate army, and farmed the property all of his life. During the afternoon phase of the Battle of Cedar Creek, Union brigades under the command of Brig. Gen. Thomas C. Devin, Col. James H. Kidd, Col. Alpheus S. Moore, and Col. Charles R. Lowell occupied the farm and its vicinity. These units were supported by artillery batteries positioned on the west side of the farm. It was on or near this property that Lowell was mortally wounded during his heroic charge on Confederate positions along Reliance Road on the afternoon of October 19, one of the most immortalized moments of the Battle of Cedar Creek.[348] The dwelling appears on the 1864 Hotchkiss map of the battlefield, labeled "Mrs. Larrick," and on the Gillespie manuscript map of 1864, and as redrawn and printed in 1873. The dwelling is denoted as "Joseph Nixon" in the 1873 edition, unlike the map of 1864, which shows it as "Widow Larrick." Both names are correct for their times.

12a. The Larrick-Nixon House (1 contributing building)

The main dwelling at Thorndale Farm, known as the Larrick-Nixon House, consists of a two-story, frame, rectangular-plan, Greek Revival-style main block (c. 1830-1850) and a 1.5-story, log, rear ell (c. 1790), both on a limestone foundation. The five-bay, two-pile main block features brick end chimneys, laid in five-course common bond, and the rear ell contains a single interior brick chimney. Both the main block and rear ell are clad in aluminum siding and are covered by gabled standing-seam metal roofs. The façade of the main block faces east, and its centered entrance is surmounted by a three-light transom and sheltered by a pedimented, Greek Revival-style, Doric portico. The windows of the main block are original nine-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash, while the rear ell exhibits six-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash windows.[349]

While access to the site was not available at the time of survey, NRHP and VDHR documentation notes a number of secondary structures on the property. These include:

12b. a frame, gable-roofed c. 1840 smokehouse located to the rear of the main house **(1 contributing building)**,

12c. a large frame bank barn, located approximately 350 feet to the northeast of the main house. The barn was constructed c. 1870 on the foundation of an earlier barn that was destroyed by Union forces during the Valley campaign of 1864. Re-used framing members show evidence of charring **(1 noncontributing building)**,

12d. a frame shed dating to 1980 **(1 noncontributing building)**,

12e. a stone-lined well dating from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century **(1 contributing structure)**,

12f. a frame gazebo dating to 1980 **(1 noncontributing structure)**.[350]

[348] National Register of Historic Places, Thorndale Farm, Middletown, Frederick County, Virginia, National Register #16000528.
[349] Ibid.; Kalbian, *Frederick County, Virginia: History Through Architecture*, 271.
[350] VCRIS, “Larrick-Nixon House/Green Hill.”

13. St. Thomas Episcopal Church (NRIS 73002015, VDHR 260-5001) (1 contributing building)

St. Thomas Episcopal Church is located at 7854 Church Street in Middletown on a privately owned 0.25-acre lot. The church was listed in the NRHP and the VLR in 1973. It is also a contributing resource within the Middletown National Register Historic District. The 1973 National Register nomination cites architecture, religion, and local history as areas of significance. St. Thomas Episcopal Church was established in 1834 by a group of Episcopal parishioners in the Middletown area. The church was completed in 1837 and is a significant example of the early Gothic Revival style in Virginia. It is a three-bay, rectangular-plan building with a brick foundation and brick exterior walls clad in stucco. The church is covered by a metal gabled roof with tall, stepped brick parapets at the east and west elevations. A one-story, gabled brick apse built on a stone foundation extends from the east end of the church. A square-plan frame belfry with an octagonal-plan, pyramidal-roofed cupola rises behind the west parapet, and is a reconstruction of the original. The main entrance to the church is located in the west elevation within a lancet-arched recess and is a set of double-leaf, paneled wooden doors under a lancet-arched three-light transom with tracery. The side elevations are pierced by three paired, fifteen-over-fifteen, double-hung wood-sash windows on wooden sills. Each side elevation window is topped by a lancet-arched, three-light window head with tracery, and the windows feature wooden louvered shutters. National Register documentation states that during the Battle of Cedar Creek, the church was used as a stable by Union troops and as a Confederate hospital. The latter claim is supported by a 1915 oral history interview with an African American man who was an enslaved worker on a nearby farm at the time of the battle. He recalled that the church had been used as a hospital, and that the wounded who died there were temporarily placed in pine caskets that were stacked in the church yard before being transported elsewhere for burial. After the war, the federal government provided compensation to the congregation for damage done to the building during the battle, and the church reopened in 1867.[351]

14. House at 148 Minie Ball Court (1 contributing building)

This historic dwelling, constructed c. 1850, is located in Frederick County to the west of Middletown on a privately owned 8.25-acre parcel. The two-story, frame dwelling is built on a limestone foundation, is clad in wooden clapboard siding, and features a cross-gabled metal roof. A frame addition extends from the main block, creating a T-shaped plan. Access to the property was not available at the time of the survey, however Frederick County assessment records list secondary resources on the property that consist of three frame sheds, a barn, a "miscellaneous" building, and a garage (all of unknown date).[352] The house formed part of the cultural landscape at the time of the Battle of Cedar Creek and is annotated "Anderson" on the 1864 Hotchkiss map. It occupied a central position on the battlefield, just south of Cemetery Hill, that witnessed much fighting during the mid-morning phase of the battle.

15. Idlewild (VDHR 034-0223) (1 contributing building)

Located in Frederick County on Veterans Road, approximately 0.50 miles west of Middletown, Idlewild is an example of a mid-nineteenth-century dwelling with good integrity and is an architecturally significant resource that was present in the landscape at the time of the Battle of Cedar Creek. The primary resource on the 196.80-acre property is a two-story, frame, rectangular-plan, three-bay, one-pile I-house that was constructed c. 1840.

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[351] National Register of Historic Places, St. Thomas Episcopal Church, Middletown, Frederick County, Virginia, National Register # 73002015; Johnson, *Battleground Adventures,* 416.

[352] Frederick County, Virginia, Real Estate Property Card Lookup, https://taxes.co.frederick.va.us/applications/COR_ViewPropertyCards/View_Detail.aspx?mrecno=26928 (accessed October 16, 2019).

The house consists of a main block with attached rear ell under a cross-gabled standing-seam metal roof pierced by two interior brick chimneys. The dwelling is clad in wooden weatherboard siding and its windows are two-over-two, double-hung, wood-sash with wooden sills. A cornice with scrolled brackets extends across the façade, which faces southwest. A bracketed cornice embellishes the full-width frame porch. Access to this property was not available at the time of survey. VDHR documentation, compiled in 1989, identifies a barn, corncrib, and four sheds, all of unknown date.[353]

16. Solomon Heater House (VDHR 034-0082) (1 contributing building, 1 contributing site, 3 noncontributing sites)

The Solomon Heater House is located in Frederick County on the west side of the Valley Pike, approximately 0.50 miles east of Belle Grove Plantation on a 62.8-acre parcel owned by the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation. The dwelling is associated with a farmstead that was first established by the Hoge family during the eighteenth century. Construction of the house was begun by James Hoge as a log cabin during the 1790s. Sometime during the early nineteenth century, his son, Solomon Hoge, clad the dwelling in wooden clapboards and constructed a one-story side addition. Fighting occurred on the property during the battle of Cedar Creek when Confederate units attacked elements of the Union VI Corps on the morning of October 19, 1864. Solomon Heater of Loudoun County purchased the 324-acre plantation in 1846. Between 1860 and 1864, Heater expanded the plantation through the purchase of an additional 114 acres. The property remained in the Heater family until the early twentieth century.[354] The Solomon Heater farm is significant as an eighteenth-century vernacular dwelling and for the property's role during the Battle of Cedar Creek.

16a. Solomon Heater House (1 contributing building)

The Solomon Heater House is a 2.5-story, frame, rectangular-plan, side-gabled dwelling with a standing-seam metal roof with no overhang at the eaves. The three-bay, one-pile main block is constructed on a semi-coursed, rough-faced, limestone block foundation. A limestone interior chimney rises from the east end of the roof and a taller, exterior limestone chimney is located at the west elevation. The façade of the main block faces south, and its centered entrance is sheltered by a gabled portico supported by round wooden columns on a foundation that appears to be limestone block parged with cement. The north (rear) elevation also contains a centered, first-story entrance. All of the windows of the main block are currently boarded up, including the two small attic-level windows of the east elevation.

A one-story, three-bay, frame addition is constructed onto the west elevation of the main block, partially obscuring the exterior chimney. Like the main block, the addition is built on a foundation of semi-coursed limestone. A brick interior end chimney rises from the west end of the addition. The addition is pierced by two-over-two, double-hung, wood-sash windows on wood sills. Like the main block, centered entrances are placed within the south (front) and north (rear) elevations.

16b. Heater Farmstead (VDHR 44FK0509) (1 contributing site)

This site encompasses the core of the Heater Farmstead. The site was mapped and investigated by JMU in 1993. The investigation was limited to visual reconnaissance of the site and the mapping of features. [redacted]

[353] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "The Funk House/Idlewild," VDHR 034-0223, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

[354] Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment*, 349-50; Whitehorne, 20.

[redacted] The work clarified the location and orientation of support structures associated with the Heater Farm at the time of the Battle of Cedar Creek, and located the remains of a large agricultural building with raised earthen entrance, a springhouse, a limestone structure, and a possible dairy site.[355] [redacted]

16c. Unnamed Site (VDHR 44FK0508) (1 noncontributing site)

[redacted] The site was investigated in 1993 by JMU, [redacted]. These features were interpreted as likely dating to the late nineteenth or early twentieth century and do not contribute to the national significance of the NHL.[356]

16d. Heater Run Structure (VDHR 44FK0510) (1 noncontributing site)

This site is located northwest of the Heater dwelling in Frederick County, on the same parcel as the house. The site was investigated and mapped by JMU in 1993. [redacted] The historic component of the site is of unknown age and the principal investigator has referred to its significance as "uncertain" at this time.[357]

16e. Unnamed Site (VDHR 44FK0513) (1 noncontributing site)

[redacted][358] Based on these results, the site does not appear to hold the potential to yield information relevant to the national significance of the NHL district.

17. Ashby Tenancy (VDHR 44FK0511) (1 contributing site)

This site is located in Frederick County, within CEBE, [redacted]. The site was investigated by JMU in 1993. Based on the findings, it has been interpreted as possibly being the site of the dwelling of Alfred Ashby, a free black tenant farmer who worked for the Heater family during the nineteenth century. It could also be the site of an overseer's dwelling associated with the Baldwin ownership of the property (1819-1843). Recovered rose head nails and other domestic artifacts suggest occupancy during the early nineteenth century. [redacted]

355 Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment*, 353.
356 Ibid., 348.
357 Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment*, 346.
358 Ibid., 354.
359 Ibid., 338-39.

18. Belle Grove Plantation (VDHR 034-0002) (4 contributing buildings, 6 noncontributing buildings, 6 contributing sites, 2 noncontributing sites)

Summary

Belle Grove Plantation is situated west of the Valley Pike, on Virginia Route 727, approximately 1.25 miles southwest of Middletown in Frederick County. Currently, the plantation comprises 284.2 acres owned by the National Trust for Historic Preservation (283.42 acres) and Belle Grove, Inc. (0.78 acres). Belle Grove Plantation was listed in the NRHP and the VLR in 1969. Belle Grove occupies a rise east of the confluence of Cedar Creek and Meadow Brook in an agricultural setting of open fields and forested land. The plantation site, which originally consisted of 483 acres, was conveyed to Isaac Hite Jr. by his father Isaac Hite Sr. at the time of his marriage in 1783. The land formed part of the 140,000-acre land grant obtained by Isaac Hite Sr.'s father, Jost Hite, in 1731. The plantation was firmly established by the early nineteenth century, and was home to the Hite family, tenants, overseers, and a large enslaved population.[360]

Contributing resources at Belle Grove Plantation include the main manor house (1797, with attached wing c. 1820), the Plantation Office and Store (c. 1788), a limestone smokehouse (c. 1803-1836), and a stone and frame icehouse (c. 1803-1836). In addition, a contributing enslaved burial ground is located [redacted]. Noncontributing resources include a large stone and frame bank barn (c. 1918), a second frame barn (twentieth century), and four frame sheds (all twentieth century).

Approaching Belle Grove on Route 727 (Belle Grove Road), one first encounters the Plantation Office and Store on the east side of the road. Its façade faces southeast, and a small gravel parking area is situated in front of the building. Across Belle Grove Road, to the west of the Plantation Office and Store, is a twentieth century frame barn and equipment shed. Approximately 500 feet beyond the Plantation Office and Store, barn, and shed, Belle Grove Road passes a paved driveway that leads to the main house, where it terminates in an ellipse. The icehouse, smokehouse, c. 1918 bank barn, and three noncontributing sheds are located to the northwest of the house. Also located in this area are two gravel parking lots. The first is situated south of the c. 1918 bank barn, while the second is located to its north. These parking lots are connected to the main house by unpaved walkways. A small garden plot, enclosed by a wooden fence, is situated approximately 75 feet north of the house. [redacted]

Setting

The plantation landscape at Belle Grove began during the late eighteenth century and continued to develop throughout the early antebellum period. An earlier eighteenth-century stone dwelling, known as Old Hall, stood to the west of Belle Grove and remained on the site into the late nineteenth century.[361] [redacted][362] Slavery was integral to the formation of the plantation landscape at Belle Grove, and the landscape of enslavement was based on control, surveillance, and the desire among the enslaved to create a measure of privacy and dignity for themselves. Buildings at Belle Grove, such the Plantation Office and Store (c. 1788, VDHR 034-0213), were

[360] Lewes and Moore, 55-59.
[361] Geier, *An Immense Lilac Hedge*, 12.
[362] Personal communication, Matthew C. Greer, July 2020.

sited in order to allow for the surveillance of the enslaved quarter, [redacted]. Matthew C. Greer of Syracuse University has conducted Phase II archaeological investigations at the Belle Grove enslaved quarter (VDHR 44FK0520), which was occupied from c. 1800 to 1850. The quarter at Belle Grove was located relatively close to the main manor house, and Greer's work has suggested that it was spatially incorporated into the formal plantation landscape.[363] By the early nineteenth century, this landscape included extant support structures and buildings such as the smokehouse and icehouse, as well as an outdoor baking oven and stone dairy that have been identified archaeologically to the northwest of the manor house. A large platformed garden was located to the north of the manor house and was in use during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[364] Belle Grove transitioned from a plantation to a large working farm after the Civil War. During the twentieth century, new additions to the landscape included the noncontributing c. 1918 bank barn and several existing livestock and equipment sheds.

18a. Belle Grove Manor House (1 contributing building)

Exterior

The Belle Grove Manor forms the nucleus of the plantation. Construction of the main block of the house began in 1794 and was completed in 1797. Belle Grove is a landmark example of the Early Classical Revival style in Virginia.[365] The 1.5-story, rectangular-plan main block measures approximately 74 feet long by 40 feet wide. An attached one-story (plus basement), rectangular-plan wing, measuring approximately 52 feet long by 30 feet wide, was added to the west elevation and completed c. 1816-1820, and contextualizes stylistically with the main block. Despite the relatively small size of the house, Belle Grove conveys a strong visual presence within the landscape, and is classically sited in a broad open agricultural valley framed by mountains. Belle Grove is constructed of coursed New Market limestone ashlar, which is finely dressed on the façade, or south elevation, of both the main block and wing, and is quarry-faced on the side and rear elevations. The house rests on a raised basement and features a hipped roof. The roof is clad in slate shingles and exhibits a slight flare at the eaves. A narrow band of molded wooden trim forms a cornice that encircles all elevations of both the main block and wing. Four limestone ashlar interior chimneys pierce the main block, while two additional chimneys rise from the west wing. These chimneys terminate in two courses of corbelled ashlar masonry. Both the façade and north elevation of the main block feature centered entrances that are sheltered by pedimented, tetrastyle, Doric porticoes on stone foundations. Both porticoes feature wooden railings with turned wooden balusters. The porticoes are accessed from grade by sets of wooden steps that also have railings with turned wooden balusters and newel posts. Secondary entrances are located at the basement level of the west wing's north and west elevations. All of the windows of the main block, and the lower level windows of the wing, feature wood sills and jack-arched keystone lintels of Aquia sandstone. Most of these lintels have been whitewashed. In addition, the house exhibits sandstone quoining on the façade of the main block.

The façade of the main block is symmetrically divided into seven bays. At the basement level, two wooden, six-light, casement windows, set behind wooden outer louvers, are located to either side of the portico. The limestone portico foundation is pierced by a single window to either side of the front steps. A small, louvered,

[363] Greer, "Archaeological Investigation of Two Possible 19th Century Quarters Sites," 5; Matthew C. Greer, "Panopticism and the Practical Politics of Slavery in the Shenandoah Valley."

[364] Geier, *An Immense Lilac Hedge,* 12-17.

[365] Virginia McAlester and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 174.

single-leaf, wooden door on wrought-iron strap hinges is located in each of the side elevations of the portico foundation. The first story contains six nine-over-nine, double-hung, wood-sash windows. The portico shelters the three central bays, including the centered main entrance flanked by two of these windows. The entrance consists of a double-leaf six-paneled wooden door set behind a wide, single-leaf wooden outer storm door. The entrance surround is highly developed and includes fluted pilasters and a fanlight with a keystone embellished with pearl molding. The pilasters support an entablature that features a frieze band with triglyphs, regulae, and dentils. The portico's tympanum is finished in wooden weatherboard and is pierced by a single nine-light wooden casement window surmounted by a fanlight with keystone and impost blocks.

The façade of the west wing is divided into three basement-level and four first-story bays. Three six-light double casement windows are located at the basement level, while the first story is pierced by four nine-over-nine, double-hung, wood-sash windows. The three inner first-story bays formerly contained an open porch that was infilled with stucco on wood frame walls during the early twentieth century. The three windows in these bays feature jamb shafts and sit on a thin continuous wooden sill. The three stucco-clad bays are separated from the lower, limestone, basement-level wall surface by a wide zone of weatherboard.

The west elevation of the wing is divided into three basement-level and two first-story bays. A double-leaf, six-paneled wood door with a wooden architrave and limestone keystone lintel is situated in the southernmost basement-level bay. To the north of this door are two eight-light double casement windows. Above, two nine-over-nine, double-hung, wood-sash windows pierce the first story. The main block features a single west-elevation bay at its junction with the narrower west wing. This bay contains a single nine-over-nine, double-hung, wood-sash window at the first story.

The north elevation of the seven-bay main block exhibits the same pattern of window placement and detailing seen on the façade. The centered south elevation entrance, however, features a simple molded wooden surround and a sandstone jack-arched keystone lintel. In addition, a single bull's-eye window pierces the tympanum of the north portico.

The north elevation of the west wing contains three basement-level bays and four first-story bays. A single-leaf, four-paneled, two-light, wooden door occupies the westernmost basement-level bay. It is sheltered by a portico with a hipped roof supported by square wooden posts. The two bays to the east of this entrance feature six-light casement windows behind wooden louvers. At the first story are three nine-over-nine, double-hung, wood-sash windows and a smaller nine-light wooden casement window.

The east elevation of the main block is divided into two basement-level and three first-story bays. There are two windows at each story, and they are typical of those of the main block, with wooden sills and sandstone, jack-arched, keystone lintels. The six-light basement-level casement windows are covered by outer wooden louvers. Situated between the two first-story windows is a double-leaf six-paneled door that opens out onto a wrought-iron balconette supported by scrolled ornamental iron brackets. Surmounting the door is a transom with three-star-shaped panes divided by two vertical mullions. This style of transom window is also found on the interior of the house. It is a variation of a pattern that first appeared in the British Isles during the early Georgian period.[366] Above the door and transom window is a limestone, jack-arched, keystone lintel.

[366] Stephen Calloway, "Early Georgian," in *The Elements of Style: A Practical Encyclopedia of Interior Architectural Details from 1485 to the Present*, ed. Stephen Calloway and Elizabeth Cromley (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991), 77.

Interior

The interior of the main block has remained remarkably intact since its completion in 1797 and retains its original configuration of rooms and stylistic detailing. Belle Grove exhibits a cross-passage plan, with three large rooms situated to the north of the cross hall and four rooms symmetrically arranged to either side of the central entry hall. This layout was likely the result of Jefferson's influence on Belle Grove's design and is also found at Monticello.[367] Each of the seven first-floor rooms has a fireplace, which are placed so that they vent through the four interior chimney flues.

Belle Grove's interior spaces incorporate a high level of architectural sophistication, both for the era and the house's location in the Lower Shenandoah Valley, reflecting Isaac Hite's status as a wealthy landowner. A variety of crown molding, chair rail, wood wainscot, wood base, and stylized door and window casings are found throughout the first floor.[368] Doorways at the junction of the center and cross halls feature transom windows with star-shaped panes. These stylish transom lights also occur atop the doorways leading into each of the first floor's seven primary rooms. The windows in these rooms have deep jambs and sills to accommodate paneled wood interior shutters. Closets and built-in wall cabinets also feature paneled wooden doors. Richly ornamented mantels are found in each of the seven first-floor rooms, and vary in design, with typical Late Georgian and Federal elements such as fluted pilasters, scrolled brackets, dentils, and gougework. The dining room, parlor, library, and sitting room contain Georgian-style overmantels with central fielded panels. The parlor, in particular, exhibits the highest level of architectural detail, communicating strong neoclassical influences. This room has paneled wainscoting topped by chair rails with Greek key molding. The cornice incorporates dentils, modillions, and a bead and reel molding. Both the mantels and door surrounds feature pilasters with capitals ornamented with acanthus leaves, scrolls, and swags. In addition, the fireplace features a surround of streaked blue and white marble.

The west wing basement and attic have been renovated but retain original fabric. The wing contains five rooms along with a pantry and two bathrooms. Rooms in the wing have wood wainscoting, chair rail moldings, and molded door surrounds. Mantels feature pilasters and central raised panels with paterae. The basement has exposed limestone walls with brick and concrete floors and exposed wooden joists. In the attic, generations of visitors have signed their names on the walls. Some of these inscriptions include those left by soldiers during the Civil War.

Belle Grove is an example of a double-pile, cross-passage dwelling. The house features a center passage, common to most high-status dwellings of the period, which intersects with a cross passage that spans the width of the 1797 construction. The passage first appeared in Virginia during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. In contrast to the open-plan, two-room, hall and parlor dwelling, the passage restricted access to the more private spaces within the house. This innovation, particularly as it relates to the center passage, has been interpreted as a way in which eighteenth-century planters sought to distance themselves ceremonially from visitors situated outside of their social milieu. The passage served as an "instrument of control" used to maintain the social boundaries that separated the planter from his lesser associates. It also promoted ventilation and the center passage was in some cases used seasonally as a "summer hall," where occupants could be found dining or having tea to escape the heat. The cross-passage plan was a unique colonial adaptation to the climatic

[367] Browne, et al., *Belle Grove: An Historic Structure Report*, 101.
[368] Ibid., 101.

conditions of Virginia, and it provided cross ventilation throughout the building, which would have been particularly pleasant during the fall and spring.[369]

With the advent of the eighteenth century came dramatic changes in colonial architecture and building. Both public and domestic architecture increasingly expressed a growing acceptance of Renaissance ideas, giving rise to the Georgian style. In contrast to buildings of the previous century, the Georgian style featured greater exterior stylistic embellishment loosely based on classical precedents, seen in symmetrical elevations, refined door surrounds—often with pediments and fanlights, keystone lintels, cornices, and quoining. In the colonies, these elements were often applied nonacademically by builders, who would mix elements to suit the tastes of their clients. On the interior of houses, rooms assumed a greater functional specialization. As personal and public interactions became more refined and dictated by class and status, there was a greater tendency to sequester domestic or service activities into discrete locations away from new entertaining spaces such as dining rooms, drawing rooms, and libraries. These rooms received greater stylistic detailing, such as paneled wainscoting, mantels, and built-in cabinets to house expensive china and glass.[370]

Coinciding with the Georgian tradition, a more urbane, academic application of classical elements, known as Palladianism, emerged first in Britain and later in colonial America. During the sixteenth century, Venetian architect Andrea Palladio revived the symmetry and formal ordering of elements that had defined classical Greek and Roman architecture. Palladianism was first introduced in England during the seventeenth century through the efforts of Inigo Jones and others. By the early eighteenth century, Palladianism had gained popularity in England, partly as a result of the patronage of Lord Burlington, who enabled the publication of a complete edition of Palladio's works in 1715.[371]

Knowledge of Palladianism was transmitted across the Atlantic largely through architectural publications and after the Revolution men such as Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Latrobe, Robert Mills, and William Nichols sought to advance architecture and building to a higher level of refinement. Thomas Jefferson was one of the foremost practitioners of Palladianism in America, and he owned and consulted works such as Giacomo Leoni's *Architecture of A. Palladio* (1721) and Fréart de Chambray's *Parallèle de l'architecture* (1766).[372]

While Belle Grove is not an example of academic Palladianism, the house nevertheless incorporates high style Palladian elements. Jefferson provided architectural advice to several of his friends and associates, and the degree to which it was followed varied. In a 1931 letter written to Francis Hunnewell, who owned Belle Grove from 1929 to 1964, noted architectural historian Fiske Kimball was ambivalent, stating that:

> The design of your house (the main portion with the large portico) is not entirely un-Jeffersonian: The fact that it consists of one story above a basement with a portico raised through the height of the principal story is in the Jeffersonian tradition…It is a little unusual, however, in

[369] William M. S. Rasmussen, "Drafting the Plans: Pride and Practicality in Virginia's Colonial Architecture, 1715-1770," in *The Making of Virginia Architecture,* eds. Charles E. Brownell, et al (Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), 20; Mark R. Wenger, "The Central Passage in Virginia: Evolution of an Eighteenth-Century Living Space," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, II*, ed. Camille Wells (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), 137-39.

[370] Carl R. Lounsbury, *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), xi-xiii.

[371] Charles E. Brownell, "Laying the Groundwork: The Classical Tradition and Virginia Architecture, 1770-1870," in *The Making of Virginia Architecture,* eds. Charles E. Brownell, et al (Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), 35-39; Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (1922; repr., Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2001), 58.

[372] Lounsbury, xiii; Brownell, 36, 46-48.

> Jefferson's designs to have more than one window to the left or right of the portico…Then in the details of your house, such as the quoins at the corners and the key blocks of the windows, there are features which are not characteristic of Jefferson.[373]

While it is unknown whether Jefferson provided Bond with architectural drawings at the time of his visit, Belle Grove's cross-passage plan presents a similar room layout and distribution of space to that of Monticello. In addition, it appears that Bond, possibly on advice from Jefferson, drew on published pattern books of the period for some of the house's classical detailing. Architectural historian Calder Loth has identified Plate XXX from *Pain's British Palladio* (1786), by English author William Pain, as the inspiration for the doorways at Belle Grove, while the mantel in Belle Grove's parlor features pilasters based on Plate X.[374]

The second phase of Palladianism in America was contemporary with the emergence of the Neoclassical Movement, which was promoted in Britain by Robert Adam and others. Neoclassicism exerted a strong influence on American architecture after 1790 and certain aspects of Belle Grove's design exhibit a lightness and delicacy, typical of the Adam style, that stands in contrast to the earlier generation of Georgian estate houses such as Stratford Hall, constructed in Westmoreland County in 1738 for the Lee family.[375]

Alterations

While Belle Grove has remained largely intact, the house has undergone alterations occurring both within and outside the period of significance. Analysis of tax records suggest that the west wing was completed sometime between 1816 and 1820. Until the twentieth century, it was detached from the main block of the house by approximately 25 inches. Early photographs indicate that the wing originally had a hipped roof on the west side and a gabled end on the east side, separate from the main block. The roof sheltered a recessed open porch that was located at the southeast corner of the building. The main block originally featured six-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash windows.[376] An 1888 drawing of the house included in the published memoirs of Union Gen. Philip H. Sheridan shows four-over-four, double-hung, sash windows with louvered wooden shutters on the first story of the main block.[377]

The Brumback family owned Belle Grove from 1907 until 1929. It was during this period that the roof was covered in slate shingles and the west wing was connected to the main house. Herbert J. Brumback operated Belle Grove as an inn between 1919 and 1929. Guests stayed and dined in the rooms of the main block, while the Brumback family used the west wing for their personal living quarters and the inn's kitchen facilities. Brumback enclosed the porch at the southeast corner of the west wing and added an uncovered platform and steps leading west down to grade along the south wall.[378]

Francis W. Hunnewell purchased Belle Grove in 1929 and undertook an extensive restoration of the house, which was directed by Washington, DC architect Horace Peaslee. In addition to functional changes, such as a new stair and bathrooms in the west wing, Peaslee conducted subtle exterior alterations. He replaced the

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373 Fiske Kimball to Francis Hunnewell, December 17, 1931, Box 8, Folder 9, Belle Grove Collection, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives Room, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, Virginia.

374 Browne et al., 15-16.

375 Brownell, 36-37.

376 Browne et al., 25.

377 Philip Henry Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs of P. H. Sheridan* (New York: Charles L. Webster, 1888), 278.

378 Browne et al., 48.

infilled south wall of the west wing and added the wrought-iron balcony on the east elevation. Peaslee also replaced all of Belle Grove's windows, with six-over-six, double-hung, wood sash windows on the first story of the main block to match the originals, and new basement-level windows. Peaslee also added a new six-light double casement window at the basement level of the west wing's west elevation. Changes to the porticoes included enclosing the space beneath them with coursed limestone, adding a wooden architrave at the base of the entablature, and lowering of the original bull's eye window in the south pediment. Peaslee also replaced the stairs and railing of both the north and south porticoes. On the interior, Peaslee stripped the paint from most woodwork in the main block. The woodwork has since been repainted.[379]

These various alterations over the years have not affected Belle Grove's overall integrity, which remains strong in the areas of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The house has historically formed the center of a working plantation, and the introduction of noncontributing agricultural outbuildings on the property during the twentieth century has not negatively impacted the integrity of the landscape. Belle Grove is one of the most significant eighteenth-century houses in the Shenandoah Valley, and exists in a high state of preservation, enabling it to effectively convey its historical and architectural associations.

18b. The Plantation Office and Store (previously known as the Overseer's Cottage) (1 contributing building)

The Plantation Office and Store was constructed c. 1788, based on dendrochronological testing conducted in 2016.[380] Recent architectural analysis of the building has suggested that it functioned as a plantation office and store, and its interior layout, which consists of one heated and one unheated room, bears similarities to other such structures in Virginia.[381] Archaeologist Matthew C. Greer of Syracuse University has observed that the building's location within the plantation landscape facilitated the surveillance of the nearby enslaved quarter to the north (of which only archaeological evidence remains).[382] The building also functioned as a dwelling for farm managers or tenant farmers, particularly after 1860.[383]

The Plantation Office and Store is a 1.5-story, rectangular-plan, one-pile building constructed of semi-coursed limestone. It has a side-gabled, overhanging roof covered in wooden shingles and an exterior limestone end chimney at the east elevation. A molded wooden cornice extends along the façade and north elevation at the roofline, and partially returns onto the side elevations, where it joins with the raking cornice. The four-bay façade faces south and contains the two primary entrances. Both entrances are single-leaf wooden battened doors with long wrought-iron strap hinges and iron door handles. These entrances feature thick wooden architraves and flat wooden thresholds. The doors open onto a small rectangular, uncovered, limestone patio that was added as part of a twentieth-century renovation. All of the dwelling's doors and windows feature soldier-coursed, jack-arched, keystone lintels composed of narrow limestone blocks. All first-story windows are six-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash on wooden sills. In addition to the two entrances, the façade contains two windows in the outer bays. Three additional first-story windows are located in the north, or rear, elevation, along with two eight-light wooden casement windows at the basement level. The west elevation of the dwelling

379 Ibid., 55.
380 Oxford Dendrochronology Laboratory, "The Tree-Ring Dating of the Overseer's House."
381 Gabrielle M. Lanier and Phoebe G. Harding, *Belle Grove Plantation Overseer's House,* vi, 47.
382 Matthew C. Greer, "Panopticism and the Practical Politics of Slavery in the Shenandoah Valley."
383 Personal communication, Kristin Laise, Executive Director, Belle Grove Plantation.

contains a single-leaf, wooden, battened door at the basement level and a small six-light wooden casement window in the gable.

Alterations to the Plantation Office and Store include the replacement of the dwelling's front doors and some surrounds. The west-elevation basement door is also a modern replacement. The double-hung, wood-sash windows are replacements, although the window architraves are original. Some of the keystone lintels have been repaired or reworked and the lintel over the west basement entrance was added sometime during the twentieth century. A frame addition, which once extended from a portion of the south elevation, has been removed. The interior of the house has been gutted and renovated to provide a modern living space. The two front dormers were also added at this time.[384] Despite these changes, the Plantation Office and Store has retained sufficient integrity to convey its significance and its early building form and limestone construction complement the main manor house.

18c. The Icehouse (1 contributing building)

The icehouse extends 18 feet below the ground surface and includes an interior circular, stone-lined shaft that measures 12 feet in diameter. At the surface, a log framework supports a pitched-roof, wooden, A-frame structure that opens to the north. The roof is covered in wood shingles and a small door on iron strap hinges provides access to the interior of the icehouse.[385]

18d. The Smokehouse (1 contributing building)

The smokehouse is a 15-foot-square building of semi-coursed limestone with a gabled roof covered in wood shingles. Narrow ventilation slits are located in the stonework of the north and south gables. The entrance to the smokehouse is in the north elevation and is a heavily constructed, single-leaf, wooden battened door. The entrance is sheltered by a wooden, open-sided shed that wraps the north and west elevations of the building. This shed was added during the twentieth century and it housed a blacksmith shop during this period. There is evidence that the smokehouse also served as "meat house," or a place to hang preserved meat that was smoked elsewhere.[386]

18e-h. Sheds (4 noncontributing buildings)

Four sheds are located on the Belle Grove property and all date to the twentieth century. Two of these are located a short distance to the north of the smokehouse. The first functioned as a chicken coop while the other served as a hog shed. The chicken coop is a small frame building with a corrugated metal shed roof. The hog shed consists of a gabled, frame building with attached frame, semi-enclosed sheds covered by corrugated metal roofs. A frame equipment shed with a corrugated metal roof is located to the north of the c. 1918 bank barn. The fourth shed is located on the west side of Belle Grove Road. It is of concrete block construction with a metal gabled roof.

18i. Bank Barn (1 noncontributing building)

A large bank barn is situated to the northwest of the manor house. Constructed by the Brumback family c. 1918, it is a frame, rectangular-plan building with a concrete foundation and a standing-seam metal gambrel

[384] Lanier and Harding, 3.
[385] Geier, *An Immense Lilac Hedge*, 20.
[386] Personal communication, Kristin Laise, Executive Director, Belle Grove Plantation.

roof. An associated metal silo on a concrete pad stands to the northwest of the barn. The barn is clad in narrow wood clapboards and the narrow window openings are covered by wooden louvers. Large wooden sliding doors are located in the north and south elevations. The north sliding door is accessed by an earthen ramp supported on each side by limestone rubble retaining walls. The ground floor of this barn has been adaptively reused and currently functions as an interpretive center with gift shop, restrooms, meeting room, and lift.

18j. Barn (1 noncontributing building)

A second twentieth-century barn is located to the west of Belle Grove Road. The frame building is clad in wood clapboards and is covered by a standing-seam metal gambrel roof with flared eaves. The north elevation of the barn contains a large sliding wooden door to accommodate trucks and other farm equipment, as well as a smaller pedestrian entrance. A shed-roofed frame ell extends from the west elevation of the barn.

18k. Belle Grove (VDHR 44FK0016) (1 contributing site)

This 1.33-acre site covers the historic core of Belle Grove Plantation, including the main manor house and portions of the driveway and surrounding yard. Archaeological investigations conducted in 1972-1973 and 1974-1976 by Belle Grove, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and Lord Fairfax Community College contributed information regarding structures associated with the initial period of plantation occupation. These investigations located the foundations of an outdoor baking oven and the interior hearth of a possible smokehouse or dairy. The excavations also revealed the foundations of the eighteenth-century dwelling, known as Old Hall, that predated the main manor house. [redacted] In 1993-1994, the National Trust for Historic Preservation Archaeological Field School and James Madison University (JMU) carried out a program of systematic shovel testing across the grounds of 44FK0016. [redacted] The 1993-1994 investigations also located evidence of one previously unrecorded structure [redacted]

18l. Belle Grove Plantation Office and Store (VDHR 44FK0502) (1 contributing site)

This archaeological site was first identified during investigations conducted at Belle Grove in 1993 by JMU. [redacted] In 2005, JMU undertook test excavations in order to ascertain the integrity of the landscape surrounding the building. [redacted][89] This site has the potential to provide important data regarding the occupation

[387] Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment*, 152-53, 210-34.

[388] Matthew C. Greer, "Summary of Archaeological Investigations at the Belle Grove Plantation and Surrounding Properties, Fredrick County, Virginia," unpublished report, Belle Grove, Inc., Middletown, VA, February 2014.

[389] Greer, "Summary of Archaeological Investigations," 6, 13-14.

and use of the Plantation Office and Store during the Hite period. This site was previously known as the Overseer's Cottage.

18m. Belle Grove Enslaved Quarter (VDHR 44FK0520) (1 contributing site)

During the 1993-1994 excavations, JMU identified two possible nineteenth-century enslaved quarters (sites 44FK520 and 44FK521), [redacted]. Archaeological investigations conducted between 2015 and 2019 by Matthew C. Greer of Syracuse University attempted to explore these sites further. During Phase II, Greer confirmed that the first of these (44FK520), a 1.42-acre site, was likely occupied from c. 1800 into the 1850s. Artifact distribution suggests three to five possible house yard complexes.[390] Between 2017 and 2019, additional Phase III data recovery investigations were conducted on one of these house sites in order to gain more insight on the day-to-day lives of the enslaved people at Belle Grove and to explore how they may have affected the region's development. Interpretations will be drawn from an analysis of the landscape, consumption practices, and the labor that the enslaved undertook for the Hites as well as for themselves, in particular, growing and raising their own food. [redacted] two of which were used by the enslaved for cooking. The placement of these fire pits, which positioned them out of the direct line of sight from the Plantation Office and Store, reveals how those enslaved at Belle Grove were able to create some privacy for themselves. Investigations also revealed that the log cabin at 44FK520, which caught fire in the late 1840s, did not sit on a foundation and was likely built on footings. Final documentation of these excavations is forthcoming.[391] The fieldwork at 44FK0520 has demonstrated that this site is of high significance, and it has yielded data that is important to the study of enslavement in the Shenandoah Valley as well as the domestic organization, lifestyles, and foodways of the Belle Grove's enslaved population.

18n. Potential Blacksmith Complex (VDHR 44FK0522) (1 contributing site)

A program of archaeological testing was carried out in 2000 by JMU at site 44FK0522 to explore what was at the time believed to be the stable complex at Belle Grove.[392] The study analyzed patterns of land use for the area northwest of the manor house and located evidence of five structures, including one dwelling, and associated landscape features.[393] It is now thought to be a work space with a single dwelling occupied by an enslaved person or household, possibly the blacksmith.[394] The site holds the potential to produce data on the plantation complex during the late eighteenth century and antebellum period.

18o. Enslaved Burial Ground (1 contributing site)

Oral and family history from the Brumback era maintains that an enslaved burial ground exists in [redacted]

[390] Greer, "Archaeological Investigation of Two Possible 19th Century Quarters Sites," 1-2, 12.

[391] Matthew C. Greer, personal communication, August 2019.

[392] Clarence R. Geier and Jennifer Zienty, *An Archaeological Assessment of the Proposed Belle Grove Stable Complex Site (44FK522).* Unpublished Report (Harrisonburg, VA: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, James Madison University, 2001).

[393] As summarized in: Greer, "Summary of Archaeological Investigations," 6.

[394] Personal Communication, Clarence R. Geier to Matthew C. Greer as cited in: Greer, "Summary of Archaeological Investigations," 6 and 44

[redacted][395] This is a significant site relative to our understanding of burial practices among the enslaved at Belle Grove, and forms an important part of the plantation landscape.

18p. Belle Grove Barn Complex (VDHR 44FK0521) (1 contributing site)

This site was one of two identified by JMU during the 1993-1994 investigations at Belle Grove. The limited materials recovered suggested that the site was that of a barn or other agricultural outbuilding. Testing in 2015 by Matthew C. Greer of Syracuse University failed to identify the presence of these buildings, which were reportedly removed during the 1920s.[396] [redacted]

18q. Belle Grove Dependency (VDHR 44FK0609) (1 noncontributing site)

Located in Frederick County, [redacted] this site was investigated by JMU in 2002-2003. The site consists of two stone surface features: a chimney hearth of cut limestone blocks, and the possible foundation of a structure. The site is of unknown date, and according to the principal investigator, the "historical significance of this site is uncertain."[398] At present, pending future investigation, the site has not demonstrated the potential to yield information relevant to the national significance of the NHL district.

18r. Unnamed Site (VDHR 44FK0503) (1 noncontributing site)

This site is located in Frederick County on property owned by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. [redacted], it was identified by JMU in 1993. [redacted].[399] Based on these results, the site does not appear to hold the potential to yield information relevant to the national significance of the NHL district.

19. Spiggle House (VDHR 034-0215) (1 contributing building)

Spiggle House is one of the most prominent architectural resources in the small community of Meadow Mills. Located in Frederick County on the east side of Route 727 (Belle Grove Lane), just north of its intersection with Route 624 (Meadow Mills Road), the house and associated outbuildings occupy a 92.25-acre parcel of open agricultural land. During the Battle of Cedar Creek, the Union VI Corps camped on the property, and the dwelling, along with an associated outbuilding, is annotated "D. Ritenour," on the 1864 Hotchkiss map of the battlefield. The house was initially constructed during the mid-nineteenth century as a frame vernacular I-house

395 Michelle G. Proulx, Reagan A. Cronin, and R. Shane McGary, "A Ground Penetrating Radar Survey of Belle Grove Cemetery," undated and unpublished document, Belle Grove, Inc., Middletown, VA.

396 Greer, "Archaeological Investigation of Two Possible 19th Century Quarters Sites," 2.

397 Matthew C. Greer, personal communication, July 2020.

398 Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment*, 260-67.

399 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44FK0503, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 30, 2019).

with rear ell. During the late nineteenth century, it was remodeled with the addition of a bay window and a Colonial Revival-style porch that wraps the south and east elevations.[400] The Spiggle House is clad in wooden clapboard siding and features a cross-gabled, standing-seam metal roof. Windows are two-over-two, double-hung, wood-sash with wooden sills, lintels, and louvered shutters. Access to the property was limited to a windshield survey, but in 1989 VDHR documented a corncrib, chicken house, detached kitchen, three barns, and several sheds supposedly dating to the antebellum period.[401] Spiggle House formed part of the cultural landscape at the time of the battle and the property is additionally significant as the site of a Union campsite.

20. Matthews Mill Road (VDHR 44FK0777) (1 contributing site)

Matthews Mill Road is an earthen, linear road trace that is located in Frederick County, just north of the community of Meadow Mills. The existing trace extends for approximately 1,500 feet, on a southeast-to-northwest alignment, beyond the end of Belle Grove Road at Spiggle House (VDHR 034-0215). The road bed averages from 12 to 18 feet in width and approximately 2.5 feet in depth. The northern half of the road has been destroyed by modern limestone quarrying, but it originally extended beyond Middle Marsh Brook and joined with a road that provided access to Matthews Mill on Cedar Creek. The road likely dates to the early nineteenth century.[402] The Union VI Corps were encamped to the north of the road and Confederate forces formed a line of battle along it during their assault on the VI Corps position on the morning of October 19, 1864. The road appears on the 1864 Hotchkiss map and would have been a prominent landscape feature on the Cedar Creek battlefield. It is therefore significant within the contexts of the battle and the development of the cultural landscape during the antebellum period.

21. Earthworks (VDHR 44FK0773) (1 contributing site)

These earthworks are located in Frederick County, [redacted]. It was surveyed by JMU as part of a widespread 2008-2010 Phase I survey. [redacted] It is probable that the site was part of a complex of military earthworks designed to control the use of the Cedar Creek crossings. The XIX Corps took up the defensive perimeter of this complex, in order to secure the right or northern flank of the large Union encampment south of Meadow Brook and Belle Grove. [redacted].[403] This earthworks site contributes to the national significance of the battlefield landscape and adds to the understanding of Union fortifications erected during the Battle of Cedar Creek.

22. Rifle Pits (VDHR 44FK0774) (1 contributing site)

This military site is located in Frederick County, [redacted]. It was surveyed by JMU as part of a widespread 2008-2010 Phase I survey. [redacted] This earthwork is

[400] Kalbian, *Frederick County, Virginia: History Through Architecture*, 247.

[401] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Spiggle House," VDHR 034-0215, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

[402] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Matthews Mill Road," VDHR 034-5196, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 30, 2019).

[403] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44FK0773, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

consistent with a line of defenses placed to secure Union XIX Corps control of crossing points over Cedar Creek.[404] Like the [redacted], the site is of importance in that it adds to the understanding of Union strategy and fortifications during the Battle of Cedar Creek.

23. Hottle's Mill (VDHR 44FK0714) (1 contributing site)

This is the site of a nineteenth-century mill that was present at the time of the Battle of Cedar Creek. It is located in Frederick County, [redacted].[405] This site holds the potential to yield important information regarding milling in the region during the mid-nineteenth century and is a significant site associated with the contexts of economic development and industry within the NHL district.

24. Taft's Battery, 5th New York Light Artillery (VDHR 44FK0516) (1 contributing site)

During the Battle of Cedar Creek, this artillery position was held by the 5th New York Light Artillery commanded by Capt. Elijah D. Taft. [redacted]

25. Unnamed Farmstead (VDHR 44FK0610) (1 contributing site)

[redacted] Investigated by JMU in 2003, the site is believed to be the location of a farmstead depicted on the 1864 Hotchkiss map of the Cedar Creek battlefield. [redacted]

404 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Rifle Pits," VDHR 44FK0774, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

405 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Hottle's Mill," VDHR 44FK0713, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

406 Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment*, 201-05.

[redacted][407]

26. XIX Corps Entrenchments (VDHR 44FK0517) (1 contributing site)

This line of defensive trenches was constructed by the Union XIX Corps and [redacted]. On the morning of October 19, 1864, Gordon's Confederate infantry attacked the entrenchments in a flanking maneuver, causing the XIX Corps to abandon the position. [redacted] This section of the line was held by Union infantry of the XIX Corps under Col. Edward L. Molineaux during the battle. [redacted].[408]

27. Earthworks (VDHR 44FK0737) (1 contributing site)

[redacted] contributes to the understanding of Union artillery and troop positions during the battle.

28. Flying "V" Earthworks (VDHR 44FK0608) (1 contributing site)

[redacted][410] These types of earthworks were often constructed in front of an artillery emplacement to provide protection for the

[407] Ibid., 235-38.
[408] Ibid., 257-60.
[409] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44FK0737, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).
[410] Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment*, 274.

crew and gun.[411] The site is a significant component within the military landscape and has provided data on Union earthworks during the battle.

29. Battle Position, 11th Indiana Infantry (VDHR 44FK0518) (1 contributing site)

[redacted] This site is significant as a surviving landscape feature that was used by Union forces during the battle.

30. Claytor Property Project Area (VDHR 44FK0809) (1 contributing site)

[redacted]

31. Vermont Monument Property (VDHR 44FK0060) (1 contributing site)

The Vermont Monument Property is located on National Park Service land in Frederick County, [redacted] On the morning of the battle, as the Union VIII Corps were retreating from a coordinated, pre-dawn Confederate attack, Emory sent the Second Brigade of the XIX Corps' First Division across the Valley Pike to deter the Confederate advance. During the intense engagement that ensued, elements of the Second Brigade, most notably the 8th Vermont Infantry, became trapped in this ravine and suffered heavy casualties as they were surrounded by Confederate forces.[414] [redacted][415]

411 National Register of Historic Places, Multiple Property Documentation Form, The Civil War in Virginia, 1861-1865, National Register # 64500680, F-110.

412 Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment*, 275-76.

413 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Claytor Property Project Area," VDHR 44FK0809, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

414 Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment*, 74-75.

415 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Vermont Monument Property, CEBE," VDHR 44FK0060, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 30, 2019).

32. Hayes Camp (VDHR 44FK0868) (1 contributing site)

The Second Division of the Union VIII Corps, commanded by Col. Rutherford B. Hayes, [redacted] In addition to its role as a campsite, fighting occurred at this location on the morning of the battle when Hayes's Second Division, and the nearby encampment of Col. J. Howard Kitching's Provisional Division, were attacked by a Confederate force led by Gordon. [redacted][416]

33. Old Valley Pike Abutments (VDHR 034-5301) (1 contributing structure)

The abutments of a historic, now-demolished, bridge that carried the old Valley Pike across Cedar Creek are located approximately 2.5 miles south of Middletown. [redacted] The two abutments are constructed of coursed limestone ashlar masonry, and were likely erected on the Valley Pike during the 1830s. The abutments were extant at the time of the Battle of Cedar Creek in 1864, and the bridge they once supported was destroyed numerous times during the Civil War. Although the bridge is no longer standing, the surviving abutments retain a moderate to high degree of historic integrity across all categories. The VDHR has recommended the abutments as contributing elements to the Cedar Creek Battlefield.[417]

34. Daniel Stickley Farm (VDHR 085-0013) (4 contributing buildings, 3 noncontributing buildings, 2 contributing structures, 2 contributing sites, 2 noncontributing sites)

The Daniel Stickley Farm is located in Shenandoah County on a 122.98-acre parcel situated north of the Valley Pike near the Cedar Creek bridge. The Stickleys were an early German settler family in the Lower Valley, and Daniel Stickley established the farm and an adjacent mill complex (VDHR 085-0014) during the mid-nineteenth century. During the Civil War, and particularly during the Battle of Cedar Creek, Confederate and Union forces battled to control this strategic location, and the property witnessed a considerable amount of fighting. The Stickley residence served as a field hospital for both Confederate and Union surgeons during and after the battle. Numerous Confederate and Union soldiers were reportedly buried on the property in unmarked graves, and were later reinterred elsewhere after the war.[418] The main dwelling is a 2.5-story, brick, late-Federal house with rear additions that was most likely constructed during the first half of the nineteenth century. Three

[416] Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment*, 78-80; Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), 44FK0868, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed January 30, 2020).

[417] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Old Valley Pike Abutments," VDHR 034-5301, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

[418] Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment*, 285-290; Noyalas, 75; Johnson, 382-91.

additional resources on the property date from the mid-nineteenth century. A contributing frame barn stands to the west of the main house. North of the house are a contributing one-story frame smokehouse and a contributing two-story frame worker's dwelling. A noncontributing shed, constructed after the Civil War from the remains of a destroyed barn, stands approximately 170 feet west of the house. A large noncontributing, twentieth-century, metal barn is located approximately 250 feet east of the house. A short distance west of this barn is a noncontributing, twentieth-century, frame shed. Located approximately 180 feet east of the house, and north of the metal barn and shed, is a small contributing cemetery. Two noncontributing possible military features of unknown date are located northwest of the main house. Finally, the property contains the ruins of two mills that were constructed during the nineteenth century and were destroyed during the Civil War, as well as two historic road traces. This property contains an array of important resources and is of high significance relative to the contexts of agriculture and the evolution of the cultural landscape during the period of significance, antebellum architecture, milling and industry, and the Battle of Cedar Creek.

34a. Daniel Stickley House (1 contributing building)

The Daniel Stickley House (contributing building) consists of a 2.5-story, brick, rectangular-plan, main block with an attached two-story brick rear ell. A shed-roofed, two-story, frame addition extends from the north elevation of the main block and a second end-gabled, two-story, frame addition is attached to the brick rear ell. The main block, rear ell, and frame additions are all covered by standing-seam metal roofs. Brick interior end chimneys rise from the main block, and a third brick interior chimney is located at the north end of the rear ell. The brick of the main block and rear ell are both laid in five-course common bond, and both appear to be constructed on a limestone foundation. The façade of the main block and the west elevation of the rear ell feature a three-course corbelled brick cornice. The foundations of the rear frame additions are not visible.

The façade of the main block faces south and is symmetrically divided into five bays at both the first and second stories. The centered main entrance features a four-light transom and thick wooden lintel. A frame porch covers the entrance and two adjacent first-story bays. The porch has a standing-seam metal hipped roof supported by square wooden posts with decorative wooden brackets. Encircling the roof of the porch is a wooden balustrade with square posts and cross bracing. All of the façade windows are two-over-two, double-hung, wood-sash with wooden sills and lintels featuring bull's eye blocks. An exception is the central second-story bay, which contains a tall, narrow, fifteen-light, wooden casement window. The windows are all set behind outer one-over-one, double-hung, wood-sash storm windows and feature wooden louvered shutters.

Both the east and west (side) elevations of the main block are pierced by two four-light wooden casement windows at the attic level. In addition, these elevations contain two-over-two, double-hung, wood-sash windows of the same type as those found on the first story of the façade.

Both frame additions are clad in wooden weatherboard. Windows are predominantly two-over-two, double-hung, wood-sash behind one-over-one storm windows. A secondary entrance is located in the west elevation of the gabled addition. A two-story, enclosed, frame porch extends along the east elevation of this addition and features one-over-one, double-hung, ribbon windows at both stories.[419]

[419] Note: Access to the rear of the house was limited at the time of survey.

34b. Stickley Crib Barn (1 contributing building)

A rectangular-plan, frame, end-gabled barn (contributing building) stands to the northwest of the main dwelling. It appears to be an example of a transverse crib barn, a type that developed in the upland South during the nineteenth century. The barn likely provided shelter for livestock or horses with hay stored in the upper loft.[420] The barn is clad in narrow wooden clapboards, with the exception of the south elevation, which is clad in wooden German siding. The building features a gabled, overhanging, tin roof. A five-sided open entrance is cut into the west elevation, providing access to the barn's central aisle. Above the entrance is a nine-over-three, double-hung, wood-sash window. In the south elevation, a set of wooden steps leads to a single-leaf, battened wooden door on wrought-iron strap hinges. A long rectangular window opening, covered by a heavy battened wooden shutter, is also located in the south elevation. A smaller shuttered window opening pierces the north elevation.

34c. Worker's Dwelling (1 contributing building)

A two-story, rectangular-plan, frame worker's dwelling stands a short distance to the north of the main house.[421] Dating to the mid-nineteenth century, the worker's dwelling is constructed on a limestone foundation, is clad in wooden clapboard siding, and is covered by an overhanging gabled standing-seam metal roof. A limestone and brick exterior end chimney rises from the east elevation. The primary entrance, a single-leaf wooden battened door, is located in the west elevation. First-story windows are six-over-six, double-hung, wooden sash on wooden sills, while the second-story elevations contain six-light wooden casement windows.

34d. Smokehouse (1 contributing building)

A one-story, rectangular-plan, frame smokehouse, also dating to the mid-nineteenth century, is located south of the worker's dwelling. It is clad in wooden clapboards and is covered by an overhanging gabled standing-seam metal roof. The building features window-like ventilation openings covered by wooden louvers.

34e. Equipment Shed (1 noncontributing building)

To the west of the main house, barn, and outbuildings, across the gravel driveway that provides access to the property, stands a one-story frame building that likely functioned as a combination barn and equipment shed. According to the property owner, this building was constructed after the Civil War using materials salvaged from a destroyed barn. The building appears to have been constructed in several phases, likely during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and consists of a rectangular-plan, end-gabled main section that faces northeast, with an attached, hipped-roof shed addition extending from its northwest elevation. Extending from the southwest end of the shed addition is a second square-plan, shed-roofed frame addition. All three sections are covered by a tin roof and the building is clad in vertical wooden boards.

[420] John Michael Vlach, *Barns*, Library of Congress Visual Sourcebooks in Architecture, Design, and Engineering (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003), 180.

[421] Note: Access to both the worker's dwelling and smokehouse were limited at the time of survey.

34f. Barn (1 noncontributing building)

A large, recently constructed barn stands approximately 250 feet to the east of the main house. The barn is clad in corrugated metal and is covered by a gabled, standing-seam, metal roof. The rear of the barn is open-sided and is associated with a rear livestock pen that is enclosed by a wooden fence.

34g. Equipment Shed (1 noncontributing building)

A small, one-story, frame equipment shed stands a short distance west of the metal barn. The shed is clad in vertical wooden boards and is covered by a tin shed roof.

34h. Mill Ruins (VDHR 085-0014, 44SH0470) (1 contributing site)

Mill ruins are also located on the Daniel Stickley Farm property, a short distance south of the house on the north side of Cedar Creek. Early German settler George Bowman operated a mill at this location possibly as early as the eighteenth century. Later, during the nineteenth century, Daniel Stickley constructed two mills on the site, one of which was built on the ruins of the earlier Bowman mill. These mills were both sited at the point where the Valley Pike crossed Cedar Creek. The entire mill complex was burned by Union forces during Sheridan's 1864 Valley campaign.[422] The extant ruins suggest two structures constructed of dressed limestone ashlar. The ruins consist of limestone wall remains with arched door openings that feature limestone voussoirs. One set of ruins measures approximately 25 feet square, while the second set of ruins measures approximately 50 x 40 feet. This site has provided important data regarding the layout and construction of early mills in the Lower Shenandoah Valley and is a key element within the cultural landscape of the NHL district.

34i-j. Road Traces (2 contributing structures)

Road traces dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are clearly visible on the property. Passing to the west of the Stickley mill ruins, on an alignment paralleling Cedar Creek, is the trace of Harmony Hall Road (contributing structure), which, during the eighteenth century, connected George Bowman's grist mill with his residence located one-half mile to the southwest. In addition, remnants of the original alignment of the Valley Pike during the mid-nineteenth century are located on the property (contributing structure). The trace, which is clearly visible on aerial imagery, extends across the property to the west of the main house and continues to the northeast on a flattened terrace to the west of Cedar Creek.[423]

34k. Cemetery (VDHR 44SH0574, 1 contributing site)

A small cemetery is located on the property. Enclosed by a split rail fence, it contains a single interment, that of an unidentified Confederate soldier who died during the Battle of Cedar Creek on October 19, 1864. The grave is marked by a small rectangular stone marker. In addition, three star-shaped metal commemorative markers set on metal stakes planted in the ground are situated around the grave. As the grave of a soldier who fought in the battle, the site is a significant element within the battlefield cultural landscape.

34l. Ashby's Battery (1 noncontributing site)

[redacted] Prior to the battle,

[422] Lewes and Moore, 49.
[423] Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment,* 292.

in 1862, Confederate cavalry under Lt. Col. Turner Ashby deployed from this location during the withdrawal of Stonewall Jackson's troops after the Battle of First Kernstown. [redacted]. [424] Because it is unclear whether this site was used during the Battle of Cedar Creek, it does not at this time contribute to the national significance of the NHL district.

34m. Carter's Battery (1 noncontributing site)

[redacted] As with nearby Ashby's Battery, it is unclear whether this site was used during the Battle of Cedar Creek, therefore it does not contribute to the national significance of the battlefield.

35. Fort Bowman (NRIS 69000279, VDHR 085-0004) (1 contributing building, 2 noncontributing buildings, 1 noncontributing structure, 1 contributing site)

Fort Bowman (which became known as Harmony Hall during the twentieth century) is located south of the Valley Pike, approximately 2 miles northeast of Strasburg in Shenandoah County. Completed c. 1771, Fort Bowman is among the oldest extant dwellings within the NHL district and is a highly significant resource relating to the contexts of early settlement within the NHL district.[426] Fort Bowman was individually listed in the VLR in 1968 and in the NRHP in 1969. The property formed part of a larger 720-acre tract that was the home of early settler George Bowman and his wife Mary, who was the daughter of Jost Hite.[427] Bowman acquired the property from Hite in 1734.[428] Today, the combined 94.83-acre property is owned by Belle Grove, Inc. Resources on the property include the two-story limestone dwelling (c. 1771, contributing building), frame summer kitchen (nineteenth century, contributing building), frame well house (date unknown, noncontributing building), tenant house (late nineteenth century, noncontributing building), and Bowman cemetery (nineteenth century, contributing site). The property is accessed by unimproved Fort Bowman Road and a low limestone retaining wall extends along the road in front of the house. The wall is broken by a set of limestone steps that ascend to a short limestone walkway leading to the house.

35a. Fort Bowman (1 contributing building)

Fort Bowman (c. 1771) is a significant example of a vernacular, eighteenth-century, Shenandoah Valley dwelling that was constructed by early German settlers. The house consists of an original two-story, rectangular-plan, main block constructed of uncoursed limestone and an attached 1.5-story, frame, rear ell that

424 Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment*, 283-85.
425 Ibid., 281-83; Mahr, 315.
426 Kalbian, et al., *Historic Overview and Physical Investigations of Fort Bowman,* 4.
427 During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, local antiquarians incorrectly believed that Fort Bowman served as a defensive structure to protect local settlers against Indian raids during the French and Indian War, hence the local adoption of the name "Fort Bowman."
428 O'Dell, *Pioneers of Old Frederick County*, 349.

was added during the nineteenth century.[429] Both the main block and ell are covered by gabled standing-seam metal roofs. The side-gabled roof of the main block exhibits no overhang at the eaves and is pierced by two interior limestone end chimneys. A single brick interior end chimney pierces the overhanging roof of the addition. The façade is symmetrically divided into three bays. The centered first-story entrance features a five-light transom and is sheltered by a flat-roofed, Ionic portico on a square limestone foundation. Added sometime between 1925 and 1935, the portico features a cornice with dentils. It is believed that owners Fannie Hinkins and Annie Wharton salvaged the portico from a Greek Revival-style house in Richmond.[430] All of the windows of the main block are six-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash on wood sills. The first-story windows of the south (front) and north (rear) elevations and the first- and second-story windows of the east and west (side) elevations all feature segmentally-arched, soldier-coursed, limestone lintels. A secondary entrance is located in the east elevation of the main block.

The 1.5-story ell is clad in asbestos siding. Both the three-bay east and west elevations contain a centered entrance flanked by two first-story six-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash windows on wood sills. In both elevations, a single six-light wooden casement window is located at the attic level. The north elevation contains two of these attic windows.

On the interior, Fort Bowman's main block exhibits a central passage plan. Certain aspects of the arrangement of interior space, construction techniques, and decorative details reflect Germanic cultural traditions in the Lower Valley during the eighteenth century. On the first floor, a large parlor is located to the west of the passage and a dining room and cook room are positioned to its east. The second-floor layout originally consisted of two bedrooms situated to either side of the central passage. The partition separating the two western bedrooms was removed after 1973. The first-floor parlor, with its large fireplace, represented the "social center" of the dwelling, and reflects Germanic cultural influence. Original interior elements include exposed ceiling joists (another Germanic trait), original paneled wooden doors with eighteenth-century hand-forged hardware, original wooden paneling, partitions, and main stair enclosure. The large hearth in the first-floor parlor is in the form of a four-centered pointed arch (Tudor arch) and features a paneled surround and overmantel.[431]

Alterations

Fort Bowman underwent both exterior and interior renovations during the 1970s. The current front door was likely installed at this time and all of the windows were replaced. The contemporary composite siding on the rear ell was added sometime after HABS documentation in 1972, covering the original wooden siding. The current standing-seam metal roof was installed in 2010. Changes to the interior during the 1970s included replacement of window architraves, baseboards, and floorboards. Wooden paneling was added in several first-floor rooms and at least four interior doors were replaced.[432]

Overall, Fort Bowman retains sufficient integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association relative to its eighteenth-century date of construction. Setting has been affected somewhat by recent construction to the west of the property along the Valley Pike south of Interstate 81. Integrity of design,

[429] Kalbian, et al., 33-84.
[430] Ibid., 26.
[431] Kalbian et al., 32-34.
[432] Ibid., 32.

materials, and workmanship remain strong, despite the introduction of the Greek Revival-style portico. While some interior spaces have been altered, the house still contains original interior materials and finishes.

35b. Summer Kitchen (1 contributing building)

A one-story frame outbuilding, known as the "summer kitchen," stands a short distance to the northeast of the main dwelling. While its precise date is unknown, it is believed to have been constructed sometime during the nineteenth century, prior to the addition of the rear ell. The rectangular-plan building is constructed on a semi-coursed limestone foundation and is covered by a side-gabled standing seam metal roof. Like the rear ell of the main house, the summer kitchen is clad in composite siding, which covered original wooden board-and-batten siding. A large limestone and brick exterior chimney rises at the east elevation. The building is entered through a single-leaf, paneled wooden door in the west elevation. All of the building's windows are six-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash on wood sills. The interior of the summer kitchen has been extensively renovated, removing or covering original building fabric, but the building still retains enough overall integrity and serves as an important outbuilding example.[433]

35c. Well House (1 noncontributing building)

An open-sided frame well house is located just to the west of the main dwelling's rear ell. It was documented in a 1925 photograph and may date to the nineteenth century. The structure is comprised of a limestone and concrete well cover (foundation) and a gabled frame roof supported by wooden posts and down-braces. The structure incorporates a mixture of historic and new materials.[434]

35d. Unnamed Tenant House (1 noncontributing building)

An unnamed tenant house is located on the property approximately 0.12 miles from the main house, north of Fort Bowman Road. Now abandoned, the two-story, frame, rectangular-plan, three-bay, one-pile dwelling is an example of late nineteenth-century vernacular I-house. The house is clad in wooden clapboard siding and is covered by a side-gabled standing-seam metal roof with a central interior brick chimney. Both the east and west elevations contain a centered entrance, and the signature of a porch, which has been removed, is visible in the west elevation. First-story windows are two-over-two, double-hung, wood sash, and the second-story windows are smaller six-over-six, double-hung, wood sash.

35e. Bowman Cemetery (1 contributing site)

The Bowman Cemetery is located approximately 330 feet to the northwest of the tenant house on a high ridge north of Fort Bowman Road. The cemetery is enclosed by a low wall of coursed, quarry-faced, limestone ashlar capped by cement slab coping. A decorative wrought-iron gate is located at the midpoint of the northeast wall. The cemetery contains six graves dating to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Marked graves include those of Isaac S. Bowman (1866), Eleanor B. Hite (1903), and Mary S. Bowman (1830). Unmarked graves include those of Samuel Kercheval (a well-known local historian who was related to the Bowmans by marriage), his daughter, and Mary Gatewood (first wife of Isaac Bowman). Associated with Fort Bowman and the locally prominent Bowman family, this is a significant landscape feature that retains integrity.

433 Ibid., 92-94.
434 Ibid., 96.

36. Mount Pleasant (NRIS 11000553, VDHR 085-0072) (2 contributing buildings, 7 noncontributing buildings, 1 contributing structure, 1 noncontributing structure)

Mount Pleasant is located in Shenandoah County, approximately 1.5 miles northeast of Strasburg. Established during the late eighteenth century by Isaac Bowman, the son of early German settler George Bowman, Mount Pleasant functioned as a plantation with a sizeable enslaved population at its height during the antebellum period.[435] The main dwelling is an architecturally significant 2.5-story, brick, Federal-style house that was completed in phases between c. 1790 and 1930. The house and associated outbuildings today occupy a privately owned 106.82-acre parcel situated along a high bluff to the west of a bend in Cedar Creek. The property is accessed by Hite Lane, an improved secondary road, and contains a mix of agricultural and forested land. Mount Pleasant was individually listed in the VLR and in the NRHP in 2011, with a period of significance extending from c. 1790 to 1930. In addition, the Potomac Conservancy holds a conservation easement on the property that was funded through a grant provided by the U.S. Department of Agriculture in 2006. Access to the property was not available at the time of survey.

In addition to the main house, National Register documentation in 2011 recorded the presence of nine buildings and two structures on the property, dating from c. 1790 to 1930. Of these, two buildings and one structure—the main dwelling (c. 1790-1930), a brick, pyramidal-roofed smokehouse (c. 1812), and a remnant of the original access road (c. 1790)—contribute to the national significance of the historic district. Noncontributing buildings located to the southeast of the house include a large frame bank barn (c. 1890-1900), frame chicken house (c. 1920), frame wagon shed/corn crib (c. 1920), frame tenant house (c. 1920), and a frame tenant house garage (c. 1920). Standing to the northwest of the house are a noncontributing one-story brick garage (c. 1930) and a noncontributing frame goat shed (1990). A well (noncontributing structure), no longer in use, with a circular stone wall and gabled frame superstructure (c. 1900) is located near the southwest corner of the dwelling house.[436]

36a. Mount Pleasant (1 contributing building)

Mount Pleasant is a 2.5-story, rectangular-plan, brick, Federal-style dwelling with a side-gabled, standing-seam metal roof pierced by dual interior brick end chimneys. The five-bay, two-pile main block, completed c. 1812, is constructed on a limestone rubble foundation. Both the façade and rear elevations of the main block are laid in Flemish bond while the side elevations are laid in six-course common bond. A wooden cornice with tapered modillion blocks, guttae, and dentils extends along the roofline of the façade and rear elevations. The façade is oriented to the southeast and features a centered entrance with a Federal-style fanlight that is sheltered by a pedimented Doric portico. A similar portico is located over the centered rear entrance as well. Both entrances are accessed by sets of brick steps. The first-story windows of the main block are nine-over-nine, double-hung, wood-sash, while the second-story windows are nine-over-six. All feature limestone jack-arched keystone lintels. The basement-level windows have brick jack-arched lintels. The center second-story bay of the façade contains a tall triple-hung, nine-over-six-over-nine, wood-sash window which illuminates the stair landing. Typical of high-status Federal-style houses of the early nineteenth century, a central, semi-circular, wood-sash,

[435] Lewes and Moore, 53-55.

[436] National Register of Historic Places, Mount Pleasant, Strasburg vicinity, Shenandoah County, Virginia, National Register #11000553.

lunette window, flanked to either side by wood-sash quarter rounds, pierces the attic story of the southeast elevation. A single wood-sash bull's-eye window is located in the attic story of the northwest elevation.

An attached, one-story, rectangular-plan, side-gabled kitchen wing, which predates the main block (c. 1790), extends to the southeast, and is constructed of uncoursed dressed limestone. It is covered by a standing-seam metal roof and features an interior brick end chimney and an enclosed, full-width, frame rear porch. Attached to the northwest elevation of the main block is a one-story, rectangular-plan, brick addition (c. 1930) with a side-gabled roof covered in asphalt shingles. Functioning as a sunporch or solarium, the addition features large mesh screen windows and doors on all three elevations. A semi-circular fanlight is in the end gable of the addition.

Mount Pleasant exhibits a traditional center-passage double-pile interior plan, with two rooms symmetrically arranged to either side of the central hall. The hall features a semi-elliptical arched opening with centered keystone, pilasters, and deep-paneled jambs and soffit, beyond which is an open-string dogleg stair. First-floor rooms include a parlor, dining room, study, and office. Bedrooms are located on the second floor. Original interior detailing includes stylized mantels and woodwork executed in the Federal style. Box locks with fancy, Germanic, mid-eighteenth-century-style key plates are found in the central hall, and may have been salvaged from an earlier Bowman family house (possibly Fort Bowman). In the principal second-floor bedroom, the mantel is flanked by arched niches with pilasters and keystones. The attic is divided into three rooms, which are plainly finished with plastered walls and ceiling and wooden floorboards.

Mount Pleasant retains ample integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Constructed by Isaac Bowman, who fought in the American Revolution, Mount Pleasant is one of the most architecturally significant dwellings within the NHL district, and the house exhibits high-style Federal design elements, both on its exterior and interior. The house was rehabilitated c. 1930 and later in 1979, but these interventions did not remove key character-defining stylistic elements. Like Belle Grove, the house stood at the center of a working plantation, and the presence of noncontributing, twentieth-century agricultural outbuildings on the property does not adversely compromise the integrity of the landscape.

36b. Smokehouse (1 contributing building)

A one-story, square-plan, brick smokehouse is located to the south of the house. Constructed c. 1812, it sits on a limestone foundation and has a pyramidal roof covered with asphalt shingles and a brick chimney. The brickwork is laid in six-course common bond, and the building features a plain, wooden, boxed cornice. The smokehouse is entered through a single-leaf, four-paneled, wooden door and the side elevations are pierced by shuttered window openings.

36c. Garage (1 noncontributing building)

A one-story, brick, two-car garage (c. 1930) is located to the northwest of the house. The side-gabled roof is covered in asphalt shingles and is pierced by two interior brick end chimneys. Intended to contextualize with the main house, the Colonial Revival-style garage features six-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash windows with wood sills and brick jack-arched lintels, and wood-sash quarter-round attic windows. Two overhead-rolling, wooden bay doors are located in the façade.

36d. Barn (1 noncontributing building)

A group of agricultural buildings is located to the southeast of the house. These include a large frame bank barn with projecting forebay (c. 1890-1900). The barn is constructed on a limestone foundation, clad in vertical wooden siding, and is covered by a standing-seam metal roof.

36e. Wagon Shed/Corn Crib (1 noncontributing building)

Near the barn is a one-story, frame, wagon shed/corncrib (c. 1920). The building is constructed on brick piers, is clad in wooden clapboard siding, and has a gabled, asphalt-shingle roof. Located in the southeast elevation are a pair of wooden wagon doors and a single-leaf, paneled wooden door.

36f. Chicken House (1 noncontributing building)

Also located near the barn is a small, frame, shed-roofed chicken house (c. 1920). It is clad in horizontal board siding and the roof is covered in asphalt shingles.

36g. Tenant House (1 noncontributing building)

To the southeast of the farm complex is a small, one-story, frame, four-bay tenant house (c. 1920). The dwelling has a gabled, standing-seam metal roof and two brick interior chimneys. The building is clad in horizontal board siding and its elevations contain six-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash windows. The tenant house is entered through a small, hip-roofed, frame side addition.

36h. Garage (1 noncontributing building)

Associated with the tenant house is a one-story, frame, gable-roofed, one-car garage (c. 1920).

36i. Goat Shed (1 noncontributing building)

Located to the northwest of the main house is a one-story, frame, gable-roofed goat shed that was built in 1990.

36j. Road Trace (1 contributing structure)

A rutted and unimproved segment of the original road that extended from Hite Lane up the bluff from Cedar Creek into the farmyard is partially extent (c. 1790).

36k. Well (1 noncontributing structure)

Located to the southwest of the house is a non-functioning well (c. 1900) with a circular masonry parapet wall and an open-sided, gable-roofed, frame cover.

37. Bowman's Mill Road (VDHR 44WR0463) (1 contributing site)

This is a historic road trace dating to the nineteenth century located in a wooded buffer zone paralleling the east bank of Cedar Creek. The road extends northwest from modern Bowman's Mill Road to the Widow Bowman's Ford on Cedar Creek. Historically, the road continued across the creek. A portion of the road trace was surveyed by CRI (consultant) in 2013. The road bed was documented as measuring approximately 20 feet in width and 10 feet in depth. Historically, the road served as a useful transportation route and Kershaw's Confederate troops utilized the southern portion of the road as they moved into position prior to attacking the

Union VIII Corps.[437] This is a significant road trace relating to antebellum transportation and commerce, in addition to its associations with the Battle of Cedar Creek.

38. Harold Davison Farm (VDHR 093-5059) (1 contributing building, 1 noncontributing building)

The Davison Farm is located in Warren County, on Bowman's Mill Road, just north of the Cedar Creek crossing (Bowman's Mill Ford). The 39.95-acre property consists of a 31.22-acre parcel located to the south of Long Meadow Road and an 8.73-acre parcel to the north. The Davison Farm dwelling was present at the time of the Battle of Cedar Creek and appears on the 1864 Hotchkiss map (no annotation) and the 1873 Gillespie map (annotated "J. Roberts"). After crossing Bowman's Mill Ford at around 4:30 a.m. on the morning of the battle, Kershaw's Division of Confederate infantry massed on the property prior to launching an attack on the camps of the Union VIII Corps to the northeast.[438] The property is significant as a surviving farmstead dating to the antebellum period and for its role during the Battle of Cedar Creek.

38a. Main Dwelling (1 contributing building)

The main dwelling was constructed c. 1850 and is a two-story, frame, three-bay I-house with a rear, two-story, frame ell. The house is built on a limestone foundation, is clad in wooden weatherboard siding, and is covered by a cross-gabled standing-seam metal roof that overhangs at the eaves. The façade faces southwest, and the centered primary entrance is sheltered by a full-width frame porch with turned wooden columns. The porch has a hipped metal roof and recently added wooden railing, balusters, and front steps. Windows are primarily one-over-one, double-hung, vinyl-sash replacements.

38b. Tractor Shed (1 noncontributing building)

A one-story, frame, twentieth-century tractor shed is located to the east of the main dwelling.

39. Bowman-Hite House (VDHR 093-0138) (1 contributing building, 2 noncontributing buildings, 1 contributing site)

The Bowman-Hite House is located in Warren County on Bowman's Mill Road, approximately 2 miles east of Strasburg. Sited on a high ridge on the east side of Cedar Creek, the two-story, brick, side-gabled dwelling was constructed c. 1851-53 by Charles and Rebecca Hite, and formed part of a plantation of over 400 acres. Today, the house occupies a much smaller 8-acre parcel owned by the National Park Service. Surrounding this parcel is a larger 134-acre tract of agricultural fields and woodland that is owned by the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation. During the battle, Confederate forces moved across the property during the initial attack on the Union VIII Corps positions to the northeast. A Historic Structures Report prepared in 2013 documented seven buildings on the property (including the house). Four of these buildings, agricultural outbuildings dating to the twentieth century, have since been removed.[439] Buildings currently located on the property include the main dwelling (c. 1851-53, contributing), a frame bank barn (c. 1881, noncontributing), and a late nineteenth-century frame smokehouse (noncontributing). This is a significant antebellum period

[437] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Bowman's Mill Road," VDHR 44WR0463, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).
[438] Mahr, 110-112.
[439] Spencer, *The Bowman-Hite Property Warren County, Virginia*, 84.

architectural resource relating to the contexts of agriculture and architectural development within the cultural landscape as well the Battle of Cedar Creek.

39a. Bowman-Hite House (1 contributing building)

The Bowman-Hite House is a two-story, brick, cross-gabled dwelling that was constructed in several phases during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The original portion of the house, constructed in 1851-53, consists of a three-bay, one-pile, side-passage, Greek Revival-style main block with an attached rear ell, forming a combined L-plan unit. This original construction rests on a foundation of semi-coursed, quarry-faced limestone ashlar, and its brick is laid in five-course common bond. The roof exhibits no overhang at the eaves and is covered in asphalt shingles. A brick interior end chimney rises at the north gable end of the main block. A second, 1.5-story, brick, rectangular-plan, telescoping rear kitchen addition was added c. 1881. Extending down the south elevation of this combined building was a one-story frame porch. During the 1970s, a two-story, frame, aluminum siding-clad addition encapsulated the earlier c. 1881 kitchen wing and side porch. A one-story, two-bay, frame garage was attached to the east elevation of the 1970s addition, but has since been removed. An interior brick chimney, associated with the c. 1881 construction, is located at the junction between the main block and 1970s addition. With the removal of the garage, a second limestone and brick chimney, which once marked the end of the c. 1881 kitchen wing, is now visible at the east elevation of the house.[440]

The three-bay façade of the main block faces west. The main entrance is located in the easternmost first-story bay, and features multi-pane, rectangular, Greek Revival-style side and transom lights. The first-story windows of the main block are two-over-two, double-hung, wood-sash on wood sills, while the second-story windows are six-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash windows on wood sills. A two-course, corbelled brick cornice extends at the roofline.

The two-story, frame, 1970s addition is built on a raised concrete block foundation. The south elevation of the 1970s addition is divided into seven first- and second-story bays, with the second story slightly overhanging the first. The centered primary entrance is located in the south elevation. Windows include six-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash and one-over-one, double-hung, wood-sash windows. In addition to the brick c. 1881 end chimney, the roofline of the now demolished 1970s rear garage is still visible in the east elevation of the addition.

The interior of the main block consists of two rooms on both the first and second stories, situated to the north of the side passage. A parlor and dining room are located on the first floor and two bedrooms are on the second floor. The fireplace mantels in each of these four original rooms are Greek Revival in style, with plain, flat, tapered pilasters supporting a wide, flat, unadorned fascia. Similarly, the staircase of the main block is typically Greek Revival, and features a simple design with straight runs and tapered wooden newel posts.[441]

The Bowman-Hite House retains sufficient integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to convey its significance as a mid-nineteenth-century plantation house that existed at the time of the Battle of Cedar Creek. The presence of an architecturally incompatible 1970s addition has somewhat degraded the dwelling's integrity, however, the National Park Service, which administers the

[440] Ibid., 82.
[441] Spencer, 86-87.

property, is planning to remove this addition in order to restore the house to its original, nineteenth-century appearance. This process has already begun with the removal of the 1970s garage and a full exterior restoration of the original 1850s portion of the building.[442]

39b. Bank Barn (1 noncontributing building)

Located approximately 150 feet southeast of main house is a frame Standard Pennsylvania Bank Barn that was constructed c. 1881, possibly incorporating the limestone foundation of an earlier pre-Civil War barn.[443] The large barn is clad in wide vertical wooden boards, and is covered by a side-gabled, standing-seam metal roof that overhangs at the eaves. The roof covers an open, supported forebay in the south, down slope, elevation. Sliding wooden barn doors are located in both the north and south elevations.

39c. Smokehouse (1 noncontributing building)

Located a short distance to the north of the main house is a late nineteenth-century frame smokehouse. The small, square-plan building rests on non-original concrete block piers and is clad in weatherboard siding. The building is covered by an overhanging, end-gabled tin roof. A single-leaf, battened, wooden door is located in the south elevation.

39d. Bowman-Hite Farm (VDHR 44WR0164) (1 contributing site)

[redacted]

40. Thoburn's Defensive Line (VDHR 44WR0169) (1 contributing site)

Thoburn's soldiers excavated a line of trenches, fortified by a timber abatis, across the upper wooded slope of a ridgeline to the north of the First Division's campsite. From this location overlooking Cedar Creek, the 1st Ohio Light Artillery and 5th Pennsylvania Artillery covered the strategic Harmony Hall and Bowman's Mill fords. Thoburn's entrenched position served to protect the nearby camps of the Second Division, VIII Corps and the XIX Corps from enfilade fire, but it was isolated and vulnerable to attack. As a result, Thoburn's Defensive Line was attacked by Kershaw's Confederates during the early morning action of October 19, 1864.

[redacted]

442 Personal communication, Kyle Rothemich, Historian/Cultural Resources Manager, Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, April 17, 2019.

443 Spencer, 12, 61.

444 William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, "An Archaeological Assessment of the Bowman-Hite Farm Property, Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Warren County, Virginia," WMCAR Project No. 10-15, National Park Service, July 2012, ii.

[redacted]445

41. Union VIII Corps Site (VDHR 44WR0298) (1 contributing site)

[redacted]

42. VIII Corps Earthworks (VDHR 44WR0467) (1 contributing site)

[redacted]

43. Possible Union Campsite (VDHR 44WR0483) (1 contributing site)

[redacted]

44. House, Route 611 (VDHR 093-0501) (1 contributing building)

This c. 1830 dwelling is located in Warren County on a 7.70-acre property situated east of Long Meadow Road, just north of its intersection with Water Plant Road. During the Battle of Cedar Creek, Confederate forces under the command of Maj. Gen. Stephen D. Ramseur and Brig. Gen. William Payne moved through the property as they massed prior to their respective attacks on the Union VIII Corps positions and Union headquarters at Belle Grove Plantation. The house is a 2.5-story, frame, rectangular-plan, three-bay, two-pile dwelling with a side-gabled standing-seam metal roof. The roof is pierced by a centrally placed interior brick chimney. The primary entrance is located in the south elevation and is sheltered by a full-width frame porch. A

445 Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment*, 101-02.

446 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44WR0298, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

447 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44WR0467, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

secondary entrance is in the west elevation beneath a one-bay side porch. The dwelling's windows appear to be three-over-one, double-hung, wood-sash replacements with battened wooden shutters that may be original to the house. The property is enclosed by a wooden rail fence. VDHR documentation compiled by architectural historian Maral S. Kalbian in 1991 indicates that the dwelling was originally single pile, and it was expanded to the north with a second pile during the early twentieth century (based on its formed concrete foundation). Access to the property was not available at the time of the present survey, however, Kalbian also noted the presence of a frame smokehouse and a frame shed, both of unknown date.[448] This property formed part of the existing cultural landscape in 1864 and played a military role during the Battle of Cedar Creek.

45. Long Meadow (NRIS 95001169, VDHR 093-0006) (3 contributing buildings, 5 noncontributing buildings, 1 contributing site)

Long Meadow is a two-story, brick, Greek Revival-style plantation house that is located in Warren County on the North Fork of the Shenandoah River, just below the mouth of Cedar Creek. The plantation was first established during the first half of the eighteenth century by Isaac Hite Sr. on a tract of land that was granted to his father, early settler Jost Hite, by the colonial governor of Virginia in 1734. Isaac Hite Sr. obtained the tract from his brother, John Hite, in 1744 and likely took up residence soon afterward.[449] George Bowman, a Hite descendent, constructed the current house on the property in 1848, replacing an earlier eighteenth-century dwelling. The house was expanded with a two-story, frame kitchen wing c. 1891. Long Meadow was listed in the NRHP in 1995, with a period of significance extending from 1788 to 1920. In addition to the main house (contributing building), resources on the property that contribute to the national significance of the historic district include a frame, eighteenth-century overseer's house (contributing building); an eighteenth-century stone springhouse with attached frame icehouse (contributing building); and a cemetery containing graves from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (contributing site). Noncontributing resources consist of a frame barn constructed c. 1891 (noncontributing building); a frame late nineteenth-century workshop (noncontributing building); a frame chicken coop/shed built during the late 1930s (noncontributing building); a post-World War II frame storage shed (noncontributing building); and a large metal tractor garage-shed that was erected sometime after 1995 (noncontributing building).

45a. Long Meadow (1 contributing building)

Long Meadow is one of the most architecturally significant mid-nineteenth-century dwellings in Warren County, and it illustrates the aesthetic transition from the late Federal period into the Greek Revival. The main block is a two-story, rectangular-plan, five-bay, two-pile, center-passage, brick dwelling on a raised foundation of coursed, quarry-faced, limestone ashlar. The asphalt shingle-clad hipped roof is pierced by four interior brick end chimneys that each terminate in three courses of corbelled brick masonry. A plain wooden frieze band and boxed cornice encircle the main block at the roofline. The five-ranked façade faces west, and the centered main entrance is sheltered by a highly developed Greek Revival-style pedimented portico. The main entrance surround includes fluted pilasters, three-pane sidelights, and a cornice with dentils. Above the cornice is a nine-light transom with a deep-paneled soffit. A fluted architrave molding completes the elegant main entrance surround. Above the centered entrance and portico is a Federal-style three-part window which illuminates the stair landing. The façade also features a centered, pedimented wall dormer with a Federal-style

[448] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "House, Route 611," VDHR 093-0501, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).
[449] O'Dell, 24-25.

semi-elliptical fanlight. A side porch, extending from the south elevation, shelters a secondary entrance. The brickwork of the façade is laid in Flemish bond while the side elevations are laid in five-course common bond. First-story windows consist of six-over-one, double-hung, wood-sash replacement windows, while the second story is pierced by original nine-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash windows. All of the windows of the façade feature wood sills and brick, jack-arched lintels.

A two-story, frame, gabled kitchen addition extends from the east elevation of the main block. The addition appears to have been constructed on limestone piers, which have been infilled with concrete block. The addition is clad in wooden clapboards and its elevations are pierced by a variety of original and replacement windows. Extending from the east elevation of the addition is a frame, shed-roofed, rear porch with large screen windows and vertical board cladding. This porch is entered from a set of wooden steps in its south elevation.

On the interior, Long Meadow has a double-pile, central passage floor plan that is repeated on the first and second floors as well as the basement level. On the first floor, the central hall features a semi-elliptical arched opening, with a paneled soffit, supported by pilasters. Beyond this opening, the open-string, dogleg stair features a rounded walnut handrail, turned wooden newel post, and tapered wooden balusters. The refined woodwork and trim of the interior has survived and reflects both Federal and Greek Revival influences. Walls and ceilings are finished in plaster, while paneled doors, deep-paneled door and window jambs, pine flooring, and original mantels are found in all of the rooms. To the north of the stair, the first-floor double parlor is divided by sliding paneled pocket doors. In each half of the parlor are found Greek Revival-style marble mantels flanked by tall arched niches. The study and dining room are located on the first floor, to the south of the stair, and feature plain Greek Revival mantels, chair rails, and trim. This decorative treatment continues in the four second-floor bedrooms.

Alterations to the main house include the replacement of the original front entrance door and the first-story windows during the 1920s, as well as the replacement of the original side porch, the outline of which is still vaguely visible in the masonry of the south elevation. On the interior, single-light transoms were added over three of the first-floor doorways. Other interior alterations include the addition of a bathroom on each floor of the kitchen wing, the addition of a new dining room floor, the removal of a boxed staircase located in the northwest corner of the dining room, and the rebuilding of the basement's brick partition walls.[450] Despite these minor alterations, Long Meadow exists in a state of high preservation and exhibits substantial integrity across all categories, allowing the house to communicate its significance as an example of the large plantation dwellings built by the Lower Valley's elite during the antebellum period.

45b. Overseer's House (1 contributing building)

A 1.5-story frame overseer's house is located a short distance to the northeast of the main house. This eighteenth-century dwelling is rectangular in plan, is built on wide limestone rubble piers, and is covered by a front-gabled standing-seam metal roof. A brick interior end chimney rises from the north end of the roof. The façade faces south and contains the primary entrance, which is accessed by a set of low wooden steps. In addition, the first story of the façade is pierced by a pair of six-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash window on a shared wooden sill. The façade's single attic-level window has been boarded, and it features a wooden sill and

[450] National Register of Historic Places, Long Meadow, Warren County, Virginia, National Register #95001169, 7:1-6.

a thick, molded, wooden architrave. Both the east and west (side) elevations contain a single nine-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash window that rests on a wooden sill and has a molded architrave.

45c. Springhouse-Icehouse (1 contributing building)

Located a short distance southwest of the main house is a combination springhouse-icehouse that was initially constructed during the eighteenth century. The springhouse is partially constructed below grade and is a gabled building of limestone rubble construction with a standing-seam metal roof. Both levels retain their original iron hardware, and are accessed by a short flight of exterior stairs. The north end of the springhouse is enclosed in wooden lattice, with thick wooden posts supporting the roof. An attached, one-story, frame icehouse wing extends to the west. It is built on a limestone foundation, is clad in wooden weatherboard siding, and is covered by a standing seam metal roof. A single window opening, covered by a battened wooden shutter on iron strap hinges, pierces the north elevation of the icehouse wing.

45d. Frame Workshop (1 noncontributing building)

A 1.5-story, late nineteenth-century, frame workshop is located approximately 150 feet west of the main house. The building is clad in wooden weatherboard siding and is covered by a standing-seam metal, side-gabled roof. The roof overhangs the east elevation of the building and shelters a fenced area that may have served as animal pen.

45e. Bank Barn (1 noncontributing building)

Located approximately 250 feet northwest of the main house is a large bank barn (noncontributing building) that was constructed c. 1891 by former owner Andrew J. Brumback.[451] The barn sits on a limestone foundation, is of timber frame construction clad in wooden weatherboard siding and has a gabled standing-seam metal roof. The open forebay is located in the south elevation and is supported by wooden posts. Large sliding wooden barn doors are located in the north elevation and three smaller doors are located opposite in the south elevation. In addition, the barn's elevations are pierced by a combination of double-hung, wood-sash windows and narrow ventilation openings covered by wooden louvers.

45f. Chicken Coop (1 noncontributing building)

A small frame chicken coop, dating from the 1930s, is located approximately 175 feet north of the main house. The building is clad in vertical wooden boards and is covered by a tin shed roof.

45g. Shed (1 noncontributing building)

A small frame shed is located approximately 75 feet northeast of the main house near the overseer's dwelling. Of recent construction, the building is clad in vertical wooden boards and features a metal shed roof.

45h. Shed (1 noncontributing building)

A standard, contemporary metal equipment shed is located approximately 115 feet northwest of the main house. The primary entrance is located in the south elevation and a large sliding bay door is situated in the east elevation.

[451] National Register of Historic Places, Long Meadow, Warren County, Virginia, National Register #95001169, 7:7.

45i. Cemetery (1 contributing site)

A small family cemetery (contributing site) is located on the property, approximately 350 feet north of the main house. Enclosed by a chain link fence, the cemetery contains about 25 gravestones, of which 20 are unmarked. Interments include early and significant members of the Hite family, including the graves of Isaac Hite Sr. (1795), Major Isaac Hite Jr. of Belle Grove Plantation (1836), his first wife Nellie C. Madison Hite (1802), and his second wife Ann Tunstall Hite (1851). Other graves include members of the related McDonald, Maury, Grymes, Davison, and Lodor families.

46. Signal Knob (VDHR 44SH0355) (1 contributing site)

Signal Knob is located in Shenandoah County, at the northern end of Massanutten Mountain. At approximately 2,000 feet in elevation, this position served as a Confederate reconnaissance and signaling station during the Valley Campaign of 1864, and played an important support role during the Battle of Cedar Creek.[452]

[redacted]

47. Hupp's Hill (VDHR 44SH0353) (1 contributing site, 1 noncontributing building)

[redacted] this is a site that was of great strategic importance during the Valley Campaign of 1864 and the Battle of Cedar Creek and is of historical and archaeological significance.

47a. Hupp's Hill (1 contributing site)

[redacted]

[454]

47b. Interpretive Center (1 noncontributing building)

A one-story interpretive center (noncontributing building), constructed in 1972 and operated by the Town of Strasburg, is located on the property.[455]

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[452] Mahr, 83-86, 272.

[453] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44SH0355, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

[454] Joseph W. A. Whitehorne and Clarence R. Geier, *An Assessment of the Strategic and Historic Significance of Hupp's Hill Virginia, 1861-1865* (Harrisonburg, VA: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, James Madison University, August 1998), 16.

[455] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), 44SH0353, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 2, 2019).

48. Spangler's Mill (VDHR 306-0002, 44SH0497) (1 contributing building, 1 contributing site)

Spangler's Mill (constructed 1797) is located at 499 Stover Avenue in Strasburg, Shenandoah County, and is a contributing resource to the Strasburg National Register Historic District. During the Battle of Cedar Creek, Union cavalry pursued fleeing Confederate units through Strasburg on the evening of October 19. At Spangler's Mill, a bridge that carried the Valley Pike over a small stream became damaged, preventing the passage of wheeled carriages and carts, compelling the Confederates to abandon all wheeled vehicles and continue their retreat on foot. It was near this location that Union cavalry broke off their pursuit after capturing "scores" of Confederate soldiers.[456] The mill operated until 1938, when it was turned into a tavern. It continued to function as a tavern-restaurant until 2006.[457] Spangler's Mill is significant as an example of a surviving early mill complex within the NHL district and for the importance of the property during the final phase of the battle.

48a. Spangler's Mill (1 contributing building)

Spangler's Mill is a two-story, rectangular-plan building with a side-gabled, standing-seam metal roof. The mill is of both masonry and frame construction, with the foundation and three-bay façade built of semi-coursed limestone, and the side and rear elevations clad in wooden weatherboard siding. A wooden replica waterwheel is located on the east elevation and a one-story, frame, shed-roofed addition adjoins the west elevation. The mill's windows are primarily six-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash and the façade windows feature jack-arched limestone lintels. The centered main entrance is situated in the façade and is accessed by a set of wooden steps with wooden railing. Located in the cellar are the original, eighteenth-century millstones.[458]

48b. Spangler's Mill (VDHR 44SH0497) (1 contributing site)

The Spangler's Mill site includes an archaeological component which consists of [redacted] This is an important archaeological resource associated with a significant early mill.[459]

Additional Noncontributing Resources

This section describes noncontributing resources that fall within the period of significance but have been determined noncontributing due to diminished integrity, lack of association with the national significance of the historic district, or as a result of lack of access or information. Other noncontributing resources that fall outside the period of significance are listed in a table in the Additional Noncontributing Resources section below.

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[456] Noyalas, 71-72.

[457] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Spengler Mill," VDHR 306-0002, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 2, 2019).

[458] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Spengler Mill," VDHR 306-0002, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 2, 2019).

[459] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Spangler's Mill," VDHR 44SH0497, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

49. Unnamed Site (VDHR 44FK0622) (1 noncontributing site)

[redacted][460]

50. Confederate Left Flank, Battle of Cedar Creek (VDHR 44FK0730) (1 noncontributing site)

[redacted][461] The subsequent construction of housing on this property, however, has impacted the integrity of the site and its potential to provide archaeological data relative to the Battle of Cedar Creek.

51. House, Route 627 (VDHR 034-0246) (1 noncontributing building)

This mid-nineteenth-century farmstead is located in Frederick County on Route 627 (Chapel Road), to the west of Route 758 (Belle View Lane) on a 49.84-acre parcel of agricultural land. VDHR documentation from 1989 indicates that the primary resource on the property is a two-story, frame, I-house with rear ell that was constructed c. 1840. The dwelling, visible from Route 627, appears to be in poor condition and is clad in wooden weatherboard siding and covered by a cross-gabled standing-seam metal roof. Interior brick end chimneys rise from the main block, while the rear ell is pierced by a single interior brick chimney. Windows are six-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash and the house features a frame porch on the east elevation. Associated outbuildings documented on the property include a barn, chicken house, shed, corncrib, and privy, all of unknown date.[462] Access to the property was unavailable at the time of the survey. According to available information, this resource does not appear to contribute to the national significance of the NHL district.

52. Unnamed Farmstead (VDHR 44SH0534) (1 noncontributing site)

[redacted].[463] These remains are of unknown age, and, pending further study, the site does not at this time appear to hold the potential to yield information relevant to the national significance of the NHL district.

[460] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44FK0622, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 30, 2019).

[461] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44FK0730, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

[462] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "House, Rt. 627," VDHR 034-0246, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 2, 2019).

[463] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44SH0534, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

53. Unnamed Dwelling Site (VDHR 44SH0535) (1 noncontributing site)

[redacted] pending further study, the site does not at this time appear to hold the potential to yield information relevant to the national significance of the NHL district.

54. Nieswander's Fort (VDHR 034-0012, 44FK0033) (1 noncontributing site)

[redacted] The limestone fort is believed to have been constructed c. 1755 by William Evans to protect local settlers from Indian raids. David Nieswander purchased a portion of the property in 1789 and expanded the stone fort/dwelling. It remained in the Nieswander family until 1823. Benjamin Stickley owned the tract at the time of the battle of Cedar Creek and his name appears on the 1864 Hotchkiss map of the battlefield. Brig. Gen. Wesley Merritt's Union cavalry was camped to the south of this location on the morning of the battle and Brig. Gen. George A. Custer's Union cavalry swept through this area during the afternoon counteroffensive. [redacted] [465] In its present state, the fort does not appear to retain the integrity necessary to convey the national significance of the Battle of Cedar Creek or the development of its valley setting.

55. Nieswander's Road (VDHR 034-5195, 44FK0766) (1 noncontributing site)

Located immediately south of Nieswander's Fort, Nieswander's Road is an earthen, linear, east-west trending, single lane road trace that measures approximately 5,330 feet in length. The road bed is typically 15 feet in width, varying in some local areas to 20-25 feet. In these wider areas, the road is typically bisected by a linear limestone wall. While the exact construction date is unknown, it is likely that the road dates to the eighteenth century. It appears on nineteenth-century maps of the area and provided access to the Nieswander/Stickley Farm, and connected with several other main roads in the area. Merritt's Union cavalry camped nearby and may have used the road during the Battle of Cedar Creek.[466] Because access to the site was not available at the time of the present survey, it is unclear what the current level of integrity is for this resource, and being of unknown date, it does not at this time appear to contribute to the national significance of the NHL district.

56. Nieswander's Cemetery (VDHR 034-5193, 44FK0778) (1 noncontributing site)

This historic cemetery is located on Chapel Road to the northeast of Nieswander's Fort. A minimum of 22 graves have been identified in the cemetery, arranged in clusters rather than distinct rows. Many of the grave markers have been damaged and no discernable inscriptions are visible. The cemetery is enclosed by a metal

[464] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44SH0535, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

[465] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Nieswander's Fort," VDHR 034-0012, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 10, 2019).

[466] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Nieswander's Road," VDHR 034-5195, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 30, 2019).

chain-link fence. According to VDHR documentation, the cemetery was in use during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and it appears on the 1873 Gillespie map of the Cedar Creek battlefield.[467] This resource is noncontributing due to its lack of integrity to the NHL historic district's period of significance.

57. Tabler Farm Complex (VDHR 44FK0767) (1 noncontributing site)

[redacted][468] Based on these findings, the site does not appear to hold the potential to yield information relevant to the national significance of the NHL district.

58. Tabler Farm Road (VDHR 44FK0769) (1 noncontributing site)

This historic road trace is an extension of what is today known as Marsh Brook Lane. At the time of the Battle of Cedar Creek, it connected the Tabler Farm complex with Hite's Mill Road. The road bed averages 13 feet in width and is divided into two lanes as it approaches the Tabler farm.[469] Access to the property was unavailable at the time of the survey and this resource does not appear to contribute to the national significance of the NHL district.

59. Tabler Cemetery (VDHR 44FK0768) (1 noncontributing site)

The Tabler Cemetery is associated with the Tabler Farm Complex (VDHR 44FK0767). The cemetery measures approximately 37 x 27 feet and contains five known graves, four of which have markers. The earliest marked grave is dated 1858, belonging to Jonas Tabler. The other graves date from 1871-1880.[470] Access to the property was unavailable at the time of the survey and with most of the graves post-dating 1864, this resource does not appear to contribute to the national significance of the NHL district.

60. East Road (VDHR 44FK0772) (1 noncontributing site)

[redacted] It was surveyed by JMU along with these resources as part of a 2008-2010 Phase I survey of this portion of the northern battlefield. The road trace is aligned northeast-southwest, measures approximately 1,450 feet in length and 15.5 feet in width. It was used locally during the nineteenth century.[471] Access to the property was not available at the time of the present survey. Based on existing information, it does not at this time appear to contribute to the national significance of the NHL district.

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[467] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Nieswander's Cemetery," VDHR 034-5193, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 10, 2019).

[468] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44FK0767, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

[469] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44FK0769, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

[470] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44FK0768, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

[471] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "East Road," VDHR 44FK0772, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

61. Public Springhead (VDHR 44FK0524) (1 noncontributing site)

This site is located in Frederick County, within CEBE, in a narrow ravine 50 feet west of Meadow Brook. It was investigated in 1994 by JMU, and consists of a springhead enclosed by cut limestone blocks. The exact date of this resource is unknown. Based on existing information, it does not appear at this time to contribute to the national significance of the NHL district.[472]

62-72. Possible Union Campsites (VDHR 44FK0492, 44FK0493, 44FK0494, 44FK0495, 44FK0496, 44FK0497, 44FK0498, 44FK0499, 44FK0500, 44FK0501, and 44FK506) (11 noncontributing sites)

[redacted].[473]

73. XIX Corps Encampment (VDHR 44FK0519) (1 noncontributing site)

On the morning of October 19, 1864, the Union XIX Corps was encamped [redacted] while noncontributing at this time, additional survey and testing could possibly aid in defining the site's extent and data potential.[474]

74. Panther Cave (VDHR 44FK0017) (1 noncontributing site)

[redacted]

75. David Stickley Farm (VDHR 085-0065) (1 noncontributing building)

The David Stickley Farm is located in Shenandoah County north of the Valley Pike, approximately one-half mile northwest of the Daniel Stickley house and mill complex (VDHR 085-0013), on three privately owned

472 Geier et al., *An Overview and Assessment,* 194-95.

473 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), Sites 44FK0492, 44FK0493, 44FK0494, 44FK0495, 44FK0496, 44FK0497, 44FK0498, 44FK0499, 44FK0500, 44FK0501, and 44FK0506, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 30, 2019).

474 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), Archaeological Site 44FK0519, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 4, 2019).

475 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Panther Cave," VDHR 44FK0017, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 30, 2019).

parcels totaling 62.13 acres. The property was first acquired by early settler John Stickley during the mid-eighteenth century. It passed to his son, David Stickley, in 1796. David Stickley was the father of Daniel Stickley. At the time of the battle of Cedar Creek, the farm was owned by his daughter, Annie Stickley, and her name appears in association with the property on both the 1864 Hotchkiss and 1873 Gillespie maps of the battlefield. The main house was built by David Stickley c. 1800. It is a two-story log dwelling with a two-story limestone kitchen addition. The house has a standing-seam metal roof with two exterior limestone end chimneys. Built on a limestone foundation, the house is finished in wooden weatherboard siding on the rear and side elevations, while the façade is finished in stucco and features a full-width frame porch with round wooden columns. The interior of the main house exhibits a three-room hall and parlor plan on the first floor as well as early nineteenth-century vernacular, Greek Revival, and Victorian detailing. Access to the property was not available at the time of the present survey, so it is unknown what the present level of integrity is for this property. VDHR documentation records a number of additional resources on the property, but does not provide additional information or dates of construction.[476] For these reasons, it is not included as a contributing resource to the NHL district.

76. Stickley Cemetery (VDHR 44SH0573) (1 noncontributing site)

This site is located in Shenandoah County on private property, approximately 0.25 miles northeast of the David Stickley Farm (VDHR 085-0065). It was surveyed by VDHR in 2017. This small family cemetery is enclosed with an iron picket fence with an arched entrance located on the east side. There are over 150 markers (headstones and footstones) present made of fieldstone, marble, and granite. The dates range from 1828-2007, but some of the earlier markers are not legible. According to VDHR documentation, the cemetery is well maintained but there are some tablets lying on the ground surface.[477] As with the David Stickley Farm, access to the cemetery was not available during the present survey and based on informal survey it does not appear at this time to contribute to the national significance of the NHL district.

77. Unnamed Cemetery (VDHR 44SH0542) (1 noncontributing site)

This cemetery is located in Shenandoah County, just west of Cedar Creek, in the Virginia Department of Transportation (VDOT) right-of-way of Interstate 81, and was surveyed by VDHR in 2017. The overgrown cemetery is enclosed with a post and wire mesh fence. There are seven markers visible, all located in the southeast portion of the fenced-in area. The markers are made of marble, with three lying on the ground surface and one broken. The markers are tablets (gothic variant styles). The dates on two of the markers are 1863 and 1864. Research indicates that one of the soldiers died at the Battle of Brandy Station.[478] Access to the property was not available at the time of the present survey, and given the integrity issues documented by VDHR, it does not at this time appear to contribute to the national significance of the NHL district.

[476] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "David Stickley Farm," VDHR 085-0065, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed October 8, 2019).

[477] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Stickley Cemetery," VDHR 44SH0573, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

[478] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44SH0542, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

78. Dodson-Wilkins House (VDHR 093-0504) (1 noncontributing building)

The Dodson-Wilkins House is located in Warren County on Long Meadow Road, on a five-acre parcel just to the south of the intersection of Interstates 66 and 81. On the morning of the Battle of Cedar Creek, Confederate forces moved through this area and formed lines of battle a short distance to the northwest of the property. The house was originally constructed during the early nineteenth century as a side-gabled, log, hall and parlor dwelling. A wing was added to the original main block c. 1890-1900, resulting in the current L-plan configuration. The house has a cross-gabled standing-seam metal roof and six-over-six, double-hung, wood-sash windows. At the rear of the dwelling is a one-story frame kitchen wing with side porch. Access to the property was not available at the time of the present survey. VDHR documentation, compiled in 1991, notes the presence of a barn, two sheds, and a privy on the property, but provides no dates of construction for these associated resources.[479] Because of limited site access and information available, the property is identified as noncontributing to the NHL district.

79. Unnamed Site (VDHR 44SH0387) (1 noncontributing site)

[redacted] Neither Union nor Confederate forces were known to have been entrenched at this location during the Battle of Cedar Creek, and no combat associated with the battle is known to have occurred at this site. Union camps and fortifications were all located to the north of the river and Confederate forces used this area as a travel corridor both before and after the battle.[480] Because this site has not been linked to the events of the Battle of Cedar Creek, it does not contribute to the national significance of the NHL district.

80. Keister Property (VDHR 44SH0374) (1 noncontributing site)

[redacted].[481] As such, the site does not appear to hold the potential to yield information relevant to the national significance of the NHL district.

81. Commemorative Monuments (4 noncontributing objects)

Between 1885 and 1926, four monuments were erected on the Cedar Creek Battlefield by various veterans and commemorative groups. These monuments consist of the 8th Vermont Infantry Monument (located on the contributing site 44FK0060), 128th New York Infantry Monument (44FK0058), Stephen D. Ramseur Monument (034-5297), and the Freeman Monument (034-5298). These monuments all fall outside of the period of significance for the NHL district and are not directly related to the Battle of Cedar Creek on October 19, 1864. While these monuments are of local importance, honoring the sacrifices made by soldiers of both

[479] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), "Dodson-Wilkins House," VDHR 093-0504, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

[480] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44SH0387, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

[481] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), VDHR 44SH0374, https://vcris.dhr.virginia.gov/vcris/Mapviewer/ (accessed September 26, 2019).

sides during the battle, they are not of national significance within the context of post-Civil War commemoration in the United States, and are as such noncontributing to the NHL district.

81a. 8th Vermont Infantry Monument (1 noncontributing object). Located on the contributing Vermont Monument Property (44FK0060), site of intense combat during the morning phase of the battle, this monument was commissioned and installed in 1885 by the Sheridan's Veterans Association.[482] The monument consists of a marble slab bearing a tribute to the fallen soldiers of the 8th Vermont Infantry. The monument is enclosed by an original iron fence.

81b. 128th New York Infantry Monument (1 noncontributing object). This monument (44FK0058) is located south of Belle Grove Plantation on the west side of the Valley Pike, at the entrance to the trail that provides visitor access to the XIX Corps earthworks. The monument was erected in 1907 by the Sheridan's Veterans Association. Designed and manufactured by Henry P. Reiger of Baltimore, the monument rests on a rusticated granite ashlar base.[483] An inscription to the memory of the regiment's soldiers who fell in battle is centered on the upper portion of the base. Sculpted in relief on the granite tablet are crossed rifles, a knapsack, blanket, and canteen, with a sword beneath, and a projecting lozenge-shaped block inscribed "128th REGT N.Y.S.V.I."

81c. Stephen D. Ramseur Monument (1 noncontributing object). Dedicated to the memory of Confederate Maj. Gen. Stephen Dodson Ramseur, this monument (VDHR 034-5297) is located on the west side of the Valley Pike, north of Belle Grove Road. It was erected in 1920 by the North Carolina Historical Commission and the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.[484] This polished marble Doric column stands on a square, rusticated granite base. The base has a pedimented bronze tablet affixed to it that bears a memorial inscription to Ramseur along with the North Carolina motto "ESSE QUAM VIDERI" and an eagle motif in bas relief. The column does not support an entablature but instead a marble block upon which is stacked a pyramid of bronze cannonballs.

81d. Freeman Monument (1 noncontributing object). This marker (VDHR 034-5298) is located on the west side of the Valley Pike, south of Belle Grove Road. It was erected in 1926 by the Battlefield Markers Association, an organization established in Virginia in 1924 by Richmond historian Douglas Southall Freeman to commemorate the state's Civil War battlefields.[485] The monument consists of a limestone ashlar base which supports a limestone tablet featuring a rectangular bronze plaque, which provides a brief overview of the battle.

[482] Noyalas, 96-97; "Virginia News," *Alexandria Gazette*, September 22, 1885, 2.

[483] Noyalas, 41, 99-100; "A Monument at Cedar Creek," *National Tribune*, October 24, 1907, 7; "Monument Dedicated," *Washington Herald*, October 16, 1907, 4.

[484] Noyalas, 101-02; "Monument Unveiled to Civil War Officers," *Evening Star*, September 17, 1920, 2.

[485] "Battlefield Markers' Association Formed," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, April 28, 1924, 2;
"Plan Battlefield Marker Unveiling at Strasburg," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, October 17, 1926, 59.

Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove Plantation National Historic Landmark District Resource Data Tables

No.	Resource Name	Type	VDHR ID	County	Date	Photo	Contributing Status
1	Cedar Creek Battlefield	Site	N/A	Frederick, Warren, Shenandoah	1864	N/A	C
2	Dinges House	Building	034-0237	Frederick	c. 1840	N/A	C
3	Western View Farm	Building	034-0236	Frederick	c. 1840	N/A	C
4a	Old Forge Farm, Main Dwelling	Building	034-0125	Frederick	18th – 19th cent.	N/A	C
4b	Old Forge Farm, Ice House	Building	034-0125	Frederick	18th cent.	N/A	C
4c	Old Forge Farm, Hammer Mill	Building	034-0125	Frederick	1923	N/A	NC
4d	Old Forge Farm, Shed	Building	034-0125	Frederick	c. 1920	N/A	NC
4e	Old Forge Farm, Privy	Building	034-0125	Frederick	c. 1900	N/A	NC
4f	Old Forge Farm, Root Cellar	Building	034-0125	Frederick	c. 1900	N/A	NC
4g	Old Forge Farm, Shed	Building	034-0125	Frederick	1983	N/A	NC
4h	Old Forge Farm, Shed	Building	034-0125	Frederick	c. 1960	N/A	NC
4i	Old Forge Farm, Shed	Building	034-0125	Frederick	c. 1960	N/A	NC
4j	Old Forge Farm, Shed	Building	034-0125	Frederick	c. 1960	N/A	NC
4k	Old Forge Farm, Abutment	Structure	034-0125	Frederick	N/A	N/A	NC
4l	Zane's Furnace	Site	44FK0046	Frederick	18th – 19th cent.	N/A	C
4m	Marlboro Iron Works	Site	44FK0050	Frederick	18th – 19th cent.	N/A	C
4n	Old Forge Farm, Cemetery	Site	44FK0545	Frederick	19th cent.	N/A	NC
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
5a	Cedar Grove	Building	034-0189	Frederick	19th cent.	21	C
5b	Cedar Grove, Mill Ruins	Site	034-0189	Frederick	19th cent.	N/A	C
6	Log House at Smith Mill	Building	034-0200	Frederick	19th cent.	N/A	C
7	Cupp's Mill	Site	44FK0857	Frederick	19th cent.	N/A	C
8	Merritt's Camp	Site	44FK0770	Frederick	1864	N/A	C
9	Union Cavalry Encampment	Site	44FK0771	Frederick	1864	N/A	C
10	House, Route 634	Building	034-0231	Frederick	c. 1840	N/A	C

No.	Resource Name	Type	VDHR ID	County	Date	Photo	Contributing Status
11a	Miller-Kendrick-Walter House	Building	034-0131	Frederick	c. 1830	18	C
11b	Millbrook Mill	Site	44FK0713	Frederick	19th cent.	N/A	C
11c	Miller's House	Site	44FK0818	Frederick	19th cent.	N/A	C
12a	Thorndale Farm, Larrick-Nixon House	Building	034-0081	Frederick	18th – 19th cent.	N/A	C
12b	Thorndale Farm, Smokehouse	Building	034-0081	Frederick	c. 1840	N/A	C
12c	Thorndale Farm, Bank Barn	Building	034-0081	Frederick	c. 1870	N/A	NC
12d	Thorndale Farm, Shed	Building	034-0081	Frederick	1980	N/A	NC
12e	Thorndale Farm, Stone Well	Structure	034-0081	Frederick	18th – 19th cent.	N/A	C
12f	Frame gazebo	Structure	N/A	Frederick	1980	N/A	NC
13	St. Thomas Episcopal Church	Building	260-0001	Frederick	1837	N/A	C
14	House at 148 Minie Ball Court	Building	N/A	Frederick	c. 1850	N/A	C
15	Idlewild	Building	034-0223	Frederick	c. 1840	20	C
16a	Solomon Heater House	Building	034-0082	Frederick	c. 1790	7	C
16b	Heater Farmstead	Site	44FK0509	Frederick	18th - 19th cent.	N/A	C
16c	Solomon Heater Farm, Unnamed Site	Site	44FK0508	Frederick	19th – 20th cent.	N/A	NC
16d	Heater Run Structure	Site	44FK0510	Frederick	N/A	N/A	NC
16e	Solomon Heater Farm, Unnamed Site	Site	44FK0513	Frederick	N/A	N/A	NC
17	Ashby Tenancy	Site	44FK0511	Frederick	19th cent.	N/A	C
18a	Belle Grove Manor House	Building	034-0002	Frederick	1797, c. 1820	1-3	C
18b	Belle Grove Plantation Office and Store	Building	034-0002	Frederick	c. 1788	6	C
18c	Belle Grove Plantation, Icehouse	Building	034-0002	Frederick	c. 1803-1836	5	C
18d	Belle Grove Plantation, Smokehouse	Building	034-0002	Frederick	c. 1803-1836	4	C
18e	Belle Grove Plantation, Shed	Building	034-0002	Frederick	20th cent.	N/A	NC

No.	Resource Name	Type	VDHR ID	County	Date	Photo	Contributing Status
18f	Belle Grove Plantation, Shed	Building	034-0002	Frederick	20th cent.	N/A	NC
18g	Belle Grove Plantation, Shed	Building	034-0002	Frederick	20th cent.	N/A	NC
18h	Belle Grove Plantation, Shed	Building	034-0002	Frederick	20th cent.	N/A	NC
18i	Belle Grove Plantation, Bank Barn	Building	034-0002	Frederick	c. 1918	N/A	NC
18j	Belle Grove Plantation, Barn	Building	034-0002	Frederick	20th cent.	N/A	NC
18k	Belle Grove	Site	44FK0016	Frederick	18th – 19th cent.	N/A	C
18l	Belle Grove Plantation Office and Store	Site	44FK0502	Frederick	18th – 19th cent.	N/A	C
18m	Belle Grove Enslaved Quarter	Site	44FK0520	Frederick	19th cent.	N/A	C
18n	Belle Grove Stable Complex	Site	44FK0522	Frederick	18th cent.	N/A	C
18o	Belle Grove Plantation, Enslaved Burial Ground	Site	N/A	Frederick	18th – 19th cent.	N/A	C
18p	Belle Grove Barn Complex	Site	44FK0521	Frederick	18th – 19th cent.	N/A	C
18q	Belle Grove Dependency	Site	44FK0609	Frederick	N/A	N/A	NC
18r	Unnamed Site	Site	44FK0503	Frederick	N/A	N/A	NC
19	Spiggle House	Building	034-0215	Frederick	19th cent.	N/A	C
20	Matthews Mill Road	Site	44FK0777	Frederick	19th cent.	N/A	C
21	Earthworks	Site	44FK0773	Frederick	1864	N/A	C
22	Rifle Pits	Site	44FK0774	Frederick	1864	N/A	C
23	Hottle's Mill	Site	44FK0714	Frederick	19th cent.	N/A	C
24	Taft's Battery, 5th New York Light Artillery	Site	44FK0516	Frederick	1864	N/A	C
25	Unnamed Farmstead	Site	44FK0610	Frederick	19th cent.	N/A	C
26	XIX Corps Entrenchments	Site	44FK0517	Frederick	1864	25	C
27	Earthworks	Site	44FK0737	Frederick	1864	N/A	C
28	Flying "V" Earthworks	Site	44FK0608	Frederick	1864	N/A	C
29	Battle Position, 11th Indiana	Site	44FK0518	Frederick	1864	N/A	C

No.	Resource Name	Type	VDHR ID	County	Date	Photo	Contributing Status
30	Claytor Property Project Area	Site	44FK0809	Frederick	18th – 20th cent.	N/A	C
31	Vermont Monument Property	Site	44FK0060	Frederick	1864	N/A	C
32	Hayes Camp	Site	44FK0868	Frederick	1864	N/A	C
33	Old Valley Pike Abutments	Structure	034-5301	Frederick	19th cent.	10	C
34a	Daniel Stickley House	Building	085-0013	Shenandoah	19th cent.	8	C
34b	Daniel Stickley Farm, Crib Barn	Building	085-0013	Shenandoah	19th cent.	N/A	C
34c	Daniel Stickley Farm, Worker's Dwelling	Building	085-0013	Shenandoah	19th cent.	N/A	C
34d	Daniel Stickley Farm, Smokehouse	Building	085-0013	Shenandoah	19th cent.	N/A	C
34e	Daniel Stickley Farm, Equipment Shed	Building	085-0013	Shenandoah	19th – 20th cent.	N/A	NC
34f	Daniel Stickley Farm, Barn	Building	085-0013	Shenandoah	20th cent.	N/A	NC
34g	Daniel Stickley Farm, Equipment Shed	Building	085-0013	Shenandoah	20th cent.	N/A	NC
34h	Daniel Stickley Farm, Mill Ruins	Site	085-0014, 44SH0470	Shenandoah	18th – 19th cent.	9	C
34i	Daniel Stickley Farm, Road Trace	Site	085-0014, 44SH0470	Shenandoah	18th cent.	N/A	C
34j	Daniel Stickley Farm, Road Trace	Site	085-0014, 44SH0470	Shenandoah	19th cent.	N/A	C
34k	Daniel Stickley Farm, Cemetery	Site	44SH0574	Shenandoah	c. 1864	N/A	C
34l	Ashby's Battery	Site	N/A	Shenandoah	c. 1862 – 1864	N/A	NC
34m	Carter's Battery	Site	N/A	Shenandoah	c. 1864	N/A	NC
35a	Fort Bowman	Building	085-0004	Shenandoah	c. 1771	11-12	C
35b	Fort Bowman, Summer Kitchen	Building	085-0004	Shenandoah	19th cent.	12	C
35c	Fort Bowman, Well House	Building	085-0004	Shenandoah	19th – 20th cent.	N/A	NC
35d	Fort Bowman Unnamed Tenant House	Building	085-0004	Shenandoah	Late 19th cent.	N/A	NC

No.	Resource Name	Type	VDHR ID	County	Date	Photo	Contributing Status
35e	Bowman Cemetery	Site	N/A	Shenandoah	19th – 20th cent.	13	C
36a.	Mount Pleasant	Building	085-0072	Shenandoah	c. 1790	N/A	C
36b	Mount Pleasant, Smokehouse	Building	085-0072	Shenandoah	c. 1812	N/A	C
36c	Mount Pleasant, Garage	Building	085-0072	Shenandoah	c. 1930	N/A	NC
36d	Mount Pleasant, Barn	Building	085-0072	Shenandoah	c. 1890-1900	N/A	NC
36e	Mount Pleasant, Wagon Shed/Corn Crib	Building	085-0072	Shenandoah	c. 1920	N/A	NC
36f	Mount Pleasant, Chicken House	Building	085-0072	Shenandoah	c. 1920	N/A	NC
36g	Mount Pleasant, Tenant House	Building	085-0072	Shenandoah	c. 1920	N/A	NC
36h	Mount Pleasant, Garage	Building	085-0072	Shenandoah	c. 1920	N/A	NC
36i	Mount Pleasant, Goat Shed	Building	085-0072	Shenandoah	1990	N/A	NC
36j	Mount Pleasant, Road Trace	Structure	085-0072	Shenandoah	18th cent.	N/A	C
36k	Mount Pleasant, Well	Structure	085-0072	Shenandoah	c. 1900	N/A	NC
37	Bowman's Mill Road	Structure	44WR0463	Shenandoah	19th cent.	N/A	C
38a	Harold Davison Farm, Main Dwelling	Building	093-5059	Warren	c. 1850	28	C
38b	Harold Davison Farm, Tractor Shed	Building	093-5059	Warren	20th cent.	N/A	NC
39a	Bowman Hite House	Building	093-0138	Warren	c. 1851-1853	14	C
39b	Bowman Hite House, Bank Barn	Building	093-0138	Warren	c. 1881	N/A	NC
39c	Bowman Hite House, Smokehouse	Building	093-0138	Warren	19th cent.	N/A	NC
39d	Bowman Hite Farm	Site	44WR0164	Warren	19th – 20th cent.	N/A	C
40	Thoburn's Defensive Line	Site	44WR0169	Warren	1864	26	C
41	Union VIII Corps Site	Site	44WR0298	Warren	1864	N/A	C
42	VIII Corps Earthworks	Site	44WR0467	Warren	1864	N/A	C
43	Possible Union Campsite	Site	44WR0483	Warren	1862-1864	N/A	C
44	House, Route 611	Building	093-0501	Warren	c. 1830	19	C
45a	Long Meadow	Building	093-0006	Warren	1848, 1891	15	C

No.	Resource Name	Type	VDHR ID	County	Date	Photo	Contributing Status
45b	Long Meadow, Overseer's House	Building	093-0006	Warren	18th cent.	16	C
45c	Long Meadow, Springhouse/Icehouse	Building	093-0006	Warren	18th cent.	17	C
45d	Long Meadow, Frame Workshop	Building	093-0006	Warren	19th cent.	N/A	NC
45e	Long Meadow, Bank Barn	Building	093-0006	Warren	c. 1891	N/A	NC
45f	Long Meadow, Chicken Coop	Building	093-0006	Warren	c. 1930	N/A	NC
45g	Long Meadow, Shed	Building	093-0006	Warren	20th cent.	N/A	NC
45h	Long Meadow, Shed	Building	093-0006	Warren	20th cent.	N/A	NC
45i	Long Meadow, Cemetery	Site	093-0006	Warren	18th – 19th cent.	N/A	C
46	Signal Knob	Site	44SH0355	Shenandoah	1864	N/A	C
47a	Hupp's Hill	Site	44SH0353	Shenandoah	1864	N/A	C
47b	Hupp's Hill Interpretive Center	Building	N/A	Shenandoah	1972	N/A	NC
48a	Spangler's Mill	Building	306-0002	Shenandoah	1797	N/A	C
48b	Spangler's Mill	Site	44SH0497	Shenandoah	18th cent.	N/A	C
49	Unnamed Site	Site	44FK0622	Frederick	c. 1864	N/A	NC
50	Confederate Left Flank	Site	44FK0730	Frederick	1864	N/A	NC
51	House, Route 627	Building	034-0246	Frederick	c. 1840	N/A	NC
52	Unnamed Farmstead	Site	44SH0534	Shenandoah	N/A	N/A	NC
53	Unnamed Dwelling	Site	44SH0535	Shenandoah	N/A	N/A	NC
54	Nieswander's Fort	Site	44FK0033	Frederick	18th cent.	N/A	NC
55	Nieswander's Road	Site	44FK0766	Frederick	18th – 19th cent.	N/A	NC
56	Nieswander's Cemetery	Site	44FK0778	Frederick	18th – 19th cent.	N/A	NC
57	Tabler Farm Complex	Site	44FK0767	Frederick	19th – 20th cent.	N/A	NC
58	Tabler Farm Road	Site	44FK0769	Frederick	19th – 20th cent.	N/A	NC
59	Tabler Cemetery	Site	44FK0768	Frederick	19th cent.	N/A	NC
60	East Road	Site	4FK0772	Frederick	19th cent.	N/A	NC
61	Public Springhead	Site	44FK0524	Frederick	18th – 19th cent.	N/A	NC
62	Possible Union Campsite	Site	44FK0492	Frederick	N/A	N/A	NC
63	Possible Union Campsite	Site	44FK0493	Frederick	N/A	N/A	NC
64	Possible Union Campsite	Site	44FK0494	Frederick	N/A	N/A	NC

No.	Resource Name	Type	VDHR ID	County	Date	Photo	Contributing Status
65	Possible Union Campsite	Site	44FK0495	Frederick	N/A	N/A	NC
66	Possible Union Campsite	Site	44FK0496	Frederick	N/A	N/A	NC
67	Possible Union Campsite	Site	44FK0497	Frederick	N/A	N/A	NC
68	Possible Union Campsite	Site	44FK0498	Frederick	N/A	N/A	NC
69	Possible Union Campsite	Site	44FK0499	Frederick	N/A	N/A	NC
70	Possible Union Campsite	Site	44FK0500	Frederick	N/A	N/A	NC
71	Possible Union Campsite	Site	44FK0501	Frederick	N/A	N/A	NC
72	Possible Union Campsite	Site	44FK0506	Frederick	N/A	N/A	NC
73	XIX Corps Encampment	Site	44FK0519	Frederick	c. 1864	N/A	NC
74	Panther Cave	Site	44FK0017	Frederick	Late Woodland Period– 19th cent.	N/A	NC
75	David Stickley Farm	Building	085-0065	Shenandoah	18th – 20th cent.	N/A	NC
76	Stickley Cemetery	Site	44SH0573	Shenandoah	19th – 21 cent.	N/A	NC
77	Unnamed Cemetery	Site	44SH0542	Shenandoah	19th cent.	N/A	NC
78	Dodson-Wilkins House	Building	093-0504	Warren	19th – 20th cent.	N/A	NC
79	Unnamed Site	Site	44SH0387	Shenandoah	c. 1861 – 1865	N/A	NC
80	Keister Property	Site	44SH0374	Shenandoah	19th – 20th cent.	N/A	NC
81a	8th Vermont Infantry Monument	Object	44FK0060	Frederick	1885	N/A	NC
81b	128th New York Infantry Monument	Object	44FK0058	Frederick	1907	N/A	NC
81c	Stephen D. Ramseur Monument	Object	034-5297	Frederick	1920	N/A	NC
81d	Freeman Monument	Object	034-5298	Frederick	1926	N/A	NC

Additional Noncontributing Resources

There are 454 noncontributing architectural resources within the updated NHL district that fall outside of the 1771-1864 period of significance and are not associated with the NHL contributing resources. Of these, 153 properties were extant at the time of original designation in 1969. While this number seems high, it is important to note that many of these resources are mid- to late twentieth century, single-family dwellings on properties that are located in a dispersed pattern across the rural landscape. In many cases, these buildings are set back from the road, and their impact is also lessened by the district's rolling topography. Clusters of noncontributing resources are primarily found on the periphery of Middletown outside of the Middletown National Register historic district boundaries. Despite these intrusions, the boundary has been drawn to include all areas

identified as significantly associated with the battle that still convey the aspects of integrity needed for the district. Noncontributing buildings within the NHL district are listed in the table below.

Address	County	Primary Resource	Date
164 Klines Mill Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1957
182 Klines Mill Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1978
246 Klines Mill Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1911
141 Klines Mill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1987
239 Klines Mill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1972
313 Klines Mill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1931
401 Klines Mill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1986
478 Klines Mill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2003
483 Klines Mill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1993
520 Klines Mill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1999
561 Klines Mill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2006
571 Klines Mill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2006
621 Klines Mill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1991
725 Klines Mill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1998
731 Klines Mill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1994
734 Klines Mill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1989
746 Klines Mill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1989
115 Westernview Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1997
120 Westernview Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1996
151 Westernview Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2000
205 Westernview Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1998
241 Westernview Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1997
276 Westernview Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1998
277 Westernview Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1997
300 Westernview Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1997
325 Westernview Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1998
342 Westernview Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1996
357 Westernview Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2000
379 Westernview Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1998
411 Westernview Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1997
430 Westernview Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1998
443 Westernview Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1998
447 Westernview Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2000
451 Westernview Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1998
862 Clark Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1982

Address	County	Primary Resource	Date
986 Clark Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1927
1080 Clark Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2000
1138 Clark Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2001
1160 Clark Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2002
7011 Middle Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1985
7120 Middle Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1901
7137 Middle Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1960
7152 Middle Road	Frederick	Church	1878
7155 Middle Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1961
7189 Middle Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1946
7219 Middle Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1891
7221 Middle Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2003
7223 Middle Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2007
7248 Middle Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2006
7252 Middle Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2002
121 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1993
123 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1997
155 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1992
195 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1974
268 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1990
320 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1909
369 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2002
395 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2002
417 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1975
440 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1972
489 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1976
592 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1891
637 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1971
688 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1973
722 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1973
729 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1969
751 Minebank Road	Frederick	Mobile Home	1966
757 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1992
777 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1989
781 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1989
791 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1977
804 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1994

Address	County	Primary Resource	Date
830 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1911
833 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1957
871 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1967
877 Minebank Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2006
190 Mustang Lane	Frederick	School	1986
131 Cougill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2019
141 Cougill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2019
151 Cougill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2019
161 Cougill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2019
171 Cougill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2019
281 Cougill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2005
329 Cougill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2003
330 Cougill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2003
345 Cougill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1991
431 Cougill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2002
440 Cougill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1921
530 Cougill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1987
588 Cougill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1931
595 Cougill Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1988
118 Mineral Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1959
205 Mineral Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1939
216 Mineral Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1960
233 Mineral Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1900
319 Mineral Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1899
323 Mineral Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1943
327 Mineral Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2011
85 Reliance Road	Frederick	Commercial	2015
90 Reliance Road	Frederick	Commercial	1987
91 Reliance Road	Frederick	Commercial	1966
122 Reliance Road	Frederick	Commercial	1967
223 Reliance Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1921
226 Reliance Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1967
305 Reliance Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1951
388 N. Buckton Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1988
470 N. Buckton Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1990
500 N. Buckton Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1989
541 N. Buckton Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1955

Address	County	Primary Resource	Date
551 N. Buckton Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2004
219 S. Buckton Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1950
225 S. Buckton Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1986
323 S. Buckton Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1977
401 S. Buckton Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2007
231 Catlett Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1977
996 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1961
1020 Hites Road	Frederick	Mobile Home	1977
1031 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1931
1038 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2001
1053 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1972
1067 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1977
1077 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1977
1087 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1977
1097 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1972
1111 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2013
1162 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1956
1196 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1901
1213 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1981
1249 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1977
1273 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1979
1282 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1945
1320 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2001
1341 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1994
1461 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1990
1476 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2006
1561 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1910
1595 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1911
1599 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1989
1643 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2007
1710 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1911
1736 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1911
1754 Hites Road	Frederick	Mobile Home	1971
1770 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1960
1875 Hites Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2002
124 Veterans Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1961
152 Veterans Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1891

Address	County	Primary Resource	Date
164 Veterans Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2012
231 Veterans Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1947
250 Veterans Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1931
330 Veterans Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2009
401 Veterans Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1980
425 Veterans Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2000
461 Veterans Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2009
490 Veterans Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1997
505 Veterans Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2014
557 Veterans Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2014
581 Veterans Road	Frederick	Mobile Home	2006
611 Veterans Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2008
612 Veterans Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1959
700 Veterans Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1961
807 Veterans Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1911
2391 Third Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1976
2420 Third Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1996
2425 Third Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1996
2430 Third Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1996
2435 Third Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1996
2440 Third Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1955
2445 Third Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1900
2455 Third Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1997
2460 Third Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1996
2465 Third Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1997
2470 Third Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1997
2475 Third Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1996
2480 Third Street	Frederick	Sewage Plant	1987
2485 Third Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1997
2492 Third Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1981
3001 Third Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1945
2162 Fourth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1990
2163 Fourth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1973
2175 Fourth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1960
2180 Fourth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2002
2190 Fourth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1910
2376 Fourth Street	Frederick	Church	1976

Address	County	Primary Resource	Date
2701 Fourth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1933
2941 Fourth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1992
2112 Fifth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1994
2122 Fifth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1995
2123 Fifth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1996
2132 Fifth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1995
2133 Fifth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1996
2136 Fifth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1994
2140 Fifth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1995
2143 Fifth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1994
2150 Fifth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1996
2153 Fifth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1994
2160 Fifth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1993
2170 Fifth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1994
2180 Fifth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1994
2190 Fifth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1995
2205 Fifth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2005
2350 Fifth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1988
2126 Sixth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1996
2140 Sixth Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1993
200 High Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2006
221 High Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2006
240 High Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2013
241 High Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1900
283 High Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1970
309 High Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1989
316 High Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1959
317 High Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1945
320 Commerce Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2019
500 Commerce Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1948
504 Commerce Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1910
510 Commerce Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1948
514 Commerce Street	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1954
291 Idlewild Street	Frederick	Mobile Home	2004
309 Idlewild Street	Frederick	Mobile Home	2003
120 Meadow Trace Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2014
164 Meadow Trace Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2001

Address	County	Primary Resource	Date
186 Meadow Trace Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1999
199 Meadow Trace Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2002
214 Meadow Trace Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2002
240 Meadow Trace Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2003
245 Meadow Trace Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2000
131 Garland Snapp Drive	Frederick	College	2014
137 Darterjo Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2014
150 Darterjo Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2006
161 Darterjo Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2018
170 Darterjo Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2011
181 Darterjo Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2017
201 Darterjo Drive	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2009
216 Marsh Brook Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2006
2400 Greenbriar Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1921
2408 Greenbriar Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1987
2415 Greenbriar Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1977
2416 Greenbriar Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1982
2424 Greenbriar Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1982
2432 Greenbriar Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1981
2440 Greenbriar Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1981
2447 Greenbriar Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1981
2448 Greenbriar Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1982
2454 Greenbriar Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1981
2459 Greenbriar Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1981
2475 Greenbriar Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1985
2403 Laurel Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1973
2413 Laurel Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1977
2414 Laurel Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2000
2416 Laurel Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1977
2423 Laurel Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1981
2432 Laurel Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1996
2433 Laurel Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1982
2443 Laurel Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1982
2448 Laurel Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1980
2453 Laurel Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1982
2460 Laurel Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1981
2463 Laurel Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1982

Address	County	Primary Resource	Date
2473 Laurel Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1981
2476 Laurel Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1981
2483 Laurel Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1981
2490 Laurel Lane	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1980
2464 Cypress Way	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1985
2476 Cypress Way	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1985
2484 Cypress Way	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1985
2492 Cypress Way	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1985
2500 Cypress Way	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1985
2503 Cypress Way	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1983
2508 Cypress Way	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1984
2516 Cypress Way	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1985
2517 Cypress Way	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1982
111 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1904
117 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1988
150 Chapel Road	Frederick	Church	1891
161 Chapel Road	Frederick	Mobile Home	1998
183 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1971
281 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1971
288 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1911
382 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1977
465 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2001
473 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2002
507 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1999
561 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2000
1011 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1891
1115 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1995
1132 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1911
1786 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1972
1798 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1963
1810 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1965
1832 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1911
1838 Chapel Road	Frederick	Church	1961
1850 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1956
1900 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1972
1962 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1911
2001 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1896

Address	County	Primary Resource	Date
2085 Chapel Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1960
137 Meadow Mills Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1974
153 Meadow Mills Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2019
165 Meadow Mills Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1977
189 Meadow Mills Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1975
201 Meadow Mills Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1993
217 Meadow Mills Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1992
224 Meadow Mills Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1989
255 Meadow Mills Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2000
331 Meadow Mills Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1911
341 Meadow Mills Road	Frederick	Mobile Home	2006
353 Meadow Mills Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1973
470 Meadow Mills Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1928
480 Meadow Mills Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1911
488 Meadow Mills Road	Frederick	Church	N/A
516 Meadow Mills Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1938
536 Meadow Mills Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1930
550 Meadow Mills Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1931
688 Meadow Mills Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1940
420 Belle Grove Road	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1900
6634 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1964
6652 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1941
6666 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1935
6668 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1938
6688 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1931
6698 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1931
6712 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1947
6773 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1933
6776 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1967
6786 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1965
6825 Valley Pike	Frederick	Commercial	1941
6836 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1951
6837 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1930
6861 Valley Pike	Frederick	Apartment	1947
6870 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1931
6885 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1946
6889 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	2001

Address	County	Primary Resource	Date
6892 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1947
6917 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1880
6931 Valley Pike	Frederick	Commercial	1957
6936 Valley Pike	Frederick	Apartment	1947
6936 Valley Pike	Frederick	Apartment	1950
6936 Valley Pike	Frederick	Apartment	1950
6938 Valley Pike	Frederick	Apartment	1947
6972 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1971
6986 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1976
7000 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1976
7012 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1976
7024 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1977
7036 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1977
7114 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1911
7180 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1948
7233 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1911
7328 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1988
7338 Valley Pike	Frederick	Mobile Home	1965
7354 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1890
8060 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1971
8086 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1957
8101 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1959
8112 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1935
8126 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1957
8140 Valley Pike	Frederick	Commercial	1956
8183 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1883
8207 Valley Pike	Frederick	Industrial	1980
8209 Valley Pike	Frederick	Industrial	1971
8365 Valley Pike	Frederick	Industrial	1980
8395 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1963
8409 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1950
8421 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1956
8437 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1951
8503 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1952
8562 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1931
8607 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1974
8623 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1961

Address	County	Primary Resource	Date
8639 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1951
8693 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1977
8739 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1949
8771 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1982
8804 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1976
8834 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1925
8886 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1978
8920 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1891
8950 Valley Pike	Frederick	Commercial	1978
26704 Valley Pike	Frederick	Single Dwelling	1967
271 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1992
443 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	2018
559 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	2000
641 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	c. 1950
893 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	c. 1920
1253 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1943
1253 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	c. 1910
1974 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	2016
2178 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	2001
2237 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	c. 1930
2268 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1937
2335 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	c. 1940
2348 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	2006
2424 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1972
2605 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1986
2696 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	2003
2794 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	2002
2795 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1991
2930 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	2003
2997 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1997
3031 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	N/A
3033 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	N/A
3128 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	2006
3141 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	c. 1910
3142 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	2004
3247 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	2006
3418 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	2005

Address	County	Primary Resource	Date
3504 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	2006
3598 Long Meadow Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1945
89 Bowmans Mill Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1952
211 Bowmans Mill Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1905
964 Bowmans Mill Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1997
1021 Bowmans Mill Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	c. 1910
1478 Bowmans Mill Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	c. 1940
1573 Bowmans Mill Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1999
1626 Bowmans Mill Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1976
1675 Bowmans Mill Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	2007
1690 Bowmans Mill Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1976
1845 Bowmans Mill Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	2009
1964 Bowmans Mill Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1980
2082 Bowmans Mill Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1986
57 Water Plant Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	c. 1900
86 Water Plant Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1958
191 Water Plant Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1982
234 Water Plant Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1993
249 Water Plant Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1974
278 Water Plant Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1990
650 Water Plant Road	Warren	Single Dwelling	1968
170 Nelson Road	Warren	Mobile Home	N/A
20 Howard Lane	Warren	Single Dwelling	2007
1460 Pouts Hill Road	Shenandoah	Single Dwelling	1940
33726 Old Valley Pike	Shenandoah	Single Dwelling	1950
33760 Old Valley Pike	Shenandoah	Commercial	2008
33820 Old Valley Pike	Shenandoah	Commercial	2008
33964 Old Valley Pike	Shenandoah	Commercial	1996
33982 Old Valley Pike	Shenandoah	Commercial	2010
144 Fort Bowman Road	Shenandoah	Commercial	c. 1965
81 Loving Lane	Shenandoah	Single Dwelling	1961
77 Loving Lane	Shenandoah	Single Dwelling	1952
34801 Old Valley Pike	Shenandoah	Single Dwelling	2003
34686 Old Valley Pike	Shenandoah	Single Dwelling	1930
34646 Old Valley Pike	Shenandoah	Columbia Gas Transmission Facility	N/A
119 Hite Lane	Shenandoah	Commercial	2008

Address	County	Primary Resource	Date
245 Hite Lane	Shenandoah	Commercial	2003
64 Homewood Way	Shenandoah	Single Dwelling	N/A
88 Signal Knob Cottage Drive	Shenandoah	Single Dwelling	N/A
96 Signal Knob Cottage Drive	Shenandoah	Single Dwelling	N/A
102 Signal Knob Cottage Drive	Shenandoah	Single Dwelling	N/A
108 Signal Knob Cottage Drive	Shenandoah	Single Dwelling	N/A
112 Signal Knob Cottage Drive	Shenandoah	Single Dwelling	N/A
116 Signal Knob Cottage Drive	Shenandoah	Single Dwelling	N/A
122 Signal Knob Cottage Drive	Shenandoah	Single Dwelling	N/A
128 Signal Knob Cottage Drive	Shenandoah	Single Dwelling	N/A
134 Signal Knob Cottage Drive	Shenandoah	Single Dwelling	N/A
140 Signal Knob Cottage Drive	Shenandoah	Single Dwelling	N/A
146 Signal Knob Cottage Drive	Shenandoah	Single Dwelling	N/A

Middletown National Register Historic District

Located within the expanded NHL district boundaries is the Middletown National Register Historic District (VDHR 260-5001). Middletown was established by the Virginia General Assembly in 1794. Located in southern Frederick County, the original town plan was laid out by Dr. Peter Sensensey, and, like other late eighteenth-century towns in the region, Middletown features a principal thoroughfare (Main Street) with a number of secondary parallel and cross streets. Unlike other towns along the Valley Pike, Middletown was not sited at the intersection of principal trade routes, and did not experience the level of antebellum growth and development seen in towns such as Stephens City or Strasburg. During the Battle of Cedar Creek, fighting occurred in the vicinity of Middletown during both the morning and afternoon phases of the engagement.[486] After the battle, wounded Union soldiers were brought to a temporary hospital and morgue that was established at St. Thomas Episcopal Church (VDHR 260-5001).[487]

The Middletown Historic District was listed in the NRHP and the VLR in 2003, with a period of significance of 1794-1952 and a local level of significance. According to the National Register documentation, the district contains 233 contributing and 63 noncontributing buildings, which have been included within the NHL district noncontributing resource count. Both the form and the VDHR cultural resources database document only 143 total properties within the district; other outbuildings, such as guest houses, garages, and chicken coops, are counted as resources in the documentation, but are not individually inventoried. Of the 143 documented

[486] National Register of Historic Places, Middletown Historic District, Frederick County, Virginia, National Register # 03000566.
[487] Noyalas, 75.

resources, the majority (103) were constructed after 1864 and fall outside of the period of significance for the NHL district or are not associated with the NHL district areas of significance. For these reasons, the resources contributing to the Middletown Historic District are included as noncontributing to Cedar Creek and Belle Grove Plantation NHL. St. Thomas Episcopal Church, which is a contributing resource to the Middletown Historic District and individually listed on the NRHP, does contribute to the NHL because it has a specific and documented connection to the Battle of Cedar Creek. The inventoried resources from the Middletown Historic District that do not contribute to the NHL district are listed below. For details about properties that are contributing to the Middletown Historic District, but not individually inventoried, consult the original NRHP nomination form for the district.[488]

Address	Primary Resource	VDHR ID	Dates	Middletown HD Contributing Status
7800 Church Street	house	260-0107	1900–1930	C
7805 Church Street	house	260-0094	1804	C
7813 Church Street	house	260-0093	1820–1830	C
7822 Church Street	house	260-0106	1830/1855	C
7825 Church Street	house	260-0092	1880–1910	C
7845 Church Street	house	260-0091	1790s	C
7864 Church Street	house	260-5001-0008	1990	NC
7874 Church Street	house	260-0105	1870–1890	C
7875 Church Street	house	260-0090	1880	C
7883 Church Street	house	260-0089	1890–1910	C
7884 Church Street	house	260-0102	1880–1910	C
7893 Church Street	house	260-0088	1870–1900	C
7894 Church Street	house	260-0101	1870–1890	C
7907 Church Street	house	260-0087	1870–1900	C
7916 Church Street	house	260-0100	1870–1900	C
7919 Church Street	house	260-0086	1882	C
7927 Church Street	house	260-5001-0018	1960	NC
7935 Church Street	house	260-0085	1920–1940	C
7945 Church Street	house	260-0084	Mid-19th century	C
7948 Church Street	house	260-0097	1820–1840	C

[488] National Register of Historic Places, Middletown Historic District, Frederick County, Virginia, National Register # 03000566.

Address	Primary Resource	VDHR ID	Dates	Middletown HD Contributing Status
7957 Church Street	house	260-0083	1895	C
7967 Church Street	house	260-0082	1890–1900	C
7977 Church Street	house	260-5001-0024	1960	NC
7983 Church Street	house	260-5001-0025	1960	NC
7995 Church Street	house	260-0081	1890–1910	C
8007 Church Street	house	260-0080	1880–1910	C
8019 Church Street	house	260-0079	1880–1910	C
8022 Church Street	house	260-0096	1890–1920	C
8030 Church Street	house	260-0095	1846	C
8043 Church Street	house	260-0078	1870–1910	C
2310 Fifth Street	house	260-0138	1852	C
2325 First Street	warehouse	260-0108	1930s	C
2349 First Street	house	260-0109	1870–1890	C
2371 First Street	house	260-0110	1880–1910	C
2376 First Street	house	260-0111	1880–1910	C
2385 First Street	house	260-0112	1930s	C
2408 First Street	house	260-0114	1915–1930	C
2416 First Street	house	260-0113	1900–1920	C
2432-2434 First Street	house	260-0115	1910–1930	C
2435 First Street	house	260-0005	1920–1940	C
2449 First street	house	260-0118	1997	NC
2457 First Street	house	260-0119	1890–1920	C
2458 First Street	house	260-0116	1800	C
2465 First Street	house	260-0120	1880–1910	C
2470 First Street	house	260-0117	1890–1920	C
2493 First Street	warehouse	260-0121	1900–1930	C
2190 Fourth Street	house	260-0099	1870–1900	C
2191 Fourth Street	house	260-0098	1890–1910	C
7616 Main Street	house	260-0006	1941	C
7624 Main Street	house	260-0007	1941	C

Address	Primary Resource	VDHR ID	Dates	Middletown HD Contributing Status
7625 Main Street	house	260-0015	1935–1950	C
7632 Main Street	house	260-0008	1941	C
7640 Main Street	house	260-0009	1941	C
7648 Main Street	house	260-0010	1941	C
7656 Main Street	house	260-0011	1941	C
7664 Main Street	house	260-0012	1941	C
7665 Main Street	house	260-0014	1910–1930	C
7688 Main Street, 7690 Main Street	school	260-0004	1909	C
7695 Main Street	house	260-0016	1890–1920	C
7700 Main Street	house	260-0025	1891	C
7701-7703 Main Street	house	260-0017	1880–1910	C
7705 Main Street	house	260-0018	1930–1950	C
7708 Main Street	house	260-0026	1890–1910	C
7709 Main Street	house	260-0019	1930	C
7713 Main Street	house	260-0020	1930	C
7723 Main Street	house	260-0021	1940	C
7729 Main Street	house	260-0022	1940	C
7735 Main Street	house	260-5001-0069	1989	NC
7745 Main Street	house	260-0023	Mid-19th century	C
7751 Main Street	house	260-0024	1870–1910	C
7752 Main Street	house	260-0027	1880–1910	C
7760 Main Street	house	260-0028	1870–1900	C
7772 Main Street	house	260-0029	1880–1910	C
7780 Main Street	house	260-0030	1931	C
7783 Main Street	commercial	260-0002	1797	C
7793 Main Street	commercial	260-0003	1750–1760	C
7805 Main Street	commercial	260-0038	1890	C
7815 Main Street	factory	260-5001-0079	c.1997	NC
7820 Main Street	house	260-0032	1911–1915	C

Address	Primary Resource	VDHR ID	Dates	Middletown HD Contributing Status
7824 Main Street	house	260-5001-0081	1960	NC
7827 Main Street	house	260-0040	1797	C
7828 Main Street	house	260-0033	1800	C
7837 Main Street	house	260-0041	1890	C
7840 Main Street	house	260-0034	1891	C
7841 Main Street	commercial	260-0042	1880–1910	C
7843 Main Street	commercial	260-0043	1890	C
7846 Main Street	house	260-0035	1780–1800	C
7849 Main Street	house	260-0044	1880–1910	C
7853 Main Street	theater	260-0045	1946	C
7855 Main Street	fire station	260-5001-0091	1962	NC
7864 Main Street	house	260-0036	1870–1900	C
7868 Main Street	house	260-0037	1800	C
7875 Main Street	house	260-0048	1870	C
7876 Main Street	house	260-0052	1880–1910	C
7881 Main Street	house	260-0049	1900–1920	C
7882 Main Street	church	260-0053	1897	C
7889 Main Street	house	260-0050	1890–1910	C
7895 Main Street	house	260-0051	1920	C
7896 Main Street	house	260-0054	1779	C
7907 Main Street	house	260-0055	1870–1900	C
7913 Main Street	house	260-0056	1910	C
7916-7918 Main Street	commercial	260-5001-0104	1977	NC
7924 Main Street	house	260-0067	1790–1810	C
7927 Main Street	house	260-0057	1820–1830	C
7930 Main Street	house	260-0068	1810–1830	C
7936 Main Street	house	260-5001-0108	1956	NC
7939 Main Street	house	260-0058	1830–1850	C
7948 Main Street	house	260-0069	1890–1920	C
7949 Main Street	commercial	260-5001-0111	c.1990	NC

Address	Primary Resource	VDHR ID	Dates	Middletown HD Contributing Status
7952 Main Street	house	260-0070	1810–1830	C
7957 Main Street	house	260-0059	1810–1840	C
No address listed	commercial	260-5001-0114	1910–1930	C
7960 Main Street	house	260-0071	1900–1930	C
7968 Main Street	house	260-5001-0116	1960	NC
7969 Main Street	house	260-0062	1800	C
7979 Main Street	house	260-5001-0118	1800–1810	C
7985 Main Street	house	260-5001-0119	Mid-19th century	C
7994 Main Street	house	260-0072	1890–1920	C
7995 Main Street	commercial	260-5001-0121	1970	NC
8004 Main Street	house	260-0073	1800–1810	C
8026 Main Street	house	260-0074	1870–1900	C
8034 Main Street	house	260-0075	1880–1910	C
8043 Main Street	house	260-0065	1830–1850	C
8046 Main Street	house	260-0076	1910–1930	C
8049 Main Street	house	260-0066	1900–1920	C
7816 Senseney Avenue	house	260-0122	1800–1820	C
7826 Senseney Avenue	house	260-0123	1800–1830	C
7836 Senseney Avenue	house	260-0124	1910–1940	C
7844 Senseney Avenue	house	260-0125	1892	C
7848 Senseney Avenue	house	260-0126	1890–1920	C
7857 Senseney Avenue	house	260-0127	1900–1930	C
7883 Senseney Avenue	house	260-0128	1880	C
7890 Senseney Avenue	house	260-0130	1890–1920	C
7893 Senseney Avenue	church	260-0129	1818	C
7913 Senseney Avenue	church	260-0132	1880	C
7942 Senseney Avenue	house	260-0133	1810–1850	C
7948 Senseney Avenue	house	260-5001-0139	1880–1910	C
7965 Senseney Avenue	house	260-0136	1880–1910	C
2149 Sixth Street	house	260-0103	1890–1910	C

Address	Primary Resource	VDHR ID	Dates	Middletown HD Contributing Status
2150 Sixth Street	house	260-0104	1870–1900	C
2239 Sixth Street	house	260-0077	1856	C
2375 Third Street	house	260-5001-0144	1970	NC

Integrity

Many of the resources within the expanded NHL district retain high integrity and, overall, the landscape has experienced relatively little encroachment from development considering its vast size. Collectively, this significant military and cultural landscape retains sufficient integrity to convey its national significance as the setting of a strategically and politically important Civil War battle, and as an outstanding group of resources illustrating the economic, social, and architectural development of the Shenandoah Valley from its initial settlement through the antebellum period. Integrity is enhanced by the extent of architecturally and historically significant contributing resources present within the landscape as well as preserved battlefields. Elements within the landscape, such as natural landforms, waterways, fords, and historic roads, which were of tactical importance during the Battle of Cedar Creek, survive and further enhance the overall integrity of the expanded NHL district.

In 2009, the ABPP CWSAC determined that while portions of the Cedar Creek Battlefield had been altered, its most essential features remained intact.[489] The updated NHL boundaries have been reduced in size relative to the 2009 ABPP study area and the Cedar Creek Battlefield (VDHR 034-0303), in part to exclude areas of diminished integrity. These include areas along the Valley Pike corridor through Strasburg and its immediate vicinity. To the east and northeast of Strasburg, there has been considerable commercial and residential development in recent years. A development of single-family houses on suburban lots was constructed in 2003-2004 west of the Valley Pike along Founders Way, Potters Court, Settlers Way, and Dellinger Drive. Similar housing has been constructed east of the Valley Pike, filling much of the area that extends from Oxbow Drive to Crystal Lane. Another recent development of single-family suburban houses is located east of Strasburg on Fulton Drive and the cul-de-sac streets that branch off of it. Since 2000, new hotels, gas stations, banks, and restaurants have been constructed on the commercial lots fronting both sides of the Valley Pike in the northeast section of Strasburg. The 2009 study area also contains a residential section of east Strasburg that extends to the north and south of East Washington Street and consists of houses constructed during the mid to late twentieth century, with some post-2000 infill development. Similarly, the majority of the architectural resources in the portion of the study area contained within the Strasburg National Register Historic District date to outside of the period of significance. The King Street corridor contains some significant eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century buildings, but also contains many post-1864 buildings, many of which have undergone exterior alterations and additions.

The area that historically comprised the battlefield remains predominantly intact, supporting integrity of **Location**. The updated NHL boundaries include 10,998.25 acres, much of which corresponds to the 2009

[489] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program, *Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission's Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields* (Washington, DC: NPS, 2009), 22.

ABPP study area, representing the historic Cedar Creek battlefield. The territory included in the new boundaries correlates to the 1864 Hotchkiss depiction of the battlefield, and also includes areas at the northwest corner of the district identified as combat and troop movement locations on the 1873 Gillespie map and through historical accounts and recent scholarship. The updated boundaries contain an array of contributing buildings, sites, structures, and character-defining landscape features that were present at the time of the battle.

Despite recent development in the vicinity of Middletown, integrity of **Setting** remains intact, and large expanses of the battlefield and cultural landscape have not been subjected to development. Much of the battlefield area remains rural in character and exists as an agricultural landscape, as it did at the time of the battle. The presence of farmhouses and agricultural outbuildings from the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries that postdate the period of significance represent a continuation of the farming tradition within the landscape—a compatible land use that does not detract from its integrity. The landscape has also largely retained the pattern of fields and woodlands that existed historically. Many historic roadways present at the time of the battle are still present within the landscape.

Architectural resources within the district range from eighteenth-century plantation houses, to antebellum period dwellings and farm buildings, to churches. These resources have retained sufficient integrity of **Design**, **Materials**, and **Workmanship**, despite typical alterations such as the installation of replacement windows, doors, roofing, and porches. The presence of agricultural buildings, enslaved housing, and outbuildings from the period of significance contributes to the integrity of design and materials of the plantation and farm landscapes in the district. Those architectural resources within the district that have been individually listed in the NRHP, such as Belle Grove, Long Meadow, Mount Pleasant, and Fort Bowman, demonstrate particularly strong integrity in these areas.

The NHL district demonstrates integrity of **Feeling and Association** sufficient to convey its national significance. Within the expanded NHL district, earthworks, trenches, campsites, roads, and strategic fords associated with the Battle of Cedar Creek remain and are still discernable. The earthworks erected by the Union XIX and VIII Corps are contained within the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park and add to the public interpretation of the battlefield landscape. Important character-defining natural features that played a role in the battle, such as the Red Hills Plateau and Bowman's Mill Ford, still exist. Many of the scenes captured in the 1884 photographs of T. Dwight and Walter S. Biscoe are still recognizable, particularly the expansive views of the battlefield visible from the Valley Pike. Highly significant architectural resources, such as Belle Grove and the Daniel Stickley House, help illustrate the cultural development of the NHL district, are associated with the events of the battle, and retain excellent integrity. These and other pre-1864 architectural resources found throughout the district, which constitute part of the battlefield landscape and reflect its cultural development, further support integrity of setting, feeling, and association.

Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park

Contained within the expanded NHL district is the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park (CEBE), which was established by an Act of Congress in 2002 (Public Law 107-373). CEBE contains 3,536 acres (including most of the original 1969 NHL) and is a "partnership park" jointly owned and managed by the National Park Service, private landowners, and other interests. The park is a unit within the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields National Historic District, a National Heritage Area. Spanning across eight counties (Augusta, Clark, Frederick, Highland, Page, Rockingham, Shenandoah, and Warren), it was created by Congress in 1996

to preserve and interpret the region's Civil War battlefields and related historical sites, and is administered by NPS in partnership with the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation.

National Register Status of the District

A 3,713-acre portion of the Cedar Creek battlefield was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1969 under the name "Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove," and was also listed in the NRHP and VLR at this time. In addition, the NHL district contains a number of contributing properties that have been individually listed in the NRHP and VLR. These include Fort Bowman (NRIS 69000279**,** VDHR 085-0004), Long Meadow (NRIS 95001169, VDHR 093-0006), Mount Pleasant (NRIS 11000553**,** VDHR 085-0072), Thorndale Farm (VDHR 034-0081), Old Forge Farm (VDHR 034-0125), and St. Thomas Episcopal Church (NRIS 73002015, VDHR 260-5001).

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National Register of Historic Places. Long Meadow, Middletown vicinity, Warren County, Virginia. National Register #95001169.

National Register of Historic Places. Mount Pleasant, Strasburg vicinity, Shenandoah County, Virginia. National Register #11000553.

National Register of Historic Places. Old Forge Farm, Middletown vicinity, Frederick County, Virginia. National Register #04000036.

National Register of Historic Places. St. Thomas Episcopal Church, Middletown, Frederick County, Virginia. National Register #73002015.

National Register of Historic Places. Thorndale Farm, Middletown vicinity, Frederick County, Virginia. National Register #16000528.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

_X_ Previously listed in the National Register (fill in 1 through 6 below) N/A NHL

__ Not previously listed in the National Register (fill in **only** 4, 5, and 6 below)

1. NR #: 69000243
2. Date of listing:
3. Level of significance:
4. Applicable National Register Criteria: A__ B__ C__ D__
5. Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A__ B__ C__ D__ E__ F__ G__
6. Areas of Significance:

__ Previously Determined Eligible for the National Register: Date of determination:
_X_ Designated a National Historic Landmark: Date of designation: 1969
_X_ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: HABS No. VA-259 (Belle Grove)
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: HAER No.
__ Recorded by Historic American Landscapes Survey: HALS No.

Location of additional data:

State Historic Preservation Office: Virginia Department of Historic Resources

Other State Agency:

Federal Agency: National Park Service, Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park

Local Government:

University:

Other (Specify Repository):

8. FORM PREPARED BY

Name/Title: John Gentry, Architectural Historian
Sarah Vonesh, Director of Preservation Planning and Senior Project Manager
Carleigh Hessian, Research Assistant
EHT Traceries, Inc.

Address: 1121 Fifth Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20001

Telephone: (202) 393-1199

Name/Title: Nancy LiPira, Archaeologist
Stantec

Address: 6110 Frost Place
Laurel, MD 20707

Telephone: (301) 982-2800

Name/Title: Shelley Rentsch, Landscape Architect
Debby Smith, Landscape Architect
Annapolis Landscape Architects

Address: 54 Southgate Avenue
Annapolis, MD 21401

Telephone: (443) 995-8361

Date: August 2020

Edited by: Amanda Casper, PhD
1234 Market St, 20th FL
Philadelphia, PA 19107
Interior Region 1-NAA, National Historic Landmarks Program
National Park Service

Email: amanda_casper@nps.gov

Telephone: (267) 357-1602

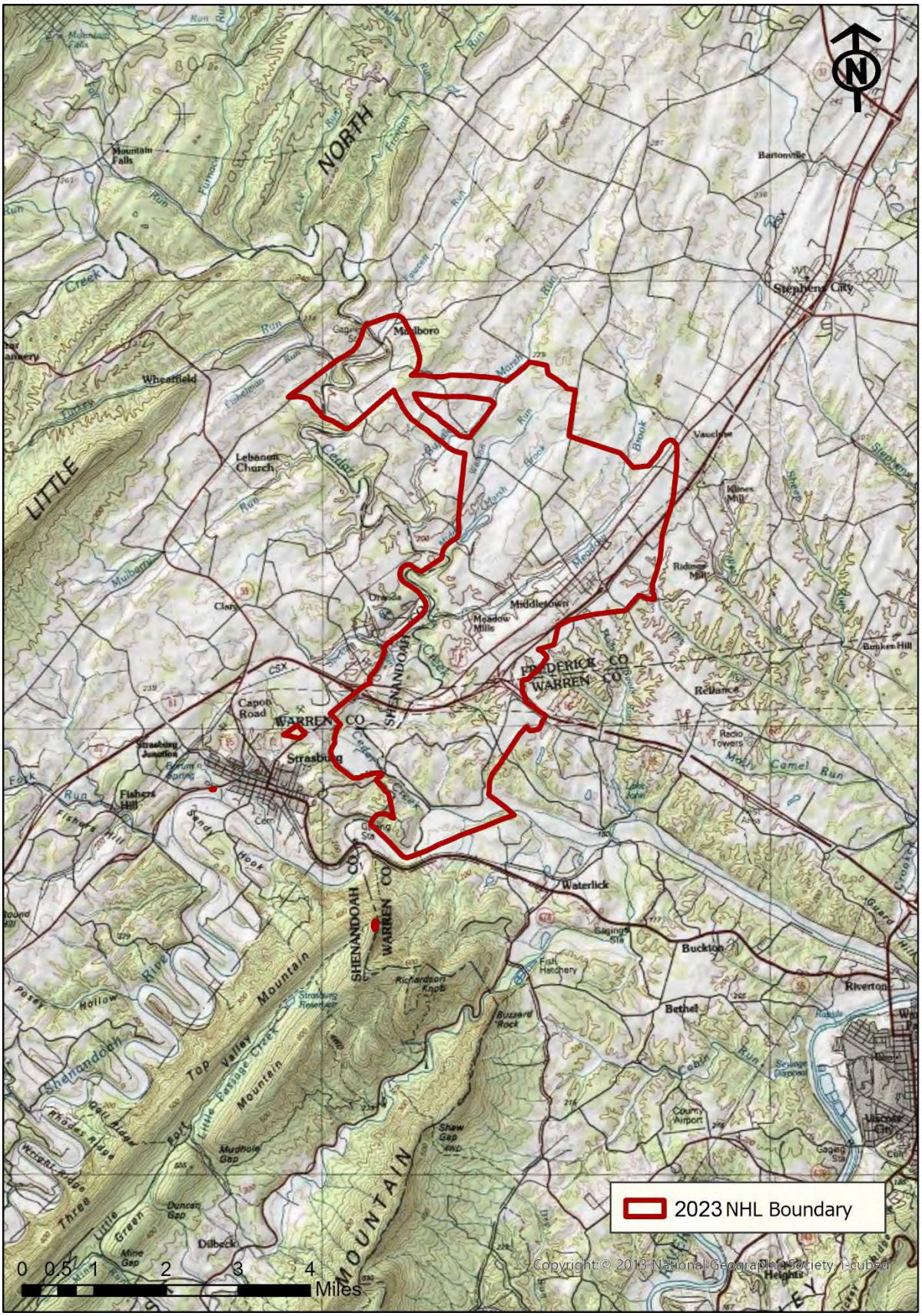
Date: January 2024

Edited by: Evelyn D. Causey, PhD
1849 C Street NW, Mail Stop 7228
National Historic Landmarks Program
National Park Service

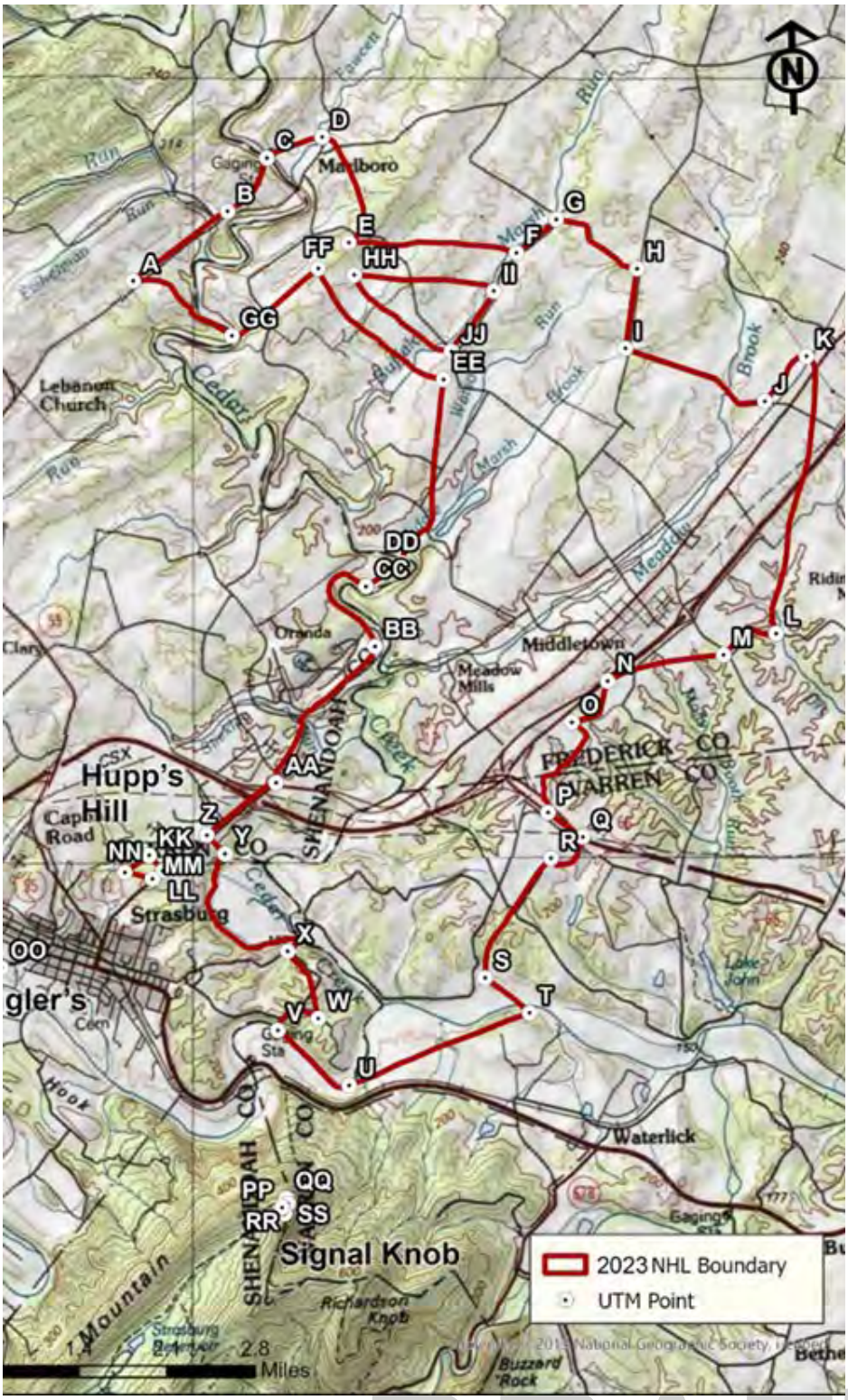
Email: evelyn_causey@nps.gov

Telephone: (202) 354-2179

Date: January 2024

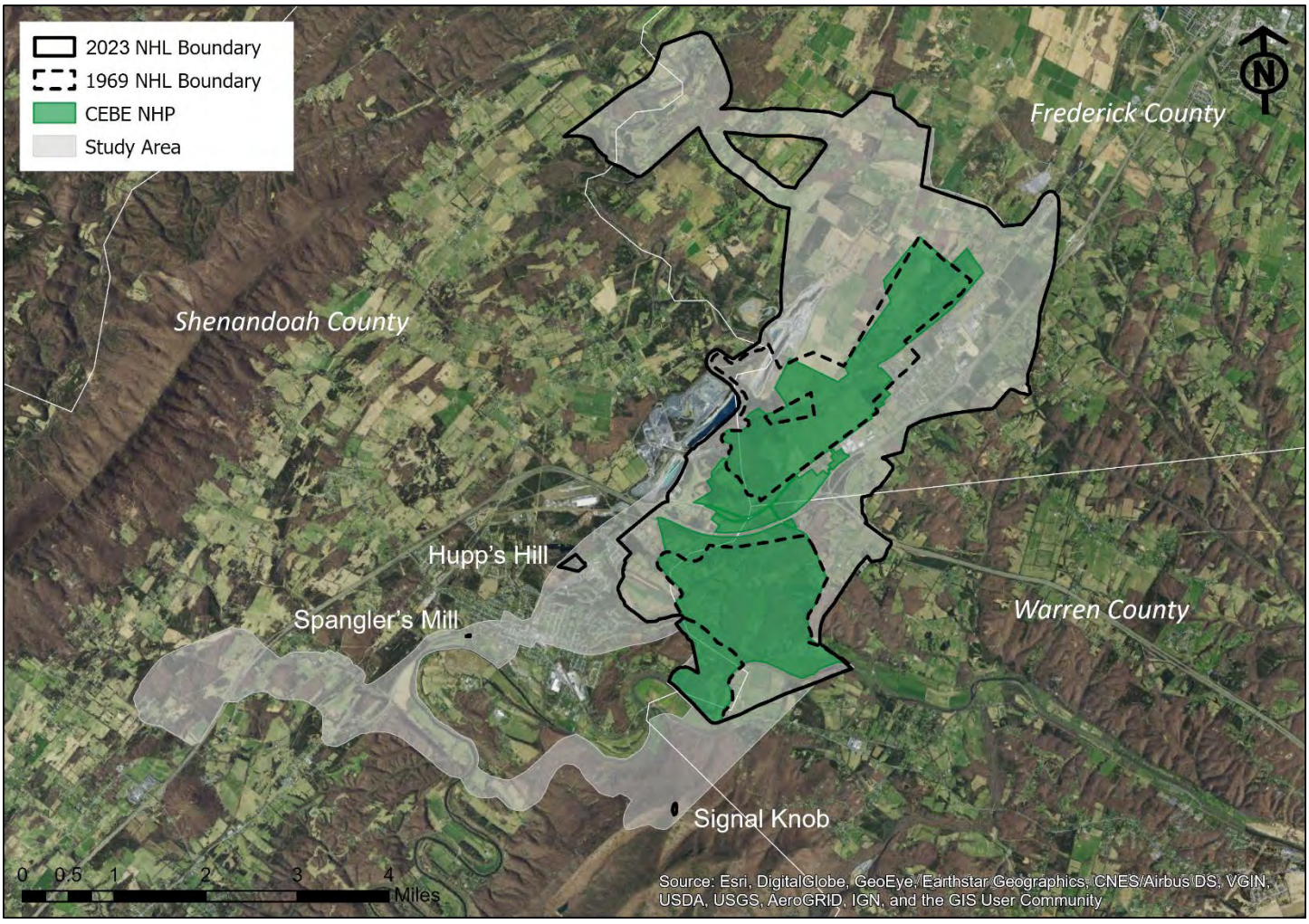


Map 1. Cedar Creek Battlefield-Belle Grove Plantation NHL District boundaries at 1:150,000. Base map: USGS/ESRI. EHT Traceries, edited by NPS/Megan Cahill.



Point	Latitude	Longitude
A	39.06740426	-78.34960458
B	39.07509037	-78.33541546
C	39.08105262	-78.3293894
D	39.08329196	-78.32117476
E	39.07108487	-78.31769949
F	39.06933761	-78.29309689
G	39.07303985	-78.28707123
H	39.06711437	-78.27542658
I	39.05800188	-78.27748589
J	39.0514453	-78.25721649
K	39.05646469	-78.25088854
L	39.02474823	-78.25658203
M	39.0224627	-78.26442837
N	39.01986268	-78.28156794
O	39.01526447	-78.28699691
P	39.00500051	-78.29089122
Q	39.00207076	-78.28589811
R	38.99975158	-78.29065819
S	38.98621416	-78.30085904
T	38.98204169	-78.29448072
U	38.97433124	-78.3213276
V	38.98089266	-78.33155724
W	38.98212347	-78.32556332
X	38.98994445	-78.32975531
Y	39.00132326	-78.33854117
Z	39.00354138	-78.34116077
AA	39.00933029	-78.3307252
BB	39.02464714	-78.31561163
CC	39.03156361	-78.31666297
DD	39.03411995	-78.31125773
EE	39.05504828	-78.30437626
FF	39.06822016	-78.32232341
GG	39.06078603	-78.33532221
HH	39.06736041	-78.31704092
II	39.06502163	-78.29659762
JJ	39.05823804	-78.3030773
KK	39.00140518	-78.34970812
LL	38.99957477	-78.34781288
MM	38.99871869	-78.34933833
NN	38.99951241	-78.35334477
OO	38.98901934	-78.37195449
PP	38.96055205	-78.33167543
QQ	38.961627	-78.33105406
RR	38.96097858	-78.33079484
SS	38.95980856	-78.33133524

Map 2. NHL District boundaries at 1:90,000 with UTM points and data. Base map: USGS/ESRI. EHT Traceries, edited by NPS/Megan Cahill.



Map 3. NHL, NHP, CEBE, and study area boundaries at 1:110,000.
EHT Traceries, edited by NPS/Megan Cahill.

Map 4. Cedar Creek Battlefield-Belle Grove Plantation NHL District, Plate 1 at 1:28,000.
EHT Traceries, edited by NPS/Megan Cahill.

Map 5. Cedar Creek Battlefield-Belle Grove Plantation NHL District, Plate 2 at 1:28,000.
EHT Traceries, edited by NPS/Megan Cahill.

Map 6. Cedar Creek Battlefield-Belle Grove Plantation NHL District, Plate 3 at 1:28,000.
EHT Traceries, edited by NPS/Megan Cahill.

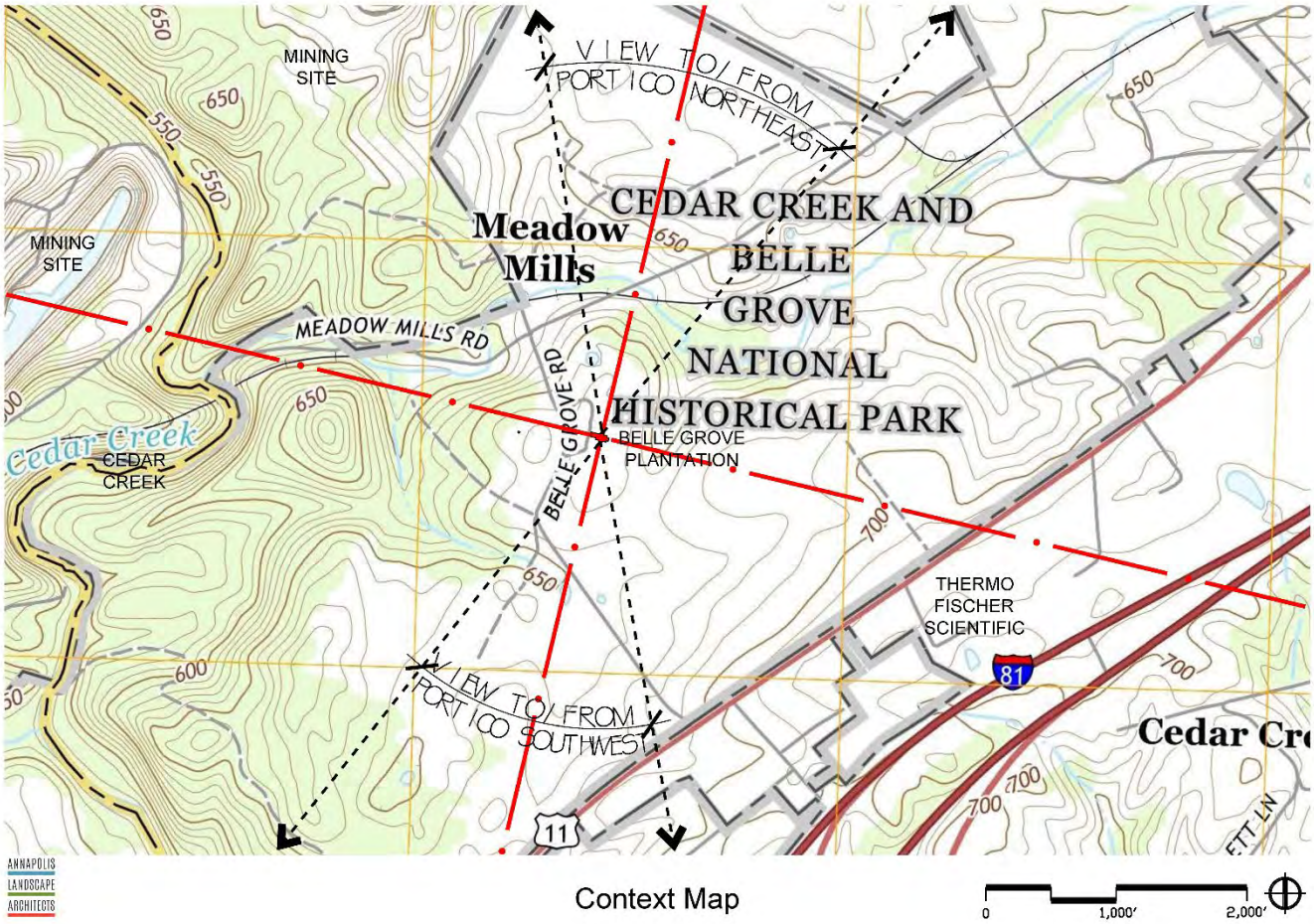
Map 7. Cedar Creek Battlefield-Belle Grove Plantation NHL District, Plate 4 at 1:28,000.
EHT Traceries, edited by NPS/Megan Cahill.

Map 8. Cedar Creek Battlefield-Belle Grove Plantation NHL District, Plate 5 at 1:28,000.
EHT Traceries, edited by NPS/Megan Cahill.

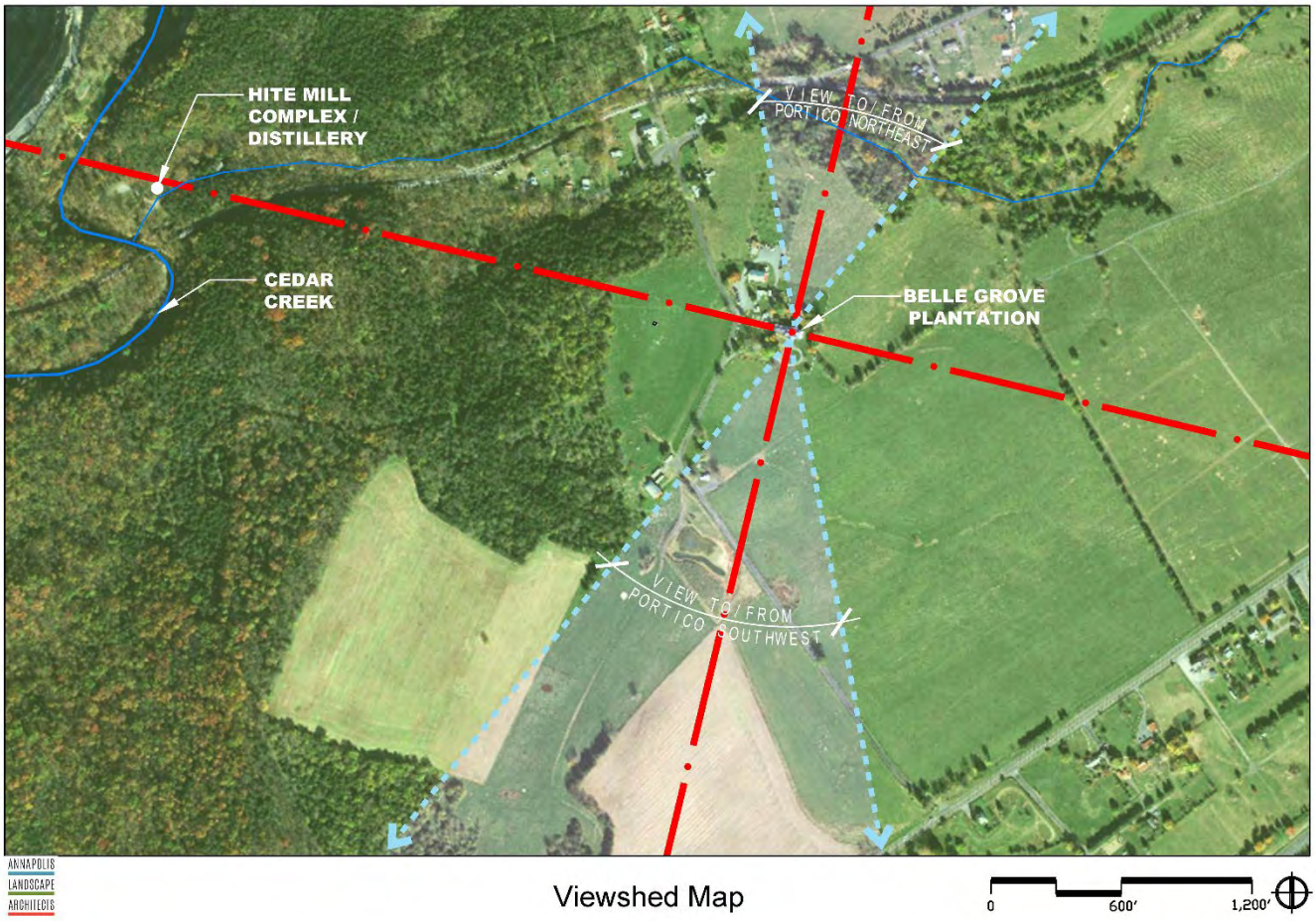
Map 9. Cedar Creek Battlefield-Belle Grove Plantation NHL District, Plate 6 at 1:28,000.
EHT Traceries, edited by NPS/Megan Cahill.

Map 10. Cedar Creek Battlefield-Belle Grove Plantation NHL District, Plate 7 at 1:28,000.
EHT Traceries, edited by NPS/Megan Cahill.

Map 11. Cedar Creek Battlefield-Belle Grove Plantation NHL District, Plate 8 at 1:28,000.
EHT Traceries, edited by Megan Cahill.



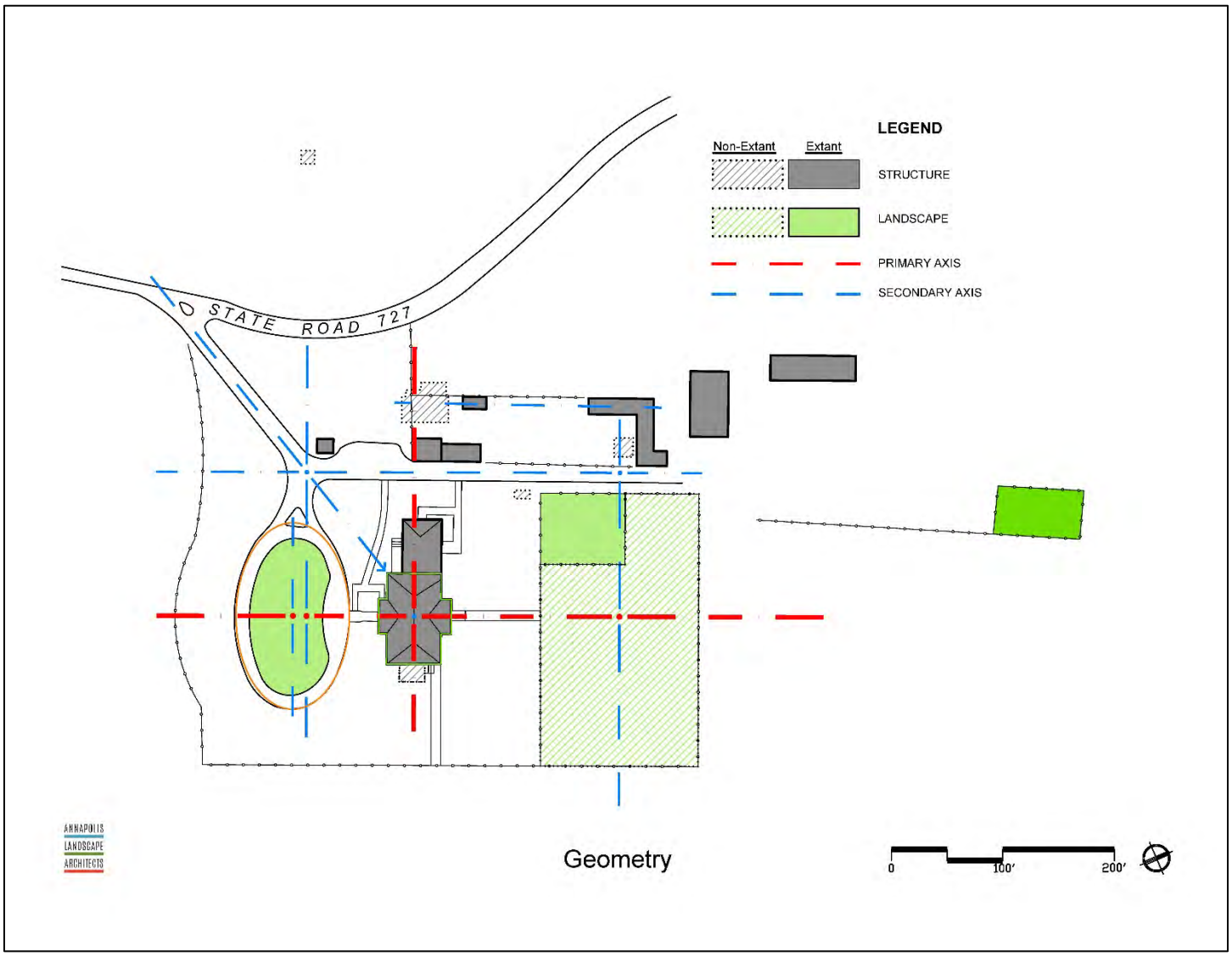
Map 12. Belle Grove Plantation context map (Annapolis Landscape Architects).



Map 13. Belle Grove Plantation viewshed map (Annapolis Landscape Architects).

Map 14. Belle Grove Plantation existing site plan (Annapolis Landscape Architects).

Map 15. Belle Grove Plantation building and site morphology (Annapolis Landscape Architects).



Map 16. Belle Grove Plantation site geometry (Annapolis Landscape Architects).

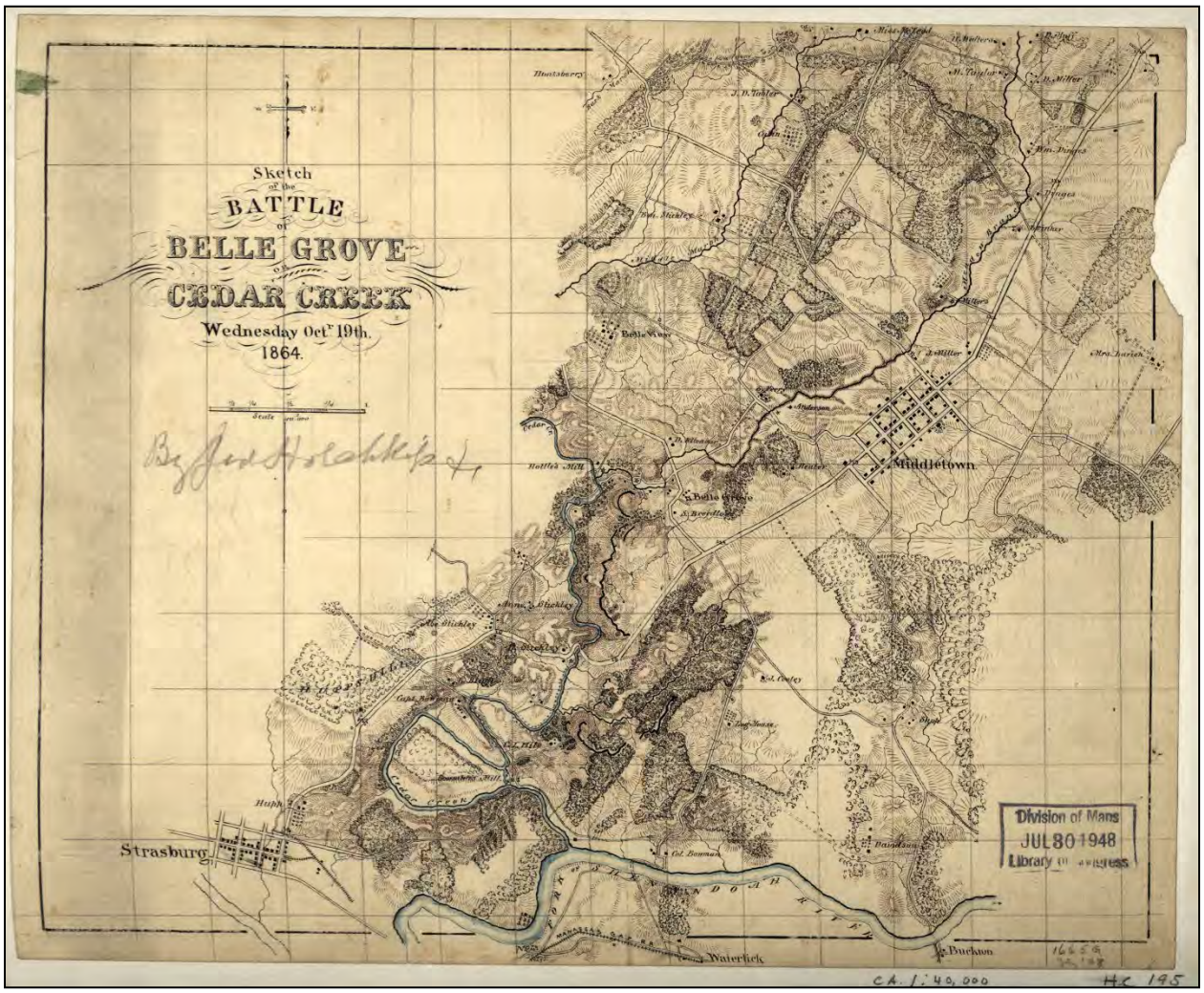


Figure 1. Unannotated map of the battlefield prepared by Hotchkiss, 1864 (Library of Congress).

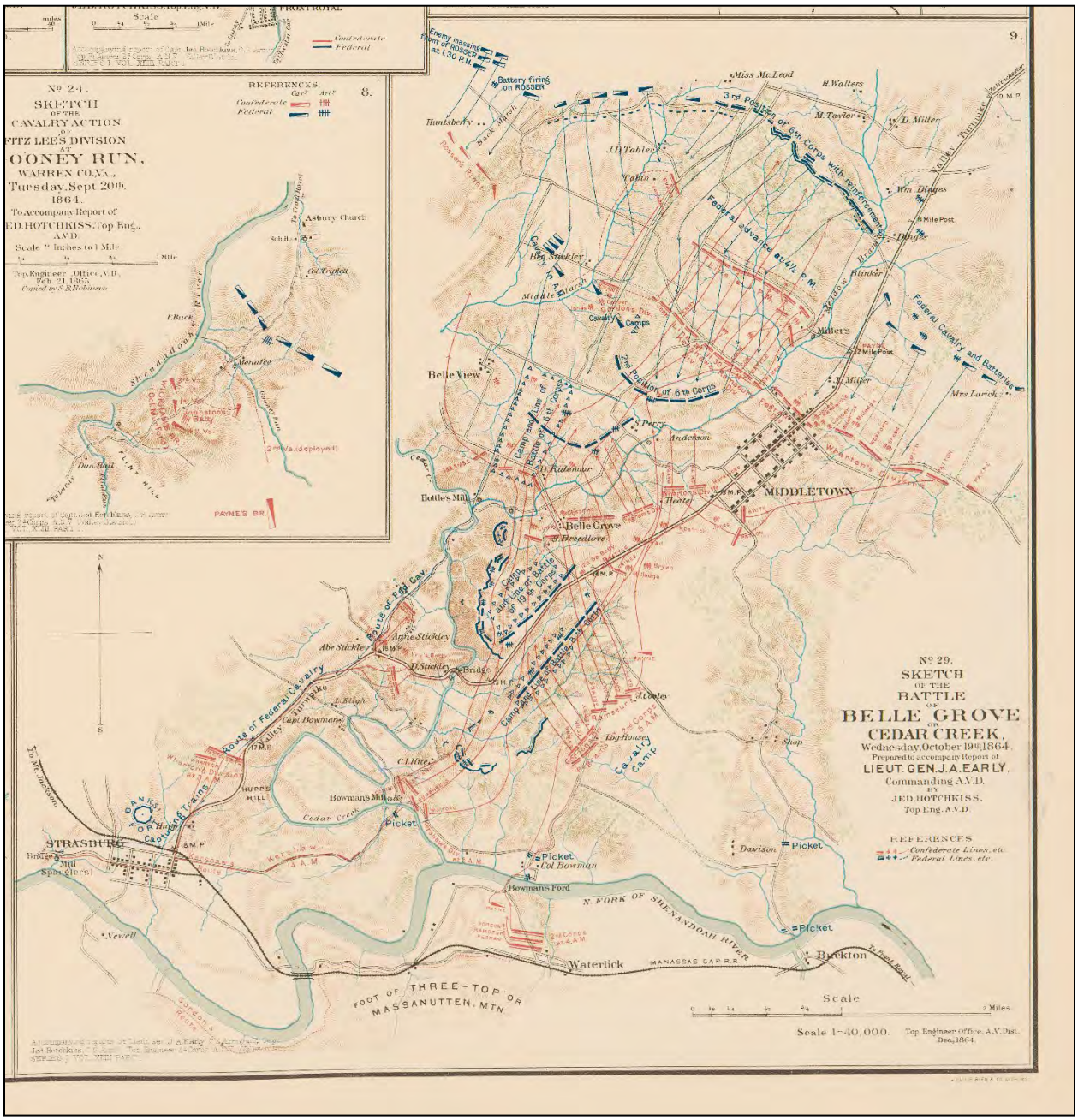


Figure 2. Sketch of the Battle of Cedar Creek, Jedediah Hotchkiss, 1864 (Library of Congress).

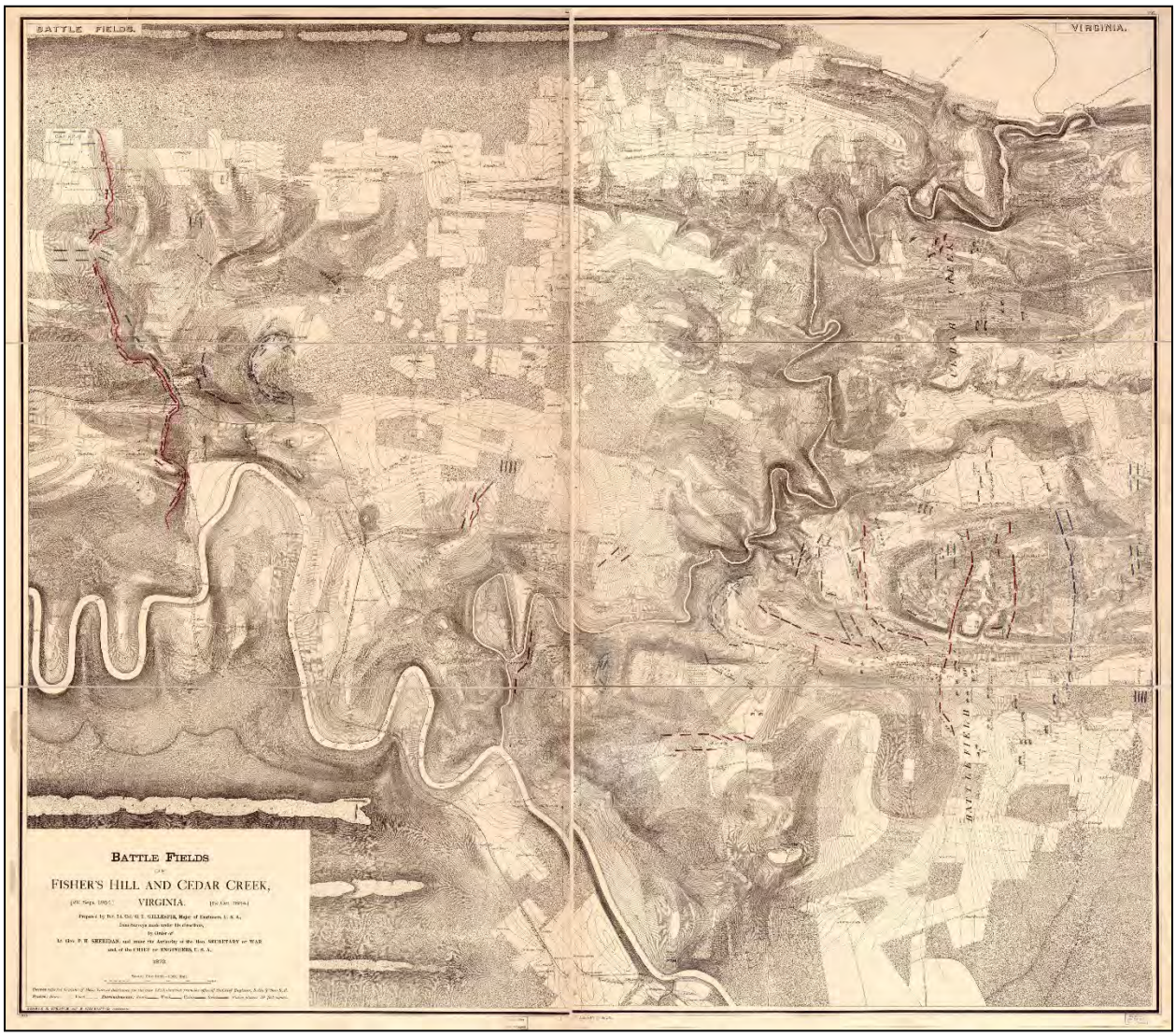


Figure 3. Battlefield map prepared by G. L. Gillespie, 1873 (Library of Congress).

Figure 4. Sketch of Sheridan's Ride by Alfred Waud, 1864 (Library of Congress).

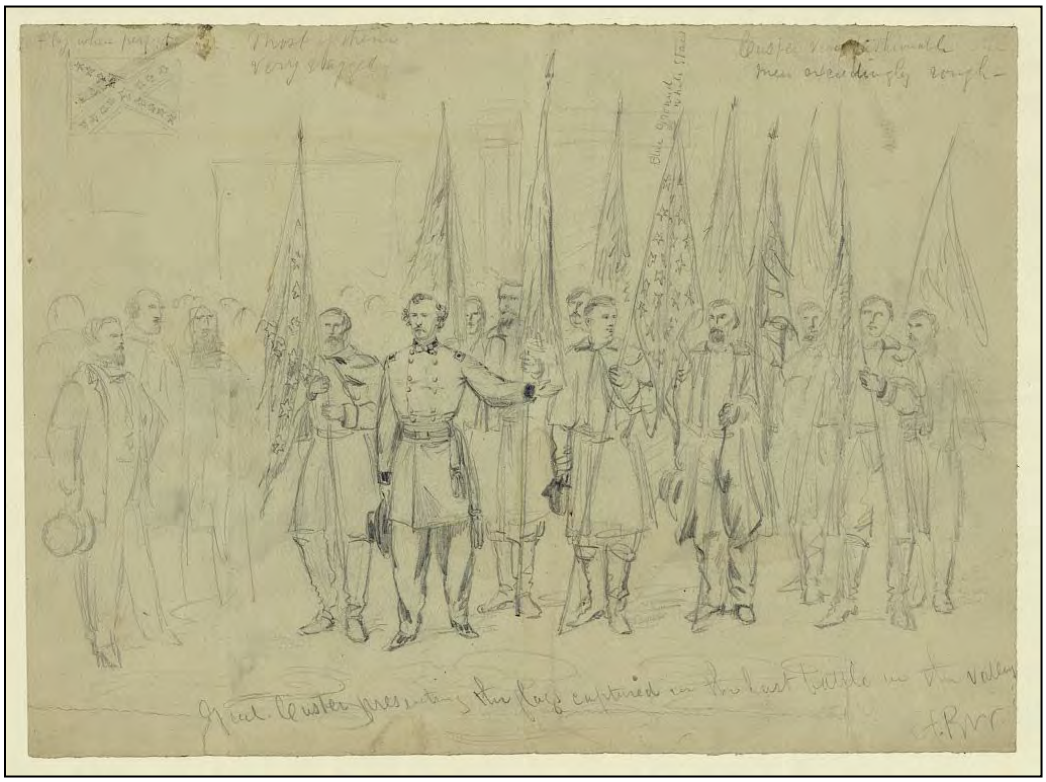


Figure 5. Custer presenting captured flags in Washington, Alfred Waud, 1864 (Library of Congress).

Figure 6. Group portrait taken after the end of the Civil War in 1865. From left to right: Wesley Merritt, Philip Sheridan, George Crook, James William Forsyth, and George Custer (Library of Congress).

Figure 7. Sheridan rallying his troops, painting by Thure de Thulstrup, 1886 (Library of Congress).

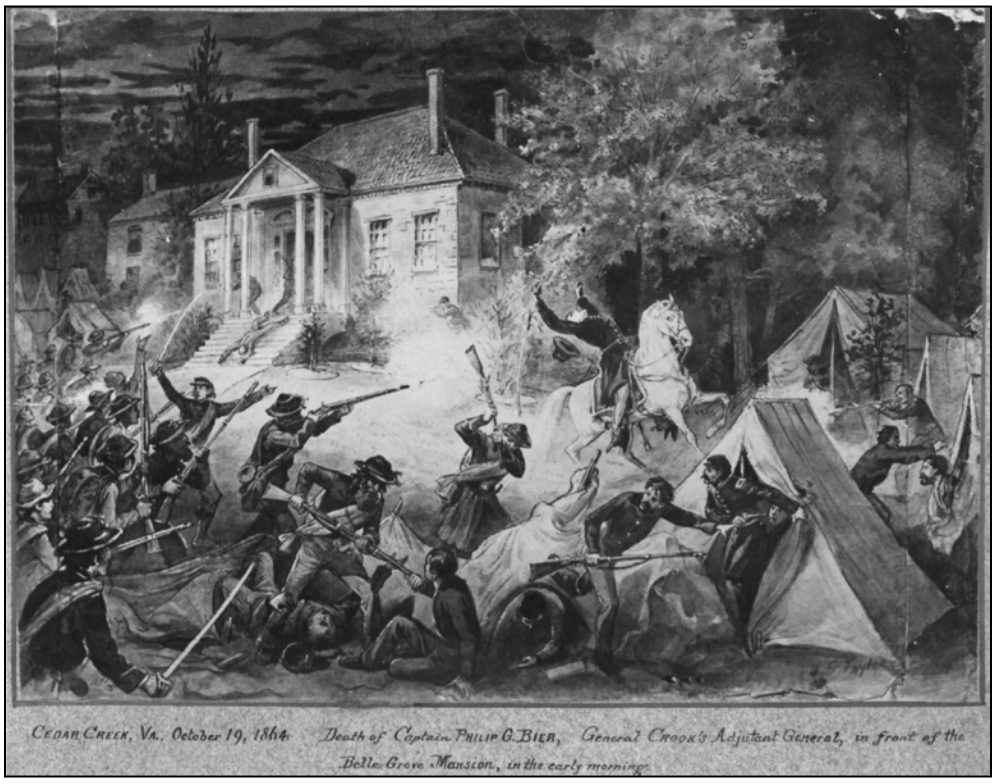


Figure 8. Depiction of the fighting at Belle Grove, 1864 (U.S. Army Center of Military History).

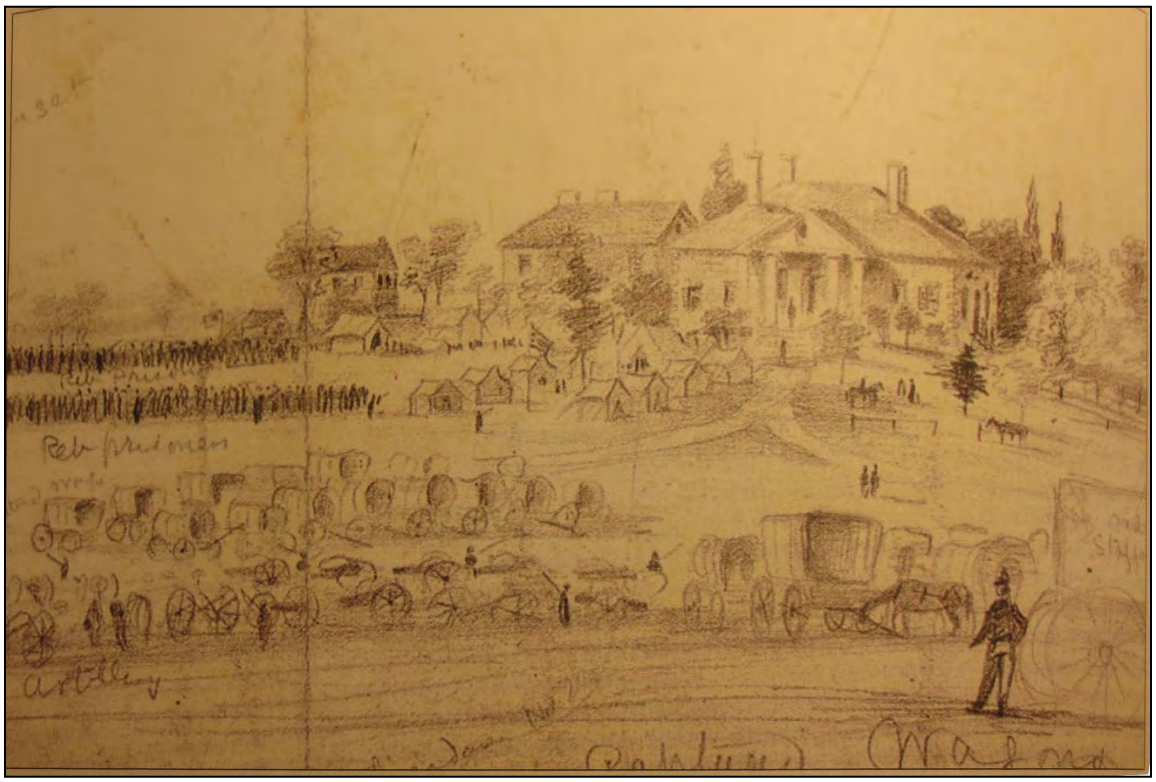


Figure 9. Sketch of Union forces at Belle Grove by artist James E. Taylor, 1864 (Library of Congress).

Figure 10. Destruction in the Shenandoah Valley, October 1864, sketch by Alfred Waud (Library of Congress).

Figure 11. Veterans reunion, 1883; Old Hall appears at far left (U.S. Army Military History Institute).

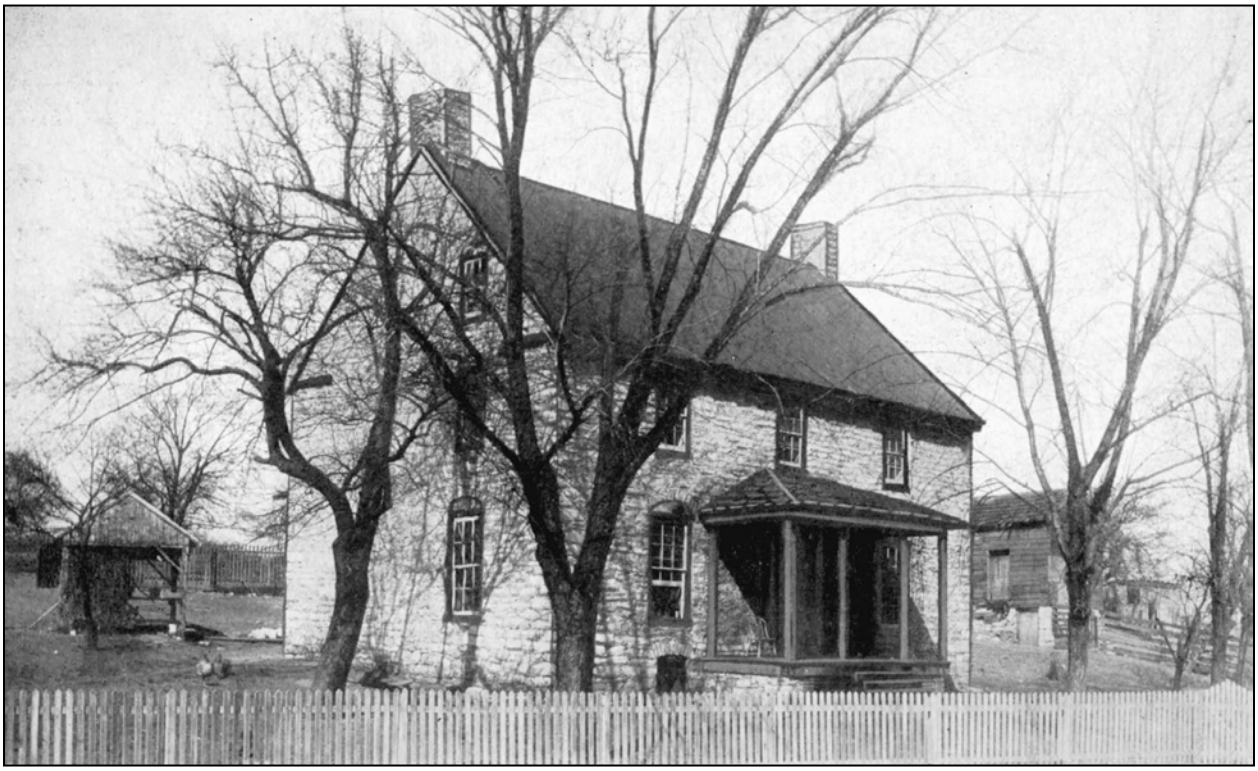


Figure 12. Fort Bowman, 1937 (Wayland, Historic Homes of Northern Virginia).

Figure 13. Looking southeast from the Bowman cemetery, with Fort Bowman in the distance (Wayland, Historic Homes of Northern Virginia).

Figure 14. Valley Pike, looking south towards Middletown, 1885 (U.S. Army Military History Institute).

Figure 15. Belle Grove Plantation, looking north from the Valley Pike, 1885 (U.S. Army Military History Institute).

Figure 16. Looking northeast from the Valley Pike, 1885. Photo was taken from west of the Cedar Creek Bridge, which is visible near the center of the image. On the right is the ridgeline on which the Union VIII Corps were encamped (U.S. Army Military History Institute)