

ARCHEOLOGICAL RESOURCE STUDY AND CLEARANCE FOR  
THE DISCOVERY CENTER PROJECT AT THE HENRY HOUSE,  
MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK  
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

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## MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

This report documents archeological excavation at the Henry House site (44PW293) in Prince William County, Virginia, at Manassas National Battlefield Park. The site is located on Henry Hill, south of the Warrenton Turnpike (Route 29), and east of Sudley Road (Figure 1). Presently, the site contains the Henry House and an outbuilding to the north of the house. A Virginia rail fence defines the yard space around the house. The Henry Hill Monument surrounded by a rail fence is located in the east yard of the house and the Henry family cemetery is found in the west yard. A lane to the Henry House enters from the west at Sudley Mill Road. Another historic road trace connecting the property to Rock Road still exists in some areas. Several trees and shrubs are standing within the immediate yard area.

The objectives of the investigation were twofold. Archeological testing was performed in areas of potential effect associated with restoration of the historic house and outbuilding for adaptive use as a Discovery Center. Areas slated for ground disturbance were investigated for archeological resources to comply with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended. This project also enabled archeologists to conduct primary source research and excavate in the area closely surrounding the house with the goal of identifying features associated with the Henry House, as well as the earlier Spring Hill Farm, and analyzing artifacts associated with the site's occupation.

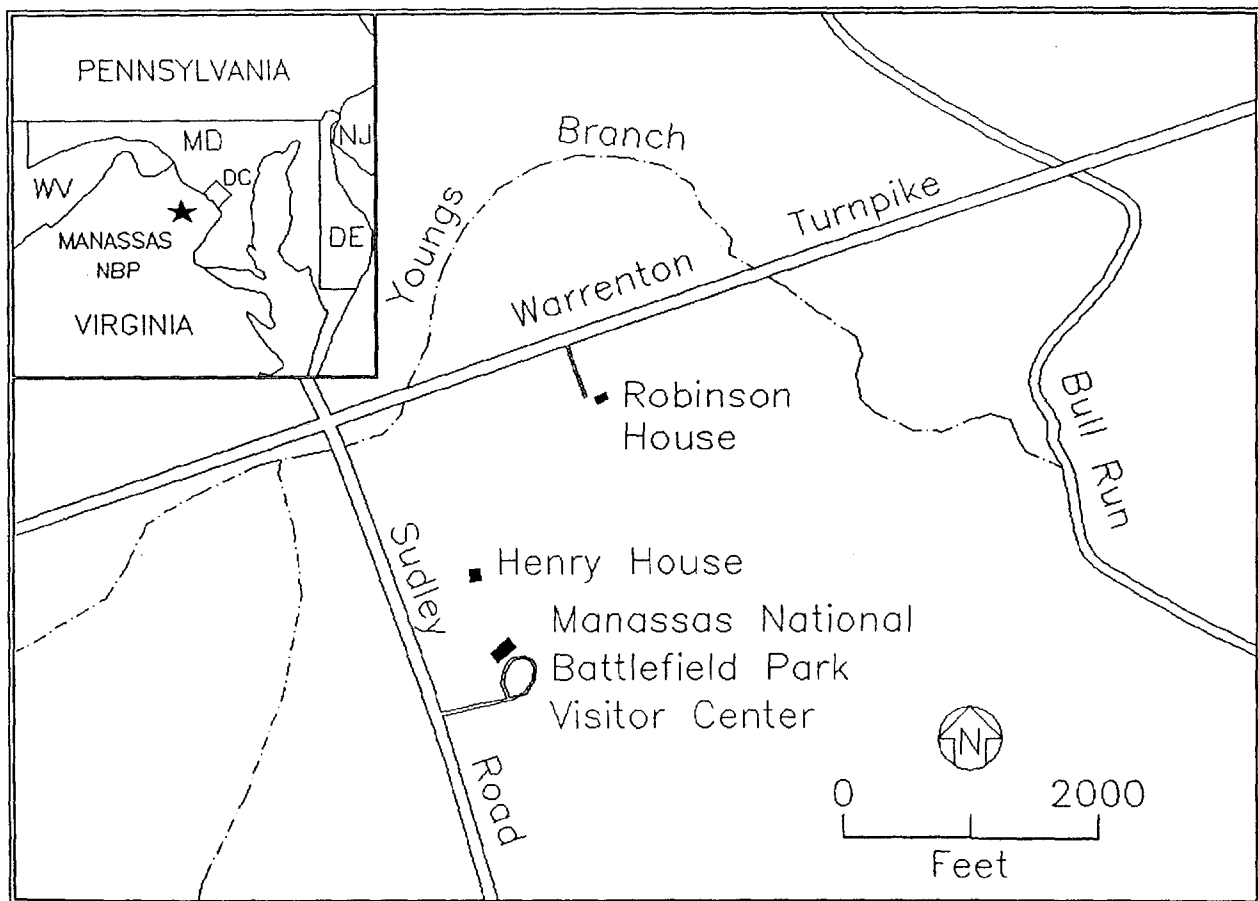


Figure 1. Location of the Henry House, Manassas National Battlefield Park.

Archeological fieldwork was conducted in October, November and May of 2002. Eleven excavation units (EUs) were completed around the exterior of the extant Henry House. The placement of the first several EUs was based on information gathered during previous excavations performed by the Harpers Ferry Archeology Program from May-June 2001. During the previous excavations, remnants of a stone foundation were documented, extending from the exterior southwest corner of the Henry House. Unidentified stone features were also recorded along the east elevation of the house.

Several architectural features associated with the Spring Hill Farm house were uncovered during the current investigation. These features include portions of a chimney on the north elevation (east side of extant Henry House), the southwest, southeast, and northeast foundation corners, and sections of the south foundation wall. Another feature recorded is a gravel deposit along the south side of the Henry House possibly representing a drip-line from the Spring Hill Farm house or historic fill. An unidentified brick feature near the southwest foundation corner of the Spring Hill Farm house is also documented. This landscape feature is believed to be associated with the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century occupation of the site.

Artifacts were systematically collected across the site with a diagnostic range of prehistoric through National Park Service-era. Of note are several types of 18<sup>th</sup>-century English ceramic sherds, commemorative coins/tokens, Civil War ammunitions, and a quantity of colonoware pottery, which in the past has been associated with both Native Americans and enslaved Africans. Numerous prehistoric projectile points were also collected on the site.

Staff archeologists at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park processed all artifacts. The collection was cleaned, labeled and cataloged into the NPS Automated National Catalog System Plus (ANCS+). Curation complies with the standards defined in the NPS Museum Handbook, Parts I and II, 36 CFR Part 79: Curation of Federally-Owned and Administered Archeological Collection, and the National Capital Region Archeology Laboratory manual. Artifacts are stored in archival plastic bags and cardboard boxes at the National Park Service Museum Resource Center (MRCE) in Landover, Maryland. An archival copy of field and lab forms, maps, and photographs are curated at MRCE.

Chapter 1 is a discussion of the social history of the site. Primary sources were researched in order to construct a reliable history of the site's occupation. Although the earliest known occupation of the site and a tenancy is briefly discussed, the focus is on Elizabeth Carter and the Henry family occupation. The post-Henry ownership of the site, including the National Park Service era is also reported.

A summary of excavations at the Henry House site is presented in Chapter 2. A review of previous archeology performed on the site is included. A stratigraphic summary describing site strata and megastrata is provided. Three megastrata were identified across the site, representing, 1.) a mixed context of contemporary and historic occupations, 2.) various historic occupations, and 3.) sterile subsoil. An overview and interpretation of features and artifacts collected during this study are presented in this chapter. A discussion on the archeological clearance at the site required by Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act is found in Chapter 2. Anticipated ground-disturbing activities for the construction project are limited to installation of under-ground utilities and possible

conversion of the outbuilding into restroom facilities. It was agreed that the existing trench containing a waterline running from the Henry Hill visitor center to the Henry House would be used for new utility installations. At the time of this study, a decision had not been made on the use of the outbuilding. Once this issue is resolved, further Section 106 clearance may be required.

Chapter 3 is a discussion of a minimum vessel analysis performed by Erika K. Martin Seibert, an archeologist with the National Register of Historic Places. The minimum vessel analysis is focused on a high concentration of colonoware pottery collected during excavations of the site. The pottery believed to have been made and used by enslaved African-Americans. A thorough review of scholarly work on the topic of colonoware is presented. The minimum vessel analysis was concentrated on attributes such as construction, size, finish, form, use, and clay source. The Henry House colonoware collection is compared to colonoware found on other sites across Manassas National Battlefield Park. Interpretation of meaning and use of colonoware is presented. Issues that have been studied in the past as well as new directions in the study of colonoware are presented.

Chapter 4 presents a summary of the project and recommendations for future work on the site. A great deal of data was collected during the archeological excavations at the Henry House site. Information about the site's occupants was gleaned from the historic record, while physical attributes of the Spring Hill Farm house were uncovered in the archeological record. Material culture at the site exhibits a diverse collection of possessions by the occupants of Spring Hill Farm and the Henry House. More in-depth examinations of the combined data can lead to progressive interpretative programs in the park.



## CHAPTER 1

### SPRING HILL FARM/HENRY HOUSE SITE HISTORY

Andrew S. Lee

After consulting numerous park documents and bibliographic references pertaining to the history of the Henry House, it became evident that these sources often contained erroneous or contradictory information. Some of these differences are discussed in the site history section of this report. With the reliability of these secondary sources in question, it was therefore decided to support the research, whenever possible, with information derived from primary source documents. Primary research was completed only as time allowed and on a limited number of research questions. While every effort was made to locate all pertinent information, no claim is made that all primary resources have been exhausted. Other researchers may yet find overlooked or additional information.

The great majority of historical research was conducted at the Bull Run Regional Library in Manassas, Virginia. The library's Ruth E. Lloyd Information Center [RELIC Room] is an invaluable repository for materials, especially for materials on the antebellum period. Its holdings include microfilm copies of all surviving Prince William County records through about 1870. These include will books, bond books, deed books, land cause records, land tax lists, personal property tax lists, and census records. Other materials consulted at RELIC include local genealogical records, newspaper abstracts, military records, maps, and unpublished manuscripts. For primary source records pertaining to the post-1870 period, research was conducted at the office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court and the archive record room at the Prince William County Courthouse in Manassas, Virginia.

#### *Early Land Ownership and Settlement Patterns*

The mid-seventeenth century was not only the beginning of significant exploration of Virginia, it was also the period when several notable immigrants arrived in the colony. A few of these immigrants represented families that would eventually assume leadership roles. Most of these men were from cultured English backgrounds and all rose quickly to positions of considerable social and political importance. Among them was John Carter, whose descendants, especially Robert "King" Carter (Figure 2), were instrumental in the settlement of the northern Virginia Piedmont.

Robert "King" Carter (1662-1732) had been growing steadily in prominence among the political elite when he assumed the position of acting governor of Virginia in 1726. He had occupied nearly every office of importance in the colony including member and Speaker of the House of Burgesses, member and



Figure 2. Robert "King" Carter. Carter's extensive landholdings included the area that eventually became known as Spring Hill Farm/Henry House. (Courtesy of Library of Virginia).

president to the governor's advisory council, treasurer of the colony, rector of the College of William and Mary, colonel and commander-in-chief of Lancaster and Northumberland Counties, naval officer of the Rappahannock River, and agent of the Fairfax family for the Northern Neck Proprietary (Dabney 1971:82-83). In addition to his responsibilities as a public office holder, Carter was extremely active in managing the affairs of his numerous plantations, lands that at the time of his death totaled nearly 300,000 acres and were worked by about one thousand enslaved laborers (Morton 1941:63).

The Northern Neck Proprietary consisted of over 5.2 million acres of land lying between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers (Harrison 1979:77). From there it extended northwestward across much of northern Virginia, over the Alleghenies and into several counties of what is now West Virginia (Dabney 1971:93). Controlled initially by Lord Culpeper, land grants in the Northern Neck were made on the basis of head-rights, a system whereby a specified number of acres was granted for each person brought to Virginia by the grantee (Morton 1941:62). This system encouraged settlement, for even less well to do people could acquire modest tracts of land. Also, if the tract was not settled or developed in three years, it was subject to forfeiture. This threat of reversion ensured that the land did not lay idle (Harrison 1979:132). When the Northern Neck Proprietary passed from Lord Culpeper to Lord Fairfax in the late seventeenth century, significant changes in the land allocation system occurred.

Fairfax's primary interest was in collecting quitrents (money paid by free-holders in lieu of services which might otherwise be due from them), and not necessarily in the settlement of the region. Under the new system, grantees were required to pay a quitrent of two shillings per year for each one hundred acres (Parker and Hernigle 1990:9). In this way, landholders could hold vast tracts and not develop them, as long as they were willing to pay the quitrents. This resulted in large tracts held by a single owner and was a factor that contributed to the underdevelopment of the interior portions of Prince William County (Harrison 1979:132). In 1695 "King" Carter exerted his political influence to protest the way land was being underutilized. He filed a report to the Virginia Assembly's Committee of Propositions and Grievances in which he alleged that "a man may hold 50,000 or more acres of land by a secure title, and that without so much as actually seating or building upon it" (Harrison 1987:240).

Carter's complaint to the Assembly may have been motivated by the hard realities of the tobacco-based agricultural system, upon which nearly the entire economy of the colony depended. The cultivation of tobacco as the staple crop rapidly depleted the soil. Land in an agricultural society was the basis of wealth and power and so men like "King" Carter were eager to secure large tracts. Carter himself managed to amass vast quantities of land primarily because of his role as administrator of the Northern Neck Proprietary, a position he held twice, from 1703 to 1712, and then again from 1722 to 1728 (Morton 1941:19-20).

By 1729, approximately ninety thousand acres in the present day counties of Fairfax, Fauquier, and Prince William were patented in the names of Carter's various relatives (Harrison 1987:240). The territory patented by Carter was divided into six tracts: the Licking Run tract (10,227 acres); the Turkey Run tract (10,610 acres); the Kettle Run tract (6,166 acres); the Broad Run tract (12,284 acres); the Great Bull Run tract (41,660 acres); the Middle Bull Run tract (2,823 acres); and the Lower Bull Run tract (6,030 acres). Upon his death in 1732, "King" Carter's wealth and

vast estate were inherited by his four sons: John of "Corotoman", Robert II of "Nomini Hall", Charles of "Cleve", and Landon, Sr. of "Sabine Hall." Among the lands the four sons inherited, the Great, Middle and Lower Bull Run tracts are of primary interest for the purposes of this report, since the lands encompassing Manassas National Battlefield Park were ultimately derived from them (Joseph 1996a:3.2). Of these three patents, the Middle and Lower Bull Run tracts figure into the history of the Henry House.

### *The Middle Bull Run Tract and Pittsylvania*

Landon Carter, Jr. (1738-1801) managed a portion of the Middle Bull Run tract. The son of Landon Carter, Sr. and grandson of Robert "King" Carter, he built a house called "Pittsylvania" and established an immense plantation overlooking Bull Run sometime prior to 1756 (Beasley 2000:6). He married Judith Fauntleroy of Richmond County, Virginia and they had nine children: Elizabeth (Betsy), Margaret, Wormeley, John Fauntleroy, Gilbert, Moore Fauntleroy, Mary, Charles, and Judith (Carlton 1982:380-388). The sisters Elizabeth and Judith would each eventually live at "Spring Hill Farm," later to be known as the Henry House.

Although never as successful as his father, Landon Carter, Jr. died a wealthy man in 1801. His estate, revealed in detail in County probate records, was valued at \$30,499.50 and divided among his children. According to the terms of his will [Will Book (WB) H:451-456, 477-482] and following the custom of the day, Landon Carter, Jr.'s real estate was divided among his four surviving sons. Wormeley and John Fauntleroy inherited his lands in Prince William and Loudoun Counties, respectively. Moore Fauntleroy and Charles took title of their father's lands in Fauquier County (Appendix I).

To each of the unmarried daughters (Elizabeth, Margaret, and Judith) was bequeathed cash and commodities. They were to receive:

the Sum of one thousand pounds each, to be paid them by my four Sons at the Expiration of five years from my decease and for the better Maintenance and Support in the mean time I bequeath to each of my S<sup>d</sup>. [said] Daughters the Sum of forty pounds, to be paid them the first day of March in each Year.

Furthermore, the will states that so his daughters "may experience no inconvenience from a change of Situation after my decease, I bequeath to them for their joint accomodation and convenience my dwelling house at Pitsilvania..." This clause of the will also included the household and kitchen furnishings, the yard, a ten-acre garden, supplies of firewood, a carriage, four horses, and a number of house servants. In addition to a comfortable place to live, Elizabeth, Margaret, and Judith were to receive from their brothers an annual payment of corn, pork, and beef.

Elizabeth, Margaret, and Judith were also individually willed a small number of their father's 152 enslaved African Americans. To Elizabeth went Peter and Sukey along with their children and a girl named Jenny. Margaret inherited George and Charlotte along with their children and a girl named Judah. Judith received Mimah, Nutty, and Kitte [WB H:451-456, 477-482].

With regards to his unmarried daughters remaining at Pittsylvania at the expense of their brothers, Landon Carter, Jr. made it clear that "I only mean that they should enjoy whilst they remain Single, or until they Marray..." After such time the house was bequeathed to Wormeley and his heirs. The eldest daughter, Mary, was already married to John Bruce; she received a "negroe Woman named Lucy...Together with the sum of three hundred pounds...". Margaret eventually married Robert Hooe and Judith married Dr. Isaac Henry around 1801 (Carlton 1982:388). Elizabeth remained single her entire life.

### *The Lower Bull Run Tract*

Young's Branch (formerly called Licking Branch or Muddy Lick Branch) was the dividing line between the Middle and Lower Bull Run Tracts (Joseph 1996a:3.6). To the south of the Pittsylvania plantation, Robert "Councillor" Carter III (1723-1804) owned most of the Lower Bull Run Tract. This tract contained the land from which the "Spring Hill Farm"/Henry House tract was ultimately derived. Robert "Councillor" Carter inherited this land from his grandfather, Robert "King" Carter, in 1734 at the age of eleven. Because he was a minor, "Councillor" Carter's property was held in trust for him by his three uncles, Charles, Landon Sr., and John (Morton 1941:63). His uncles employed overseers and other agents to operate the estate until around 1751 when he began to manage his own affairs (Morton 1941:124-126).

In general, there were two methods used to develop large estates like the Lower Bull Run Tract. The first involved the establishment of small plantations, averaging around one thousand acres, usually devoted to growing tobacco. "Councillor" Carter managed sixteen such plantations (Morton 1941:83). The other method of developing an estate consisted of entering into a "three-life-lease" agreement with a tenant. The "three-life-lease" was an agreement between owner and tenant that was valid for the lives of the head-of-household, his wife, and his eldest son (Harrison 1987:247). Tenants were encouraged, but were limited to relatively short time periods and were not able to pass the lands down to their descendants.

Robert "Councillor" Carter encouraged tenants and the majority of his acreage in the Lower Bull Run Tract was leased. It has been calculated that at least 63% of the tract was divided into lots averaging 180 acres (Parker and Hernigle 1990:10). Although it is unknown when the first tenants moved into the area, a number of lease agreements are recorded in the Prince William County Deed Books covering the period 1761-1771. The lease agreements seem to be standardized. The leases require the tenants to pay a yearly rent and within three years, to build "a good dwelling house Twenty feet by Sixteen feet & a house Thirty feet by Twenty feet as good as Common Tobacco houses, and Plant Fifty apple trees and Fifty Peach trees and inclose the Same with a Lawfull Fence...." Additional stipulations allowed Carter to build roads or paths on the property, and he retained the rights to any mines, minerals, or quarries [Deed Book (DB) Q:441-442].

### *The Early Years of Spring Hill Farm*

No historical documents have been found to indicate the date of construction or the name of the builder of the first house at Spring Hill Farm. What is known is that the land was initially developed under a lease agreement. This fact is recorded in an 1822 deed from Elizabeth



Carter's executors to her brother-in-law, Isaac Henry. The deed (Appendix II) refers to the land as "part of a larger tract formerly held by Robert Carter of Nomony, and usually called his Bull run tract and leased by the said Robert Carter to Joseph Brown and which lease was transferred to George King and by his son John King to the said Elizabeth Carter..." (DB 9:118-120). Because no record of this lease agreement has been located, details of the original lease between Robert Carter and Joseph Brown (and the dates of the subsequent sub-lease or transfer to George and John King) are not known. It may be supposed that the terms were similar to the leases described above.

The identities of the leaseholders Joseph Brown, George King, and John King are not well known. The earliest reference to Joseph Brown in county records is as an eligible voter for the election of Burgesses in 1761 (DB P:68-73), proof only that he resided somewhere in Prince William County in that year. The name Joseph Brown appears again in the 1810 census; two men named Joseph Brown are listed as head of households in that year.. George King also appears infrequently in County records from 1779 to 1789 [as either a witness to a will or as a signatory to an estate account. See, for example, WB G:66-68, (445-452)].

Slightly more is known about John King, owing to the fact that he left a will and an estate account probated in 1797. It reveals that he was entitled to a pension from the Commonwealth (probably indicating that he was a Revolutionary War veteran), had a common law marriage to Rachell Bootman [Boolman?], and had four children. The will contains no mention of King owning real estate (WB H:228-229). The inventory and appraisal of his estate gives the impression of a man of meager means. The entire estate was valued at ten shillings and four pence, consisting of "4 Earthen plates, one Broken Iron pot, one plough Stock & Coller, Two old hoes, one old Chest, and one old Tub" (WB H:237).

Further clouding the identity of John King is the fact that another man of the same name lived in the county around the same time. This John King purchased two enslaved laborers in 1801 (WB H: 429-430) and appears as the head-of-household in the 1810 Prince William County census (U.S. Census 1810 see Appendix III ). Perhaps significant is the signature of John King as a witness to Landon Carter, Jr.'s will made in 1798 (WB H:455). This establishes some connection, perhaps as a neighbor or friend, to the Carter family at Pittsylvania. Either one of the men could be the John King associated with the property, but it was probably the second one discussed due to his connection to the Carters.

Henry family oral history provides the only clue as to who built the original house and when. Mrs. Elenea P. Henry, the widow of Arthur Lee Henry (grandson of Judith Henry) and author of a manuscript entitled, "Some Events Connected with the Life of Judith Carter Henry and the Circumstances Surrounding Her Death in the 1<sup>st</sup> Battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861" writes:

Spring Hill Farm...was a part of the Carter extensive holdings at one time but had been sold to a man named King who built the one & a half story cottage (in 1812, it was believed)... The farm had been bought for a home for Landon Carter, Jr.'s sister Betsy who...lived with the brother who inherited Pittsylvania after their father's death" (Burgess 1997:86).

Some basic errors are evident in her writing, however, that puts the credibility of this information in question. For example, it was Landon Carter, Jr.'s daughter, not sister, who lived at Pittsylvania after her father's death. Mrs. Henry probably derived much of her information from oral history handed down through her husband and from the Carter and Henry family correspondence that the park is now in possession of (Burgess: personal communication, 2002).

### *Elizabeth Carter's Occupancy*

Land tax records prove that Elizabeth Carter lived on the premises of Spring Hill Farm. The question arises: when did she move from Pittsylvania to Spring Hill? Landon Carter's will, probated in 1801, establishes her residence at Pittsylvania in that year. In a letter written by Elizabeth Carter in 1805, she mentions the "the Ten Pounds which I am to receive from the Estate," suggesting that she is still residing at Pittsylvania and receiving the cash annuity due to her under the terms of her father's will (Burgess 1997:11).

In 1810, the earliest surviving population census for Prince William County lists Elizabeth Carter as a head of household. This can not be taken as definitive evidence, however, that she was living at Spring Hill in that year. The census, as already noted, also records John King, the last leaseholder of the Spring Hill property, as a head of household. Examination of the original census records can often provide clues to the geographic location of the listed individuals, as names of neighbors are listed next to each other in order that the census was taken (Don Wilson: personal communication, 2002). The census entry for John King appears near the entry for Spencer Ball, who resided on a tract of land that was to become the "Portici" plantation. This tract is adjacent to (located just south of) the Spring Hill tract. However, the entry in the census for Elizabeth Carter appears below the entry for her brother Wormeley Carter, who inherited the Pittsylvania estate just across Young's Branch. Based on geographic proximity, either entry could therefore be taken as indirect evidence for a household at the Spring Hill estate.

Again, Henry family oral tradition provides information on the early history of Spring Hill Farm. In a letter written in 1934, Arthur Lee Henry states that the farm was acquired in "a trade," but provides no other details (Burgess 1997:75). Local historian George Sutton speculated that Wormeley and John Carter, responsible for their unmarried sisters' support while remaining at Pittsylvania, may have purchased Spring Hill Farm to rid themselves of the annual payments required of them by their father's will (Sutton Interview 1970:Reel #2, Part 1).

Land transactions in the immediate vicinity provide additional indirect evidence concerning when Elizabeth Carter acquired the Spring Hill property. George Carter, the son of Robert "Councillor" Carter, inherited the legal title to the northern acreage of the Lower Bull tract in 1804 (Land Cause Book 1805-1849:423). By as early as 1811 he began selling off portions of the tract that later made up three estates neighboring the Spring Hill property. The homes built on these estates include "Wilderness" (later renamed "The Commons"), "Pohoke" (later "Portici"), and the Conrad House (Works Progress Administration (WPA) 1988:123). In 1811 he sold 762 acres to Spencer Ball who developed "Portici" (DB 4:387). Later that same year 172 acres were sold to Matthew Lee who developed "Wilderness" (DB 4:368). Given this evidence of the partitioning of the Lower Bull Run tract, it is possible that Spring Hill Farm was sold to

Elizabeth Carter some time around 1811. Unfortunately, Prince William County deed books that may contain a record of the sale are not available for the years between 1813 and 1818.

Land tax records provide the only evidence from primary sources concerning the dates of Elizabeth Carter's occupancy of Spring Hill Farm. These records show that in 1818 Elizabeth began paying taxes on 333 acres of land situated on Young's Branch that were acquired from George Carter during the previous year (Land Tax Record 1818). The record for the following year, 1819, is the first that describes her as living "on premises." Even these records may not be totally reliable in determining when Elizabeth first established residency. Spencer Ball purchased his plantation from George Carter in 1811, but for unknown reasons does not appear in the land tax records until 1818 (Parker and Hernigle 1990:15). The same situation may have applied to Elizabeth Carter's purchase. Regardless of the exact date, it can be established that, by 1818 at the latest, Elizabeth lived in a home constructed on the Spring Hill Farm.

Elizabeth Carter lived at Spring Hill Farm until her death in the summer of 1822. What little is known about her occupancy is recorded in various legal documents such as her will, estate inventory, land and personal property tax statements, as well as the two estate accounts made by her executors. Land tax records for the years 1818 and 1819 show that the total value of the farm was \$902.43 (333 acres at \$2.71 per acre). The value of the farm increased dramatically in 1820 to \$4,995.00 (\$15.00 per acre). In 1820 an additional \$1,500 was added to the total value "on account of buildings." (This is the first year that such a value was recorded). There is no record indicating the percentage of improved versus unimproved acreage, but a portion of the land was given over to the production of wheat, rye, and corn. Livestock was also present; the inventory and accounts of her estate (Appendix IV and V) lists 4 horses, 1 steer, 8 cows and calves, 12 sheep, 10 hogs, 30 turkeys, 8 ducks, and some chickens (WB L:511; WB M:354).

The day to day working of Spring Hill Farm was probably left to an overseer who managed the enslaved labor. The number of enslaved laborers owned by Elizabeth Carter over the years ranged from as few as 3 in 1821 to as many as 23 at the time of the inventory of her estate in 1823 (Personal Property Tax lists 1817-1823; Will Book L: 510-513). Twenty enslaved laborers were recorded in the 1820 census (Turner 1999). Some of the enslaved laborers were hired out to work for others, such as those hired by one Judge Washington at Mount Vernon (WB M: 198 in Appendix VI.). Another of Elizabeth Carter's enslaved laborers was hired by a Mr. Conrad to build a road (WB M: 354). Table 1 shows the number of enslaved laborers Elizabeth Carter owned.

Elizabeth Carter's will provided special instructions for the disposition of her enslaved laborers (Appendix VII). Her executors were instructed "to divide the families in such a way as will occasion the least distress" after the year's crop was processed. The remainder of her possessions was to be sold and the proceeds divided into three equal shares. Her sisters Margaret Hooe and Judith Henry each received a share; the final share was bequeathed to the children of her deceased sister Mary Bruce. An individual gift was made to her "beloved niece Judith Carter [daughter of Charles Beale Carter] as a mark of my affection for her, the sum of three hundred dollars." Robert Hamilton, Jr. (the grandson of her brother, Wormeley) also received, as a token of remembrance, an individual gift in the sum of two hundred dollars (WB L:478).

Table 1. Number of Enslaved Laborers at the Spring Hill Farm Site during Different Periods of Occupancy (Unless otherwise noted, these figures are taken from personal property tax lists. [Listings for Elizabeth Carter from 1817-1822; and various Henry family members from 1823-1861]).

1801: Elizabeth inherits at least 5 enslaved laborers ("Peter and Sukey along with their children and a girl named Jenny"; Judith inherited 3 -- Mimah, Nutty, and Kitte (Landon Carter will)	
1817: 7	1837: 1
1818: 8	1838: 1
1819: 8	1839: 2
1820: 8	1840: 4 (census)
1820: 20 (census)	1842: 1
1821: 3	1843: 0
1822: 10	1844: 1
1822: 23 (Elizabeth Carter estate inventory)	1845: 0
1823: 5	1846: 0
1824: 6	1847: 1
1825: 5	1849: 1
1826: 5	1850: 0 (census)
1827: 5	1853: 1 slave, 1 free negro
1828: 5	1854: 1
1829: 5	1855: 1 slave, 1 free negro
1830: 4	1856: 0
1830: 5 (census)	1857: 1
1831: 0	1858: 1
1833: 1	1859: 0
1834: 2	1860: 1
1835: 2	1860: 0 (census)
1836: 2	1861: 1

Elizabeth Carter's brother-in-law, Robert Hooe, and her nephew, Robert Hamilton, Sr., were named executors of the estate. Each of these men entered a bond in the amount of \$20,000 which bound them to make a true inventory of Carter's estate and settle her accounts [Bond Book (BB) 4:51, 52]. The process took until 1836 to complete. As executors they also conveyed the deed for Spring Hill Farm to Dr. Isaac Henry and his wife, Elizabeth's sister, Judith. The Henry's paid \$3,382 for the 330 acre property on October 14, 1822 (DB 9:118-120). It should be noted that several secondary sources incorrectly state that the property consisted of 333 acres. The confusion seems to have arisen from a clerical error at the County courthouse. Taxes were paid on 333 acres until 1834 when the error was corrected in the land tax records (Land Tax Record 1834).

#### *The Henry Family*

Isaac Henry's parents, Hugh Hameliton and Phoebe Morris Henry, came to Philadelphia in 1765 from Northern Ireland. Isaac's father was a merchant and his mother was from a family in which there were several doctors. His father, a Presbyterian, and mother, a Quaker, had six sons (Burgess 1997:20). Their son Isaac served in the newly organized United States Navy as a surgeon's mate, and later as surgeon, aboard the frigate U.S.S. Constellation from 1794 until his resignation in 1800 (Burgess 1997:87).

Shortly after leaving the Navy, Isaac came to live in Prince William County where he continued to practice medicine. Sources disagree, but sometime between 1801 and 1803 Isaac Henry married Judith Carter of Pittsylvania. Early in their married life the couple lived in Loudoun County. By 1806 they lived in Fauquier County where they began a family. In a letter to his father dated 1806, Isaac writes of the death of their infant daughter, Ann: "In one of my Letters I informed you that Judith had presented me with a little girl, and in the next, you had information that the poor little thing had left this transitory state for a better one – and one more permanent." He continues, "We have one [child] left that I trust will make a good Member of Society. I think him a very sprightly forward boy..." (Burgess 1997:8). The boy, Landon Henry, later joined the Army and fought in the Second Seminole War. He died of yellow fever at Key West, Florida just after the close of that conflict in 1842 (Burgess 1997:19).

Isaac and Judith had two more children while living in Virginia: Ellen Phoebe Morris Henry, born in 1807, and Hugh Fauntleroy Henry, born in 1812. During this time Isaac discontinued his medical practice and turned to politics, serving in the Virginia House of Delegates in Richmond from 1810 to 1812. Then at the urging of his father, Isaac moved his family in 1817 to Philadelphia (Burgess 1997:22). Another son, John Henry, was born around 1827, after the Henry's had returned to Prince William County.

The Henry family moved to Spring Hill Farm around 1825. The family's first few years there were apparently difficult times. Judging from the amount of correspondence between Robert Hamilton and Isaac Henry during the years 1825 to 1828, Isaac was frequently absent from the home. One exchange of letters between the two men in October 1826 reveals some of the family's problems, particularly in the areas of health and finances. Hamilton writes to Isaac Henry:

You know you left the neighborhood very sickly and so it continues to be but there has been no death in our immediate vicinity but no family is without its share of disease.... Mrs. Henry begs that you will come home as soon as possible and tho I do not wish to make you uneasy, I must tell you that Mrs. H. and the two boys are all sick. Mrs. H. and Landon have the ague and fever, Hugh the biliary, they are better today (Burgess 1997:14).

The reception of this news, Isaac Henry replied:

made me, I believe, the most miserable being that treads the Philada [Philadelphia] Streets...on the thought (in fact the reality) of my family being down sick and my not being able to lend them a helping hand (Burgess 1997:10).

The health problems were temporary. Much more persistent were financial concerns. In the same letter Robert Hamilton states:

This [the health problems] together with the great press for money at this particular time is very affective; the sheriffs are more urgent

in their demands upon us than I ever knew them to be; and very few of us are able to pay our taxes.... You knew before you left that there were several Executors against you...and I know not what to do unless you can enclose me some money forthwith (Burgess 1997:14).

Isaac and Judith Henry's money problems stemmed from the fact that their finances were tied to claims against Elizabeth Carter's estate. This was the result of having made only a partial (one-third) cash payment of \$1,127.54 towards the \$3,382 purchase price of Spring Hill Farm. The balance was paid by securing two bonds, each in the amount of \$1,127.50. The conditions of these bonds gave Elizabeth Carter's executors (Hooe and Hamilton), Edmund Brooke, and Stewart G. Thornton, as trustees to the deed, the right to sell the land at public auction if payment was not made in full (DB 9:115-118; DB 10:197-201). An entry in Elizabeth Carter's estate account shows that \$2,255.10 was still owed by Isaac Henry in July 1824, indicating that he defaulted on the first bond (WB M:199). The Henry's apparently defaulted on the second bond as well, for the *Alexandria Gazette* advertised that, on May 5, 1825, the Spring Hill Farm would be offered at a public auction (Turner 2000:125).

Isaac Henry continued to make payments against his debt, evidently satisfying his creditors to the point that the auction never occurred. One such payment of \$1,000 was partially applied to the liquidation of claims against Elizabeth Carter's estate; executor Hamilton thought it wise to pay them "as the persons had become very dissatisfied and one in particular was for making the coffins" (Burgess 1997:15). Isaac Henry considered other means of paying his debt, including selling part of his property. This he would do so that he "may return among you with the ability to say to my Creditors - What do I owe you?" (Burgess 1997:10). A list of all of the Henry's enslaved laborers had already been submitted to the sheriff; the enslaved laborers were apparently held as collateral against the debt (Burgess 1997:14).

The press for money continued. Another notice in the *Alexandria Gazette*, this one appearing in February 1827, advertised that Spring Hill Farm would be sold to the highest bidder at public auction (Turner 2000:132). Again, the auction was avoided. By the end of the year, Isaac Henry's debt stood at \$1,300. In January 1828 he secured another bond and Robert Hamilton, Landon Carter, Jr. (III), and Addison B. Carter became trustees to the deed as well as six enslaved laborers (DB 11:323-326). Again, the bond stipulated that should the Henry's default on their payment, the trustees had the right to sell the property in order to raise the money. Since the property was then valued at just under \$5,000, it is unclear why the enslaved laborers were included in the bond (Land Tax Record 1829).

Financial woes continued to plague Isaac Henry right up to the time of his death. In September 1828 he was informed that, six years after her death, claims were still outstanding against Elizabeth Carter's estate and at least one claimant, a Doctor Lacey, was suing for payment (Burgess 1997:13). Isaac Henry died of pneumonia at Spring Hill Farm in 1829 and was buried at the Carter family cemetery at Pittsylvania. Robert Hamilton, in addition to his duties as one of Elizabeth Carter's executors, became Isaac Henry's executor as well (BB 5:29).

Two years later, in September 1831, it was advertised yet again that Spring Hill Farm was on the auction block (Turner 2000:151). This auction, too, was avoided when Robert Hamilton paid the remaining debt of \$857.72 (DB 12:491-492). Evidently, Judith Henry did not gain free and clear title to Spring Hill Farm until July 2, 1836 when her sister Elizabeth's estate was finally settled. This occurred when Jesse Ewell, acting as commissioner to settle a suit between John Bruce and John Hooe, divided and sold the property. Judith Henry purchased 100 acres of the property, including the house, for \$699.57. The remaining 230 acres were sold to John Lee (Land Cause Book 1835-1843:278-279). Lee's acreage was the eastern portion of the Spring Hill Farm property, and 170 acres were eventually sold to James Robinson (Parsons 2001a:37).

#### *Agricultural Use of Spring Hill Farm, 1820-1860*

As one examines the available evidence pertaining to Spring Hill Farm, a picture of a small-scale, self-sufficient farming operation emerges. In the 1820s, with Isaac away and their children at young ages, an overseer was employed to manage the crops. In an 1826 letter to Isaac Henry, Robert Hamilton states that "Harry Harris is very anxious to sow some wheat in his corn land and requests me to ask you to let him do so, and if you refuse, he wishes to know if he is to continue on your land for another year" (Burgess 1997:14). Wheat and corn were the primary crops raised. Estate accounts made in 1829 (Appendix VIII) list 78 ½ bushels of wheat and 30 barrels of corn as assets (WB N:416). These accounts also denote the presence of seven hogs, two cows, two pigs, and two horses. Farming implements such as grubbing and broad hoes, plows, and shovels are also listed. Interestingly, both plows and most of the farming implements were sold. Judith Henry retained almost all of the household and kitchen furnishings (Appendix IX), but only one shovel, two grubbing hoes, and a drawing knife among the tools (WB N:264). After 1830, farming seems to have been de-emphasized.

A short description of the Spring Hill Farm appears in the auction notice printed in the *Alexandria Gazette* in September 1831. It states that "the land lies on the Turnpike Road leading from Centerville to Buckland, is adapted to the cultivation of all kinds of Grain; may be improved by the use of Plaster and Clover, and has a sufficiency of wood for its support" (Turner 2000:151). The agricultural census for Prince William County in 1850 provides the most in-depth picture available of how the 100-acre farm was utilized. It indicates that 75 acres of land were in agricultural production. The Henry's focused their production on corn; 400 bushels were recorded. Other crops such as wheat (75 bushels), oats (50 bushels), potatoes (50 bushels), rye (20 bushels), and buckwheat (10 bushels) were also produced. The number of livestock present, valued at \$50, is small; one horse, two milk cows, and two swine are recorded. Milk cows produced two hundred pounds of butter. No working oxen or mules are listed. The remaining twenty-five acres of the farm were unimproved (Agricultural Census 1850). The wood from these acres would have been utilized to maintain the dwelling, to construct outbuildings and fences, as well as to provide fuel for heat.

The agricultural census of 1860 does not include an entry for Judith Henry's farm. This could signify that production on the farm was too meager to warrant an entry. Alternatively, the census takers may have unintentionally excluded the farm. The neighboring Robinson farm is likewise absent from the record (Parsons 1996:3.8).

There are other indicators that the agricultural output of the farm was probably never very extensive. For example, personal property tax records for the period 1820 to 1860 never show more than two horses/mules and three head of cattle. This suggests that the livestock that was tended, and presumably the crops produced, were for the family's own consumption rather than for a larger market. Also, land tax records show a steady decrease in the value of the land during the period 1820 to 1850, dropping from \$15 to \$5 per acre in 1839. The decrease in value may have been caused as agricultural fields were left fallow and scrub brush appeared. Land values did rise slightly, to \$8 per acre, from 1851 to 1856, and then to \$10 up until the Civil War (Land Tax Records 1820-1861). The increase in value probably had more to do with improved transportation networks; the coming of the railroad to Manassas Junction in 1851 tended to raise land values throughout the region. And finally, it must be remembered, the size of the farm decreased from 330 acres to 100 acres in 1836. Any agricultural activity beyond a household garden would have been scaled back accordingly.

An obvious question to consider regarding the operation of the property as a farm is: Who was living there to farm it? As was noted previously, prior to Isaac Henry's death a man named Harry Harris was engaged in farming activities such as sowing wheat. It is possible that Harris also acted as an overseer to the Henry family's enslaved laborers. The number of enslaved laborers owned by the Henrys was far fewer than were present during Elizabeth Carter's tenancy. Information gleaned from personal property tax and census records reveals the family owned an average of five enslaved laborers up until 1830. From 1830 to 1860 the family typically owned only one or two enslaved laborers. One "free negro" was taxed in 1853. Table 1 shows the number of enslaved laborers the Henry family owned.

Members of the Henry family probably provided some of the agricultural labor, but the only ones to maintain a constant residence at Spring Hill Farm were Judith and her daughter, Ellen Phoebe Morris Henry. Isaac Henry was frequently in Philadelphia and died early on during the family's occupancy. And even if he was not frequently absent, it is safe to say that Isaac Henry was more of a scholar/philosopher than a farmer. Seventy books (on such subjects as religion, philosophy, poetry, history, and science) were in his library at the time of his death (WB N:264-265). The eldest son, Landon Henry, lived only briefly at Spring Hill Farm before joining the Army sometime after 1830. The sons Hugh Fauntleroy Henry and John Henry also spent their early years at Spring Hill Farm, but then lived elsewhere before returning later in life to live on the property. John was the only one of his siblings to marry and have children. He lived in the Gainesville area, where he was a teacher, during the mid-1840s and 1850s. By the time of the 1860 census, he and his family had returned to Spring Hill Farm. At that time his family consisted of wife Mary E. Henry (age 31), daughter Ida Landon Henry (age 3), and son Arthur Lee Henry (age 1) (Turner 1993b). Hugh Fauntleroy lived at Spring Hill Farm until he moved to Alexandria, Virginia in the 1850s. There he established and taught at a boy's school. Prior to the Civil War, he and John frequently visited their mother and sister at Spring Hill Farm.

### *The Civil War*

In the spring of 1861 the Civil War had just begun. The Henry family could not have anticipated the drastic effects the conflict would soon have on them. A large Union army was being organized in Washington, both for the defense of the federal capital and for operations against

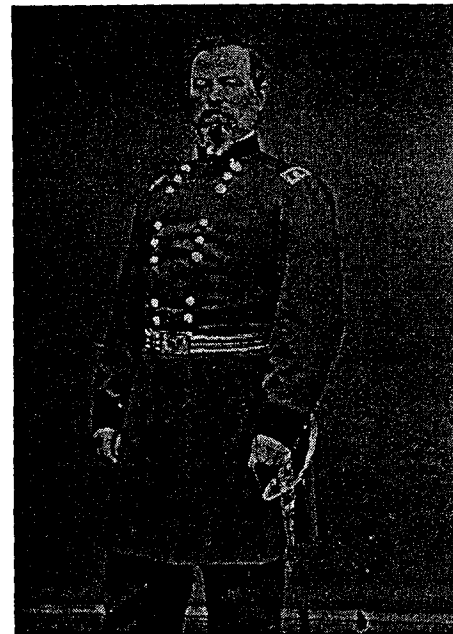


the rebels in northern Virginia. Hugh Fauntleroy Henry, then living just across the Potomac River in Alexandria, Virginia, wrote home to his sister Ellen to reassure her that he was safe. In his opinion, it was “against the spirit of the age, for troops either friendly or hostile, to injure a defenceless City when there could be no advantage derived from it.” With regards to her own safety and that of their eighty-five year old mother at Spring Hill Farm, he advised his sister that “Should troops be passing about the neighborhood, you and Mother need not fear them, as your entire helplessness, I should think would make you safe” (Burgess 1997:18). Unfortunately, Spring Hill Farm would soon be at the center of some of the fiercest fighting in the war’s first major conflict. Judith Henry became one of the first civilian casualties of the war and the farmhouse, known thereafter as the Henry House, became a major landmark on the battlefield.

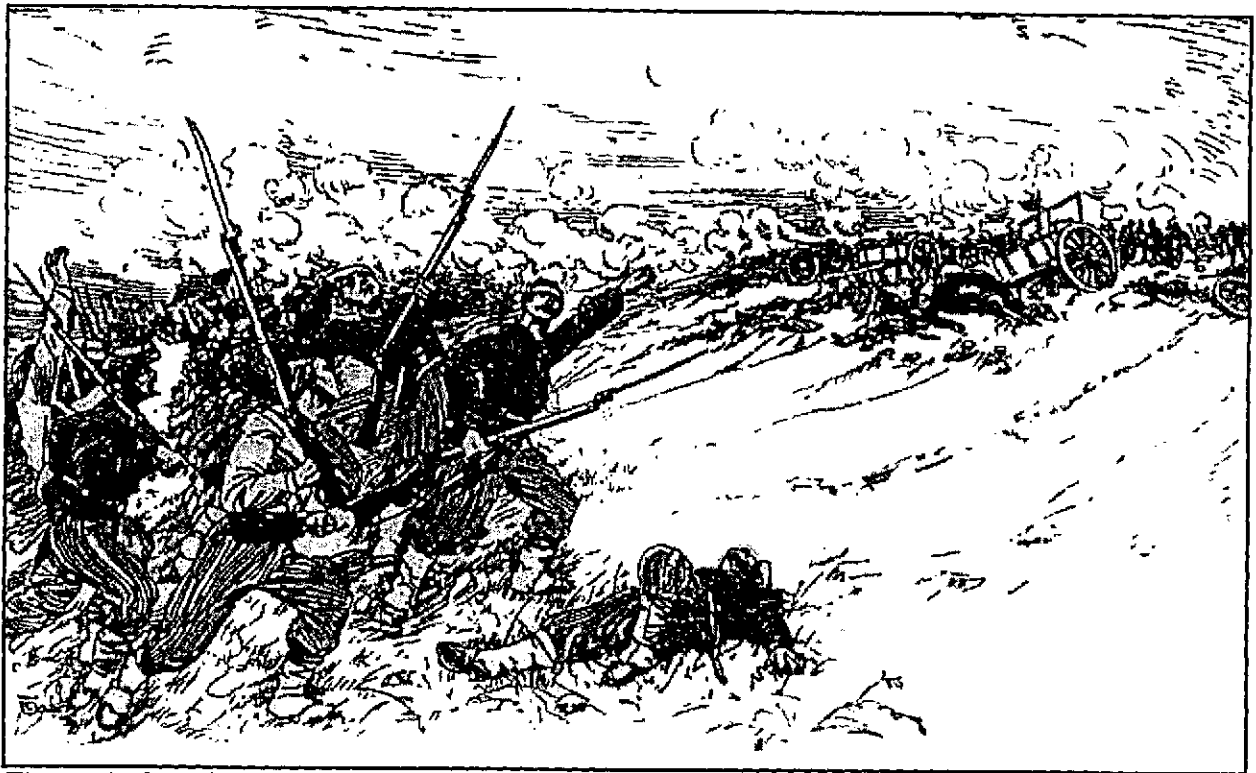
The battle of First Manassas occurred on July 21, 1861. By around noon of that day, the fighting had shifted from Matthew’s Hill to the north so that the armies faced each other across the Warrenton Turnpike just below Judith Henry’s home. After a brief lull in the action, five Union brigades stormed up the hill. The Confederates repulsed this onslaught and held their ground. After some regrouping the Union soldiers attacked again, but this time in a more uncoordinated fashion. For over an hour the area around the Henry House was the scene of intense fighting as Union and Confederate soldiers battled at close range.

Sensing victory, Union Major-General Irvin McDowell (Figure 3) ordered two artillery batteries, those of Griffin and Ricketts, up onto Henry House hill to enfilade the Confederate left. As it turned out, their position was dangerously exposed and their fire had little effect due to the uneven ground. Moreover, Griffin and Ricketts’ batteries were themselves subject to a flank attack from the woods along the Sudley to Manassas Road. At the height of the battle a blue-clad regiment marched out of those woods to a point not far from the Union guns. Believing these troops to be their own infantry support, the batteries continued to concentrate their fire on the Confederates to their front. But the regiment was actually the Confederate 33<sup>rd</sup> Virginia, which leveled a deadly fire on them and seized their guns. The Federals counterattacked and recaptured the guns (Figure 4). Hand-to-hand fighting ensued as both sides vied for control and the battery changed hands at least three times.

Around 4:00 P.M., as the battle hung in the balance, an attack by reinforcements around the Chinn House to the west tipped the balance in favor of the Confederates. Exhausted and many no longer moving in cohesive units, the Union troops began retreating down the slope of Henry House hill and across Young’s Branch in the direction of the stone bridge. There was little pursuit because the battle had disorganized the Confederates almost as equally. Instead, the Confederate army settled down in the aftermath of the hard-won victory.



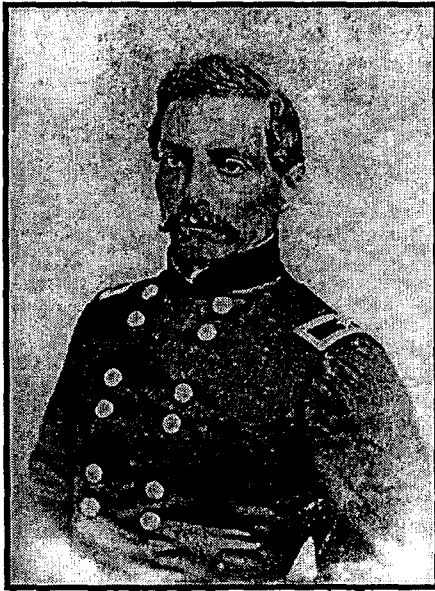
*Figure 3. Major-General Irvin McDowell. He commanded about 35,000 men on the battleground of Manassas. (Courtesy of Still Picture Branch (NWDNS), National Archives at College Park, Maryland).*



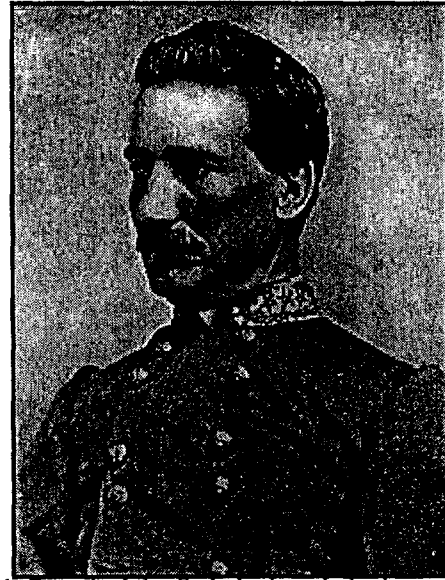
*Figure 4. In a desperate attempt to retake their captured artillery batteries, Federal units charge up the Henry House hill. (Courtesy of Yoseloff, 1956).*

The numerous existing accounts of exactly what happened to Judith Henry and the Henry House during the battle vary slightly in their details. For example, they vary in the fact of who was present with Ellen and Judith Henry in the house. Some accounts state that a hired servant named Lucy Griffith was present, while others give her name as Rosa Stokes. In some accounts, as the battle neared the house, Confederate officers carried the bed-ridden Judith Henry on a mattress to the shelter of a nearby springhouse, while in other versions it is her children Ellen and John who take her there. Other sources claim that they attempted to carry her to the safety of "Portici." Discrepancies also exist as to the number and nature of Judith's mortal wounds and also the wounds of her servant. Over the years, historians and researchers have repeated portions or all of the various accounts making it difficult to state with certainty which set of facts is true. Local legends also arose and have often been repeated and entered into the documentary record.

The recollections of soldiers and resident eyewitnesses are a good source of information concerning the terrain surrounding the Henry House at the time of the battle. In his October 14, 1861 report for the Official Records for the Manassas Campaign, Confederate General P. G. T. Beauregard (Figure 5) describes the topography and vegetation of the Henry House hill and plateau. The hill, he wrote, was "furrowed by ravines of irregular direction and length, and studded with clumps and patches of young pines and oaks." He went on to say that around the Robinson and Henry houses were "small open fields of irregular outline, not exceeding one hundred and fifty acres in extent.... Around the eastern and southern brow of the plateau an almost unbroken fringe of second-growth pines gave excellent shelter for our marksmen..." To the west of the Henry House, adjoining the agricultural fields, Beauregard noted "a broad belt of



*Figure 5. General P.G.T. Beauregard. Beauregard's post-battle report described the topography upon " which during the battle both armies met and contended for mastery" (Courtesy of Library of Congress).*



*Figure 6. Captain John D. Imboden. Imboden was an eyewitness to the damage inflicted to the Henry House during the battle. (Courtesy of Still Picture Branch (NWDNS), National Archives at College Park, Maryland).*

oaks [extending] directly across the crest on both sides of the Sudley road..." (Yoseloff 1956:206-212).

The Henry House itself is mentioned in several accounts of the battle. During the battle, Captain John D. Imboden (Figure 6) was in command of a Confederate artillery battery positioned about one hundred yards east of the Henry House. In his "Incidents of the First Bull Run," Imboden recalled hundreds of enemy shells exploding near the Henry House. Many of the shells, he wrote, exploded so deep in the ground that the shrapnel did not come out. The effect was such that "the ground looked as though it had been rooted up by hogs" (Yoseloff 1956:233). As Union infantry massed near Young's Branch for their assault on the Henry plateau, Imboden's position became threatened and so he moved his battery south from its initial position. Imboden wrote, "Then it was that the Henry house was riddled, and the old lady, Mrs. Henry, was mortally wounded; for our line of retreat was so chosen that for 200 or 300 hundred yards the house would conceal us from Griffin's battery...and the dreaded fire of the infantry... Several of Griffin's shot passed through the house, scattering shingles, boards, and splinters all around us" (Yoseloff 1956:234).

The Union artillery officer Captain James B. Ricketts (Figure 7) described the fire from the Henry House during the assault: "We ascended the hill near the Henry house, which was at that time filled with sharpshooters. I had scarcely gotten to the battery before I saw some of my horses fall and some of my men wounded by sharpshooters. I turned my guns on that house and literally riddled it. It has been said that there was a woman killed there by our guns" (USCCW:168-169).

During the attack the house was damaged but apparently still structurally sound. Captain James B. Fry (Figure 8) also mentioned the Henry House in his post-war report "McDowell's Advance to Bull Run." Describing the action just after the successful assault on the Henry House plateau,



*Figure 7. Captain James B. Ricketts. Artillery fire from his battery is believed to have mortally wounded the widow Judith Henry (Courtesy of U. S. Army Military History Institute).*



*Figure 8. Captain James B. Fry. Fry served as Assistant Adjutant General on McDowell's staff. (Courtesy of Library of Congress).*

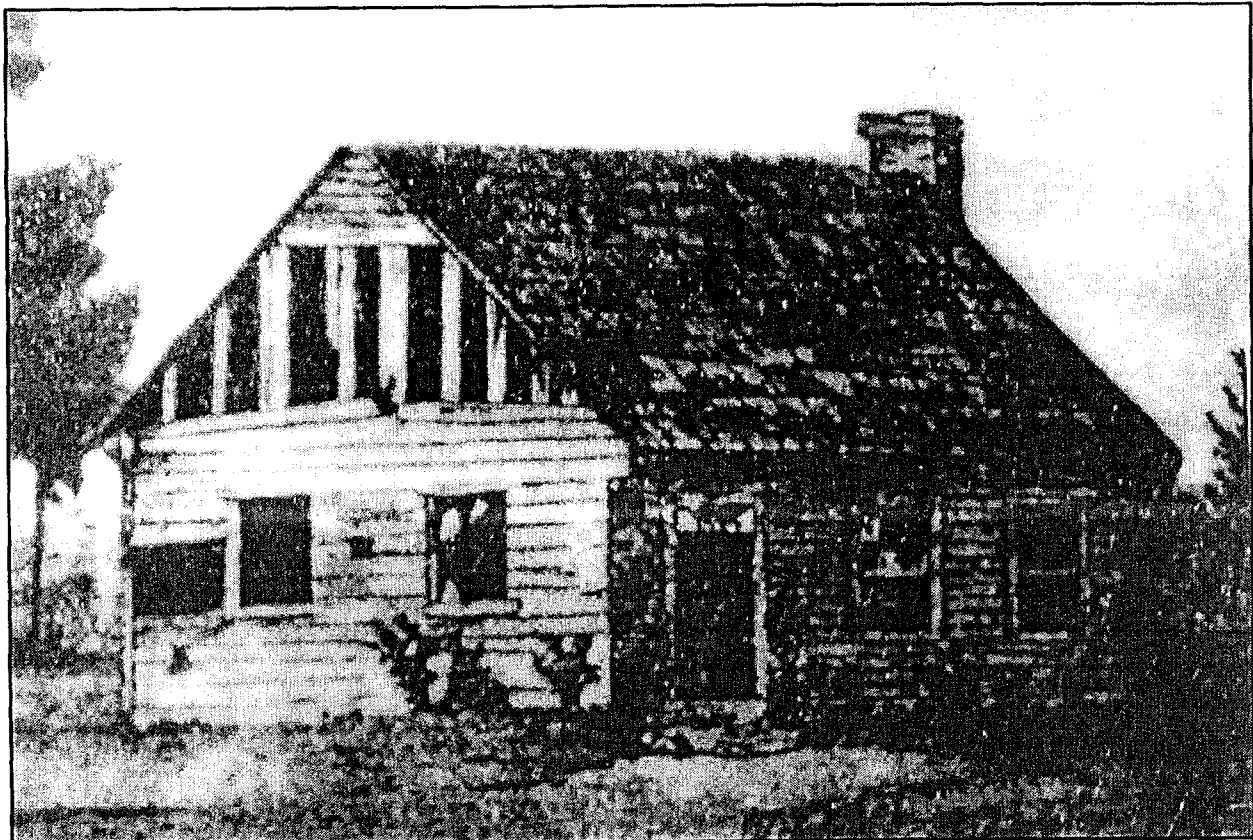
Fry stated that “the batteries of Ricketts and Griffin were planted very near the Henry house, and McDowell clambered to the upper story of that structure to get a glance of the whole field” (Yoseloff 1956:188). The account of Private Otho Scott Lee of the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Cavalry substantiates the fact that the house was not severely damaged during the battle. The day after the battle, Lee assisted in burying the dead and collecting abandoned equipment on the battlefield. He also visited the Henry house. Lee wrote, “I then rode over to the Henry house where Mrs. Henry had been killed during the battle. I saw her dead body in the bed where she had been killed, with her family around her...During the battle a grape shot pierced the house and passed through her body, killing her instantly” (Mathless 1997:155).

Alice Maude Ewell, an area resident, stated that the Henry house had been “shot to pieces in battle” (Ewell 1931:163). Ewell’s account should not be taken literally though. It is written in a highly dramatic fashion and she relied on the testimony of her father and neighbors and friends who toured the battlefield the following day. There are several secondary sources that say the Henry House (and other houses nearby) was uninhabitable and partially dismantled following the battle. Some state that pieces of the structure were carried off as souvenirs. Some state that the doors were removed to serve as litters for carrying the wounded. And others claim the Confederates utilized the wood from the Henry House as firewood and in constructing shelters for soldiers (see, for example: WPA 1988:130 and Hernigle 1991:9). Though any or all of these claims may be true and even likely, there is no known primary source documentation to verify them.

The actual appearance of the Henry House prior to the battle is not known. Most descriptions of the dwelling provide very little detail. Confederate General Beauregard’s description, in which he described the Henry House and Robinson House as “small wooden buildings”, is typical. War-related artwork and photography provide the best evidence. Leon Fremaux, an engineer

and Captain in the C.S.A. 8<sup>th</sup> Louisiana Volunteers, sketched the Henry House as it appeared after the battle. A drawing based on Fremaux's sketch, clearly shows damage to the frame structure on the south elevation, especially in the loft area (Figure 9). [The accuracy of Fremaux's rough sketch is not known, though his other more finished works are generally praised for their detail. His manuscript map and profile of Bull Run (Figure 10 shows the height of corn, the depth of the water, and a landmark poplar tree (Nelson 1992:20)]. An engraving of the Bartow monument (Figure 11) depicts the Henry House in the background. It shows two structures at the Henry Farm, with a smaller structure located just south of the house. Some Civil War-era maps also depict two structures. The Bartow engraving and the maps may very well have been made by artists and cartographers that never actually visited the scene. No other documentary sources have been located to support the presence of such an arrangement of structures.

The photographers David B. Woodbury and George N. Barnard, working under the direction of Matthew B. Brady, made the earliest known photographs of the Henry House. Woodbury's photograph entitled "Mrs. Henry's House at Bull Run" shows a figure standing amidst the debris of the frame structure (Figure 12). A similar view of the ruins is seen in George Barnard's photograph (Figure 13). Prominent in both men's photographs is the remnant of the Henry House chimney. Barnard is among the photographers known to have accompanied a Union detachment to document the area around Bull Run in March of 1862 (Nelson 1992:19).



*Figure 9. Drawing based on Fremaux's sketch, showing the Henry House as it appeared after the battle. (Courtesy of Manassas National Battlefield Park).*

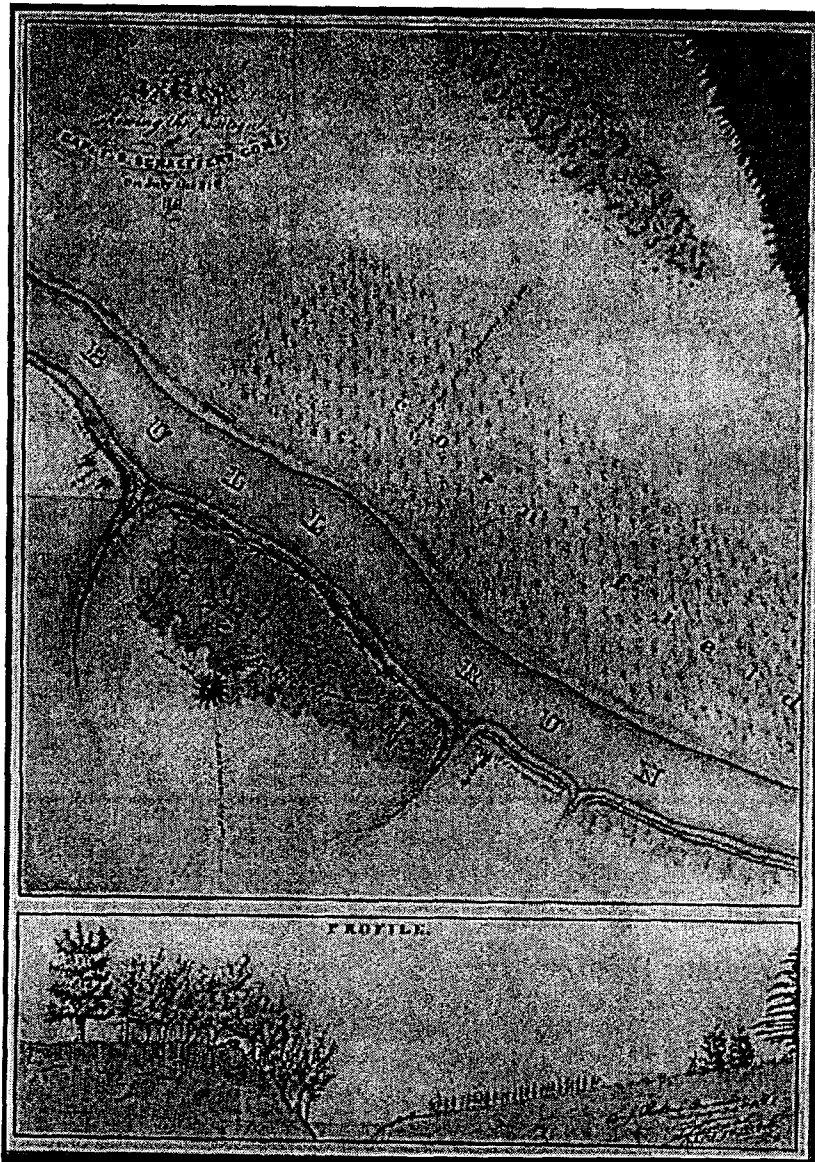


Figure 10. Leon Fremaux's manuscript map and profile of Bull Run. Documents such as this provide accurate details about the appearance of the battlefield. (Courtesy of Library of Congress).



Figure 11. The Henry House appears in the background at left of this engraving of the Bartow Monument. (Courtesy of Manassas National Battlefield Park).





Figure 12. David B. Woodbury's "Mrs. Henry's House at Bull Run." The photograph was made in the early months of 1862, about eight months after the battle. (Courtesy of Still Picture Branch (NWDNS), National Archives at College Park, Maryland).



Figure 13. George N. Barnard's photograph of the ruins of the Henry House. Sources state that the house had been scavenged by souvenir hunters and soldiers seeking building materials for their winter quarters. (Courtesy of Library of Congress).

Many post-war recollections of First Manassas center on the news of Judith Henry's death. In July 1913, Marianne Compton, a cousin of Alice Maude Ewell and an eyewitness to the battle, recalled her impression of Judith Henry's death. She wrote this account of the morning after the battle:

After breakfast...two ladies who were staying with us, and my younger brother, and I started to the Henry House thinking we might help in some way...We were met by some soldiers who reported that the enemy was returning, the fight about to be renewed. Owing to this absurd misrepresentation we turned back; but heard later that kind neighbors had forestalled us at the Henry House. They found it a ruin, yet contrived to do what was necessary for the unfortunate inmates (Mills 1991:16).

The neighbors, Betty Leachman and her sister-in-law, prepared Judith Henry's body for burial at the request of Judith's son John Henry (Mills 1991:20). They buried her in a garden in the front of the house.

The battle of Second Manassas was fought thirteen months later, beginning with an engagement near Groveton on August 28, 1862. During most of this three-day conflict, the Henry's now abandoned land lay safely behind the Union lines. Henry Hill did, however, serve as a strategic position for the Union Army on the last day of the battle. As the battle progressed during the afternoon of August 30<sup>th</sup>, the Union left was positioned around Chinn Ridge. With the fighting going poorly there, other Union troops were shifted towards the left and took up defensive positions along Sudley Road and on the Henry House plateau. Other retreating troops reorganized across the turnpike on Matthew's Hill and around the Pittsylvania estate. Accompanying this shifting of troops, General John Pope moved his command post from Buck Hill to Henry Hill. Regrouped in these new positions, the Union army was able to halt a Confederate attack made by General Longstreet. This allowed the Union Army to conduct a fairly well ordered retreat across Bull Run as the battle ended.

### *Memorializing and Rebuilding*

From all available accounts, the Civil War devastated the Manassas area. By the end of the four-year war the region's agricultural infrastructure was destroyed. Many farms were ruined, cattle killed or driven away, and grain and flour supplies stolen. Many families were left homeless and destitute as numerous homes and buildings were severely damaged or destroyed. Among the damaged properties were "Portici", "Pittsylvania", the Brawner farm, "Rosefield", Sudley Post Office, Sudley Methodist Church, and James Robinson's farm (Parker and Hernigle 1990:25, Joseph 1996b:26, Beasley 2000:48, Reeves 1998:2.15, Johnson et al 1982:89, Parsons 2001a:46). To reimburse some financial losses incurred by citizens during the war, the U.S. Government established the Southern Claims Commission in 1870. In order to receive compensation, it was required that the property owner provide proof that he had remained loyal to the Union. Though some Manassas area residents did submit claims, including neighbor James Robinson, the Henry family did not (Wilson 1987).



Judith Henry's remaining property was divided among her three children. According to the terms of her will (Appendix X), Ellen Phoebe Morris Henry received the bulk of this property. She was bequeathed "the land on which I reside together with all the stock Implements and Household and Kitchen furniture." John Henry inherited a sorrell mare and Hugh Fauntleroy Henry received a colt (WB R:267). With the destruction of the family home following the first battle, a pressing need was to find a new place to live. Ellen took up residence at Pittsylvania in 1861 with her cousins Edwin J. Carter, Sarah J. Carter, and Virginia N. Carter. She and her cousins abandoned Pittsylvania during the course of the war and moved to nearby Pageland (Beasley 2000:48). By the time of the second battle, John Henry and his family had moved to Sudley Springs where John was a schoolteacher. In the late 1860s he taught at the Sudley Methodist Church, the church serving as a school in addition to its function as a place of worship. According to one account "There was such a big hole in it, torn by shell fire, that the boys could slip in and out unseen by the teacher" (Johnson et al 1982:89). Hugh Fauntleroy Henry was staying at "Portici" during the second battle, but apparently continued to live primarily in Alexandria, Virginia until the early 1880s.

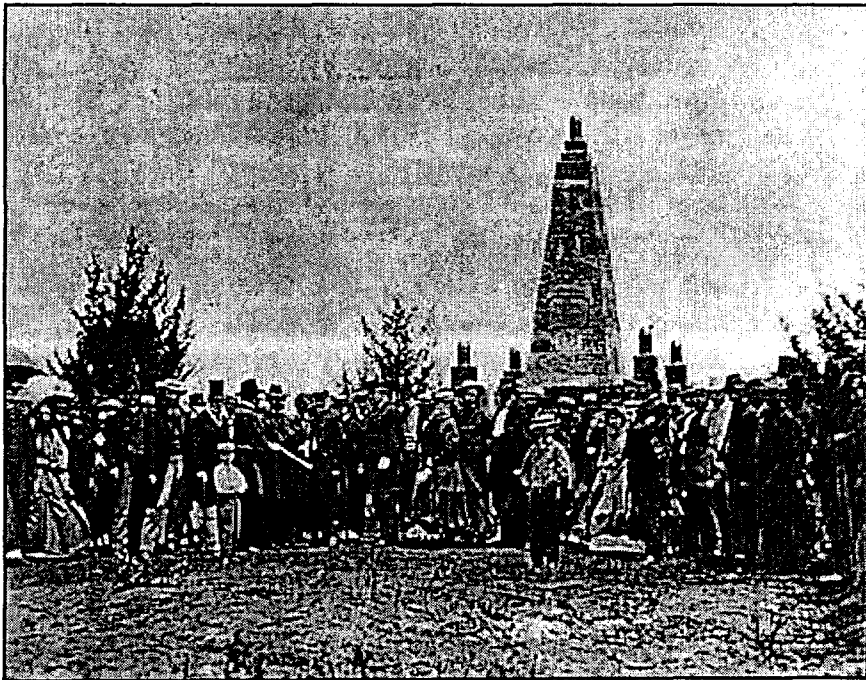
Meanwhile, the Manassas battlefields were becoming popular attractions for area visitors. The U.S. Army began to perceive a need to memorialize the events that occurred there. On May 28, 1865 by special order from headquarters, Lt. James M. McCallum of the 16<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Light Artillery Battery and Gamble's Separate Calvary Brigade were detailed to oversee the construction of a monument. On June 7 troops from the 5<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Heavy Artillery began building two separate monuments—one on Henry Hill and another at Groveton near the "Deep Cut" of the unfinished railroad (Mahr 1986:3). The workers completed the task within four days.

The Henry Hill monument was erected fifty feet east of where the Henry House once stood. The monument, constructed of locally quarried red sandstone, is a twenty-foot high obelisk resting on a raised earthen mound (Figure 14). It is ornamented with five 200-pound artillery shells and two marble plaques. The monument was dedicated at a well-attended ceremony on June 11, 1865 (Figure 15). Among the distinguished guests were Quartermaster-General Montgomery C. Meigs, General Samuel P. Heintzelman, Major General Orlando B. Wilcox, Major General H. W. Benham, Supreme Court Judge A. B. Olin, and Congressman J. F. Farnsworth (Mahr 1986:3-4). Speeches were followed by an artillery salute fired from the position that Ricketts' battery occupied during the first battle. This was followed by a regimental parade of the 5<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Heavy Artillery and 8<sup>th</sup> Illinois Cavalry after which the dedication moved to the Groveton monument for another brief ceremony (Mahr 1986:4)

Two local legends collected by WPA workers in the 1930s have grown concerning the Henry Hill monument. The first states that the monument was erected atop a mass grave. In the story, the grave belongs to Union soldiers whose remains were found after the war and to who the monument is dedicated (WPA 1988:130). Historian George Sutton was familiar with the legend and recorded another detail. The grave allegedly caused the monument to lean (Sutton Interview 1970:Reel #2, Part 1). The second legend is perhaps more believable, but again seems to arise more from local oral tradition than from any documented source. It alleges that the stones used to construct the Henry Hill monument were originally a part of the foundation of the "Pittsylvania" mansion (Hobbs et al 1999:396).



*Figure 14. The Henry Hill Monument. It is dedicated to the Union "Patriots who fell at Bull Run." (2001 photograph).*



*Figure 15. Henry Hill Monument dedication ceremony, June 11, 1865. To this day the monument remains a popular area attraction. (Courtesy of Still Picture Branch (NWDNS), National Archives at College Park, Maryland).*

A new Henry House was built in 1870. Evidence for this date comes from a 1920 entry in a *Sons of Confederate Veterans* guest book. The entry by a man named Andrew Norman states: "I built this house in 1870" (Vitanza 2001:1). Land tax records for 1871 support the claim. The tax record shows that the value of the property increased by \$800 on account of buildings constructed during the previous year (Land Tax Record 1871). The new Henry House measured approximately 24 x 16 ft and partially utilized the foundation of the original house. The frame structure was two stories with a side-gabled roof and a chimney on the northern elevation. When the construction was completed this became the new home of Ellen Henry and her extended family. The 1870 census reveals that her "Pittsylvania" cousins Edwin, Sarah, and Virginia Carter resided with her there as did her two young nephews, Arthur Lee Henry and Hugh Fauntleroy Henry, Jr. (Turner 1993c). A niece, Ida Landon Henry, also joined the household shortly after 1870. Although Edwin Carter continued to cultivate a small portion of his "Pittsylvania" acreage (Beasley 2000:49), Hugh Fauntleroy Henry, Sr. continued to provide the main financial support for the entire household.

Perhaps to more comfortably accommodate the numerous relatives who shared the living space, the Henry House was enlarged to its present-day size of 40 x 16 ft (Figure 16). A small porch was constructed at the entrance on the west side of the house. The exact construction date of the addition is not known, but it was sometime before 1883 and almost certainly before 1882. Land tax records give no indication, but a May 1883 family letter indicates the house had reached its current size by 1883 (Burgess 1997:25). Other family letters indicate that by the early 1880s, Ellen Henry lived at the Henry House alone. By May 1881, Ellen's nephew Arthur Lee had moved to Gainesville, Virginia and Hugh Jr. to Fauquier County, Virginia. By March 1882 her cousins were once again living on their "Pittsylvania" property. And lastly, the niece Ida was by that time attending school in Winchester, Virginia (Burgess 1997:19-21, 23). It seems unlikely that an addition would be made after six of the seven residents moved away.

It was also around 1882 that Hugh Fauntleroy Henry, Sr., now an elderly man (Figure 17), moved back to the new house on Henry Hill. He continued to support his sister Ellen until her death at the age of 81 on October 10, 1888. She was buried in the family plot in a grave next to that of her mother, Judith Henry. To supplement his income Mr. Henry began to capitalize on the notoriety his farm had achieved as a Civil War landmark. The battlefield continued to be a point of pilgrimage for Northerners and Southerners alike. Henry had gathered together a large collection of relics and he allowed the curious to view them. His house in effect became a museum and favorite stopping place for tourists (Zenzen 1998 1998:4).

Among the many visitors were veterans who came to see the place of their former exploits. In a letter to his cousin, Hugh Fauntleroy Henry recalled a tour he gave to General Duryee of the New York Zouaves. He was able to point out to the General the position of his regiment during the Battle of Second Manassas. Evidently the general was satisfied with his tour, as Henry noted "His face was all aglow, and his gestures were of the most animated character" (Burgess 1997:22). Another veteran recounted a visit to the Manassas battlefield made in 1897. His account illustrates the extent to which Hugh Fauntleroy Henry had taken on the role of tour guide:



*Figure 16. The Henry House as it appeared ca. 1889. (Courtesy of Manassas National Battlefield Park).*



*Figure 17. Hugh Fauntleroy Henry, ca. 1896. (Detail of photograph, Courtesy of Manassas National Battlefield Park).*

In due time the party arrived at the Henry House where our luncheon was spread and eaten at the base of the red sandstone monument...The proprietor of the farm was Hugh Fauntleroy Henry...He was over eighty years old. He had long adopted the policy of charging a uniform admission fee of fifty cents to every person coming on the farm for the purpose of viewing the battlefield. This included his personal services as guide and narrator of events which were exceedingly valuable to us. He had placed rough board signs on some of the trees and posts of the farmyard and pastures, showing where General Bee was killed, where General Jackson received his title of "Stonewall," where Griffin's battery was captured, etc...(Mills 1988:43).

Visitation to the Henry House continued to increase as the years passed. Nephew Arthur Lee recalled that his uncle sometimes took in as much as five dollars a day from battlefield visitors. In addition to placing interpretive signs at points of interest (Figure 18), Mr. Henry published a souvenir booklet for the two Manassas battles. It is also at this time (post 1896) that the small gabled porch was removed from the west elevation and a large porch was added across the south side of the house. In addition, a window on the western end of the south elevation was converted into a door. Hugh Fauntleroy Henry continued to host visitors to the battlefield until his death on June 30, 1898.



*Figure 18. Hugh F. Henry provided guided tours of the battlefield and placed interpretive signs such as this one at points of interest. (Courtesy of The Manassas Museum).*

Upon the death of Hugh Fauntleroy Henry, Sr., legal title to the house and farm passed to his nephew, Arthur Lee Henry. By 1900 Arthur Lee and his brother Hugh Fauntleroy, Jr. took up residence at the Henry House (Turner 1995). Though their sister Ida was living in California at the time, Hugh Fauntleroy, Sr.'s will (Appendix XI.) stipulated that the "Henry House shall be the home of my Niece Ida Landon Henry whenever She may wish to make it So" (WB V:233). To his niece and nephews Hugh Fauntleroy, Sr. also bequeathed his tableware, a \$1,600 bond, as well as his shares in the Charlottesville and Rapidan Railroad Company. The final provision of Hugh Fauntleroy's will states "I wish to be buried by the side of my Mother with plain Tomb Stones to my grave—Similar to those to my Sister Ellen's grave" (WB V:234).

A short time later, in October 1898, Arthur Lee Henry deeded equal shares of the property to his brother and sister for the sum of one dollar (DB 47:37). Judith Henry's three grandchildren thus jointly owned the property until 1908 when Ida Landon Henry died, whereupon her brothers became the sole owners.

### *Maneuvers, Reunions, Reenactments, and the Establishment of a Confederate Park*

In 1904 the U.S. Army decided to stage large-scale peacetime maneuvers in the Manassas area. This decision was made partly because the Spanish-American War had pointed out numerous inadequacies of the military's logistics and supplies division. The Army was also interested in determining what effect automatic weapons and motorized vehicles would have on troop deployment and tactics. To address these issues a 65,000-acre maneuver zone was created in an area extending from Bull Run to Thoroughfare Gap (O'Donnell 1986:4).

From August 28 to September 9, 1904 some 5,000 regulars and 12,000 militiamen established camps representing a fictitious "Blue" army and an opposing "Brown" army. General Frederick D. Grant, son of the famous Civil War leader, was in command of the "Blue" army whose camp was established on Bull Run near the Henry House. The armies then spent a week drilling and practicing field movements on the grounds of the battlefields, followed by field exercises designed to parallel the conditions faced during the two Civil War battles fought there (Figure 19). Except for the blank ammunition, the soldiers were to march and fight as they would in a real war. Two-day mock battles, officiated by umpires, were held near the Henry House in the final days of the exercise. In that contest, the Blue army successfully defended the Stone Bridge against a reinforced Brown army (O'Donnell 1986:4-6). Although some area residents did report



Figure 19. The U.S. Army held peacetime maneuvers near the Henry House in 1904. (Left, courtesy of U. S. Army Military History Institute. Right, unattributed photograph, courtesy of O'Donnell, 1986).

minor property damages caused by the maneuvers, this was one "battle" the Henry House came through undamaged.

The next dramatic event that took place at the Henry Farm occurred on July 21, 1911 during the observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of First Manassas. The event, billed as the Manassas National Jubilee of Peace, was an effort to promote the emotional reunification of the North and South (Figure 20). Over 1,000 veterans as well as 9,000 spectators and dignitaries attended the weeklong Jubilee (Harvey 1986:12). The idea for the Peace Jubilee came from a Confederate veteran from South Carolina who proposed the idea in a "Letter to the Editor" of the *Washington Post* (Harvey 1986:3). George Carr Round, a Union veteran who had settled in Manassas after the Civil War, read that letter and decided to make the idea a reality. Round, who was also an early advocate of battlefield preservation, became the chief organizer and chairman of the event. Round motivated the Manassas community and found support on both the state and national levels (Harvey 1986:12). It was largely through his efforts that the Peace Jubilee was a success.

The commemorative activities of the Jubilee opened on July 16, 1911 with a sermon preached by Henry Couden, chaplain of the United States House of Representatives. The real climax of the Jubilee, however, came on July 21 with a 9 A.M. ceremony at the Henry Farm. Citizens of the town formed shuttles of wagons and automobiles to carry the veterans and visitors from the town to the battlefield (Figure 21). The veterans were then reviewed by Virginia Governor William Hodges Mann, after which the soldiers closed ranks and grasped hands in a gesture of peace and friendship. This handshaking ceremony was followed by a "Love Feast of the Blues and Grays," a free luncheon furnished to all the veterans by the ladies of the Bull Run and Manassas chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (Simmons 1986:71). Later in the evening President Howard Taft addressed the veterans and spectators at a public reception (Figure 22) (Harvey 1986:5).

The overwhelming success of the Peace Jubilee demonstrated to many that the battlefields of Manassas were of national significance and worthy of preservation. Both the federal government and veterans organizations began to formulate plans to further memorialize the Manassas landscape. The government's initial efforts were focused on securing ownership to the lands upon which the existing monuments stood. In 1912 a House committee in Congress held hearings on H.R. 1330, a bill which recognized that the government had erected monuments on land that it did not own. The bill provided for the secretary of war to purchase lands around the monuments and sufficient land to provide access to the monuments (Zenzen 1998:10). The hearings explored options for obtaining that land, with much of the discussion centered on land costs. Jubilee organizer George Carr Round acted as the Henry family's legal representative during the hearings. Arthur Lee Henry and Hugh Fauntleroy Henry (Jr.) set \$20,000 as the asking price for the Henry Farm. Round defended this price by reminding committee members of the historical importance of the land as well as the Henry's past stewardship of the 1865 monument (Zenzen 1998:11). Passage of the bill in 1913 made federal acquisition of the Henry House appear imminent. The outbreak of World War I, however, turned the attention of Congress away from the plan and it was left to veterans groups to pursue the acquisition of the Henry House (Zenzen 1998:12).



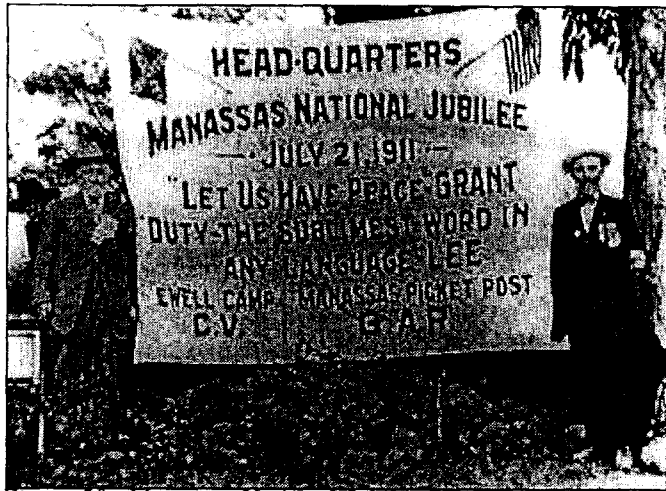


Figure 20. Manassas National Jubilee Banner. George Carr Round, the principal organizer of the event is on the right. (Courtesy of The Manassas Museum).

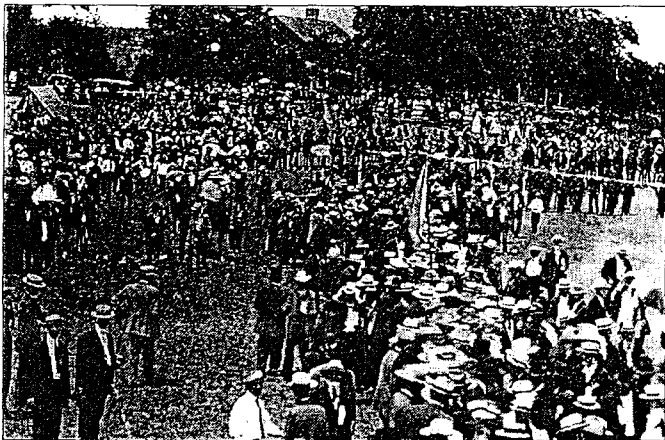


Figure 21. Commemorative activities of the Jubilee at the Henry Farm. About 10,000 people attended the event. (Courtesy of The Manassas Museum).

# MANASSAS NATIONAL JUBILEE Manassas, Va. July 20-21, '11

A REUNION OF THE BLUE AND THE GRAY  
IN CELEBRATION OF THE 50th ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE FIRST BATTLE OF THE GREAT WAR  
FOUGHT AT BULL RUN, VA. (MANASSAS),  
JULY 21, 1861.



THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES is expected to be at Manassas July 21, where he will be accorded a reception, later delivering an address, as will also the Governor of Virginia and other distinguished statesmen, who will be in attendance. Several Companies of Virginia State Militia and one or more Troops of the United States Cavalry will take part in the exercises.

At noon, July 21st, on Bull Run Battlefield, the veterans will be marshalled in review and the lines of the Blue and Gray will clasp hands in friendship on the scene of conflict fifty years ago. Other battlefields in that vicinity will be visited.

REDUCED ROUND-TRIP FARES  
will apply from all stations on

## Southern Railway

Dates of sale July 18-19-20 and for trains reaching Manassas by noon July 21st, including local train No. 10 of this later date.

Final return limit reaching original starting point not later than  
MIDNIGHT JULY 24, 1911.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONFER WITH LOCAL AGENT OF RAIL  
L. S. BROWN, General Agent, P. O. BOX 107, Manassas, Va.  
705 Third Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

A. H. HANBURY, Manager, P. O. BOX 107, Manassas, Va.  
H. F. CARY, General Agent, P. O. BOX 107, Manassas, Va.

Figure 22. Railroad advertisement for the Jubilee. (Courtesy of The Manassas Museum).



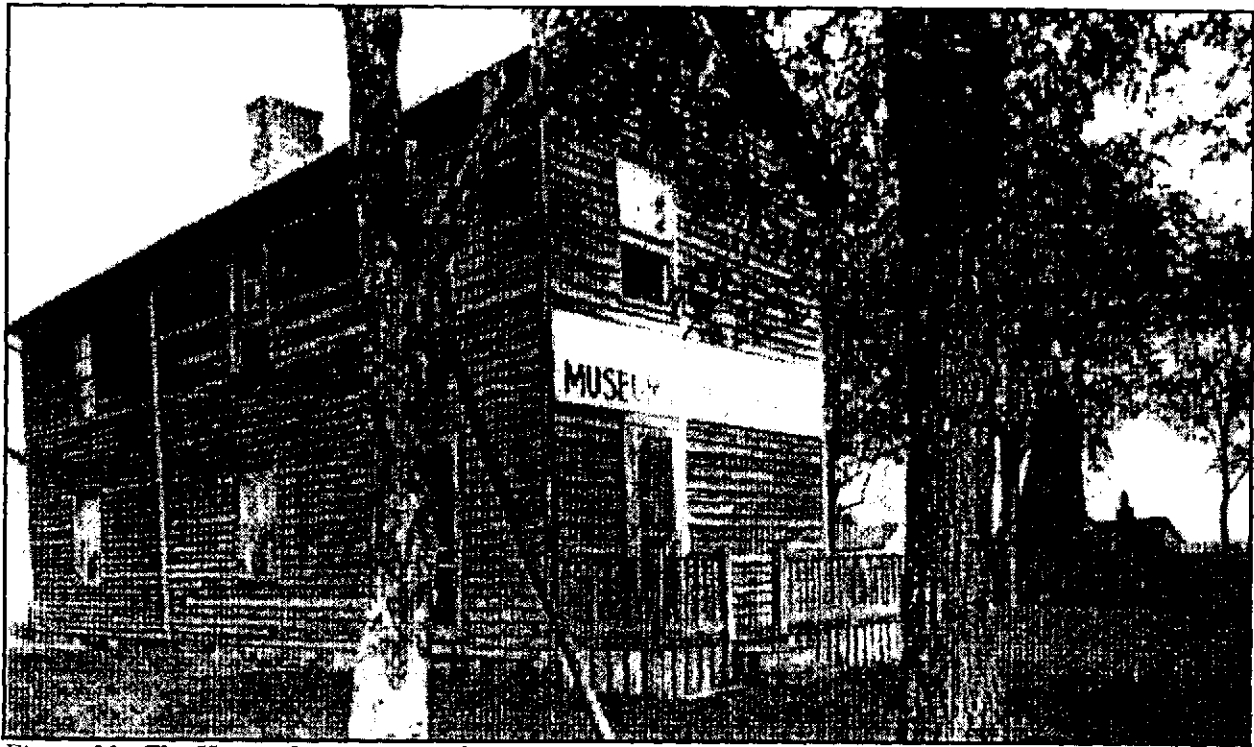
By 1914 the last member of the Henry family had moved out of the Henry House. The Henry's retained ownership of the farm but resorted to a live-in caretaker to operate the informal museum and to maintain the property. In that year an article appeared in a Washington, D.C. newspaper, the *Sunday Star* (SS) stating that the property was in "temporary possession of Henry Steen, a veteran of the 12<sup>th</sup> Iowa Volunteers" (SS:4). Steen was kept busy hosting the visitors that continued to flock to the battlefield. A 1918 visitor register for the Henry House shows people from thirty-one states, ranging from California to Maine, Alabama to New Mexico (Zenzen 1998:4).

On September 1, 1920 owners Arthur Lee and Hugh Fauntleroy Henry conveyed each to the other an equal interest in their property "so that the rights and interest of the parties...to the said 'Henry House' may be definite and clearly defined." The deed specifies that only the real estate was owned equally. The personal property, including the collection of Civil War relics, remained the property of Arthur Lee Henry (DB 74:466). Two actions seem to have prompted the making of this deed. First, the size of Henry Farm had increased from 100 to 128 acres by virtue of a deed from the "Judith Henry estate" (Land Tax Record 1921). Unfortunately, no record of this deed was located to provide details of the transaction and why it was not part of the brothers' original inheritance. The second factor that led the brothers to legally reaffirm their equal ownership was their desire to sell the property to the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC).

The Manassas chapter of the UDC, led by President Mrs. Westwood Hutchinson, took up the interest generated by George Carr Round in establishing a park at Henry Hill. The goal of this group was to provide a balanced educational experience to the battlefield's visitors by promoting the South's understanding of the Civil War. On September 16, 1920 the UDC obtained an option to purchase the Henry Farm for \$25,000 (DB 75:459). This arrangement allowed the group to make a partial payment for the property, while Arthur Lee and Hugh Fauntleroy Henry maintained a vendor's lien until the remainder of the payment could be made. With this option to purchase the Henry Farm in hand, the UDC joined with the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) to raise the necessary funds to complete the sale. Spearheaded by the efforts of E. W. R. Ewing, the SCV's historian-in-chief, they established the Manassas Battlefield Confederate Park (MBCP) corporation in May 1921. The MBCP was the corporate entity for accepting contributions and raising funds to develop the park and maintain the grounds (Zenzen 1998:14). The MBCP purchased another option to buy the Henry House, superceding the option from the previous year and extending the deadline to finalize the purchase (DB 75:459). While the MBCP was fundraising, Mr. Adoniram J. Powell and his wife Katherine Reeves Powell occupied the Henry House and served as caretakers for the property (Vitanza 2001:4). In their capacity as caretakers, Mr. and Mrs. Powell answered questions and provided directions to visitors as they toured the battlefield.

In March 1923, to show its support for the UDC's educational mission, the Virginia General Assembly authorized payment of \$10,000 toward the purchase of the Henry Farm. The money was approved under the condition that the MBCP provide the remaining \$15,000 (Zenzen 1998:15). The Confederate Park was able to solicit \$10,000 in individual contributions and on June 28, 1923 the Henry's deeded the property to the corporation. Once again, the Henry's held a vendor's lien against the property until the remaining \$5,000 could be raised (DB 78:414-415).

Despite the success it enjoyed in gaining backing from the state of Virginia, the MBCP had difficulty in raising the remaining \$5,000. It took seven years, until March 29, 1930, to make final payment (DB 88:3). Despite the fact that it operated a popular museum (Figure 23), the financial condition of the Confederate Park worsened in the early 1930s. By this time the corporation had spent over \$50,000 on the Park, but now had reached the point where it had difficulties even raising the \$30 monthly salary of caretaker Powell (Zenzen 1998:16). Faced with the threat of losing the battlefield, the Confederate Park began to consider alternatives to its administration of the battlefield. It turned to the federal government.



*Figure 23. The Henry House During the Manassas Battlefield Confederate Park era. (Courtesy of The Manassas Museum)*

#### *Federal Ownership of the Henry House*

In 1933 President Roosevelt issued an Executive Order authorizing a reorganization of the federal government. As part of the reorganization, the National Park Service (NPS) took responsibility for all of the monuments and historic sites previously administered by the Agriculture and War Departments. The NPS was also charged with managing one of President Roosevelt's New Deal programs—the establishment of recreational demonstration projects. As the name implies, recreational demonstration projects were intended to provide recreational facilities for lower-income families, while at the same time demonstrating how marginal lands could be made more productive. The program was also meant to provide work relief for local unemployed laborers. In 1935 the Roosevelt administration designated 1,476 acres of the Manassas battlefields as the "Bull Run Recreational Demonstration Area" (Zenzen 1998:19). The Henry Farm was not added to the Demonstration Area until members of the SCV voted to donate the tract in June 1936 (Zenzen 1998:24).

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the battle of First Manassas was July 21, 1936. The local Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and NPS employees had been busy for months building access roads, mending fences, and otherwise improving the appearance of the battlefield. The anniversary seemed to be an appropriate occasion to invite the public to observe the progress and join in the Manassas Battlefield Celebration. As a special event to entice the crowds, nearly 2,500 Marine Corps and Army troops staged a reenactment of the battle. Stands were erected to accommodate 5,000 spectators but were far from adequate for the 31,000 who actually attended. Two hundred CCC men were employed as ushers (O'Donnell 1986:24-25). Once again the Henry House was in the middle of a "battle" as soldiers swept across the plateau in their recreation of the 1861 conflict (Figure 24).



*Figure 24. U.S. Army soldiers sweep across the Henry House plateau during the July 21, 1936 reenactment of the Battle of First Manassas. (Courtesy of Manassas National Battlefield Park).*

Three years later, during the summer months of 1939, the U.S. Army high command utilized the Bull Run Recreational Demonstration Area as a setting for part of its largest peacetime maneuvers to date (Figure 25). Similar to the 1904 war games staged on the same ground, the exercises were meant to evaluate the effects of new weapons and troop transportation systems on combat situations. All together, approximately 25,000 regulars and National Guardsmen participated in the two-week maneuvers at Manassas. The 29<sup>th</sup> "Southern" Division of the National Guard, consisting of 9,000 troops, encamped on the battlefield at Manassas. There they conducted drills and marches for several days before engaging in "sizable clashes" along Bull Run and on the Henry House plateau (O'Donnell 1986:28, 34).



Figure 25. For several days in 1939 the U.S. Army staged maneuvers near the Henry House at the Bull Run Recreational Demonstration Area. (Left, unattributed photograph, Courtesy of O'Donnell, 1986. Right, Alexandria Gazette photograph, Courtesy of Paul W. Allen).

The final transfer of the Henry Farm and Confederate Park land occurred on February 12, 1940. In May, the former Confederate Park and more than 1,600 acres of the Demonstration Area were designated as Manassas National Battlefield Park (Zenzen 1998:24). Even after the transfer, caretaker Adoniram Powell continued to live in the Henry House under the terms of a right to life tenancy. Also living in the Henry House at the time of the NPS acquisition were various members of the Ebhardt family. The Ebhardt's had taken up residence to look after Mr. Powell after his wife passed away. The Ebhardt's moved out upon Adoniram Powell's death in 1942 (Vitanza 2001:4). It is undetermined if the Henry House was occupied from 1942 to 1949, but the newly created Park continued to utilize the Henry House as quarters for caretakers and their families from 1949 until as late as the mid-1960s (Vitanza 2001:8).

#### *National Park Service Era Utilities/Maintenance*

According to park records, in 1949, the utilities for the Henry House were described as "Water-Well, Sewer-None, Electric-None, and Phone-Yes. The mechanical equipment is described as Sanitary-Wood Outhouse, Heating-Room Heaters, Fuel-Wood, Electric-None, and Hot Water-None" (Vitanza 2001).

The next known records addressing the conditions of the house, specifically the utilities are in the form of NPS memorandums generated in 1962. The supply of well water at the Henry House was "inadequate" and repeated tests confirmed the water to be not potable. The memorandums refer to a caretaker and his family by the name of Leonard, who occupied the building as quarters. Another memorandum, dated May 3, 1962 details the plans to install a new water line approximately 30 in. underground for approximately 690 ft. to connect with the existing supply at the park visitor center. It is stated in the memo that the contract for this project was awarded to a local contractor (Vitanza 2001).

In 1963 electric power is metered to the tenant and the water is supplied from the main well at the Utility Area (by Visitor Center). An indoor bathroom was installed with a sink, tub, and toilet (Vitanza 2001).

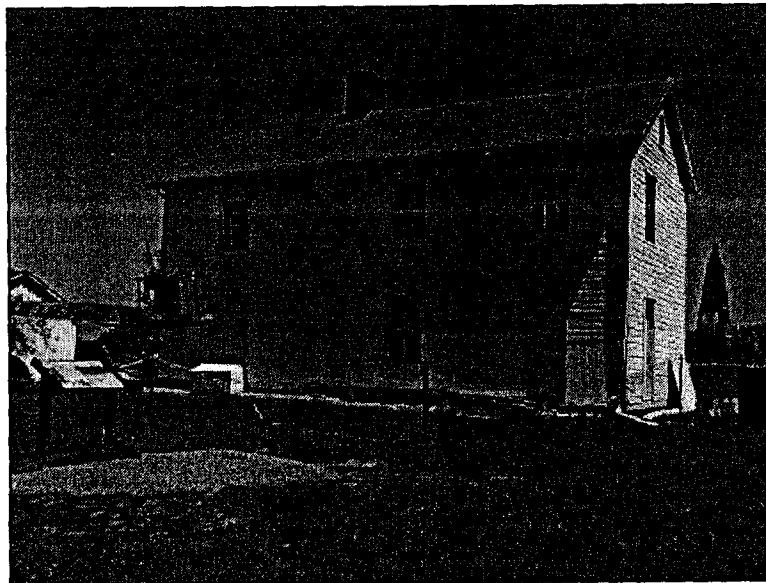
The following year, the south porch and door are addressed. Park files indicate that the "badly weathered front porch of the Henry House was replaced with new materials throughout. Cinderblock supports were extended to cover the whole perimeter of the porch. Further repairs included a new door sill for the front door" (Vitanza 2001). At an unknown date during this era, the south porch was removed and replaced with a small stoop and the door on the west elevation was filled and covered with siding.

Along with painting and minor stabilization, the Henry House was treated for termites in 1978. The termite treatment also included minor repair to the structural framing system and windows to repair termite damage. The shed was also repaired at this time (Vitanza 2001).

In 1980, a plan to restore Henry Hill to its 1861 appearance was proposed. Removal of intrusive vegetation from some areas and replanting trees in their conjectured historic locations, as well as the erection of Virginia rail fencing along 1861 property lines was completed (Vitanza 2001). The house was painted in 1982 and in 1985 the exterior ventilation box was rebuilt and the log floor joists and termite controls were replaced (Vitanza 2001.)

The Henry House and shed were once again painted in 1992. It was also at this time that deteriorated siding, corner boards, and soffit boards were replaced. Termite treatment took place this same year. In 1994, window and door repair work was completed. Also, a portion of the basement wall was dismantled and re-laid.

Cursory lead paint abatement was performed on the exterior of the Henry House in 1998. The techniques used were a temporary measure until a more thorough job could be done. In 2000, an extensive project involving the replacement of termite damaged wood and painting the exterior of the house. In 2001, termite bait stations were installed around the exterior of the Henry House. Emergency stabilization efforts were implemented this same year and are continuing (Figure 26). Interior stabilization included sill and floor joist replacement. The stone foundation was also slated for repair at this time.



*Figure 26. The Henry House is presently undergoing emergency stabilization. (2002 Photograph).*



## CHAPTER 2

### SUMMARY OF EXCAVATIONS AT THE HENRY HOUSE

Mia T. Parsons

#### PREVIOUS ARCHEOLOGY

Limited archeological work has been conducted at the site of the Henry House. In 1982, Thomas McGarry of the Denver Service Center's National Capital Team conducted a Manassas Historic Sites Survey. The Henry House was included in this survey. McGarry did not perform any excavations at the site; he recorded the existing conditions of the property showing the extant house, outbuilding, cemetery, and Henry Hill Monument (Figure 27).

In 1991, Archeologist Jacqueline L. Hernigle through a cooperative agreement between the NPS and the University of Maryland, College Park conducted excavations for clearance of an interpretative wayside installation project across the park. Two areas for the proposed waysides and asphalt pads were tested (Figure 28). The first area excavated was Unit 10, located on the west side of the Henry House and covered 10.3 square yards. Below NPS-era deposits, an occupation level was recorded. This stratum contained historic artifacts dating from the earliest recorded occupation of the site by Elizabeth Carter to the later Henry family era. The mean date of ceramics recorded at this time was 1815. Also noted was a colonoware pipe bowl sherd (Hernigle 1991:11).

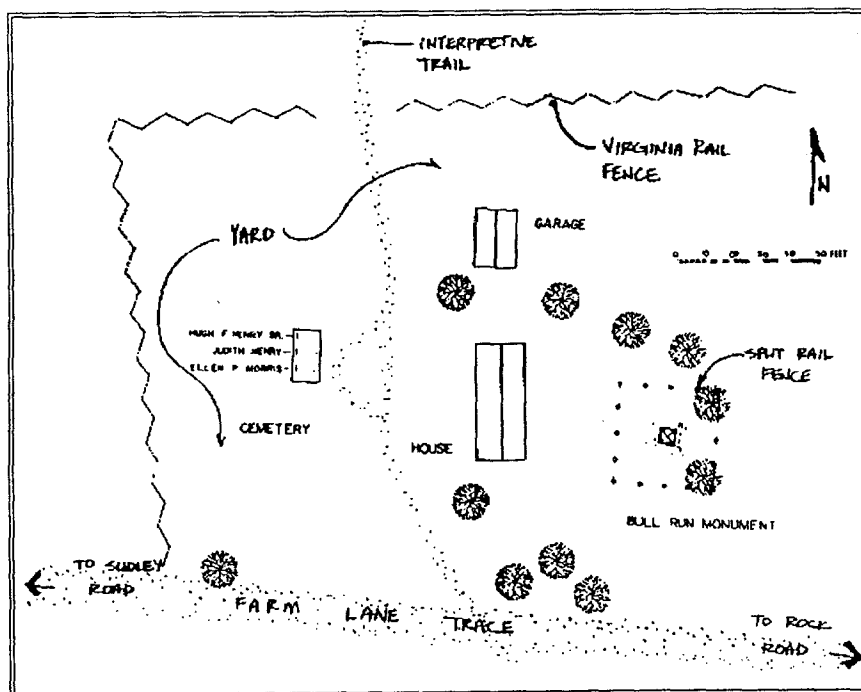


Figure 27. Map of the Henry House Site Showing Features Recorded During 1982 Site Survey. (Adapted from Parsons 1996).

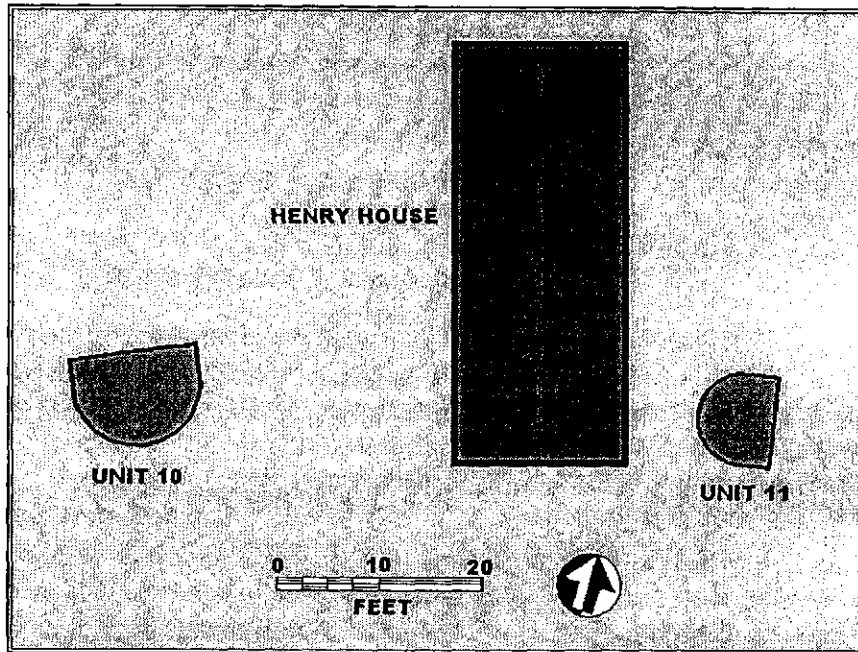


Figure 28. Location of Excavation Units for Clearance of an Interpretative Wayside Installation Project. (Adapted from Hernigle 1991).

A second area, Unit 11, was excavated east of the Henry House, near the Henry Hill Monument. This test area covered 7.7 square yards. Once the NPS-era and later Henry family occupation was excavated, several earlier historic occupation deposits were found. Within these strata, several architectural features were recorded (Figure 29). A frame building sill containing wood fragments and wrought nails, along with architectural debris, colonoware and a prehistoric scraper was documented. A second feature, a plaster concentration, was also recorded at this level. A modern utility trench was also documented in this area. This trench dated to NPS-era occupation and has been recorded in subsequent excavations along the east and north elevations of the Henry House. In the earliest strata recorded, with historic artifacts such as colonoware, a 1794 Liberty Head penny, and ceramics with a mean date of 1805, a sandstone foundation was documented. The foundation lies on the north/south axis, running approximately parallel to the extant Henry House. Hernigle (1991:11) states that the foundation may represent the earliest occupation of the Spring Hill property. A plaster concentration and architectural debris as well as lithic material were recorded at this level.

In March 1995, National Capital Regional Senior Staff Archeologist, Robert Sonderman conducted archeological excavations and monitoring at the Henry House. This work was to provide clearance for the stabilization of a section of the cellar wall. Installation of utility lines in the 1930s combined with rodent burrowing caused the cellar wall instability. A two-ft square excavation unit was placed along the east elevation of the house. A narrow builder's trench was recorded but no diagnostic artifacts were recovered. Archeological clearance was granted and a 1.5 x 5 ft trench was mechanically excavated to a depth of 3.5 ft in order to dismantle the section of cellar wall (Sonderman 1995).



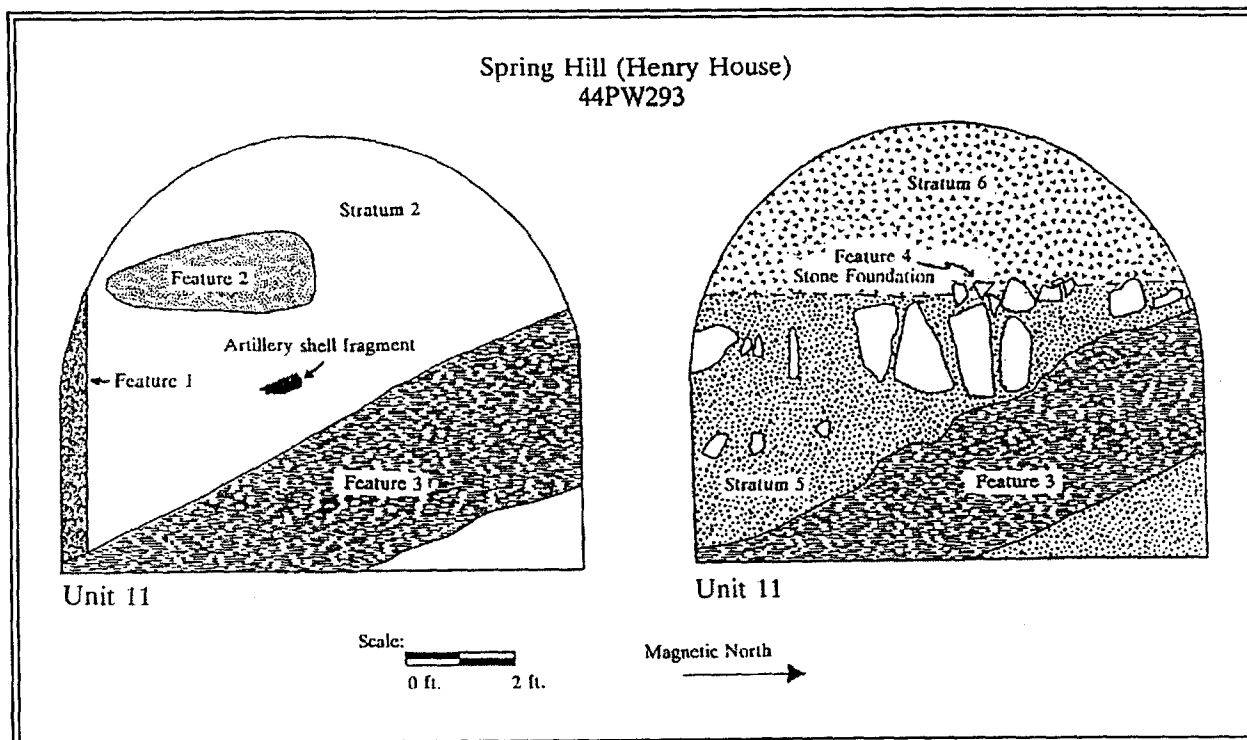


Figure 29. Plan of Architectural Features Recorded in Excavation Unit 11 (Adapted from Hernigle 1991).

In November 1996, NPS Archeologist Robert Sonderman returned to the Henry House to conduct archeological excavations to provide clearance for three maintenance projects. The projects requiring clearance included repairing a section of the north cellar wall of the Henry House, leveling a small area near the Henry family cemetery, and repair work on the northwest corner of the cemetery fence. A 1.5 x 3 ft area was excavated along the north elevation of the Henry House. Like the excavations the previous year, a builder's trench was unearthed. The narrow trench contained stone fragments, but no artifacts. The second area of excavation was located by the Henry family cemetery, where a 6-8 inch soil/sod mound covering approximately 20 square feet would be leveled. Archeologists excavated two shovel test pits within the area of potential effect. The deposits were determined to be landscaping fill and no artifacts were recovered. The third project involved replacing an anchor stone for the cemetery fence. Since no significant ground disturbance was involved, archeological testing and monitoring was not necessary (Sonderman 1996).

The Harpers Ferry Archeology Program conducted excavations for an emergency stabilization project at the Henry House from May-June 2001 (Parsons 2001b). The work was conducted at the request of the Manassas National Battlefield Park Cultural Resource Manager and Chief of Maintenance. The stabilization work involved the installation of eight footers for a temporary sill in Rooms 102 and 103 and repointing of the foundation around the exterior of the house (Figure 30). The interior portion of the project included excavating the exposed floor of Room 103 to the same level as Room 102, which had been previously dug by MANA maintenance, and excavating eight units (2 x 2 ft). Excavation Unit 3 covered a 5.5 x 8 ft area where the floorboards were removed in Room 103. This area was excavated between 0.25 to 0.7 ft to level the floor to the same depth as Room 102. No cultural features were recorded in the interior excavations. Rodent burrows were

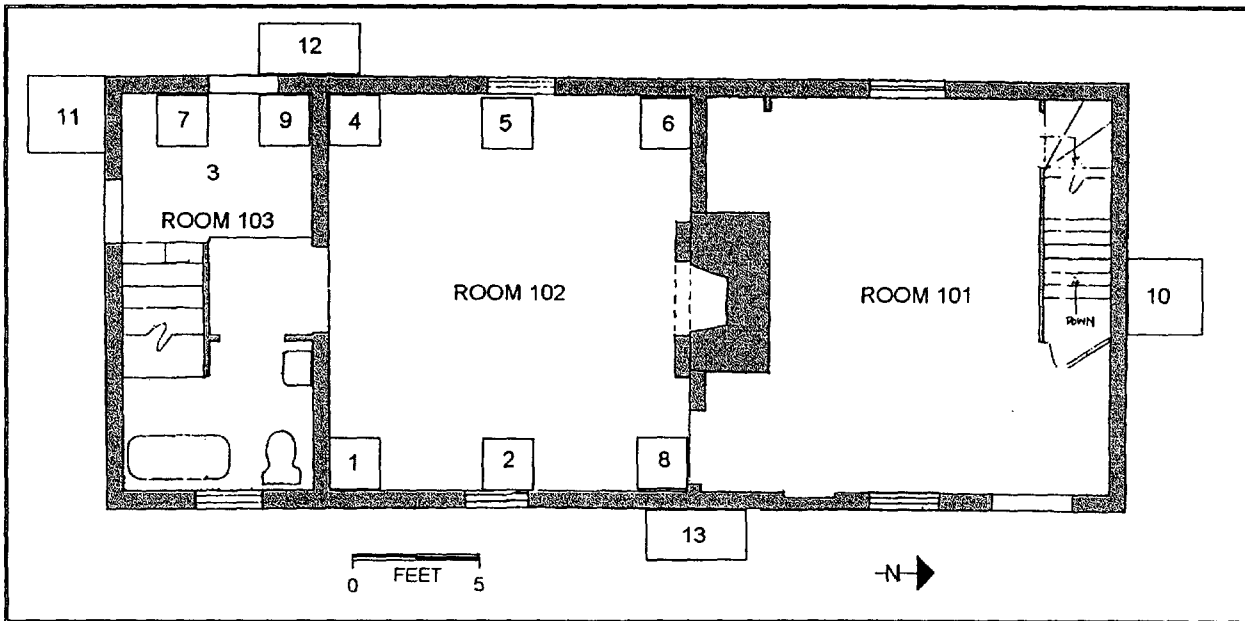


Figure 30. Location of Excavation Units for Emergency Stabilization Project at the Henry House.

present throughout the interior of the Henry House. Artifacts of note included historic ceramics such as colonoware, white salt-glaze stoneware (1720-1805), Jackfield (1740-1780), and hand-painted pearlware (1795-1815).

Excavations were also performed in areas on each exterior elevation of the house. Excavation Unit 10 (3 x 3 ft) was placed at the center of the north wall. This unit was excavated to sample this area, examine for a builder's trench and determine the condition of the foundation below grade. A builder's trench measuring approximately 1.5 ft wide was identified. In the northeast corner of the excavation unit, a utility line was exposed. No obvious trench surrounded the pipe. Sterile subsoil was recorded below this level. Excavations also revealed that a portion of the north wall of the Henry House foundation was covered with pargetting. Below this area, a feature of unknown function was recorded. The feature consisted of a 0.5 ft layer of concrete/mortar imbedded with small sandstone spalls.

Excavation Unit 11 (3 x 3 ft) was located on the southwest corner of the house in order to test for features associated with a porch identified in an historic photograph. The porch was a later addition existing during the occupation of the Confederate Park Museum, ca. 1920-30. A sandstone feature was uncovered approximately 0.75 ft below the present ground surface (Figure 31). The feature was identified as a foundation that extends south from the southwest corner of the extant Henry House. This feature far exceeds the dimensions and capacity needed to support the porch and was identified as part of the Spring Hill Farm house foundations.

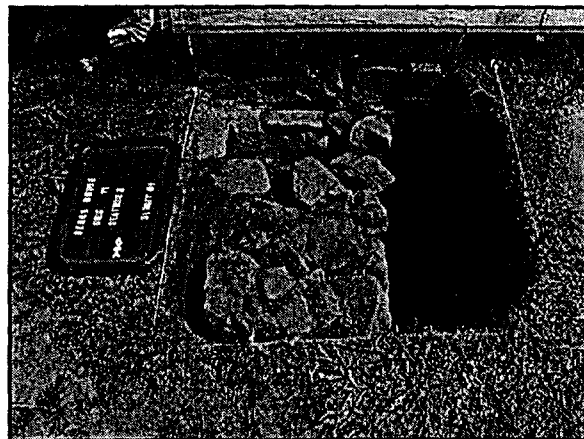


Figure 31. Section of the West Foundation of the Spring Hill Farm House Uncovered in Excavation Unit 11.

Excavation Unit 12 (2 x 4 ft) was placed along the west elevation of the house, 6 ft north of the southwest corner. A late nineteenth-century photograph shows a small porch at this location (on file MANA). The existing door appears to have been in the center of the framed porch. A utility pipe and possible grounding rod were uncovered in Stratum A. Stratum B was interpreted as the historic occupation level, containing late nineteenth-twentieth-century artifacts. With the exception of a feature in the northeast corner of the excavation unit, Stratum C was recorded as sterile subsoil. The feature, located about 0.5 ft below the current ground surface, is a rectilinear soil anomaly containing mortar and red sandstone. The feature is interpreted as a support for a porch post. This feature is believed to be original to the ca. 1870 house and the three additional porch supports may be intact.

Excavation Unit 13 (2 x 4 ft) was located along the east elevation of the house where interior Rooms 101 and 102 adjoin. Along with sampling this portion of the yard, this area was explored for foundation nuances that may support theories on the location of the earlier Henry House (Spring Hill Farm). Once excavated, it was determined that the installation of a sewer line that runs parallel with the house disturbed the majority of the area. A feature consisting of large red sandstone was recorded just below the pipeline in the south portion of the unit. These stones may be part of another foundation feature. The area just south and east of Excavation Unit 13 was probed to determine if more rocks were present. A high concentration of rock was detected in these areas.

## SUMMARY OF EXCAVATIONS

The goals of the excavations at the Henry House (site 44PW293) were research oriented, as well as to serve as clearance for compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended. Primary source research was conducted to construct a reliable social history of the site. Excavations were performed to learn more about the different occupations of the site and to identify and evaluate any archeological resources that may be impacted by the proposed adaptive use of the house as a "Discovery Center".

A topographic map of the existing conditions was generated using standard surveying methods (Figure 32). A datum on the relatively flat project area was established with an elevation of 270 ft above mean sea level (amsl).

Eleven excavation units (EU) were completed during this archeological investigation (Figure 33). The excavation units were aligned to the Henry House. The majority of excavation units were 4 x 4 ft, with the exception of EU 5 and EU 9 (2 x 4 ft) where extensions of existing EUs were excavated and EU 11 (3 x 5 ft) where a very specific area was targeted.

Excavations followed the cultural and natural strata, which are designated by capital letters (i.e., A, B, C,...). All strata thicker than 0.5 ft were subdivided into arbitrary levels designated by numbers (i.e., A1, A2, A3,...). All features were numbered with strata designated by lowercase letters (i.e., 1a, 1b, 1c,...) and when the thickness of a feature stratum exceeded one foot they were subdivided into arbitrary levels designated by numbers (i.e., 1a1, 1a2, 1a3,...).

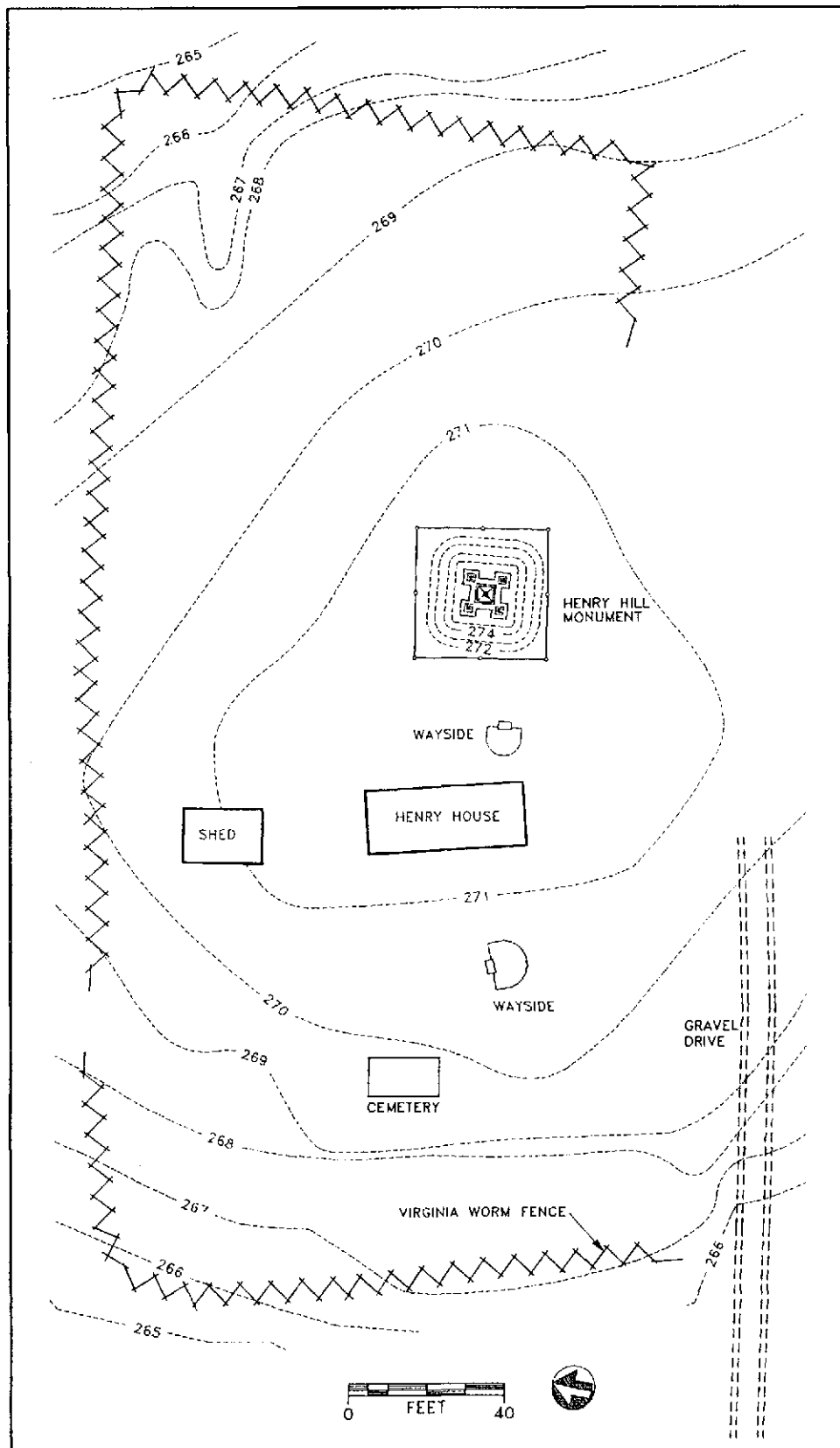


Figure 32. Topographic Map of the Henry House Site.

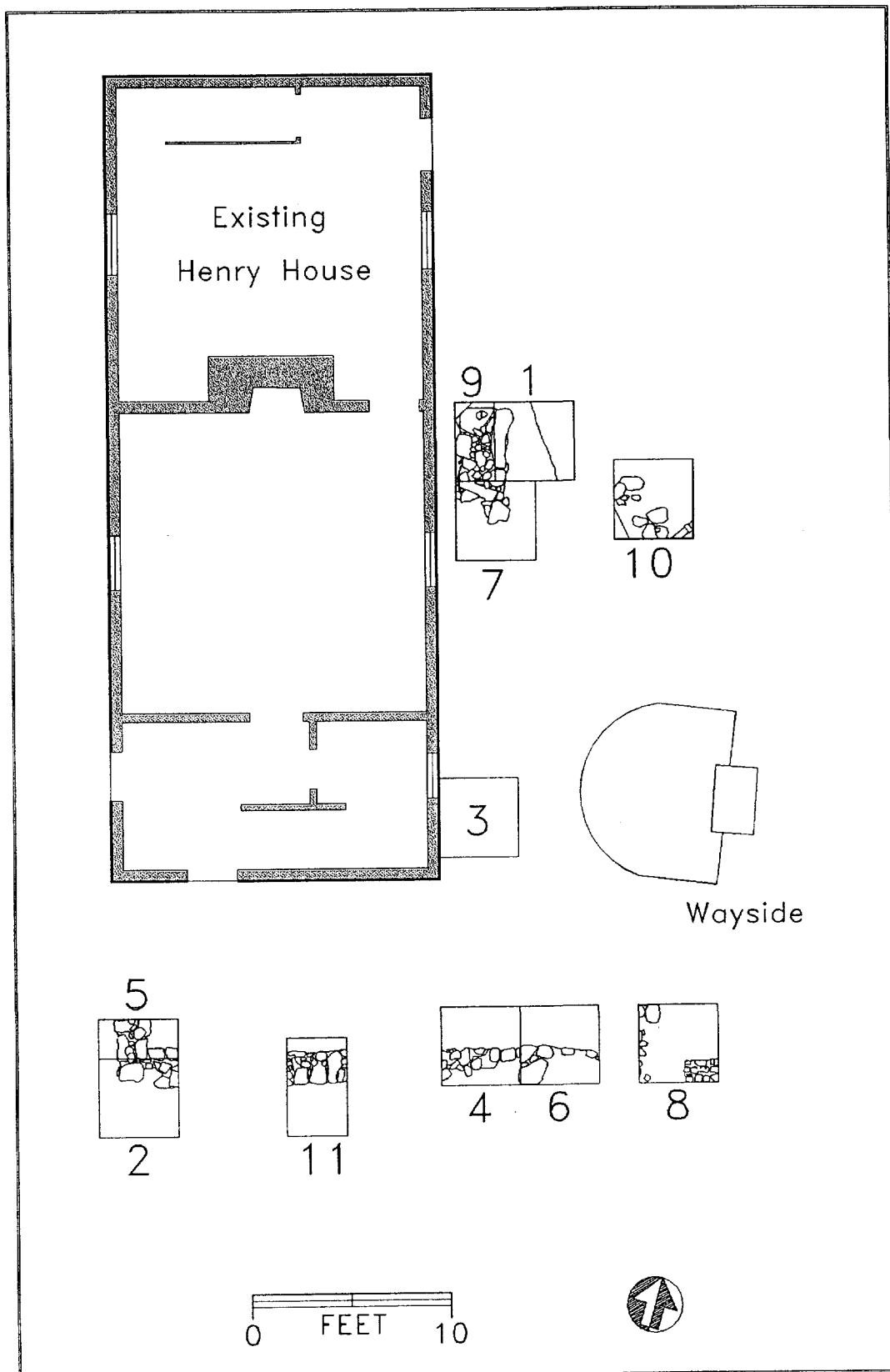


Figure 33. Map Showing the Placement of the 2002 Excavation Units.

All soils were screened through one-quarter inch hardware mesh and all artifacts were saved, with the exception of certain architectural material such as brick, mortar fragments, and flat glass and items such as charcoal and oyster shell. When found, these artifacts were sampled from each stratum.

Excavation unit soil profiles and features were photographed with standard 35 mm film and a digital camera. Measured drawings of features and soil profiles were completed and detailed written descriptions of all excavations were compiled. The soils were described by texture and by color using the standard Munsell Soil color charts. Field drawings used in this report were generated in AutoCad.

Data gathered from both artifact and stratigraphic analyses were entered into the NPS ANCS+ program. Computer manipulation of artifact data aids in the identification and evaluation of the stratigraphic layers that extend across the landscape and help establish the chronology of these layers. Specific types of artifact analyses permit diachronic socioeconomic comparisons within and between sites. A minimum vessel analysis was performed on colonoware sherds recovered from the site. The results of the minimum vessel analysis are discussed in Chapter 3.

Archeological testing was performed across a relatively small area in the south and east yards of the Henry House. The scope of the project limited excavation to these areas. A moderate amount of disturbance was recorded through the area. The majority of disturbance to deposits was caused by NPS-era trenching for water, sewer and other utilities. The Civil War along with Reconstruction also left marks of destruction on the site. Due to the level of disturbance and the shallow nature of the deposits, soil stratification was very limited, ranging from two to four distinct strata in each excavation unit.

The description of the stratigraphy encountered at site 44PW293 is presented in terms of Megastrata, Site Strata, and Unit Strata. The Site Strata designations are used to identify each distinct stratum encountered at the site. The Unit Strata designations are used to label the strata as each unit is excavated. The Unit Strata designations are unique to each excavation unit. However, the Site Strata designations link soil strata from different excavation units across the site. The Megastrata designations group the Unit and Site Strata into categories of general depositional periods. A total of ten distinct strata were recorded across the site and these unique soils were then classified within one of three Megastrata identified at the Henry House. The Megastrata represent general spans of time, including: Megastratum I, historic deposits mixed with NPS-era material; Megastratum II, late eighteenth to twentieth-century occupation deposits; and Megastratum III, culturally sterile subsoil. Table 2 outlines the unique site strata that fall under each megastratum. For a more in depth description of the site stratigraphy, see the excavation unit summaries in Appendix XII.

A combination of features representing twentieth-century utility installation and site occupation and eighteenth to nineteenth-century occupations of Spring Hill Farm were recorded during excavations (Table 3).

Table 2. Summary of Megastrata at the Henry House Site.

MEGA STRATUM	SITE STRATUM	UNIT STRATA	INTERPRETATION/ DATE RANGE
I	1	1A1, 2A, 4A1, 5A, 6A1, 7A, 8A, 9A1, 9A2, 10A, 11A	Mixture of NPS Era Material and Historic Occupation Deposits
II	2	1A2, 2B1, 2B2, 3C, 4A2, 5B1, 6A2, 6A3, 7B1, 7B2, 8B, 10B	Late Eighteenth-Early Twentieth Century Occupations
I	3	1A1, 10A-F1	1962 Waterline
II	4	1B1, 1B2, 3D1, 5B2, 11B	Occupation Level Grades into Sterile Subsoil
I	5	3A	NPS-Era Fill for Site Stratum 6
I	6	3B	NPS-Era Surface Puddle
II	7	4B-F4a, 6B, 8A-F7a	Historic Drip-Line Feature
I	8	7A-F5a, 9A-F5a	NPS-Era Utility Trench
III	9	1C, 3D2, 4C, 5C, 6C, 7C, 10C	Sterile Subsoil

Table 3. Summary of Features at the Henry House Site.

FEATURE	EXCAVATION UNIT AND INITIAL STRATUM CUT	MEGASTRATUM	INTERPRETATION
1	1A1, 10A	I	Utility Trench for 1962 Waterline
2	2B1, 4A2, 5B1, 6A2, 7B, 8B, 10B, 11B	II	Sandstone Foundations to Spring Hill Farm House
3	1A1, 9A1	I	Sandstone Chimney Base on North Elevation of Spring Hill Farm House
4/7	4B, 6B, 8A	II	Historic Drip Line Or Backfill Where Foundation Stones (F2) Were Robbed
5	7A, 9A	I	Utility Trench for Sewer Line along East Elevation of Henry House
6	8A	I	Unidentified Brick Pad, Possibly Early Twentieth Century Landscape Feature Relating to Museum Operations at the Henry House

## *Megastratum I*

*Stratigraphy* Megastratum I is located consistently across the site and is a mixture of NPS-era accumulation and historic deposits. Although there is no clear stratification within Megastratum I based on soil color, texture, or inclusions, there is a decrease in modern/contemporary artifacts (such as crown caps, wire nails, and plastic) in the lower elevations of the stratum. Although Megastratum I is identified as mixed context, for interpretative purposes, the lower levels of the deposits are considered to have historic integrity. Five site strata are classified as Megastratum I. Site Stratum 1 is recorded in every excavation except EU 3. This site stratum within Megastratum I represents an overall accumulation of mixed NPS era and historic occupation deposits. Site Stratum 3 represents a 1962 waterline to the Henry House. Site Stratum 5 is identified as a distinct period of fill used to cover Site Stratum 6, a puddle near the southeast corner of the house, probably formed due to a faulty downspout. Site Stratum 8 is the filled material in a 20<sup>th</sup>-century utility trench. The soils making up Megastratum I range in color from brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) to dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4-10YR4/6) and are predominantly silty loams.

*Features* Feature 1 is a utility trench containing a waterline that was installed at the Henry House in 1962 (Vitanza 2001). The waterline connects to the MANA Visitor Center on Henry Hill. The trench feature was recorded in EU 1A1 and 10A. The soil used to fill the trench contains a mixture of NPS-era material with historic artifacts.

Feature 3 was first recorded in EU 1, along the east elevation of the extant Henry House. Originally, the red sandstone architectural feature was interpreted as a portion of the early Spring Hill Farm house foundations (Figure 34). In order to explore the feature further, EU 7 and 9 were excavated to reveal more of Feature 3. The additional exposure led to the conclusion that Feature 3 is a portion of a chimney base that was attached to the exterior north elevation of Spring Hill Farm house (Figure 35). Approximately one-half of the chimney base was exposed during excavations, the remainder of the feature, the western one-half, falls beneath the east foundation wall of the extant Henry House. A great deal of disturbance (utility trenching and construction of Henry House) has occurred within the area immediately above and around Feature 3. No intact historic deposits are present.

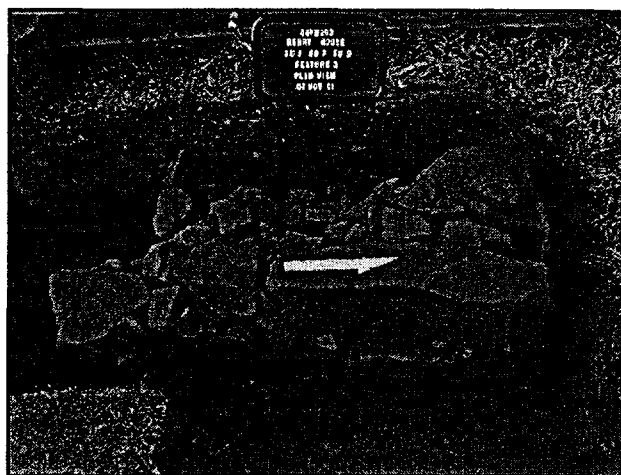


Figure 34. Photograph of Feature 3 Chimney Base.

Feature 5 is a utility trench recorded along the western edge of EU 7A and 9A, along the east side of the Henry House. This feature was uncovered in EU 13 during excavations the previous year (Parsons 2001b). This utility trench cuts into the stone chimney base (Feature 3). The trench is identified as a sewer line, which was installed no later than 1963. The trench is filled with soils containing mixed context artifacts.



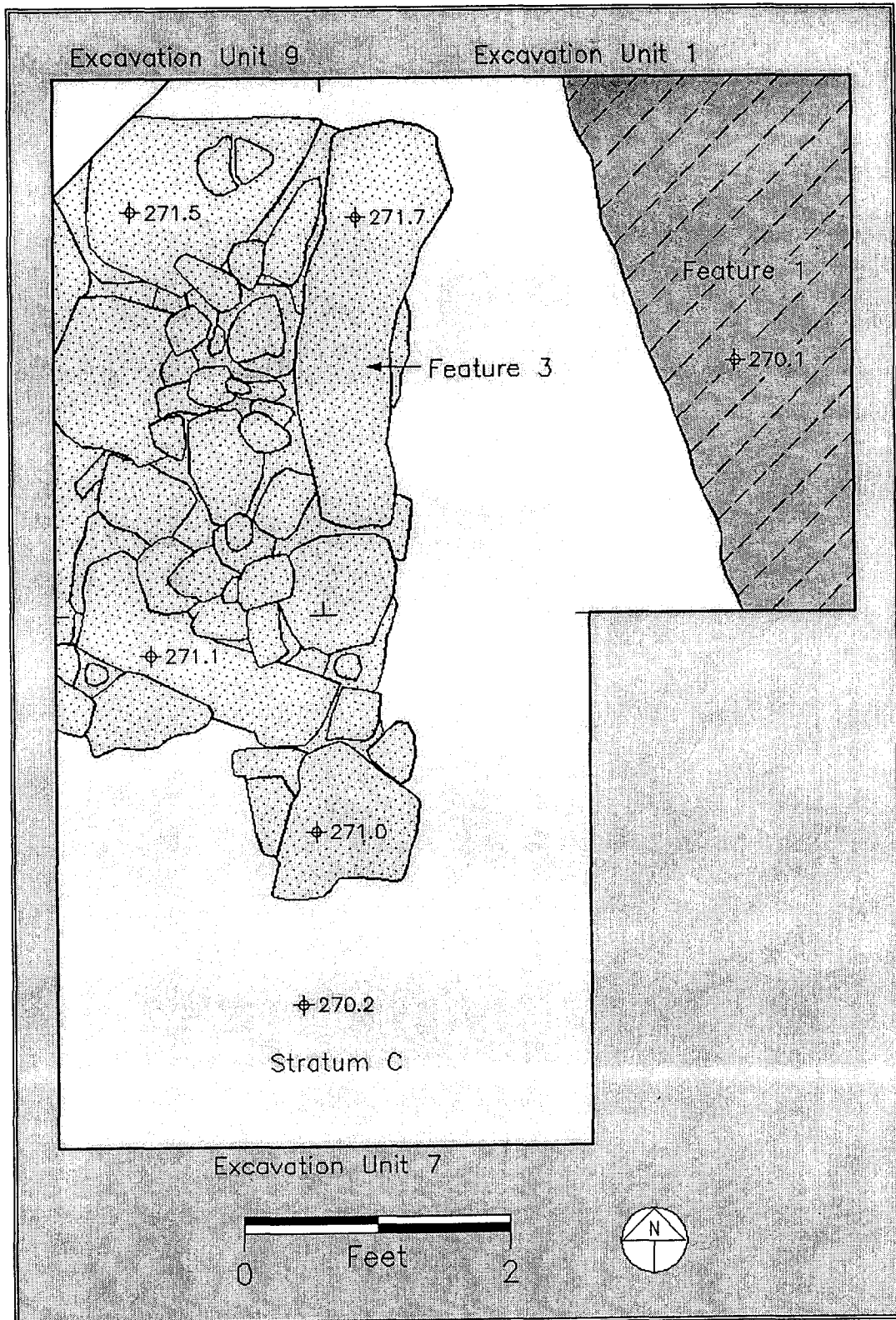


Figure 35. Plan of Feature 3 Chimney Base.

Feature 6 is a series of bricks located in EU 8 and covering 1.15 x 1.7 ft of the southeast corner of the excavation unit (Figure 36). Most of the bricks in the feature are fragments, approximate halves, and are in a running bond pattern (Figure 37). The feature is one course thick, laid directly into the soil. The bricks lie just below the ground surface, and may be a portion of a walkway or other landscape feature associated with the museum era (1920s-1930s) of the Henry House.

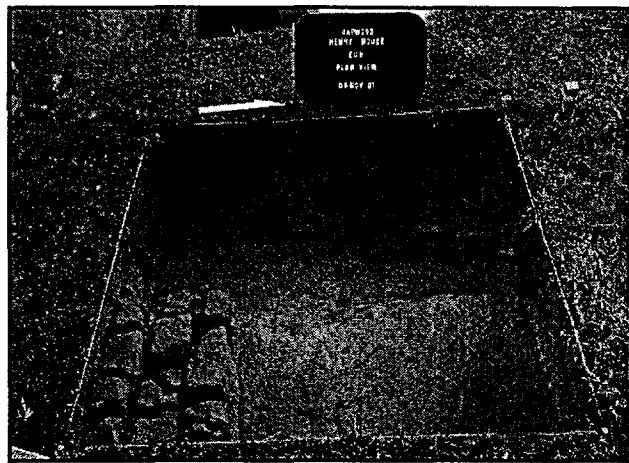


Figure 36. Photograph of Feature 6 Bricks.

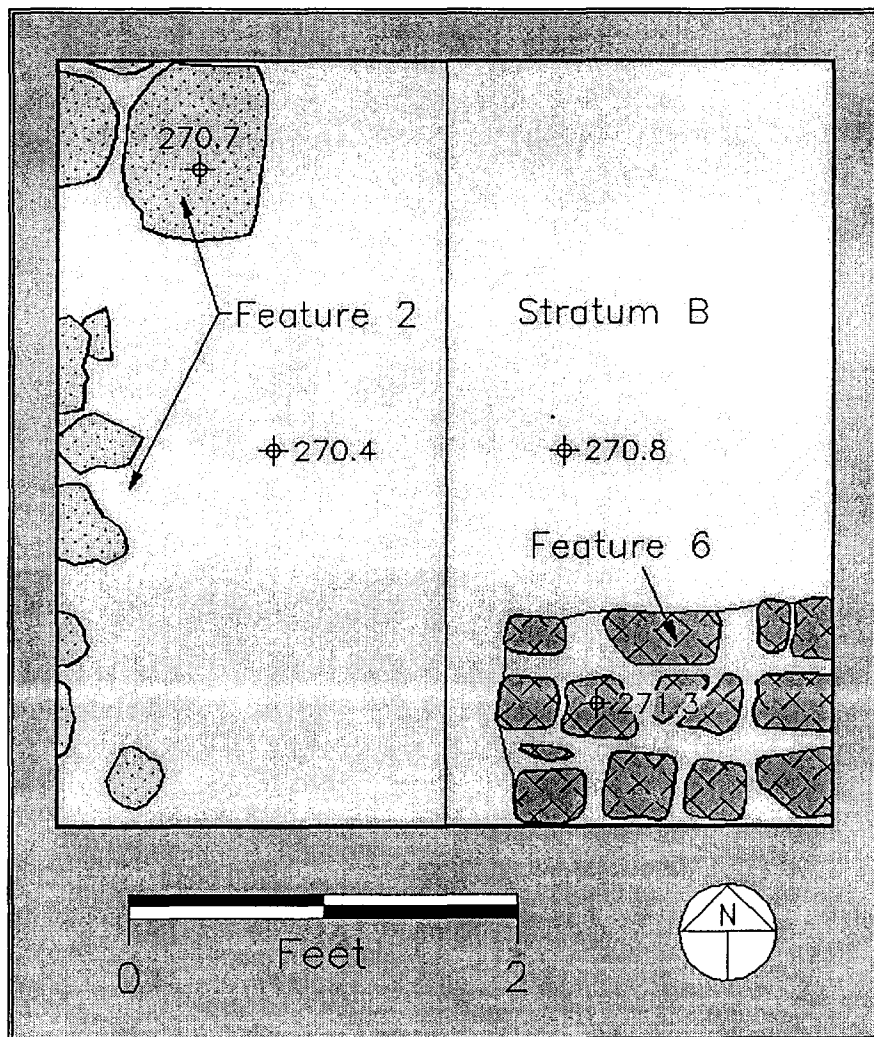


Figure 37. Plan of Feature 6 Bricks and Feature 2, East Wall of Spring Hill Farm House.

*Artifacts* The strata making up Megastratum I are a contextual mix representing early historic occupation through NPS era deposits. The majority of contemporary artifacts were recovered from deposits lying just below the current ground surface. The lower level of deposits gained historic integrity. A variety of plastics, coins, wire nails and other contemporary markers were recovered from the upper levels, while late eighteenth to early twentieth-century artifacts were collected in the lower levels of Megastratum I across the site. The destruction during the Civil War combined with postbellum reconstruction on the site and the fact that the deposits are so close to the current ground surface contribute to some loss of historic integrity. A total of 2,032 artifacts were recovered in Megastratum I including 18 stone, 241 ceramic, 1,051 metal, 641 glass, 8 synthetic, 12 other mineral materials, 5 other plant materials, 11 shell, 38 bone, and 7 hide.

The 18 stone artifacts consist of four slate pencil fragments, one unidentified projectile point tip fragment, one quartz biface, one primary quartz flake, two primary chert flakes, three quartz shatter, two quartzite shatter, one chert shatter, one quartz chunk, one heat treated quartz rock, and one unidentified granite. There are no signs that prehistoric features were cut by historic or contemporary activities onsite. The Native American-produced artifacts all appear to be within a mixed context and were more than likely either part of fill episodes, or collected by the site's occupants during the historic periods. Prehistoric artifacts have been found in this context on other sites at MANA, for example the neighboring Robinson House, (Parsons 2001a) where scores of projectile points and debitage were recovered from a deep trash pit feature.

There are 241 ceramic artifacts recorded in Megastratum I. Almost one-third of the ceramics are colonoware (n=77). An in-depth discussion and minimum vessel analysis of the colonoware recovered is found in Chapter 3. Other types of ceramics include whiteware (n=43), pearlware (n=33), creamware (n=25), porcelain (n=13, including 1 button), red paste earthenware (n= 11), stoneware (n=10), unidentified white paste earthenware (n=8), ball clay/kaolin (n=5), parian (n=4), unidentified earthenware (n=1), and brick (n=11). Various decorative ceramic patterns are present including edge-decorated and hand painted pearlware and creamware, transfer-printed whiteware, hand painted porcelain, and salt glazed stoneware. An example of a hand-painted creamware cup and an embossed edge-decorated, wheat pattern, whiteware rim sherd are illustrated in Figure 38.

A total of 1,051 metal artifacts were collected in Megastratum I. The majority of these artifacts (n=809) are nails. A minority of nails identified are hand wrought (n=26). The highest quantity of nails within Megastratum I are cut nails (n=492). Ninety-eight nails are identified as either cut or hand wrought. Wire nails account for 144 of the total count. The manufacturing technique for the remainder of the nails (n=148) is unknown.

Overall, a low volume of Civil War related material was recovered from the site. Because the Henry House was located in the midst of the fighting, more ammunition and related materials was expected. The disturbed nature of the deposits and the high probability of relic collectors combing the site during earlier periods probably attribute to the small number of artifacts. Historically, the Henry family collected war-related artifacts and displayed them in the museum operated in the house in the early twentieth century. Among the Civil War era ammunition recovered in Megastratum I are 2 dropped .58 caliber Williams Cleaner bullets, one dropped .58 caliber, 3-ring Minie bullet, one .69 caliber musket ball, one impacted canister shot fragment, one .32 caliber shot, and seven musket balls, most of which are impacted (Figures 39, 40, and 41).

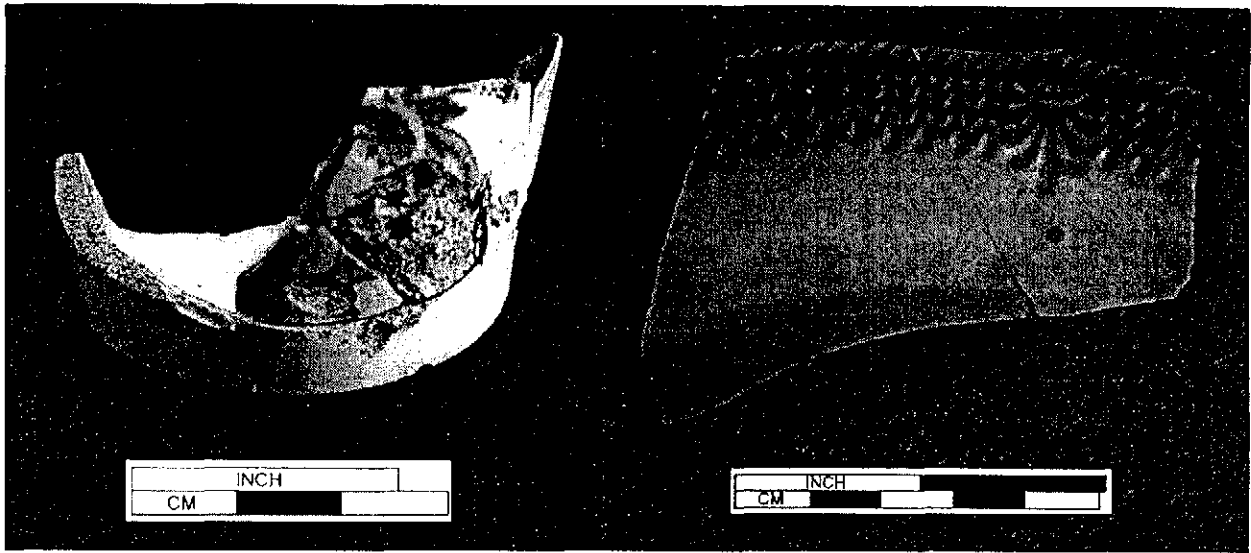


Figure 38. Left, Hand-Painted Creamware Cup; Right, Edge-Decorated, Wheat Pattern, Whiteware Rim Sherd.

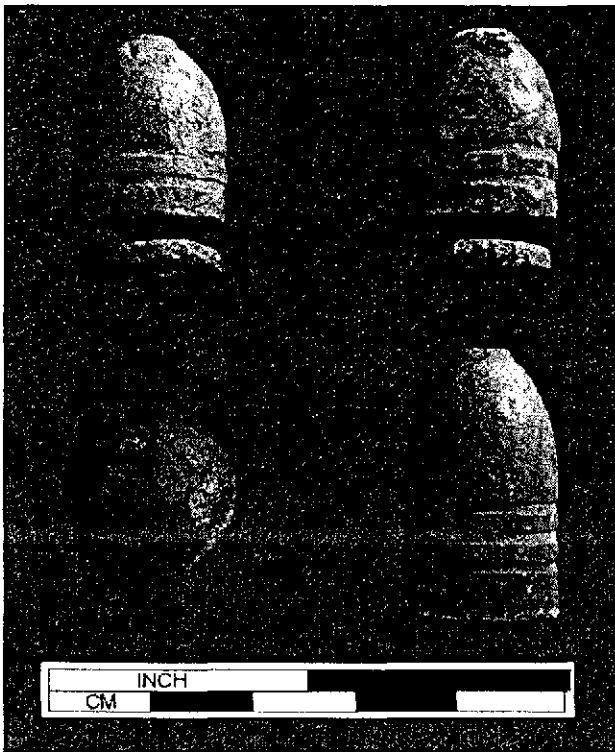


Figure 39. Sample of Civil War Era Ammunition Recovered from Megastratum I.

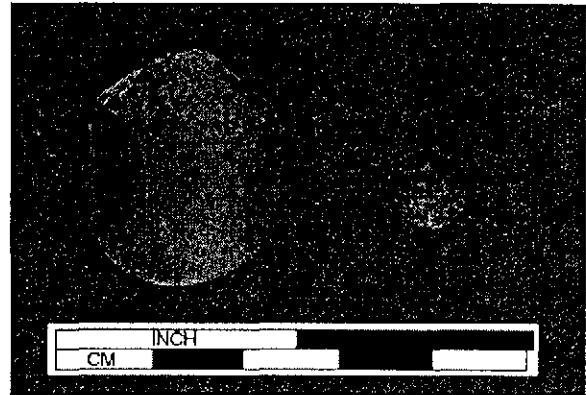


Figure 40. Impacted Canister Shot and .32 Caliber Shot Recovered from Megastratum I.

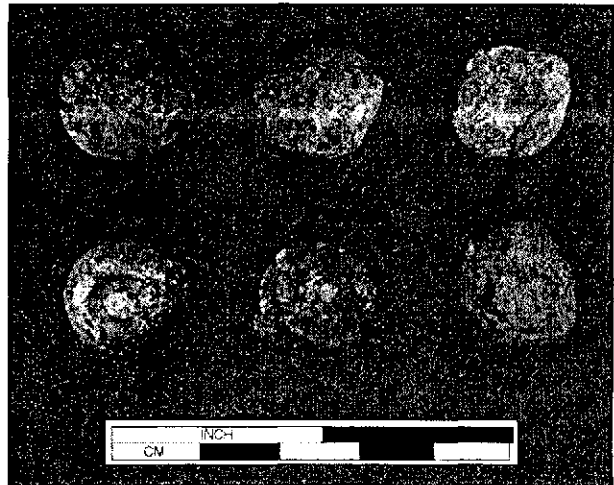


Figure 41. Sample of Civil War Era Musket Balls Recovered from Megastratum I.

A replica souvenir coin from either the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876 or from restrikes from copied dies in 1961 was recovered in Megastratum I. Museum copies are usually labeled "copy" or "replica" (www.coindoc.com 2001). The original Continental Currency coins date to 1776 and were produced as a proposal or pattern for a future U.S. dollar. The obverse shows a sundial and the word "Fugio," meaning "time flies." The reverse design, suggested by Benjamin Franklin, shows the names of the original 13 colonies in a linked pattern around the coins edge (Figure 42). The original prototypes were minted in silver, pewter and brass. The copies are identical in appearance to the originals with the exception of the material, which is tin or lead (www.coins.nd.edu 2001).

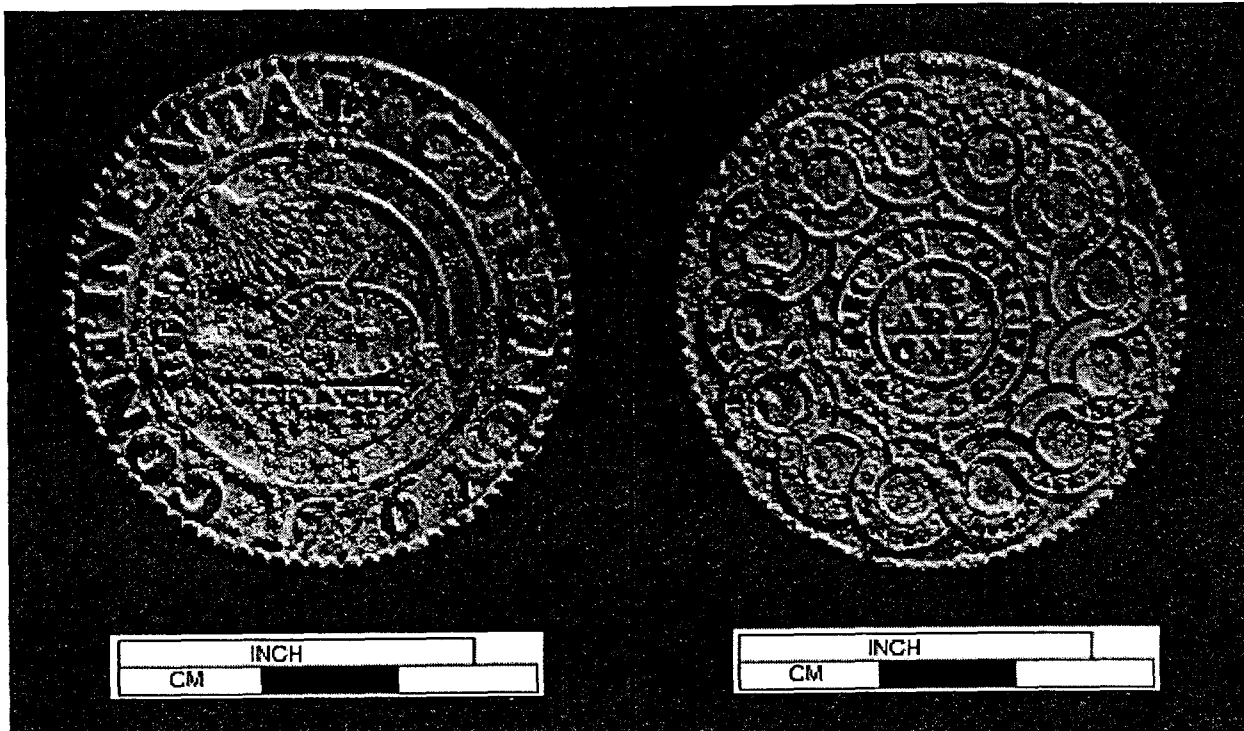


Figure 42. Replica Souvenir Continental Currency Coin from Megastratum I.

Other metal artifacts collected in Megastratum I include nine twentieth-century coins (1935 Mercury Head dime, 1977 and 1980 Eisenhower dime, 1940, 1941, 1944, 1965, 1969, and 1979 Lincoln Head penny). Several .22 and .32 caliber cartridge cases, button and clothing fasteners, a pen nib, crown bottle caps, bolts, screws, tacks, staples, and fence wire are also in the collection.

Glass artifacts recovered from Megastratum I include 641 sherds. Few diagnostic items are in this collection. The majority of glass artifacts recorded is unidentified flat glass (n=569). Due to the proximity of the house foundation ruins, a great deal of this flat glass is probably window glass. Sherds of unidentified bottles (n=6), a medicine bottle (n=1), milk glass jar lid liners (n=3), unidentified containers (n=24), lamp chimneys (n=2), unidentified tableware (n=2), unidentified vessels (n=13), unidentified glass (n=20), and 1 complete marble were also recovered.

Eight synthetic artifacts were recorded in this megastratum. A two-hole celluloid button, a two-hole button of unidentified man-made material, and a one-piece, eye-in-back plastic button was found.

Other artifacts include a plastic bead and another unidentified plastic object, as well as rubber fragments, probably from a bicycle tire.

Other mineral materials recovered include samples of mortar (n=1), plaster (n=3), charcoal by-product (n=4), coal (n=2), and slag (n=1). Other plant materials include cork bottle stopper (n=1), vegetal charcoal (n=3), and wood (n=1). A sample of eleven oyster shells was also collected. Bone was found across the site within Megastratum I, with 38 examples recovered. Seven artifacts classified as "hide" were also documented. These artifacts consist of fragments of shoes (n=2), unidentified clothing (n=3), and unidentified leather material (n=2).

No further analysis of the Megastratum I artifacts are presented. A complete list of the artifacts from each EU stratum is located in Appendix XIII.

### *Megastratum II.*

*Stratigraphy* Megastratum II is located across the site with the exception of EU 9, where a great deal of disturbance was recorded from the utility installation. In general, Megastratum II represents a combination of historic occupation deposits. The megastratum is comprised of Site Strata 2, 4, and 7. Site Stratum 2 is interpreted as historic occupation deposits. Unfortunately, there is not enough stratification on the site to distinguish distinct periods of occupation. Site Stratum 4 soils contain a few historic artifacts and grades into sterile subsoil. Site Stratum 7 represents soils from a feature that was recorded across portions of the south yard of the Henry House. The artifacts collected from the feature are from a historic occupation. Megastratum II soil is described as predominantly brownish yellow to yellowish brown 10YR 5/4, 10YR 5/6, 10YR 5/8, and 10YR 6/6 clayey silt with inclusions of charcoal, coal cinders, sandstone gravel and larger rocks, mortar, and plaster.

*Features* Two historic features are recorded in Megastratum II. Feature 2 is a red sandstone foundation located in EU 2B1, 4A2, 5B1, 6A2, 7B, 8B, 10B, and 11B. The dry-laid foundation is located approximately 0.6 to 0.8 ft below the current ground surface and measures approximately 2 ft wide. At its thickest, the foundation is three stone courses deep, or approximately 1 ft. The feature is interpreted as the foundations of the Spring Hill Farm house, constructed sometime in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century (Figure 43). The acreage encompassing Spring Hill Farm was first developed under a lease agreement, possibly in the late eighteenth to early twentieth century. The foundations uncovered and designated Feature 2 may represent a tenant house similar to requirements in standard lease agreements executed by Robert "Councillor" Carter.

The dimensions of the structure are estimated to be 30 ft north/south x 28 ft east/west, nearly square. The southwest corner of the foundation is located in EU 2 and 5 (Figures 44 and 45). Portions of the severely robbed south wall are found in EU 11, 4, 6, and 8 (Figures 46, 47, 48, and 49). Abandoned foundations were most likely "robbed" for stone during the nearby construction of new structures. In this case, perhaps portions of the Spring Hill Farm house foundations were incorporated into the construction of the Henry Hill Monument (1865) or the building of the Henry House in 1870. A small section of the southeast corner is recorded in EU 8. EU 10 contains remnants of the northeast corner (Figures 50 and 51), which was seriously impacted by the installation of utilities in this area. A section of the north wall is located in EU 7.

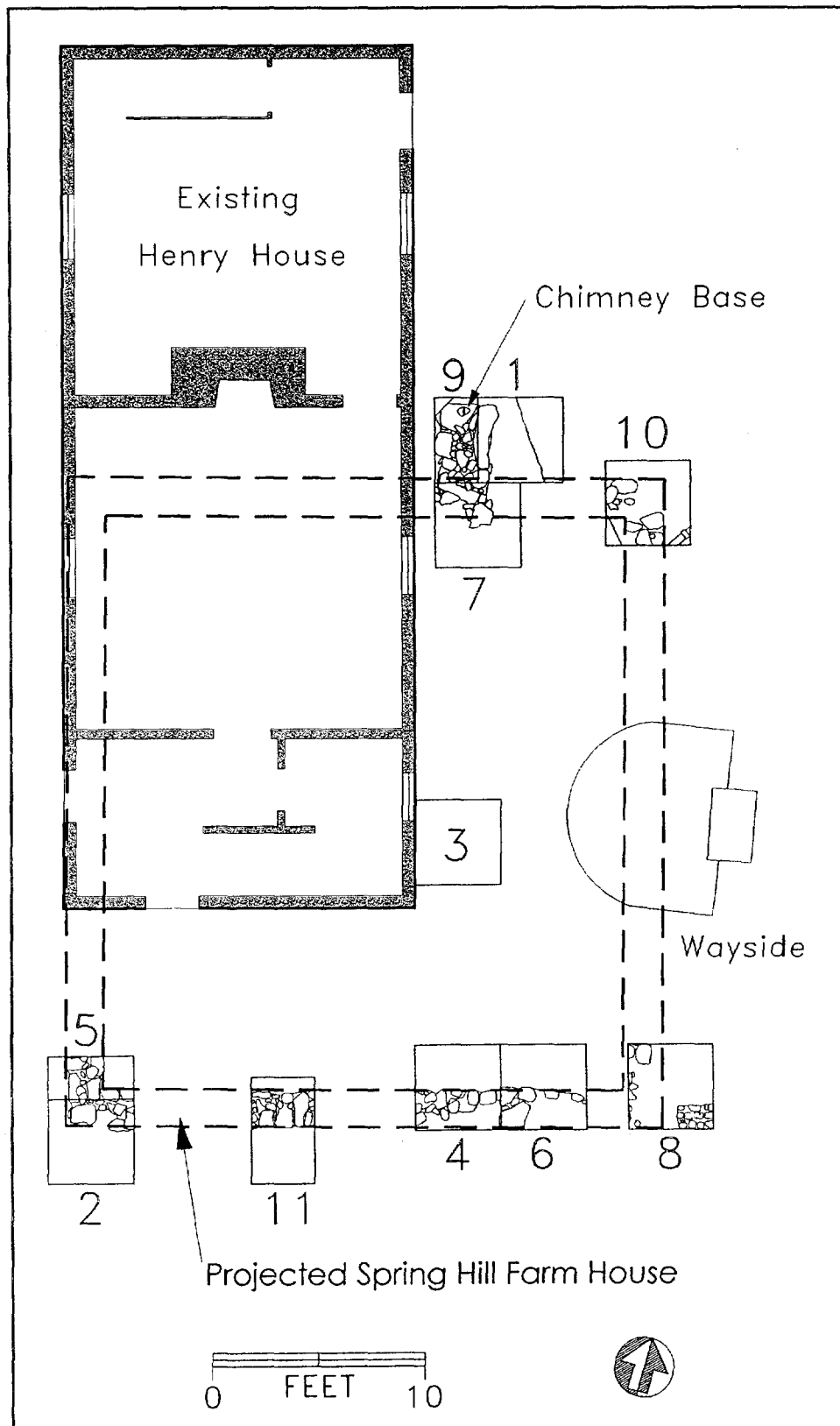


Figure 43. Plan of the Spring Hill Farm House Foundations.

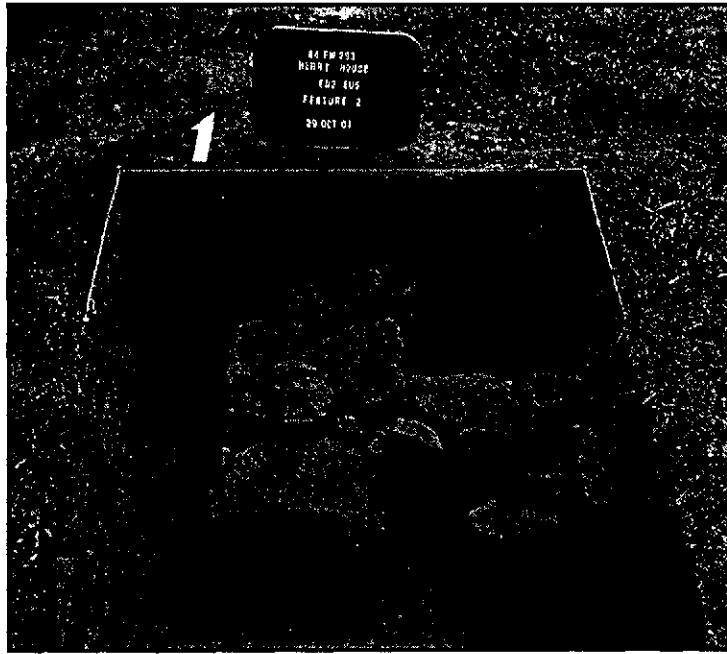


Figure 44. Photograph of the Southwest Corner of the Spring Hill Farm House Foundation.

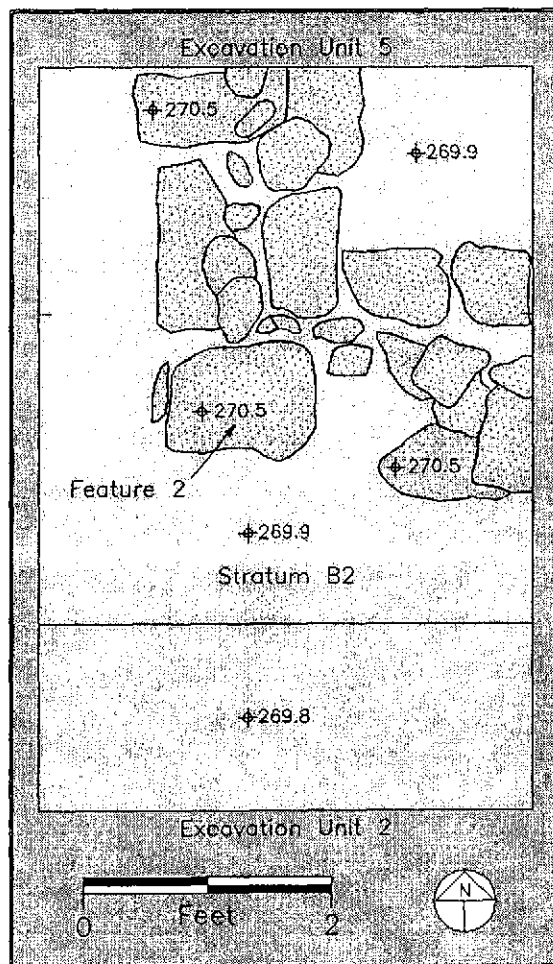


Figure 45. Plan of the Southwest Corner of the Spring Hill Farm House Foundation.



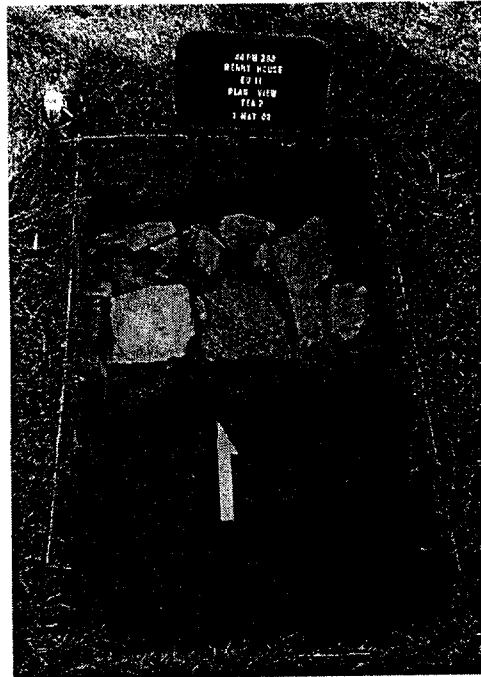


Figure 46. Photograph of the South Foundation Wall of the Spring Hill Farm House.

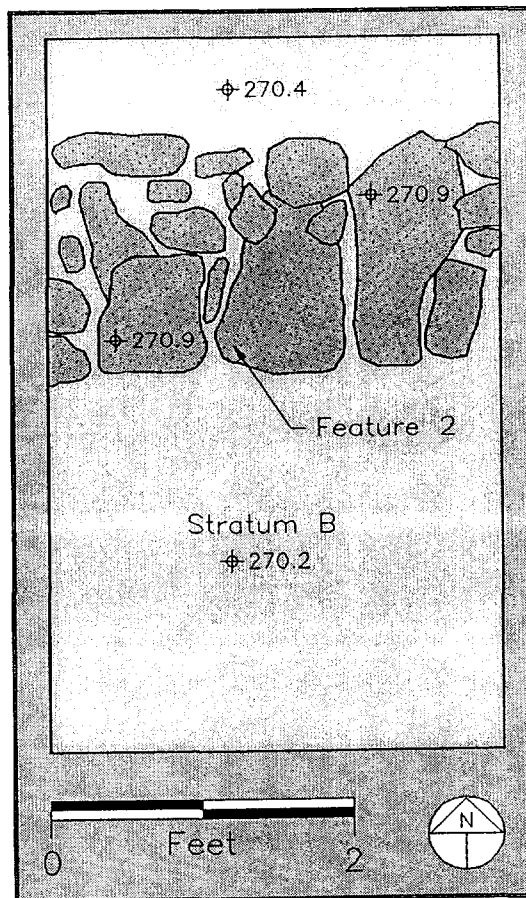


Figure 47. Plan of the South Foundation Wall of the Spring Hill Farm House.

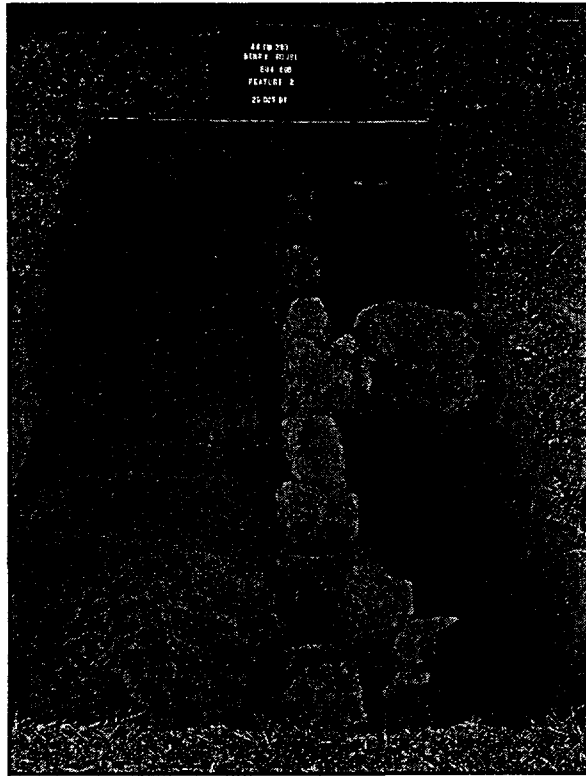


Figure 48. Photograph of the Robbed South Foundation Wall of the Spring Hill Farm House.

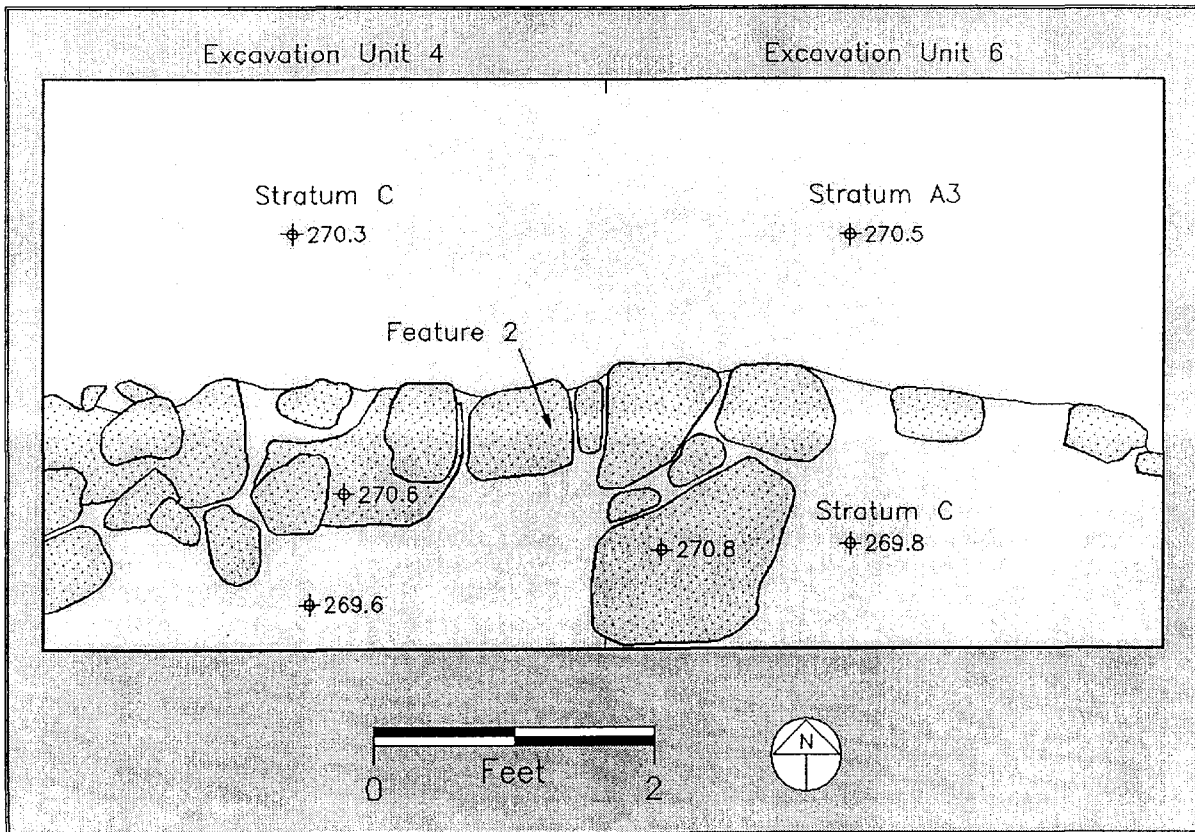


Figure 49. Plan of the Robbed South Foundation Wall of the Spring Hill Farm House.

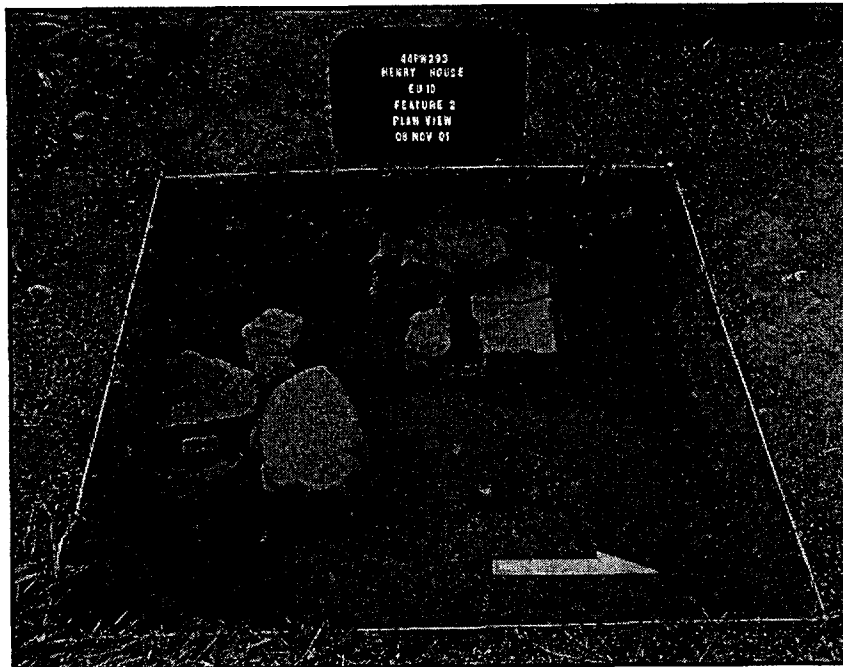


Figure 50. Photograph of the Northeast Corner of the Spring Hill Farm House Foundation.

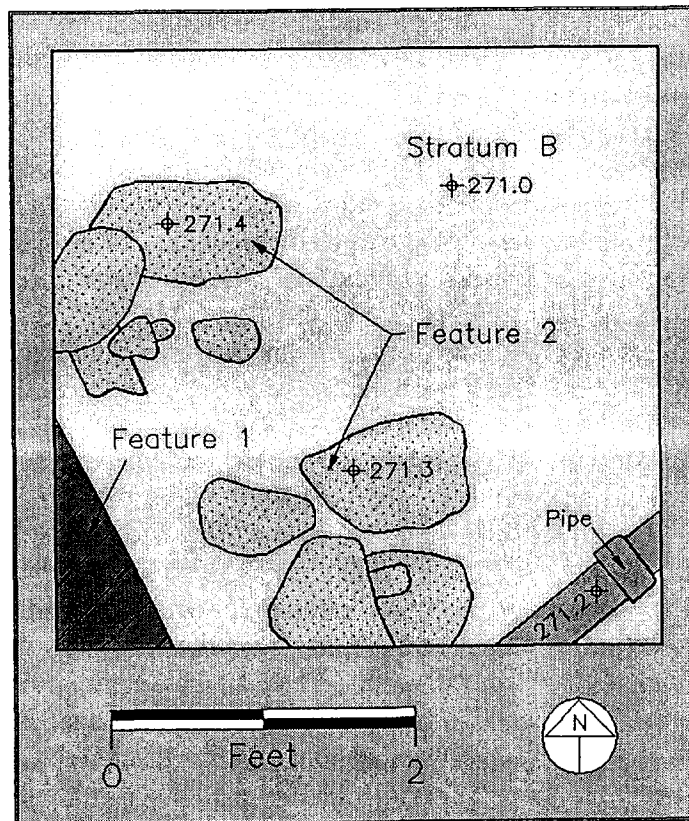


Figure 51. Plan of the Northeast Corner of the Spring Hill Farm House Foundation.

Several Civil War era photographs (ca 1862) and sketches of the house depicting its battle scars from First Manassas are the only historic documents that exhibit any physical attributes of the dwelling. The David B. Woodbury and George N. Barnard photographs, taken soon after First Manassas provide some information about the construction of the dwelling. When the Woodbury photograph is enlarged (Figure 52), several architectural details are seen. Plaster is visible on the top plates and corner post. The timber framing still standing in this shot appears substantial enough to support a second story (Michael Seibert, 2002 personal communication). The remains of a single stone and possibly brick chimney (identified as Feature 3 in EU 1, 7, 9) stands amidst the house rubble. The photograph shows that the large chimney may have supported two fireboxes, heating two separate rooms. Fallen trees and house framing scatter the landscape.

Based on the fallen house framing, the Barnard photograph (Figure 53) was taken following the Woodbury shot. Little else has changed since the first shot, implying that the photographs were taken in close succession. More architectural details are visible in this photograph, especially the large timber frame with clearly delineated mortises sitting in front of the chimney. The seated figures seem to be sitting on the sill of the north elevation. If this is a sill, it appears to be raised, which would create a small crawl space below the flooring. This detail is important in interpreting the provenience of the artifacts, since many of them were found resting on or near the house foundation. This will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 3.

The Barnard photograph shows seven soldiers and one male civilian, who is sitting just to the left of the chimney ruins. The man identified as a civilian is sitting with his legs crossed and is wearing light-colored trousers, a dark jacket, light-colored shirt, and a dark-colored rimmed hat. The other seven individuals all appear to be wearing uniforms and military gear. The identity of the man believed to be a civilian is unknown, but raises a question. He may simply be a local on-looker. It is also possible that this man accompanied the photographer. At a close look, the man's appearance, including the way he sits, his posture and facial characteristics bear a striking resemblance to Hugh Fauntleroy Henry as seen in a photograph taken 35 years later (Figure 54). Hugh or his brother John likely returned to the homeplace following the death of their mother during the First Battle of Manassas. It is possible that the photographer captured one of Mrs. Henry's sons among the rubble of the destroyed family home. There is probably no way to positively identify the man in the photograph, but considering he may be a member of the Henry family allows for an interpretive link to the social history of the site. In this sense, the photographer not only captured the physical devastation caused by the War, but also personal loss.

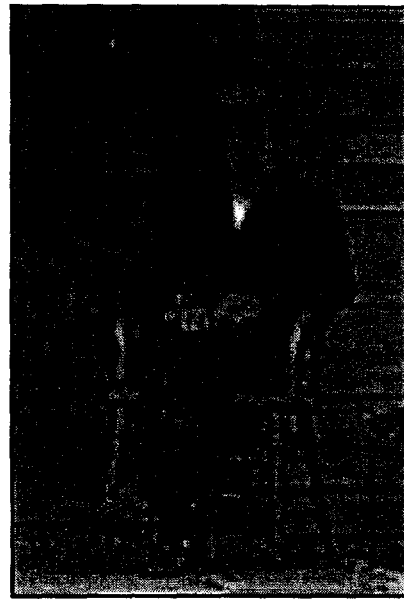
The sketches of the Henry House (Spring Hill Farm) portray a simple, one and one-half story, gabled roof, three-bay, wood frame (timber frame) dwelling with a single (stone and possibly brick) chimney on the north elevation. All three sketches (a drawing based on Fremaux's sketch and two Bartow Monument drawings) show the house from roughly the same angle with nearly identical characteristics (Figure 55). Damage to the wood siding is shown on the south elevation (based on orientation of chimney and Bartow Monument). Two of the sketches show a transom window above the east door and two windows to the north of the door on the east elevation. The drawing based on Fremaux's sketch also shows two windows on the south elevation, which is consistent with the layer of window glass found during excavations on this portion of the site.



*Figure 52. Enlargement of the 1862 David B Woodbury Photograph . (Courtesy of Still Picture Branch (NWDNS), National Archives at College Park, Maryland).*



*Figure 53. Enlargement of the George N. Barnard Photograph (Courtesy of Library of Congress).*



*Figure 54. Left, Detail of the George N. Barnard Photograph Showing the Unknown Civilian; Right, Ca. 1896 Photograph of Hugh Fauntleroy Henry.*



*Figure 55. Sketches Depicting the Spring Hill Farm House. (Courtesy of MANA).*

There is not sufficient evidence in the archeological record to identify the style/floor plan of the dwelling. Enough of the foundation was identified to determine that the structure was 28 x 30 ft. A large stone chimney was present on the north elevation. By combining the information from the archeological record with the images from the historical record, some interpretations are drawn. Architectural and folk studies performed on structures in this region (generally the Mid-Atlantic and the South and specifically Virginia) describe several house types that prevailed. Most notably, the two-room hall and chamber (or parlor) plan and what Lanier and Herman refer to as the "double-cell" plan.

A hall and parlor style house is a "two-room dwelling plan in which the hall and parlor are placed side by side under a continuous ridge line" (Lanier and Herman 1997:373). Folk culture scholar Henry Glassie describes the hall and parlor houses found in areas of the South, as typically asymmetrical, two-room (one room deep), single story dwellings with one external chimney (Glassie 1968:65). In this layout, the hall is the main room, containing a large fireplace and stairs or a ladder leading to the room(s) above, which were used for sleeping quarters and storage. Ideally, hall and parlor houses had a chimney at each gable end for heating the two main rooms. Hall and parlor houses were also built with one chimney, only heating the hall. In this design, the unheated room was a first-floor sleeping chamber (Lanier and Herman 1997:17). In Virginia, the two-room house style was usually a hall and chamber (Upton 1982 and Gilliam 1998).

The double-cell plan is a variation of the hall and parlor/chamber house, where the two rooms on the first floor are oriented back to back, rather than end to end (Lanier and Herman 1997:18). A study of houses, outbuildings, and rural landscapes in eighteenth-century Virginia (Wells 1993) describes several dwellings closely resembling the drawings of the Spring Hill Farm house. Although a bit smaller, the 24 x 24 ft Claughton house, located in Northumberland Co., Virginia consists of two-rooms on the main floor and a third room in the loft above (Figure 56). This house was built circa 1775 (Wells 1993:5). Although the door is centrally placed creating a more symmetrical exterior appearance, the floor plans reveal a large, double-fireplace chimney, designed to heat the two rooms. The 1777 Cox house was also located in Northumberland County, Virginia (Wells 1993:12). The dimensions of this vernacular house were also about 24 x 24 ft. A photograph of the house shows that it is almost identical in appearance to the drawing based on Fremaux's sketch of Spring Hill Farm house (Figure 57).

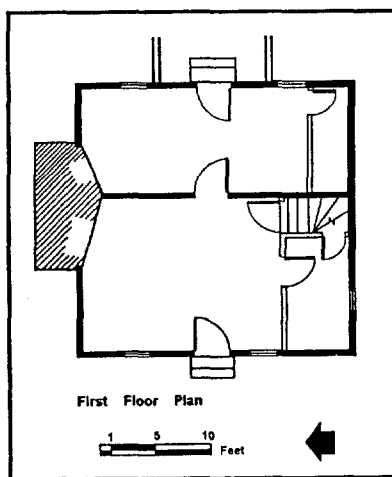


Figure 56. Claughton House Floor Plan. (Courtesy of Camille Wells).



Figure 57. Historic Photograph of the 1777 Cox House. (Courtesy of Northumberland County (Va) Historical Society).



A second building is also shown in the Bartow Monument sketches as well as on an 1861 map of the First Battle of Manassas (Figure 58). The gabled roof structure appears to have roughly the same orientation as the house and is located to the south west of the dwelling. The structure is smaller than the house and could represent any number of outbuildings on the farm. The spring after which the farm was named is believed to be located in the lower elevations of the property, to the west of the house, near Sudley Road. The structure in the images appears to be too close to the house to be the springhouse. The structure may be a barn or stables, although its appearance and proximity to the house do not support this interpretation. The second structure may represent a smokehouse or a summer kitchen and/or quarters for the enslaved laborers who lived and worked at Spring Hill Farm. Excavations in this vicinity and across the Spring Hill Farm property may help identify this structure and other outbuildings. Information about the outbuildings on a farm is an important interpretative tool in the study of cultural landscape as noted in Wells' 1993 discussion of the architecture and landscape of Virginia planters in the eighteenth century. This scholar notes, "- as architectural attendants to a planter's dwelling-outbuildings were as significant to Virginia's social landscape as they were to its domestic and economic vitality (Wells 1993:14).

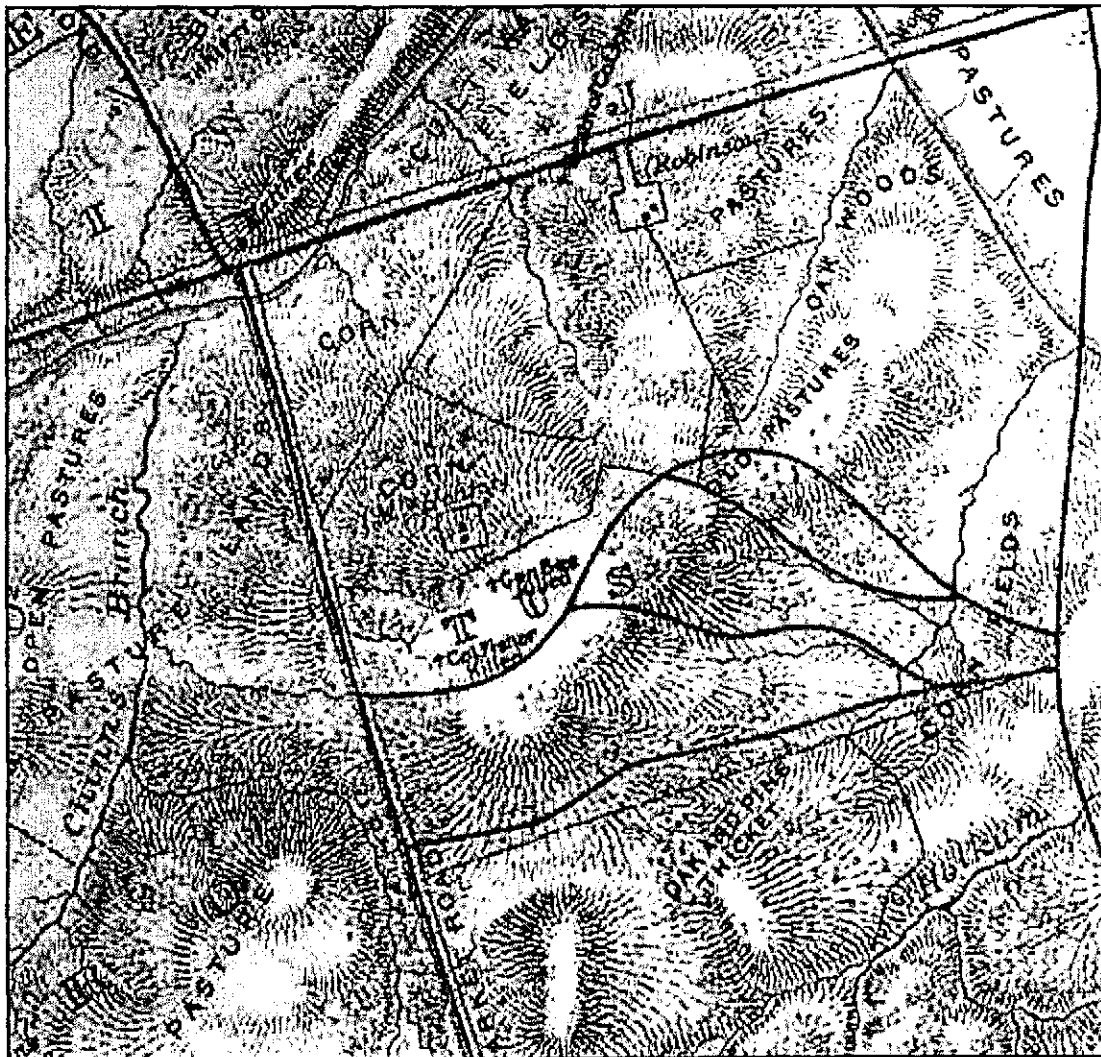


Figure 58. 1861 Map of the First Battle of Manassas (Map on File MANA).



Feature 4/7 consists of a gravel layer located above portions of the south wall and turning the southeast corner of Feature 2. The feature was recorded in EU 4 as Stratum B, in EU 6 as Stratum B, and in EU 8A as Feature 7. The gravel, averaging 0.4 ft thick may be the remnants of a drip line feature associated with the Spring Hill Farm house. However, since the gravel was only found in excavation units where the stones of the Feature 2 foundation have been severely robbed, it is possible that the gravel was used to backfill and level after the stones were removed. The feature contains a small quantity of historic artifacts, mostly flat glass and nails.

*Artifacts* Megastratum II contains a total of 1,714 artifacts, including stone (n=21), ceramic (n=195), metal (n=578), glass (n=877), other mineral materials (n=7), other plant materials (n=2), shell (n=5), and bone (n=29). The vast majority of these artifacts are historic in nature, although there are a few prehistoric items and modern materials. The prehistoric artifacts are found in an historic context and indicate that site occupants collected these materials, probably from the farm or nearby.

Historic stone artifacts include eight roofing slates, one unidentified slate fragment (possible roofing), an English gunflint, and a slate board fragment. Prehistoric lithic artifacts include one chert flake, one unidentified stone flake, two primary quartz flakes, one utilized quartz flake, and one quartzite heat treated rock. Varieties of projectile points were also recovered from this megastratum, three from the same unit stratum (Figure 59). Stratum 5B1 contained one unidentified stemmed point. This small rhyolite point is highly eroded from residual Culpepper Basin clays and possibly dates to the Early Woodland period (Stephen Potter 2002, personal communication.). An unidentified bifurcate point was also recovered from this provenience. This small quartz point has shallow side notches and is possibly Late Archaic. An unidentified straight-stemmed quartz point was found in Stratum 5B1. This point is possibly Early Woodland. One other point fragment, a fine grain quartzite Levanna base was also recovered in Megastratum I, in Stratum 2B1. All of these projectile points were recovered from strata around the southwest corner of the Spring Hill Farm foundation. A large concentration of colonoware was also recovered at this location. A correlation between African-produced colonoware and prehistoric artifacts, especially those made of quartz has been made on other sites occupied by enslaved Africans. The analysis of the colonoware found in Chapter 3 further discusses this pattern.

The most prevalent type of ceramic recovered in Megastratum II is pearlware (n=60). Hand-painted, polychrome pearlware in delicate drab colored floral patterns (c. 1795-1815) (Figure 60) and brighter color floral patterns (c. 1820-1840) are present (Figure 61). A variety of shell-edged wares (Figure 62) and blue transfer prints account for the remainder of the pearlware collection.

Porcelain is the next most prevalent ceramic type recovered from Megastratum II (n=28). The majority of this count is from three vessels, one undecorated bowl and two teacups with hand-painted polychrome floral patterns (Figures 63).

Twenty-five colonoware sherds are in the Megastratum II collection. Fourteen of the sherds mended, forming a shallow-sided bowl (Figure 64). All but one sherd of colonoware was recovered from excavations along the south wall foundations. In fact, the majority of colonoware sherds were sitting directly on top of the south foundation wall of the Spring Hill Farm house. It is possible that a space between the foundation and sills/floors of the structure was used by enslaved

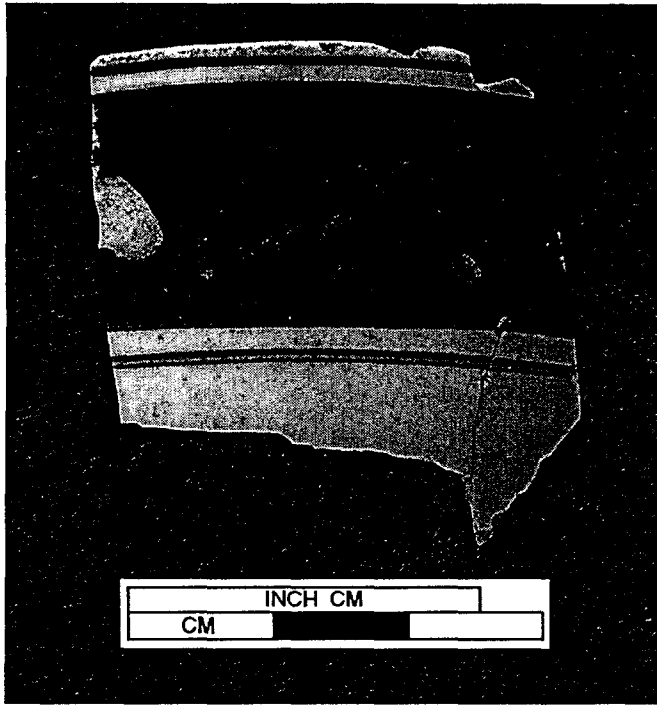


Figure 65. Creamware Cup from Megastratum II.

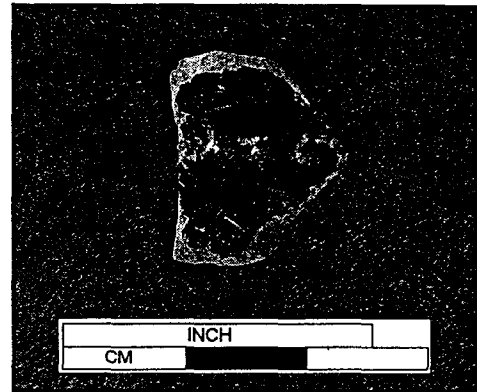


Figure 66. Red Paste Earthenware Vessel from Megastratum II.

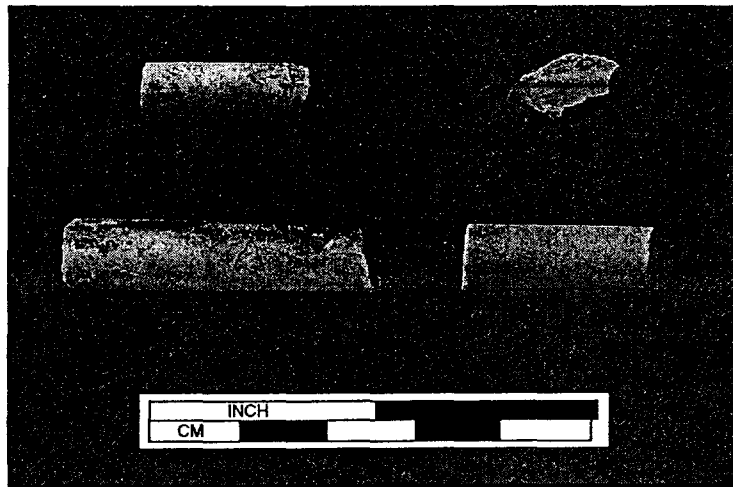


Figure 67. Three Ball/Kaolin Pipe Stems Fragments and One Molded Pipe Bowl Sherd from Megastratum II.

Metal artifacts comprise 578 of the total number of items in Megastratum II. A very low quantity (n=5) of the metal artifacts are Civil War ammunitions or related to arms. One example of buckshot, one percussion cap, one .65 caliber unfired musket ball, the base cavity of a Minie bullet, and an artillery shell fragment are recorded (Figure 68). Although soil stratification within the historic occupation levels is extremely limited, the low number of Civil War ammunition in Megastratum II demonstrates predominantly antebellum occupation deposits.

The majority of the total 527 nails, are machine cut (n=181). Another 148 nails are classified as unidentified either machine cut or hand wrought. Sixty-five nails are hand wrought. The manufacturing technique is unknown for 123 nails and a few wire nails (n=10) are present.

Other metal artifacts include a "D" shaped buckle frame, a pocketknife, a serving spoon, a lamp burner, hardware tacks, ring, fence staple, and wire. An 1891 penny and a token coin were also collected. The Hard Times tokens were produced between 1834 and 1844 an economic period of "hard times". The event that defined this era was the veto of the renewal of the Charter Bank of the United States by Andrew Jackson in 1832. The bank was slated to close in 1836, but Jackson did not wait. He withdrew treasury money from the bank. When this happened, credit collapsed. The coins featured satirical or political themes and circulated as large cents. These coins were used as substitutes for silver and gold, which became hoarded during the economic depression. The coin found in Megastratum II is badly worn (Figure 69), but enough of the design remains to identify the image of Andrew Jackson standing in an empty treasure chest with the quote, "I take the responsibility." Figure 70 displays an example of the token obverse and reverse sides in good condition (<http://www.money.org/clubs/tams/index.html>).

Glass recovered from Megastratum II includes 877 artifacts. The majority of glass artifacts recorded is unidentified flat glass (n=781) most of which is probably window glass from the house. Sherds from unidentified bottles (n=25), unidentified containers (n=23), lamp chimneys (n=23), unidentified vessels (n=1), and unidentified glass (n=24), were recovered.

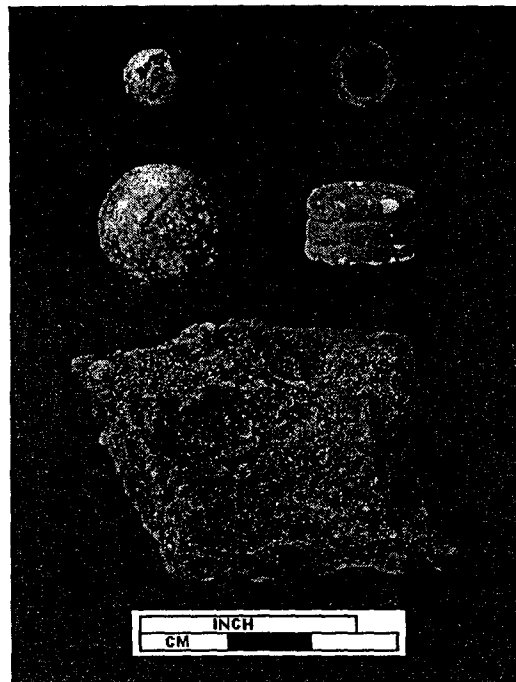


Figure 68. Sample of Civil War Ammunition from Megastratum II.

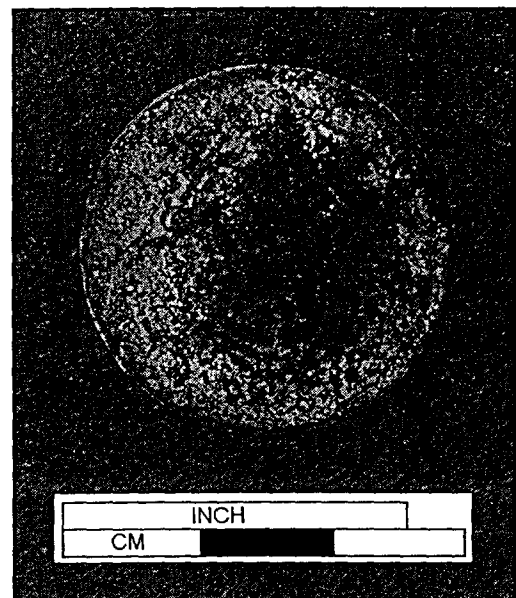


Figure 69. Hard Times Token from Megastratum II.

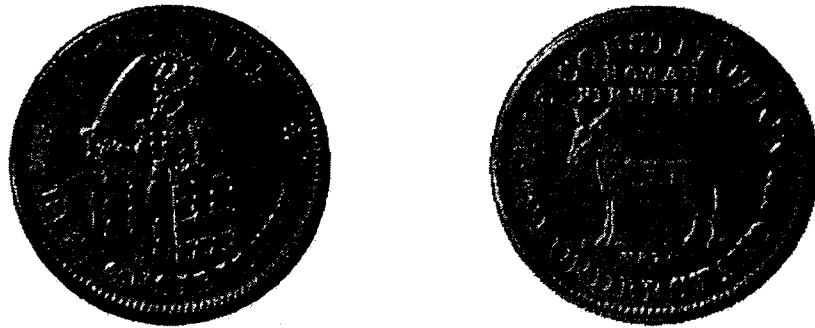


Figure 70. Photograph of a Hard Times Token in Good Condition.  
(Courtesy of <http://www.money.org/clubs/tams/index.html>).

Other materials collected in Megastratum II include seven other mineral materials comprised of plaster and coal, two other plant materials consisting of wooden pencil fragments, five oyster shells, and twenty-nine bone artifacts including a two-hole button.

### *Megastratum III.*

*Stratigraphy* Megastratum III is classified as sterile subsoil. The soil matrix is described as yellowish brown (10YR 5/6), dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/6), brown/strong brown (7.5 YR 5/4, 5/6, 5/8) predominantly silty clays. The average depth of Megastratum II is 1.24 ft below the current ground surface. Excavations ceased once it was confirmed that sterile subsoil was reached.

## ARCHEOLOGICAL CLEARANCE FOR SECTION 106

In addition to the research potential at the Henry House site, this project entailed providing archeological clearance for proposed adaptive re-use of the structure as an educational center. Since the plans for the "Discovery Center" are not finalized, to date, the clearance only covers preliminary construction decisions. The majority of Section 106 compliance for this project will focus on work performed on the interior of the structure. Previous archeological clearance for the emergency stabilization of the Henry House was performed on the interior rooms (Parsons 2001). The placement of excavation units around the exterior of the Henry House served both research and compliance objectives. The sample area excavated provides a soil profile for the site and generally determines the depths of historic deposits and features. The excavations also revealed areas of previous disturbance, where the historic integrity was already compromised. Several trenches containing utilities for the house were documented.

Previous research (Vitanza 2001) identified the presence of a waterline, running from the Henry Hill Visitor Center to the Henry House. This utility line was installed in 1962. Recommendations were made and agreed upon to use this existing trench for any new utilities. Archeologists used a utility locator to mark the waterline for approximately 600 ft, from the Henry House to its source at the visitor center. First, the waterline was fully exposed in EU 10 at approximately 2.5 ft below the current ground surface. The locator device was attached to the line, producing a signal that was traced. The location of the waterline was periodically marked with flagging and spray paint.

MANA is responsible for mapping the feature using GIS technology. The signal was faint in an area between the two groups of cannons. MANA interpretive ranger Jim Burgess confirmed that the septic tank line for the visitor center runs through this area towards a leach field to the northeast. The signal probably became weak due to disturbances by other utilities. The signal was also lost near the visitor center. The utility line follows a direct path from the Henry House to the visitor center and as long as the existing trench is followed for the new utilities, no further clearance is necessary for this portion of the project.

As of this date, it has not been determined if the Henry House outbuilding, to the north of the house, will be converted to a restroom facility. A proposal was made to install a composting toilet within this structure. If this portion of the project is approved and ground-disturbing activities are necessary for construction, archeological clearance will be necessary. The concrete slab on which the structure sits may be covering/protecting historic features or deposits important in the interpretation of the site. Archeological testing will ensure that no foreseeable adverse effects will impact such features.



## CHAPTER 3

### COLONOWARE IN CONTEXT

Erika K. Martin Seibert

#### INTRODUCTION

Colonoware is a low fired, often locally made, unglazed earthenware that has been associated with Native American and African-American potters along the east coast of the United States and in the Caribbean during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As recovered in archeological investigations, colonoware has taken many forms including, but not limited to, bowls, jars, jugs, mugs, plates, and pipes. In the Middle Atlantic/Chesapeake region and in Virginia, colonoware has been found on free African-American and enslaved African sites. The most common forms of colonoware found in these areas are shallow bowls and tobacco pipes. A small percentage of colonoware has been found in forms that resemble English vessels such as handled cups, porringers, pipkins and chamber pots.

Some archeologists have argued that the production and consumption of colonoware ceramics represents a traditional African potting technique indicative of the continuity of an African identity (Deetz 1988:365; Ferguson 1999; 1992; 1982; 1980). Others have challenged the assumption that colonoware ceramics were made exclusively by African-Americans. These authors argue that colonoware was possibly made by local Native American populations and appears on African-American sites, potentially as part of a trade and/or barter system typical of both Native American and African communities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Mouer et al 1999).

Several authors have researched the meaning of this pottery within local contexts or the role of the production and consumption of colonoware within local settings or larger regional and/or national (and even international) contexts (DeCorse 1999; Henry 1980; Mouer, et al 1999). However, few have examined the production and consumption of colonoware in relation to broader consumption patterns of enslaved and especially free Africans and African-Americans temporally (Berlin and Morgan 1995; Heath 1999b; McDonald 1993; Morgan 1983), or as the product of an individual (Kennedy and Espenshade 2001). Rather, past research has tended to, "treat slave-made pottery as the product of a people, a region, a gender, or a site" (Kennedy and Espenshade 2001:1). In addition, colonoware in the Chesapeake, and in the Piedmont area of Virginia particularly, appears to be made during the early to mid nineteenth century. Whereas in other regions of the United States and in the Caribbean, the majority of colonoware has been studied in eighteenth and early nineteenth century contexts.

Over the past two decades of archeological research performed at Manassas National Battlefield Park (MANA), colonoware has been recovered from both free and enslaved African sites. In addition to the Henry House collection of colonoware, Portici/Pohoke, Brownsville, the Robinson House site, and the Hooe Dependency site (Parker and Hernigle 1990; Galke 1992a; Hernigle

1991; Reeves 2002), have yielded colonoware artifacts in various forms, however, analysis at these sites has been limited to processing and identification and further interpretation and analysis of these artifacts has yet to be performed.

A thorough examination of colonoware ceramics at MANA sites can lend further insight into several overarching themes of colonoware research in this region, including, the temporal and spatial spread of the colonoware tradition (Henry 1980), the uses of colonoware (Ferguson 1992), the examination of a distinct African-American economy (or the "economy of slaves" (Heath 1999a; Schlotterbeck 1995), or issues of acculturation or creolization (Mouer et al. 1999). More specifically, in this locale, the study of colonoware may bring to light important issues pertaining to the recognition of individual potters and how it can affect our understanding of the nature of the broader tradition, insight into the production of colonoware over time, and additional data within which to interpret the lives and relationships of African-Americans in this historic community.

The following chapter will provide an analysis of colonoware ceramics recovered at the Henry House site on MANA. In addition to identification, this analysis will examine additional attributes linked to technological or stylistic decisions in the production of these ceramics. The following sections will provide a background for the study of colonoware, introduce the methodology used for analyzing the collection, exhibit the data collected, and provide an interpretation of colonoware found at the Henry House, in addition to introducing future research questions.

## A BACKGROUND FOR THE STUDY OF COLONOWARE

### *African-American History, Historical Archeology, and Material Culture.*

Despite the lack of research into the relationship of colonoware with broader consumption patterns, and the disagreement over who actually made this ware, it continues to be an important research topic within historical archeology (Mouer et al. 1999; Singleton and Bograd 2000; Espenshade 2001). African-American material culture and lifeways have been a particular focus within historical archeology for at least the past three and a half decades. It has been estimated that between 11 and 12 million Africans, principally from West-Central Africa, the Bights, and the Gold Coast were sold into slavery, globally, between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, four-fifths during the period of 1700-1850 (Bograd and Singleton 1995; Lovejoy 1989:369-373; Wolf 1982). African-made and African-American-made material culture has been recognized as a fruitful area of study, broader issues such as slavery and emancipation, labor, equality, and inequality, ethnicity, race and racial ideology have driven such work.

In the Americas, slavery developed differently during different periods and places. For instance, the Spanish imported African laborers to the Americas in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, mainly to Mexico and Peru. European nations established large sugar operations in the Caribbean during the seventeenth century. British North America imported enslaved laborers as early as 1619 (possibly earlier) for tobacco crops, then later for rice, cotton and other staples. African slaves labored not



only in the fields, but also in urban settings, factories, mines, at craft industries such as shipbuilding, and domestic services. As Berlin and Morgan note, labor shaped Africans lives in the Americas, just as much as the character of society was shaped by a unique African-American culture (Berlin and Morgan 1993).

The transition from slavery to freedom after emancipation began another struggle for African-Americans who strove to achieve the same rights and privileges as white citizens. The Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras saw increased racism, discrimination and social inequalities. The long, complex history of the African experience in America is shaped as much by the cultural exchange that happened between Africans, Europeans, Native Americans, and other ethnic groups as it is by the circumstances of slavery and emancipation (Sobel 1987).

The long African presence in America makes it an especially fruitful topic in historical archeology. Over the past several decades, archeologists who have studied African-American life have researched such topics as slavery and resistance, the creation of race, class in slave communities and urban settings, free, affluent and impoverished African-American communities, landscape studies, the politics of identity, living conditions, housing and spatial relationships, foodways, artifact patterns, ethnicity, and gender. These studies have focused on regions such as the Caribbean, the South, the Gulf Coast, the Middle Atlantic and Chesapeake, and the Northeast. The development of this particular focus within historical archeology and the trends studied by archeologists through time have arose from a multitude of social and political forces throughout the latter half of the twentieth century and the development of the discipline as a whole during this time.

The study of colonoware in particular, and African-American historical archeology in general, grew out of a tradition during the 1960s and 1970s when social and civil rights movements in the United States prompted a celebration of America's diverse ethnic heritage. Work within material culture research during these eras focused on identifying sites, material culture, and research questions specific to an African identity.

Charles Fairbanks (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Fairbanks 1984) is often identified with pioneering this work in historical archeology. He published studies on the Kingsley slave cabins in Florida and began a wave of interest not only in understanding archeology from a non-Western perspective, but also in studying plantation life (Ferguson 1992:xv; Singleton 1985:1). In the late 1970s, however, research specifically geared toward the study of slavery began to appear (Kelso 1984, 1986), and during the late 1980s, Virginia became a leading area for interpreting historical archeological findings concerned with African-American life (Samford 1986). In addition to Fairbanks' work in Florida, archeologists in Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, and other areas of the South, along the east coast, and in the Caribbean, were conducting preliminary archeological research in the 1970s and early 1980s (Handler and Lange 1978; Mathewson 1972; 1973). Research on sites in Massachusetts (Deetz 1977; Bower and Rushing 1980), New York (Bridges and Salwen 1980; Schuyler 1974) and New Jersey (Geismar 1980) was also underway during this period.

In material culture studies, John Michael Vlach has published many articles, chapters, and books that deal specifically with identifying African-inspired material culture in architecture, decorative arts and folkart/folklife (Vlach 1993a; 1993b; 1991; 1990; 1986). Sobel's 1987, *The World They Made Together*, took such research one step further and examined in depth not just the presence of such material culture, but the affects of African values and perceptions on Europeans during the eighteenth century in Virginia. Other prominent researchers broadened Sobel's work further to examine African perceptions of the landscape and included the work of historians and other scholars such as Upton (1988), Gundaker (1998, 1996, 1993, 1994), Isaac (1982), and Westmacott (1991, 1992). Other works in this area of study include by are limited to (Borchert 1986; Brown 1989; Campbell and Rice 1991; Holloway 1990; Horton 1993; McDaniel 1982; Upton and Vlach 1986; US DOI 2001).

Scholarship throughout the 1990s and into the new millennium critiques some of these studies in historical archeology and material culture which frame interpretations using "Africanisms," or searching for ethnic markers in the material record without considering the complexities of racial categories. These critiques against "ethnic marker" studies reveal that scholars often attempt to interpret the meanings of such artifacts assuming that ethnic boundaries are stable rather than "fluid," variable and subject to manipulation (Ryder 1999). McGuire (1982: 161) and other scholars suggest that the study of race and ethnicity in historical archeology should examine these boundaries and how they are transformed (Delle et al. 2000; Mumford 1997; Perry and Paynter 1999; Singleton and Bograd 2000). Other researchers suggest that the use of oral histories and ethnographic evidence will help develop an appropriate context and can bring a legitimate perspective to such work (Gregory 1998).

Further, this critique emphasizes that the examination of Africanisms or ethnic "patterns" without appropriate contextualization runs the risk of, ". . .misrepresenting how the material correlates of particular [African-American and/or other ethnic communities] may have been manifested" (Singleton 1990:72;), emphasizing the need for interpretation using the idea of multivalency. Smedly also argues that, "Scholars in psychology, anthropology and other social fields need to examine in much greater depth the reality of "race" as identity in our society [and] explore not only the consequences but the parameters of social correlates of "racial" identity" (Smedly 1999:690).

Multivalency (or multiple meanings) is the idea that an object or set of objects may, "take on strikingly different meanings for different social groups, with dominating groups often totally ignorant of the meaning system of subordinated groups" (Perry and Paynter 1999:303; Howson 1990; Tilley 1989). This critique inspires new ways of looking at material culture and is an extension of what Orser (1988) calls issues of "economics and power." This "new" way of looking at material culture associated with African-Americans identifies abstract ideas such as ideology, domination and power seen as materially manifested and/or expressed in material relationships (Brown and Kimball 1995; Edwards and Howard 1997; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Mullins 1999).

Until recently, the idea of multivalency has not been a primary research concern in the study of colonoware. However, the debate over who made the pottery, Native Americans or African-

Americans, particularly in the Chesapeake region, has inspired new research directions in African-American historical archeology in general and colonoware in particular (Singleton and Bograd 2000). A brief background of African-American life in the Manassas area, colonoware research and this new research agenda is provided below.

### *African Americans in the Manassas Area*

The lives of the majority of African-Americans living in the Manassas area during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is undoubtedly tied to the plantation/agricultural context which dominated this area throughout much of its early history. In addition to Chapter 1 of this report, several archeological studies cover the early settlement and establishment of plantations in this area as well as African-American history in Virginia and the Chesapeake and so will not be discussed at length here (see for example the regional, plantation, and local histories found in Galke 1992a; Parker and Hernigle 1990; Parsons 2001a; and Reeves 1998).

As noted in Chapter 1, during the early eighteenth century, Robert "King" Carter claimed several large portions of land along Bull Run for family members. In the 1720s Carter had amassed approximately 100,000 acres and divided it into leased tracts. Carter formed a network of large plantations worked by African slaves (Zenzen 1995:60). Enslaved Africans provided labor for the crops produced on the Carter and others plantations and later middling and smaller farms and also held a wide variety of other labor roles such as personal servants, artisans, and mechanics (Reeves 1998:2.2).

Milling complexes were established along the area's water ways to process grains and lumber (Reeves 1998: 2.2; Conner 1975), and by the end of the eighteenth century 50 water powered grist and saw mills were operating in the county (Reeves 1998: 2.2; PWCH 1982:13). African-Americans may have worked in these mills as enslaved laborers or were hired out to do such work. Reeves (1998) also notes that in small communities such as Sudley and Groveton and on smaller farms there was a need for local craftspeople to perform specialized services such as smithing. Some of these services may also have been provided by African-Americans during the nineteenth century and particularly after emancipation when enslaved Africans who had performed such skilled tasks on plantations and other farms were then able to pursue employment.

For instance, Andrew J. Redman, who was formerly enslaved on the nearby Brownsville plantation, bought his freedom from William M. Lewis before the Civil War. Redman bought two acres from John T. Leachman and his wife in February of 1871. The lot Redman bought was situated on the southwest corner of the Warrenton Turnpike and Wellington Road and contained a blacksmith shop, which Redman operated and maintained (Galke 1992a).

During the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, Spring Hill Farm, later known as the Henry House, was first developed under a lease agreement between Robert Carter and Joseph Brown, then to father and son George and John King. Although two John Kings are documented in the area at this time, the one more likely the tenant of Spring Hill Farm purchased two enslaved Africans in 1801 and appears as the head-of-household in the 1810 census for Prince William County. An individual named John King (not sure which one) also was a witness to Landon

Carter Jr.'s will in 1798, establishing a connection to the Carter family. Additionally, oral history suggests that a man named King built the original farmhouse. Despite this evidence, the identity of the first developer of Spring Hill Farm remains uncertain, since the lease agreement was not found. However, it is possible that the first occupants of Spring Hill Farm owned enslaved Africans, who lived on the premises.

More is known about Elizabeth Carter, great-granddaughter of King Carter, who occupied the property from approximately 1818 until 1822. During that time, anywhere from as few as 3 to as many as 23 enslaved Africans were owned by Elizabeth Carter. These laborers undoubtedly toiled on Spring Hill Farm in the production of crops (wheat, rye, and corn), improving the property, caring for livestock, as craftspeople, or as personal and/or house servants (Table X, Chapter 1). Upon her death, Elizabeth Carter instructed the disposition of those enslaved Africans she owned to members of her family.

After Elizabeth Carter's death, her sister, Judith Henry and her family moved to Spring Hill Farm, around 1825. Although the Henry family was not as successful financially, they continued to work the farm. The Henry family owned fewer enslaved Africans than did Elizabeth Carter (Table X, Chapter 1), but those they owned probably served in similar roles doing field and housework. The Henrys were taxed on the service of a free African-American in 1853, possibly someone hired by the Henry family, perhaps as a house servant. It is unknown if this is the same hired "servant," identified as Lucy Griffith or Rosa Stokes, that was present with Judith Henry during the first battle of Manassas in 1861, during which Judith Henry died and the servant was wounded.

The accounts of Judith Henry's death during that first battle focus much more on Henry than on the experiences of the servant who was reportedly with her. Little is known about the servant, however, it is possible, based on information about free African-Americans in the area hiring out or "bounding/binding out," family members, (Parsons 2001a: 35-36; 41) that this servant was from a local African-American family. This speculation also reminds us that despite the fact that the majority of the African-American population, particularly in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was enslaved, free African-Americans also resided in the area during the prebellum period. The post-emancipation African-American community consisted of many diverse families that included wealthy, middling, and poor tenant farmers and landowners, teachers, laborers, domestic workers, and others (Lewis 1994; Parsons 2001a).

### *Colonoware Research*

Ivor Noël Hume first identified this type of earthenware and introduced the term, "Colono-Indian ware," in his 1962 article, "An Indian Ware of the Colonial Period." From sites in Virginia, Hume had identified a locally produced, smoothed or burnished unglazed earthenware and suggested that American Indians were producing the ware and possibly trading or selling the ceramics to enslaved Africans. Some of the vessels Hume identified resembled English forms including handled cups, porringers, pipkins and chamber pots and thus he suggested that the American Indians who had produced the ware had been, "exposed to European contact" (Hume 1962:4).

Throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, archeologists in Virginia and Maryland identified the ware and associated it with historic period American Indian manufacture (Barse 1985; Binford 1965; MacCord 1969). One essay (Mouer et al. 1999) provides a thorough review of this literature and the conclusions drawn from these and other studies.

The assumption that Colono-Indian ware was made exclusively by American Indians during the contact period went unchallenged until the mid to late 1970s. At this time, archeologists in South Carolina, most notably, Leland Ferguson found large quantities of the ware on plantations where African-Americans were the predominant population group. Additionally, the majority of the wares were found in forms resembling cooking pots and serving bowls rather than in European forms. This suggested to Ferguson and other researchers that the ware was made by African-Americans (Ferguson 1982; 1980; Wheaton and Garrow 1989, 1985; Wheaton et al. 1983).

In 1992, Ferguson published his studies using the term, "Colonoware," rather than "Colono-Indian," in his landmark book, *Uncommon Ground, Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800* (1992). Ferguson developed an extensive context in which he used demographic evidence of the Congo-Angolan peoples from Africa to the East Coast of the United States. He then showed the correlation and significance of colonoware to water and Congo cosmology, specifically linking the form of the ware to foodways of African peoples and the uses of the ware to both foodways and traditional African religious practices.

Ferguson's interpretations were originally derived from colonoware recovered in South Carolina; however, he also studied colonoware recovered from Virginia. He suggests that these wares, mostly from the Pettus and Utopia plantation sites, were made by African Americans. Ferguson recommends further study on plantations that were remote, where African-American populations did not have access to towns where they could trade or purchase wares made by American Indians (1992:46-50). Since this study, other archeologists working in Virginia, including those who have worked on sites at MANA, suggest that colonoware recovered at specific sites was produced and consumed by the African-American community (Deetz 1999; 1993:80-93; 1988; Parker and Hernigle 1990:230-235; Emerson 1999; 1994; 1988).

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, researchers approached the study of colonoware from many different perspectives. As early as 1980, scholars were examining the temporal and spatial spread of the colonoware tradition (Henry 1980; Ferguson 1992; Espenshade 1998; Heath 1999b) and identification methods and uses of the ware (Ferguson 1992, 1995, 1999; Lees 1980; Lees and Kimery-Lees 1978). In addition to Ferguson, both Orser (1994) and Wilke (1997) have examined the use of colonoware as it symbolically relates to African-derived religious practice. Recently, Ogata (1995) has approached the topic from a gendered perspective by examining the use of colonoware by African-American women for medicinal purposes. Currently, scholars are beginning to study colonoware as the product of an individual (Kennedy and Espenshade 2001).

A number of scholars examined the ware as a measure of acculturation and/or creolism (Armstrong 1999:176-177; Ferguson 1980; Hauser and Armstrong 1999; Peterson et al. 1999; Solis Magaña 1999; Steen et al. 1996; Wheaton et al. 1983; Wheaton and Garrow 1985), or as a measure of resistance (Marcil 1993). However, the debate over who made the ware, American

Indians or African Americans has spurred the call for a “redirection,” in how these artifacts are studied with a particular focus on multivalency.

As Singleton and Bograd note, “the debate over the production of Colonoware has been shaped by two different research trajectories in which different kinds of questions are being addressed” (2000:6). Those that study colonoware as a product of American Indians are often concerned with the impact of European culture upon American Indian communities. Those that study African-American made colonoware, mostly on plantation sites, are more interested in using this material culture to examine the construction and continuity of an African identity. Both, however, are attempting to grapple with, as Orser has argued, the impulse of European Americans to colonize the New World and their view that Europeans were superior to all non-Europeans (Orser 1996:122).

Further, Singleton and Bograd note that the search for the ethnicity of the makers of colonoware, “is misguided because, like all typologies, such research merely classifies or labels action but fails to analyze it” (2000:8). There is growing evidence that both groups, American Indians and African Americans, were capable of producing and consuming these wares. How then, can both groups of researchers continue to study these artifacts in a meaningful way without fueling studies directed toward establishing who produced colonoware when this type of research can limit the interpretive power of historical archeology for these two groups?

Because “Africanisms,” were/are undoubtedly a small part of the archeological record, and because African-Americans frequently appropriated European American material culture for their own use, several authors have argued that the focus of colonoware and other research on African-American sites and material culture should examine the meaning of such wares to their users, or the examination of, “how this artifact was used, appropriated, and transformed by its makers and users. In this way, colonoware becomes the catalyst for understanding identity formation, cultural interaction and change under colonialism” (Singleton and Bograd 2000:9). This focus on use and meaning or multivalency opens the door for other research topics, such as if/how European Americans used this ware, or if/how African Americans had different uses and meanings for European American material culture and practices (like the use of European American ceramics to play mancala, for instance). The opportunity to study such topics may be available with the collections from MANA.

#### *Colonoware found at Manassas National Battlefield Park*

Prior to excavations at the Henry House, colonoware was positively identified on at least four sites within Manassas National Battlefield Park. These sites include Brownsville, the Robinson House, and the Hooe Dependency (Galke 1992a; Hernigle 1991; Reeves 2002). Perhaps best known for its colonoware collection (and most useful for comparative purposes for the Henry House collection) is the site of Pohoke and Portici (Parker and Hernigle 1990).

A minimum of 32 vessels and 5 tobacco pipes were collected during the excavations at Pohoke/Portici from the 253 fragments recovered from Pohoke and the 34 fragments from Portici. Pohoke and Portici are considered “middling plantations,” defined as, “fairly large

estates" (Parker and Hernigle 1990:15), that maintained between 20 and 50 enslaved Africans during a period from 1799 through 1853. Portici, however, was reduced to a "small plantation," during the antebellum period (Parker and Hernigle 1990:227). The colonoware, excluding tobacco pipes, is of coiled construction and represents primarily small, utilitarian serving bowls, although a cup/tumbler and shallow pans and dishes were also recovered. A common feature exhibited by all the vessels collected at Pohoke/Portici is their flat-bottomed basal form also found on both European and Native American ceramic vessels from the Maryland-Virginia tidewater area (Parker and Hernigle 1990:230).

Parker and Hernigle are able to separate the manufacture of colonoware into three distinct, primarily successive, phases (1733-1772; 1791-circa 1841; and 1806-circa 1863), based on location, mean ceramic dates, and stratigraphy. They conclude that based on these factors, this ceramic was used by enslaved Africans, although it is not known whether the colonoware was manufactured on site at Portici/Pohoke or elsewhere. However, since the excavations at Portici, colonoware has been found on at least four other sites in the area, leading researchers to believe that it was produced in the local community. Parker and Hernigle also note that since the earliest dates associated with these wares was approximately 60 years after the last indigenous American Indians resided in this area, it is likely that it was produced by and for African-Americans (1990:232).

Colonoware was also recovered at the site of Brownsville, a prosperous plantation that was occupied from the 1770s through 1900 and at which anywhere from 7 to 46 African-Americans lived and worked. "They were responsible for the livestock, sheep, corn, pigs, potatoes, corn, wheat, rye, hay, butter, and honey which made this plantation an economic success for its owners" (Galke 1992:79). A colonoware bowl basal fragment was recovered by Karell Archaeological Services during a Phase I survey. The Phase II report, prepared through the National Capital Regional Archeology Program of the NPS, describes additional colonoware fragments as recovered from, "structure one, within the ashy fill of the cellar, including some bowls and tobacco pipes" (Galke 1992:79).

Although this is not a detailed analysis, the colonoware at Brownsville was found in association with other artifacts such as quartz crystals and mancala gaming pieces. Quartz crystals and quartz projectile points have also been found in other African-American contexts at MANA including the Robinson House (Parsons 2001a), the Nash site (Galke 1992b), and the Henry House (in association with colonoware). Quartz crystals found in African contexts in the Chesapeake, most notably, in Annapolis, Maryland, have been interpreted as part of traditional African religious practices, specifically found in caches or as part of Minkisi (plural for nkisi) bundles (Jones 2000). It can be argued that these artifacts represent an attempt to define "Africanisms," a notion that may draw attention away from the uses and interpretive potential of historical archeology. It is important to recognize other artifacts found in association with colonoware so as to provide a greater context within which to interpret African-American life, and perhaps, traditional African practices, in this community.

A single sherd of colonoware was recovered at the Robinson House site (Hernigle 1991). The Robinson family consisted of both free and formerly enslaved Africans who occupied the

farmstead from the late 1840s until 1936 (Parsons 2001a). It was suggested that researchers re-examine this sherd based on the similarities between African colonoware and locally produced Native American pottery (NPS, NCR Regional Archeologist Stephen Potter, 2002 personal communication). If the sherd is colonoware, the fact that it was recovered from a free African-American site, rather than from an enslaved African context raises new research questions. Although James Robinson's wife and several of his children were enslaved, the recovery of colonoware here may show the strong connection between the enslaved and free African-American communities in this area.

Finally, several colonoware sherds were recovered from the Hooe Dependency site, "an early nineteenth century domestic site potentially associated with the enslaved African-American field laborer household attached to Hazel Plain plantation" (Reeves 2002:ii). Although not extensively analyzed, the small number of colonoware fragments recovered at this site suggests that this artifact can be used in a settlement pattern strategy to locate enslaved African-American quarters or residences that are non-extant or unavailable in cartographic data. Some collections from MANA warrant re-examination. Ceramics that were previously identified as undecorated American Indian wares may be colonoware. This information too, will be useful in locating the sites of enslaved Africans that have not been found to date.

#### COLONOWARE AT THE HENRY HOUSE

The analysis of colonoware at the Henry House includes an examination of both the minimum number of vessels, and, because the study yielded only 10 vessels and 1 tobacco pipe stem, a number of attributes for the entire collection of colonoware sherds. The minimum number of vessels is identified through the process of sorting, mending, and comparison of sherds with existing vessels; however, recording additional information on the entire collection serves several purposes. First, the information can be used for future research in comparing collections across MANA, or perhaps, identifying additional African-American sites in this area. In the broadest sense, analysis of such ceramics can generate information about consumer, social, and group behavior. On African-American sites, studying the production and consumption of colonoware vessels may help provide information beyond simply producing and consuming. The process that ultimately guides the production and consumption of colonoware may represent broad social concerns or constraints for this community or the continuity of traditional African practices.

Excavations at the Henry House yielded a minimum of 10 colonoware vessels and 1 tobacco pipe stem from 104 sherds. All of the vessels recovered, with the exception of the pipe stem, are of coil construction. Coiling requires the formation of "coils" by rolling clay between the hands or on a flat surface. Generally, coil diameter is about twice the thickness of a vessel (Rye 1981:67). Coils are then placed around the circumference (on top of one another) as the height of the vessel is gradually increased. Once at a desired height, the coils are then smoothed, patted, and or pressed together using hands or tools such as bone or wooden disks or pebbles and rim and/or foot treatments are performed.



A variety of finishing treatments can be used on coiled vessels that include scraping, burnishing, polishing, and/or smudging/sooting. These attributes are recorded for each vessel and described below. Based on the examination of these treatments and on recorded fire clouds (unintentional discoloration) visible on the vessels, all of the vessels were probably fired in an open-air kiln. No temper is visible in any of the colonoware.

### *Methodology*

Sixteen attributes are recorded for each vessel as well as for each sherd that could not be associated with a particular vessel as a means of further refining and recording the colonoware data. When interpreting the information, percentages are based on the number of sherds rather than the number of vessels because so few vessels were found. While some of the attributes are chosen for recording basic or baseline data (such as paste color or segment), the majority of the attributes can be linked to technological and/or stylistic decisions (such as rim production methods or surface treatment). Each of these attributes is described below.

*Form.* Vessel form or shape is a classification attribute based on geometry (such as square or oval), but is most useful for determining use, function, or a, "use-oriented system similar to that applied to modern culinary apparatus" (Rice 1987: 215). Since some vessel shapes are incompatible with some forming techniques, it can also provide information on how vessels were constructed (Rye 1981:62).

*Thickness.* A measurement of thickness can provide information on vessel size, production methods, function, or paste characteristics, however, thickness can vary significantly on any vessel (Rice 1987; Rye 1981:67). Variations in thickness can result from later finishing techniques such as scraping or smoothing. Thickness was measured consistently 3 cm from the rim with calipers (Kennedy and Espenshade 2001), or 3 cm from the edge/break of a body sherd.

*Rim Form / Production Methods.* Rim form and production methods are recorded if visible. Rim form records the basic geometry of the rim such as flat, round, inverted, or beveled. There are many ways to produce any given rim form such as cutting or paddling. Rim form and production method may indicate use, or individual style or technique (Kennedy and Espenshade 2001).

*Foot Form / Base Form / Production Methods.* Like rim forms, foot and base forms are recorded if visible and can include flat bases/footless, or footed by an annular ring or disk. Bases can be coiled and smoothed before firing. Recording foot and base forms can provide information on construction, use, and/or individual technique (Kennedy and Espenshade 2001).

*Number of Sherds.* The number of sherds is recorded for vessels only and can provide information on strength of the vessel as well as information on post-depositional movement of artifacts and cross-mending.

*Percent Complete.* This attribute is an approximation recorded to provide baseline data and/or comparative information for intrasite variability, as well as information on post-depositional movement of artifacts.

*Provenience (Excavation Unit, Stratum/Strata).* Provenience is recorded for baseline comparative information, cross-mending, and post-depositional movement of artifacts.

*Segment.* Segment of vessels (ie, rim, base to rim, body), is recorded to provide baseline and/or comparative information and can provide information on vessel strength.

*Spalling.* Spalling can occur when a vessel is heated too quickly or is not sufficiently dried before firing (Rye 1981:114), or it can indicate voids within the clay. Spalling may also indicate post-depositional activity. However, spalling that occurs during firing (and thus renders a vessel useless and is thrown away) can indicate on-site production (Espenshade 1999; Ferguson 1992; Wheaton 1993), as well as unfamiliarity with local clay resources (Espenshade 1999). Spalling is recorded as present, if visible.

*Coil Breaks.* Coil breaks or fractures occur where coils were poorly bonded, resulting in planes of weakness (Rice 1987:474) and occur along the coil juncture. Coil breaks are recorded as present, possible, or absent. They are considered present when there are regular latitudinal breaks with concave, convex, or beveled juncture planes (Kennedy and Espenshade 2001).

*Dominant Paste Color.* Dominant paste color is recorded as baseline information and for uses in future comparative work. Paste color can be related to composition of the clays used to make a vessel or the firing history of a vessel. Although there is not a direct link between color and firing history, trends have been noted. For instance, dark greys and blacks may indicate incomplete firing (Rice 1987), and tans and reds may be common in oxygen rich (or oxidized) firings (likely in open-air kilns). Finally, light grey and brown can indicate reduced oxygen firings or a reducing environment (Shepard 1980; Kennedy and Espenshade 2001; Stephen Potter, 2002 personal communication). Paste color is recorded using a Munsell color chart.

*Temper/Aplastics.* Temper refers to intentional additions to the clay (such as crushed shell). Aplastics refers to additional materials (such as quartz) that are inclusions in the clay rather than intentionally added. Temper/aplastics can relate to a range of technological choices such as clay source, needs of the potter, and possibly function. Ethnographic and archeological studies have shown that native potters were aware of the effects that aplastics and temper had on vessels (Kennedy and Espenshade 2001; Rye 1981; Rice 1987; Shepard 1980). For comparative purposes, none of the colonoware from the Henry House appears to have temper added, only a few examples of aplastics are present. Colonoware from South Carolina, however, appears to have both aplastics and temper (Kennedy and Espenshade 2001). Aplastics are recorded by examining the material used and measuring with size classes, as follows: 0.125 to 0.5 mm diameter: Fine-Medium; 0.5 to 1.0 mm diameter: Coarse; 1.0 to 2.0 mm diameter: Very Coarse; and 2.0 to 4.0 mm diameter: Granule.

*Surface Treatment.* Surface treatments are recorded for each sherd and vessel and includes plain, burnished, or smoothed with a tool. Plain vessels lack a rubbed or shiny surface and probably represent those that were just hand smoothed. Smoothed or paddled with a tool indicates that vessels were scraped or patted to compress coils with an object such as a reed or bone implement. Burnished vessels refer to those that were rubbed with a hard object or tool such as a pebble,

stick, or bone resulting in a shiny, smooth appearance. No surface decorations are observed, however, unintentional marks are recorded.

*Smudging/Sooting.* Smudging or sooting is dark grey to black surface deposits of carbonaceous materials found on the interior and exterior of vessels. It can be the direct result of firing, use of the vessel over an open fire, or an intentional surface treatment. It is recorded as light, dark or very dark. Location information is also given as interior and/or exterior. Smudging or sooting may determine use of a vessel. For instance, a vessel used in cooking or warming foods might have dark sooting. Those vessels used as serving vessels may not be smudged or sooted.

*Fire clouds.* Fire clouds refer to light grey to dark grey, irregular or unintentional discoloration, that suggest the vessel was fired in an open-air kiln, or that the vessel was used in cooking or warming foods. They are recorded as visible.

*Use Abrasions.* Use abrasions refer to unintentional wear visible on the vessel. Most often they occur as circular *incisions* on the sides of a vessel, on the rim, or as scrape marks on the base. They can be identified on sooted/smudged vessels as lighter marks made through the sooting/smudging. These marks can provide information on vessel use such as those used in mixing or stirring. Use abrasions are recorded and drawn if visible.

#### *Summarizing and Interpreting the Data and Future Research*

All of the attributes recorded provide information along three lines: what is the form and function of these vessels, how were they made, and what kinds of decisions might a potter have made concerning style and based on technological knowledge?

Thirteen percent of the colonoware collection at the Henry House site is assigned a form. Four different forms are identified including three percent large bowls, two percent small shallow bowls, five percent deep bowls, and three percent small bowls. The majority of the collection (91%) is unidentified hollowwares and, based on rim diameters, there are no cups. Flatwares are also absent in the collection. Form is determined by body size, thickness and rim diameter. For instance, large bowls are thicker with a larger rim diameter, deep bowls and shallow bowls are determined by thickness and the measurement between base and rim or base and body or rim and body, and small bowls are determined by thickness and rim diameter.

There are 6 different types of segments recorded: rim only (n=6), body only (n=47), base only (n=2), base to rim (n=1), base to body (n=1), and reed stub pipe stem (n=1). The majority of the segments are body sherds. This is not unusual in any collection since there is more surface area on the body of a vessel than on the rim or base and therefore it is common to find more body sherds. Recording segments can help discern which vessels are more complete and thus, which vessels/sherds can provide more information on form and other attributes. For instance, a vessel whose segment is base to rim will provide more information than a vessel represented by a body sherd. Additionally, recording this information is useful in comparing collections.

Thickness can vary on any vessel; however, a measure of thickness can provide information on vessel size, production methods and possibly function. Of the sherds that could be measured for

thickness with some accuracy (except for the tobacco pipe stem), the colonoware varied in thickness from 3.42 mm to 10.91 mm with about 60% of the sherds falling between 3.42 mm and 7.89 mm and about 40% falling between 7.89 mm and 10.91 mm. Based on this information, over one-half of the colonoware was thin bodied, probably small in size, and probably used for holding small quantities of food or other materials.

Rim and base form and production methods of these features are also recorded for this collection. Rim forms include two round and one probable round, and four flat (Figure 71). Production methods for the rims include burnishing, cutting, and smoothing. Tooling was apparent on one of the rims and a tool was probably used on two of the rims. All of the bases recorded (n=4) are flat; that is, there was no applied foot ring. Two of the bases are smoothed, possibly by hand; however, evidence of using a tool for smoothing is present on one base (Figure 72). Two of the bases are recorded as "applied," that is, they are of coil construction. The bases of the vessel were made first. Then, the body of the vessel was "applied" to the base. This is evident through examination of the coil construction and location of breakage along the base.

No temper is recorded for any of the sherds. This is typical of the Region (Stephen Potter, 2002 personal communication). However, some aplastics and probable aplastics are recorded. Aplastics are defined as material present in the clay source that was unable to be removed or intentionally not removed. Coarse (.0540 mm) quartz is recorded in two sherds and possibly sand and mica in several other sherds. The presence of sand can indicate the use of residual and alluvial clays. Foreign and/or unidentified material is also recorded. For instance, a coarse white material that may be aplastics is recorded in 11 sherds. In the majority of the sherds (n=89) aplastics are not recorded or not visible. In addition to aplastics, it is noted if the clay appears to be well kneaded. Well-kneaded clays appear smooth with few inclusions. Clays that are not well kneaded show various colors or clay specks in the body of a sherd. Possible clay inclusions are recorded on 39 sherds.

Varieties of surface treatments in addition to smudging/sooting are recorded. The majority of sherds (n=98) have some kind of surface treatment or smudging/sooting. Burnishing appears on 63 of the sherds (over half of the collection) and possibly on 3 more. Thirty-two of the sherds show evidence of smoothing and an additional eight are possibly smoothed with a tool. There is evidence of paddling on one sherd.

Smudging/sooting is recorded as very dark, dark, or light in color (Figure 73). Seventeen sherds are recorded as very dark, fifty-eight as dark, and nineteen as light. One sherd is recorded as having dark smudging/sooting on the interior and very dark on the exterior. The location of smudging/sooting as exterior and/or interior is recorded as a means to help mend and determine the number of minimum vessels. Sixty-one sherds are both burnished and smudged/sooted. Seven sherds are burnished, smoothed, and smudged/sooted. Those listed as probably or possibly smoothed, burnished, or smudged/sooted are not counted. Finishes are common on coiled vessels as the coils need to be bonded together either through smoothing and burnishing, or through the firing or smudging/sooting processes. Coil breaks, further evidence of the vessel's construction and information on coil width, are also recorded on 33 sherds and possibly on 2 more.

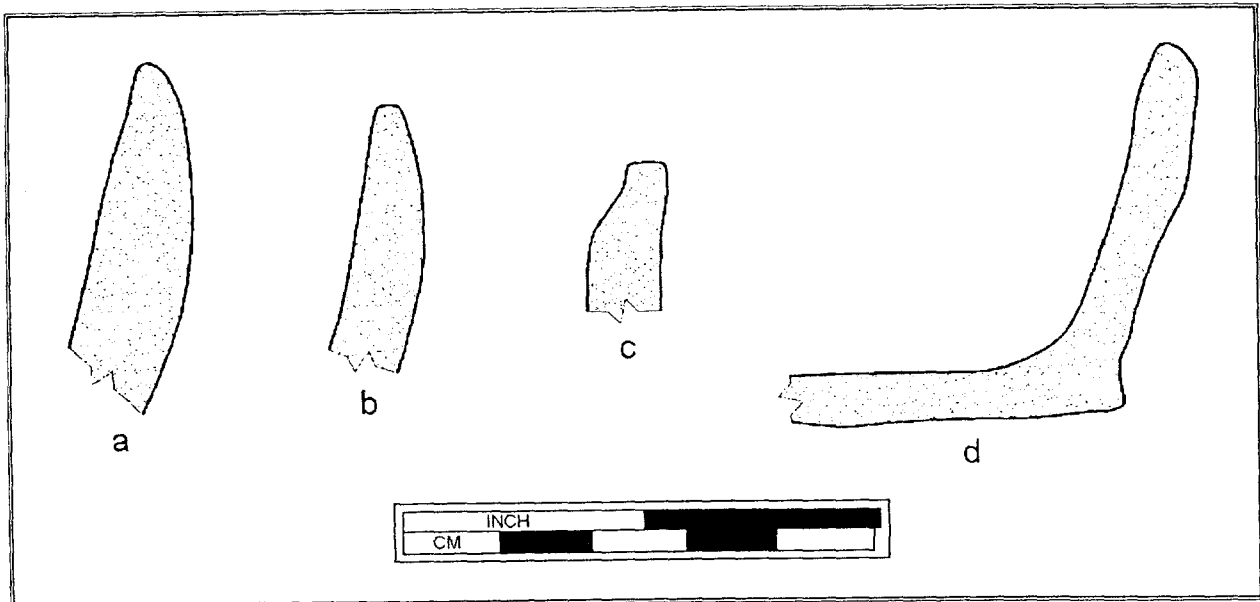


Figure 71. Rim Forms. a) Round Rim, b) Flat Rim, c) Flat Rim, d) Flat Tooled Rim.

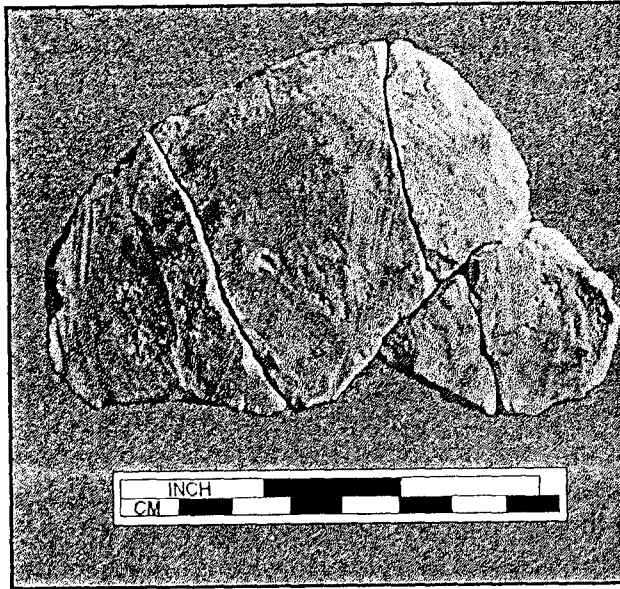


Figure 72. Example of Tool-Smoothed Interior Basal Fragments of Small Bowl.



Figure 73. Example of Smudging/Sooting on the Interior of a Large Bowl.

Fire clouds are definitely found on 16 sherds, and possibly on 13 more. It is difficult to distinguish between fire clouding and smudging/sooting on some of the sherds. Use-abrasions or use-wear is also difficult to distinguish, but is possible on 15 sherds and can be seen certainly on 2 rims.

Paste color varies from sherd to sherd and can be the direct result of firing temperature and/or an oxidized or reducing environment. For instance, grey (5YR7/1) is recorded on 3 sherds, probably from the same vessel (Vessel 1). White (7.5YR8/0) is also recorded in association with Vessel 1, indicating reduced oxygen firing. Reddish brown (5YR5/4) is recorded for Vessel 2 and those sherds associated with Vessel 2, indicating an oxidized environment. Other Munsell colors recorded include pink (5YR7/3) and pinkish grey (5YR7/3) on 19 sherds, grey (5YR6/1) on 2 sherds, reddish yellow (5YR7/6) on 7 sherds, reddish brown (5YR5/3) on 5 sherds, light brown (7.5YR6/4) on 9 sherds, all probably associated with Vessel 5 and indicating oxidized firing; pinkish grey (7.5YR7/2 and 7.5YR6/2) on 12 sherds; pink (7.5YR7/4) and weak red (10R4/3) on 3 sherds that mend, light reddish brown (5YR6/3 and 5YR6/4) on 7 sherds, pinkish white (5YR8/2) on 2 sherds, pinkish grey (5YR6/2) on 8 sherds, pinkish grey (5YR7/2) on 10 sherds, and reddish brown (5YR5/4) on 1 sherd.

Unlike the information given above, the minimum number of vessels, number of mends, sherd numbers, provenience, percent complete, and spalling (small fragments broken from the face or edge of a material), can provide information on location and/or post-depositional movement. Spalling, for instance, can indicate post-depositional movement. If the majority of sherds are spalled, this may indicate movement after the ceramic is deposited as such movement can cause both breakage and spalling. In the Henry House collection, 23 sherds are spalled, only about 23% of the collection (Figure 74). Spalling can also occur during the production process when a vessel is heated too quickly or is not sufficiently dried before firing. This form of spalling may be indicative of the potters unfamiliarity with local clay sources. It is difficult to tell, in this collection, how the colonoware came to be spalled. Because of the mixed nature of the stratigraphy at the Henry House, it is likely that the spalling occurred after deposition. However, the collection also suggests that post-depositional movement may have been minimal and therefore, we cannot rule out the possibility of unfamiliarity with the clay source. This avenue of research may warrant further study when compared to other collections.



Figure 74. Example of Spalling on the Interior of a Large Bowl.

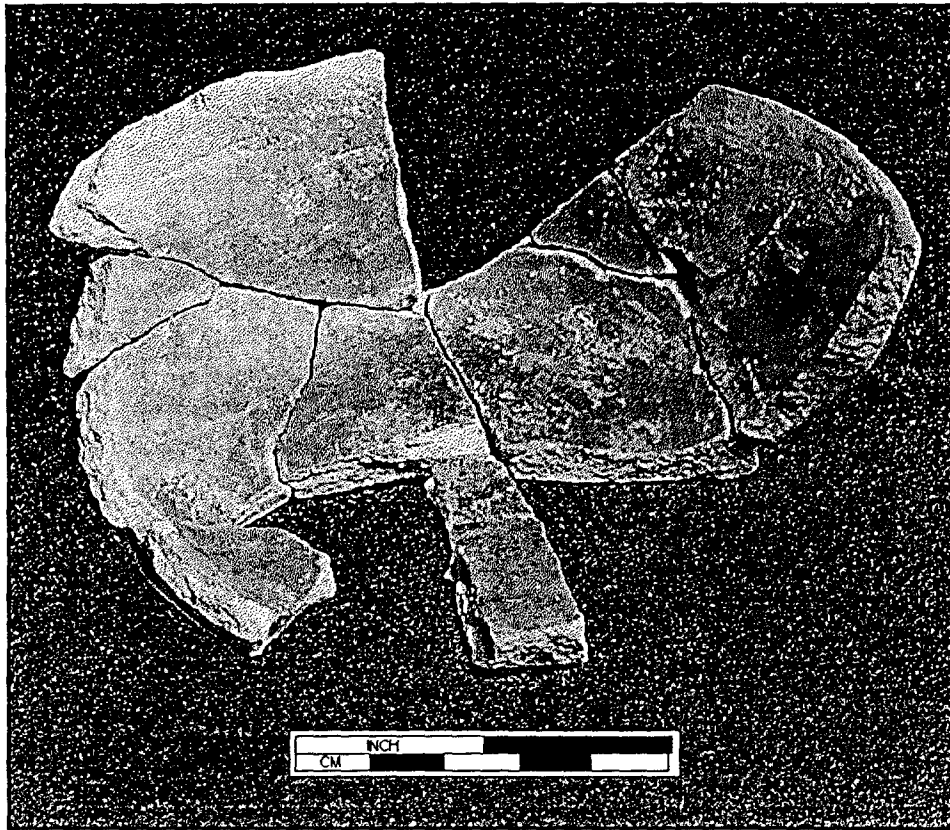


Figure 75. *Mended Small Shallow Colonoware Bowl with a Tooled Rim and an Applied, Flat Base.*

Few vessels are recorded as “percent complete,” because, while almost half of the sherds recovered mend with other sherds (about 52%) the collection is severely fragmented. Only one vessel (Vessel 3) mended with more than half (about 55%) of its original form (Figure 75). This fragmentation also makes it difficult to determine form or vessel type and number of vessels throughout the collection.

An examination of provenience and cross-mending of the sherds/vessels provides interesting data. The majority of sherds were recovered from EU 11 (about 70% of the collection), and the majority of sherds that mend ( $n=32$ , about 30% of the collection) were from EU 11 (Figure 76). Most of the sherds found in EU 11 were on top of or in association with the foundations of the Spring Hill Farm house. EU 5 contained the next highest number of sherds ( $n=11$ ) that mend. EU 5 is located near EU 11 along the south elevation of the foundation feature. EU 4 and EU 2 also yielded mends, ( $n=5$  and  $n=4$  sherds respectively). These units are also located close to EU 11 along the south elevation of the structure. Stratigraphically, the site is not complex, it consists of three megastrata (Table 2, Chapter 2). Additionally, there is no cross-mending between units, and only one cross-mend between stratigraphy in Stratum A1 and Feature 4a1 in EU4. Feature 4a1 is located within stratum A1 in this unit. This information suggests that although the collection is fragmented, and the site stratigraphy is minimal, there was not a great deal of post-depositional movement.

If there was limited post-depositional movement and the majority of vessels and sherds were found along the south elevation of the house, on top of or in association with the Spring Hill Farm

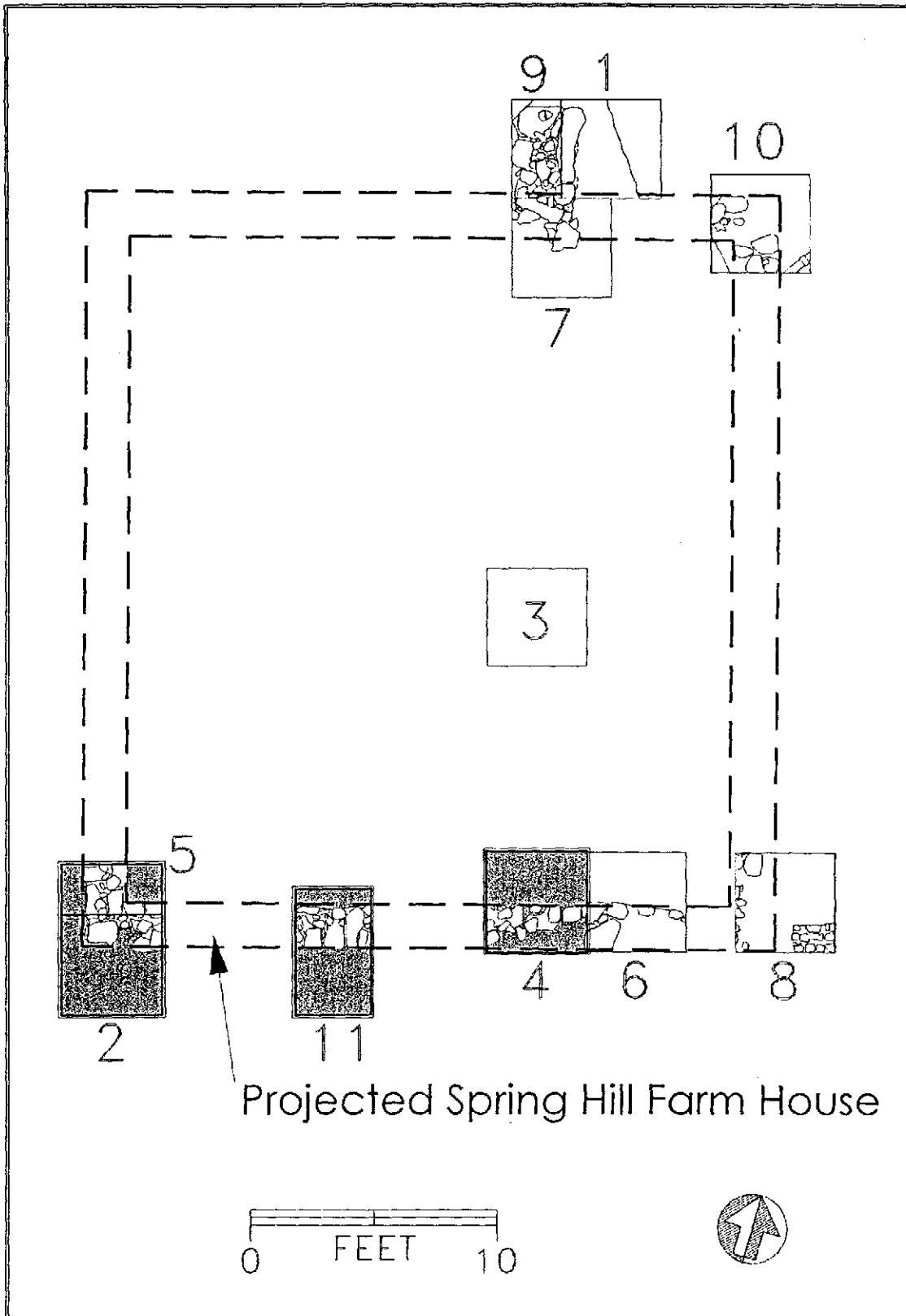


Figure 76. Site Map Showing Excavation Units Containing Colonoware.



house foundation, what might this information suggest? Three possibilities are suggested. Based on the stratigraphy (ie, most of the colonoware was recovered from Stratum A1, Megastratum I), the colonoware may have been deposited in one episode after the structure was destroyed or dismantled, sometime after the first battle of Manassas. Perhaps the location was used as a dumpsite, although the use of the area as a dumpsite either before or after the current structure was built seems unlikely due to the scarcity of other artifacts found here. A second possibility is that the colonoware was intentionally placed on the foundation while the structure was still standing. It has been noted (Michael Seibert, 2002 personal communication) that the structure was possibly built in such a way as to create a space (probably between eight in to one ft) between the first floor and the foundation (between the sill and the joists), although how that space was accessed (ie, by removing floorboards, or, more likely, from outside the structure) is unknown. Finally, colonoware was also found in association with the foundations of Pohoke, where Parker and Hernigle suggest that large fragments of the ware were used as chinking between the stones (1990:47). This interpretation of the use of colonoware based on location is feasible, but not likely at the Henry House site. Here, a larger percentage of the ceramics found in the same provenience mended. It is doubtful that such large portions of a vessel would have been used as chinking.

It may be more useful to examine other artifacts found in association with the colonoware to try to date the collection and provide information on whether the colonoware was deposited before or after the Spring Hill Farm house was destroyed and dismantled. The majority of ceramics recovered in association with the colonoware in Megastratum I date from the early to mid nineteenth century and include hand painted pearlware, creamware and porcelain, and ball clay/kaolin (tobacco pipes). However, a loss of integrity is suggested by the presence of crown bottle caps, modern fence wire, and other twentieth century artifacts. Despite the apparent mixture of context, it is important to note that the description of Megastratum I, in Chapter 2 of this report, suggests that the deeper levels of Megastratum I hold more integrity. Additionally, Megastratum II, where the most intact colonoware bowl was found (Vessel 3), is interpreted as historic period occupation deposits and included early to mid nineteenth century artifacts such as English gun flint, blue transfer printed pearlware, and creamware.

Another method used to date the colonoware is to compare the forms, surface treatment, and technology of this collection with that of Pohoke/Portici. A cursory inspection of that collection and discussions with Regional Archeologist, Stephen Potter, (2002 personal communication) suggests that the forms and surface finishes of the Henry House collection are similar in style if not nearly identical to those found in the Pohoke/Portici phase II collection, dating from 1791-1841 (Parker and Hernigle 1990). The Henry House colonoware is also similar to the colonoware found at Brownsville (Appendix XIV, Vessels 3 and 5, pipe stem, additional information). This information suggests that the depositional date of the colonoware at the Henry House site was before the Spring Hill Farm house was destroyed/dismantled during the Civil War.

Although this information provides a likely date for the collection (probably late eighteenth to mid nineteenth century), it does not provide evidence as to why the majority of colonoware was found along the south elevation of the house foundation, most at the southwest corner, nor, if this location is associated with the use and/or meaning of colonoware. Researchers often speculate on

the uses of colonoware. Some suggest that enslaved Africans in the South (including Virginia) were engaging in a trade and barter system of economics. This premise suggests that enslaved Africans and others traded food and other items within the local community, for instance, from plantation to plantation, or at local markets and/or country fairs, as part of a subsistence strategy (Berlin and Morgan 1995, 1993; Schlotterbeck 1995). Based on current research about the local African-American community, it is possible that colonoware was produced, in part, for economic trade.

Other researchers focus more on the meaning of colonoware in African-American communities. Ferguson (1992) builds an extensive context within which colonoware in South Carolina is associated with traditional African foodways and religious practices and possibly with medicinal practices (Ogata 1995). It is possible, even likely (Stephen Potter, 2002 personal communication) that the types of colonoware vessels found relate directly to the foodways of the community. For instance, stews or soups could easily have been consumed in smaller sized or thinner walled vessels such as those from the Henry House site.

Within the past two and a half decades, a large volume of interdisciplinary literature has been dedicated to examining symbol and ritual in historic and modern African-American communities. These studies focus on material culture and landscape (Cabek 1990; Ferguson 1999; 1992, 1995; Fulop and Raboteau 1997; Galke 1998; 1992b; Griffin 1995; Gundaker 1998, 1996, 1994, 1993; Hall 1990; Jackson 1997; Jones 2000; Orser 1994; Thompson 1993; 1983; Twinning 1977; Vlach 1978), and may be particularly compelling when applied to colonoware research. Several of these authors have noted that direction and placement is particularly important in African American religious symbolism (Gundaker 1998; Thompson 1993; 1983). Is the recovery of colonoware along the south elevation and southwest corner of the Henry House significant? Again, this is an avenue for future research. The fact that the colonoware was found in association with the foundations, and, possibly intentionally placed below the floor on the foundations, and that it was found in association with quartz flakes and projectile points, materials that have been found elsewhere on the Battlefield in association with African-American contexts (Galke 1992a,b) and have been noted as important materials within African-American religious practices (Jones 2000; MacGaffey 1991) is compelling, particularly when interpreted within current research approaches that focus on multivalency, or multiple meanings.

The comparison of colonoware at the Henry House to that found elsewhere on the Battlefield, such as Pohoke/Portici, as well as comparative information on stylistic attributes, and determining knowledge of local resources may provide information on the number of potters making the ware in this local community. Additionally, using artifact analysis and comparative information to date this colonoware collection to the late eighteenth to the mid nineteenth century and checking these dates against tax and census records and wills can provide clues as to who made this ceramic. Could it have been Peter, Sukey, Jenny, Mimah, Nutty, or Kitte? These are just a few of the enslaved Africans recorded during Elizabeth Carter and Judith Henry's occupancy of the farm (Table 1, Chapter 1). Although this requires additional research, recognizing individual potters through potter-level idiosyncrasies and potter-to-potter variation has been a successful research strategy on three South Carolina plantations (Kennedy and Espenshade 2001). Examining

stylistic attributes, possible number of potters and/or ceramic exchange within this community might also provide information on the connections within the African-American community.

## CONCLUSIONS

Colonoware at the Henry House site consists of a minimum of 10 vessels (from 104 sherds) including small shallow bowls, large bowls, deep bowls and small bowls. These vessels are relatively thin bodied. One tobacco pipe stem sherd was also recovered. The collection most likely dates from the late eighteenth to the mid nineteenth century. The colonoware is of coil construction and the makers used various finishing techniques including smoothing, burnishing, and sooting/smudging. Two rim types are recorded (round and flat) and only flat basal forms are identified. There is evidence that tools were used in the production of the rims and bases and for smoothing and burnishing. An examination of the paste color lends further evidence of open-air firing. There appears to be minimal post-depositional movement of the colonoware and it was most likely deposited during the occupancy of Spring Hill Farm (as early as 1810-1861). It could have been intentionally placed on top of the foundation in a hollow section below the first floor along the south elevation and in the southwest corner of the structure, where the majority of the sherds were recovered.

Based on historical information, the number of enslaved Africans owned by Elizabeth Carter and Judith Henry, the quantity of the ware recovered, and a cursory examination of the colonoware collection from Portici/Pohoke, the colonoware at the Henry House site was most likely made and/or used by the enslaved or free Africans who lived and worked there.

Perhaps the most important conclusion drawn from this analysis is that the collection of colonoware at the Henry House site and across MANA begs for more in-depth research. An abundance of research topics and speculations about the meanings and uses of colonoware can be studied through these collections. The attributes recorded in this analysis are a starting point for future comparative research. These topics include but are not limited to: how colonoware factors into the economy and subsistence of enslaved and free African-Americans in this locale and/or region, the temporal and spatial spread of colonoware and/or use of colonoware in settlement pattern research, the use of these collections to determine individual potters and/or number of potters in this community, an examination of the technological production of colonoware, and an examination of the functional, traditional, and/or ritualistic meanings and uses of colonoware.

Despite the fact that more research is required to build evidence for the use of colonoware in traditional and/or religious practice in this area, the location of the ceramic and its association with other materials such as quartz at the Henry House site, in combination with suggestive data from other sites at MANA, indicates that this topic could be at the forefront of future research. Enslaved Africans may have traded colonoware to supplement their means or they possibly used the vessels in religious or ritualistic practice. The production of colonoware may have been a means to continue a traditional potting technique passed down through generations. These vessels possibly provided the most effective forms from which to eat foods prepared in a

traditional or known way. All of these potential uses are valid. Colonoware research continues to advance both theory and method in historical archeology in this locale, region, and across the discipline and ultimately helps us broaden our thinking and interpretations of life in historic communities.

## CHAPTER 4

### SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Mia T. Parsons

#### SUMMARY

Although this project generated from a need for archeological clearance for construction associated with the proposed use of the Henry House as a "Discovery Center," a great opportunity to perform a more in-depth research study was at hand. The Henry House stands as a prominent feature on the Battlefield, and volumes of Civil War accounts describe the site in relation to the First Battle of Manassas. Yet, little primary research has been conducted for the social history of the site prior to this project. This research project is not exhaustive, but rather focuses on specific questions about the site occupation. By combining the data collected through research with archeological results, a more reliable occupational history unfolds, providing valuable interpretative tools to Manassas National Battlefield Park.

Archeological testing at the Henry House focused on areas directly surrounding the extant Henry House in order to stay within the scope of the project, which emphasized clearance for a construction project. Based on information gained from previous excavations in 2001, several areas of interest were first tested. Portions of a Triassic sandstone foundation were recorded at several locations. The 28 x 30 ft foundation is identified as the remnants of the dwelling at Spring Hill Farm. The dimensions of the house are more substantial than the typical two-room dwelling of this time. It is not certain when the original house was constructed, but it may have been built when the property was leased before 1810. Along with a solid southwest corner, traces of the southeast and northeast corner are recorded. In addition, sections of the south and east foundation walls remain.

The base of a large Triassic sandstone chimney was located on the north elevation of the structure. Based on Civil War era photographs, this chimney appears to have had a double fireplace on the main floor, heating both an east and west room of a double-cell, hall and chamber house. The wartime sketches featuring the Henry House support the premise that the house type was a one and one half story, two-room plan. Although these houses have been typically referred to as hall and parlor, architectural research contends that the prevailing two-room houses in Virginia were hall and chamber. The difference simply being that instead of a parlor, the second room was used as bed chambers (Camille Wells, 2002 personal communication, Upton 1982, and Gilliam 1998).

The foundations located at the Henry House site represent a house that had three different occupational periods. The individuals associated with the early tenancy of the farm were Joseph Brown, and father and son, George, and John King. It is not known when and for how long these leasees remained at Spring Hill Farm, the records for the original lease have not been located. There is record that John King purchased two enslaved Africans in 1801, indicating that he may have been on the farm at this time.

There is documentation that Elizabeth Carter owned and occupied the farm from as early as 1810 to the time of her death in 1822. Elizabeth Carter was a member a family whose success and prominence were paramount during the preceding century. By the early nineteenth century, when Elizabeth moved to Spring Hill Farm from her fathers Pittsylvania Plantation, the large tracts of land held by the Carter family was being divided into smaller tracts, where plantations and farms were developed. Crops, such as wheat, rye, and corn were grown during Elizabeth Carter's occupancy and evidence of animal husbandry, such as cattle, sheep, hogs, turkeys, ducks, and chickens, as listed on the inventory of her accounts of her estate. The farm was undoubtedly worked by enslaved laborers owned by Carter. Personal property tax lists indicate that Elizabeth Cater owned from as few as 3 enslaved Africans in 1821 to as many as 23 at the time of her death in 1822.

The deed to Spring Hill Farm was conveyed to Elizabeth Carter's sister and brother-in-law, Judith and Isaac Henry, in 1822. The Henry family moved to Spring Hill Farm around 1825. Financial difficulties tied to claims against Elizabeth Carter's estate plagued the family. The debt was not cleared by the time of Isaac Henry's death in 1829. It was not until 1836 when her sister Elizabeth's estate was finally settled that Judith Henry gained free and clear title to Spring Hill Farm. At this time the property was divided and sold. Judith Henry purchased 100 acres of the property, including the house.

Small-scale farming continued at Spring Hill Farm during Isaac and Judith Henrys occupancy. Five enslaved laborers were recorded in personal property lists from 1825 to 1829. The number of enslaved laborers dropped to zero in 1831 and fluctuated between zero and two until the Civil War. One enslaved laborer was recorded on the property at the time of First Manassas.

It was during the Battle of First Manassas that the house was badly damaged to the point of destruction. Many Civil War accounts detail the fighting that took place directly on the property and one of the repeatedly told tales is that of the civilian casualty of the battle, that of Judith Henry. She was the last occupant of the Spring Hill Farm house.

A combination of research and archeological excavations ties individuals with place at the Henry House/Spring Hill Farm site. In addition, the collection and analysis of artifacts allows for additional interpretation and creates opportunities for comparative analysis and future research. The large quantity as well as placement of colonoware ceramics on the site triggered a more in-depth analysis. The identification of the minimum number of unique colonoware vessels was performed through the process of sorting, mending, and comparison of sherds, based on distinctive attributes. The attributes recorded provide information about the form and function of these vessels, how were they made, and what kinds of decisions the potter may have made concerning style and based on technological knowledge. Ten vessels, including small shallow bowls, large bowls, deep bowls and small bowls and one tobacco pipe are identified in this analysis.

The minimum number of vessels, number of mends, sherd numbers, provenience, percent complete, and spalling (small fragments broken from the face or edge of a material), can provide information on location and/or post-depositional movement. At the Henry House site, there is minimal post-depositional movement. In most cases, a number of sherds were recovered from the same provenience and mends were made for 52 % of the collection. There were no cross-mends between provenience. Almost all of the colonoware was collected from the area around the south foundation

wall of Spring Hill Farm house. The vessels may have been intentionally placed on top of the foundation in a hollow section below the floorboards.

Unfortunately, there was not enough stratification of deposits on the site to distinguish periods of occupation. Further hampering interpretations is the fact that portions of the site's integrity has been compromised by destructive means, such as the bombardment of the farm during First Manassas, the construction of the Henry House in the 1870s/1880s, and later work performed on the property, including early NPS-era utility installation. However, based on other artifacts found within the same megarata as the colonoware, it is surmised that the collection dates from the late eighteenth to the mid nineteenth century.

The colonoware analysis is a starting point for future comparative research. Potential topics include but are not limited to: how colonoware factors into the economy and subsistence of enslaved and free African-Americans in this locale and/or region, the temporal and spatial spread of colonoware and/or use of colonoware in settlement pattern research, the use of these collections to determine individual potters and/or number of potters in this community, an examination of the technological production of colonoware, and an examination of the functional, traditional, and/or ritualistic meanings and uses of colonoware.

Finally, the archeological excavations at the Henry House provide some Section 106 clearance for the proposed "Discovery Center." Several abandoned utility line trenches were discovered during excavations. The recommendation was made to MANA to reuse these existing trenches for the installation of future utilities, in order to minimize the impact of construction on the site. Steps were taken to trace and mark the existing waterline from the Henry House to the Henry Hill Visitor Center. All new utilities will be installed within this existing trench line. It was unclear at the time of this study whether the "Discovery Center" project included the installation of restroom facilities in the existing shed on the property. This issue was unresolved, so no testing was performed since excavations would involve removing the structure and its concrete slab floor. If the decision is made to proceed with the restroom installation, testing will be necessary for Section 106 clearance. No other ground-disturbing activities are anticipated for the construction project. However, if unforeseen excavation is necessary in areas that have not been archeologically tested, consultation with NPS or other professional archeologists is required.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The archeological excavations at the Henry House yielded a great deal of information from such a small area of coverage. This study was concentrated in the area immediately surrounding the extant Henry House in order to provide clearance, as well as explore several features that were exposed during previous excavations. This study was, by no means a true sampling of the site. The stratigraphy over the project areas was somewhat limited and at times compromised by previous ground-disturbing activities at the site. In all likelihood, the area covered by this study represents the most disturbed soils across the site. A great deal of information remains to be found, especially concerning the spatial arrangement of the landscape. Based on the current knowledge of Spring Hill Farm, it is recommended that future studies concentrate on locating and identifying the dependencies, vegetation patterns, and other landscape features on the property. There is a good possibility that the foundations to or other features associated with outbuilding remain. If quarters for enslaved laborers are present, the location and analysis of material culture associated with the dwelling(s) will provide additional data within which to interpret the lives and relationships of African-Americans in this historic community. Although locating and identifying the foundations of Spring Hill Farm house was a success, a true picture of the site is incomplete without a more intensive study of the outlying areas.

Excavations at the Henry House site reveal two significant resource types, material culture and architectural features. These elements, combined with the historical research provide data for diverse interpretation of the site, beyond its Civil War context. The data compiled during this study offers many possibilities for comparative research with other sites across Manassas National Battlefield Park and beyond. From early tenancies established in the eighteenth century through post bellum occupation and use of the property as a Civil War museum, this site contains clues to many untold stories. As more research and analysis is performed, these stories will unfold.



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APPENDIX I  
LONDON CARTER'S WILL

Item 6<sup>th</sup>. I bequeath to my beloved Daughter Elizabeth Carter & her heirs forever, the following Clause, to wit, Peter & Sukey his wife with all their Children, and also a negro Girl named Jenny.

Item 7<sup>th</sup>. I bequeath to my beloved Daughter Margaret Carter & her heirs forever, the following Clause viz George, & Charlotte, his wife with all their children and a Girl named Judah

Item 8<sup>th</sup>. I bequeath to my beloved Daughter Judith Carter and & her heirs the following Slaves. to wit. Mimah, Nutty [Nutty?] and Kitte. Item 9<sup>th</sup>. I bequeath to my beloved Daughter Mary Bruce, in addition to what I have heretofore given her, a negroe Woman named Lucy, to her and her heirs forever. Together with the sum of three hundred pounds, to be paid in the course of a year or two after the Sum of one thousand pounds is paid to each of the Sisters as above directed, or Sooner if my Executors find it convenient. Item 10<sup>th</sup>. I bequeath to my grand son Landon Bruce a negro boy called Meredith (son of Will) also a negro woman called Katy (and) [454] And her Child. Item 11<sup>th</sup>. I bequeath to my Grand Son John Bruce, a Negro Boy named [Nassence?] Son of Will

Item 12<sup>th</sup>. I bequeath to my Grand Daughter Eliza Bruce a negro Girl named Becky Daughter of Sukey~

Item 13<sup>th</sup>. I bequeath to my Grand Daughter Judith Bruce a Negro Girl named Betty Daughter of Sukey. Item 14<sup>th</sup>. I bequeath to my Grand Daughter Eleanora Bruce a Negro Girl named Sophia Daughter of Lucy. Item 15<sup>th</sup>. My Will and desire is that the following Slavese viz. Old Will & his wife Betty & his Daughter Sukey, before loaned to my Daughter in Item 5<sup>th</sup>. whilst they remain Single, Should when my Daughter mary, be at liberty to Chuse a master among my four Sons, in which I wish them to be Gratified~ Item 16<sup>th</sup>. It is my will and desire that my Whole Estate be liable to the payment of my [Last?] Debts and that the Crop on hand at my decease be applied as far as it will go to that purpose, and what may then remain unpaid to be paid Equally by my four Sons Wormly, John, Moore, and Charles Carter ~ Lastly I constitute and appoint my beloved Sons Wormly, John, Moore, and Charles Executors of this my last will and Testament, at the Same time recommending



to them harmony and fraternal Regard in the  
Devison of the property and Estate herein before  
devison to them: and above all (which I am sure they  
will observe) every attention and tenderness towards  
their Sisters

In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscri-  
bed my name and affixed my Seal this 19<sup>th</sup> day of  
Jan<sup>y</sup>. 1798.

Landon Carter {seal}

[455]

Signed and acknowledged as his  
Last Will and Testament in presence of

Charles Marshall

John King

Thomas Marshall

William King

Nathaniel King

Item [18<sup>th</sup>?] Should it hereafter appear that I have any Wright  
Title to Land in the County of Louden (now the town of  
Leesburgh) it is my express will & desire that the Same  
be equally divided amongs my four Sons Wormly, John,  
Moore F & Charles L Carter and their Heirs for  
ever. In Witness whereof I hereunto affix my hand  
& Seale, It is to be understood that this Clause is not  
to have any effect upon the Lands which I have  
heretofore peaceably possessed in the County of Lowden  
which was devised in the first Item, but is only to  
apply to such Lands as I am hereafter to be adju=  
dged entitled to in the County of Louden under the  
will of my father: Witness my hand & Seal the 20<sup>th</sup> day  
January one thousand Seven hundred and ninety Eight

Signed Sealed published and

[pro?]nounced in presence of

Landon Carter {seal}

Charles Marshall

Thomas Marshall

John King

William King

Nathaniel King

At a Court held for Prince William County the

6<sup>th</sup> day of July 1801

This last will and Testament of Landon Carter (dec<sup>d</sup>.)

[456] Deceased was presented to the Court by Wormly Carter, John F Carter, Moore F. Carter, and Charles L. Carter Executors therein named who made oath thereto according to Law and the Said Will being proved by the oaths of John King and Nathaniel King was ordered to be recorded and the Said Executors having performed what is usual in Such cases certificate is granted them for Ataining a probate thereof in due form.

Teste

John Williams [Cllur?]

APPENDIX II.

1822 DEED FROM ELIZABETH CARTER'S EXECUTORS TO ISAAC HENRY

Deed: Elizabeth Carter's Executors to Isaac Henry and Wife  
(Deed Book 9: 118-120)

This Indenture made this four=  
=tenth day of October in the year of our Lord  
one thousand eight hundred and twenty two  
between Robert H. Hooe and Robert Hamilton  
Executors of Elizabeth Carter deceased of Virginia  
of the one part and Isaac Henry of the State  
of Pennsylvania of the other part Witnesseth that  
the said Robert H. Hooe and Robert Hamilton  
Executors of Elizabeth Carter Deceased for and in  
Consideration of the sum of Three thousand three  
hundred & Eighty two Dollars to them in hand  
paid the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged They  
the said Robert H. Hooe and Robert Hamilton  
(Executors of Elizabeth Carter Dec<sup>d</sup>.) have bargained  
& sold by these presents do bargain and sell  
unto him the said Isaac Henry his Heirs and  
assigns all that tract or parcel of land situate  
lying & being in the County of Prince William  
being a part of a larger tract formerly held by  
Robert Carter of Nomony, and usually called his  
Bull run tract and leased by the said Robert  
[119] Carter to Joseph Brown and which lease was transfer  
red to George King and by his son John King to the said  
Elizabeth Carter and bordered as followeth Viz Begining  
for the same at a spanish Oak marked R.C. on muddy  
lick branch thence south sixteen and an half East one  
hundred and sixty two poles to a red oak Thence north  
seventy seven degrees East two hundred and ten poles to  
a Hickory on a hill side on the north side of Black=  
=burns branch Thence north sixteen and an half  
degrees West to muddy lick branch Thence up the said  
branch with its several meanders to the Begining Con=  
=taining Three hundred and thirty acres of land  
be the same more or less together with all ways water  
water [sic] courses Tenements Hereditaments and appur=  
=tenances thereunto belonging To have and to Hold  
the aforesaid Land with the appurtenanance together  
with all Rents & Profits due therefrom unto him the  
said Isaac Henry his Heirs and assigns for ever -  
And the said Robert H. Hooe and Robert Hamil  
=ton Executors of Elizabeth Carter for themselves  
and their Heirs Covenant promise and agree  
to and with the said Isaac Henry his Heirs and

assigns that on the day of the date hereof he has full power and lawful authority to sell and convey the same and that the right and title in and to the same with every part and parcel thereof They the said Robert H. Hooe and Robert Hamilton Executors of Elizabeth Carter and their Heirs will forever warrant and defend against all persons claiming under the said Elizabeth Carter defend against unto him the said Isaac Henry and his assigns for ever – In Witness whereof the said Robert H. Hooe and Robert Hamilton Executors of Elizabeth Carter have hereunto set their hands & seals the day and year above written.

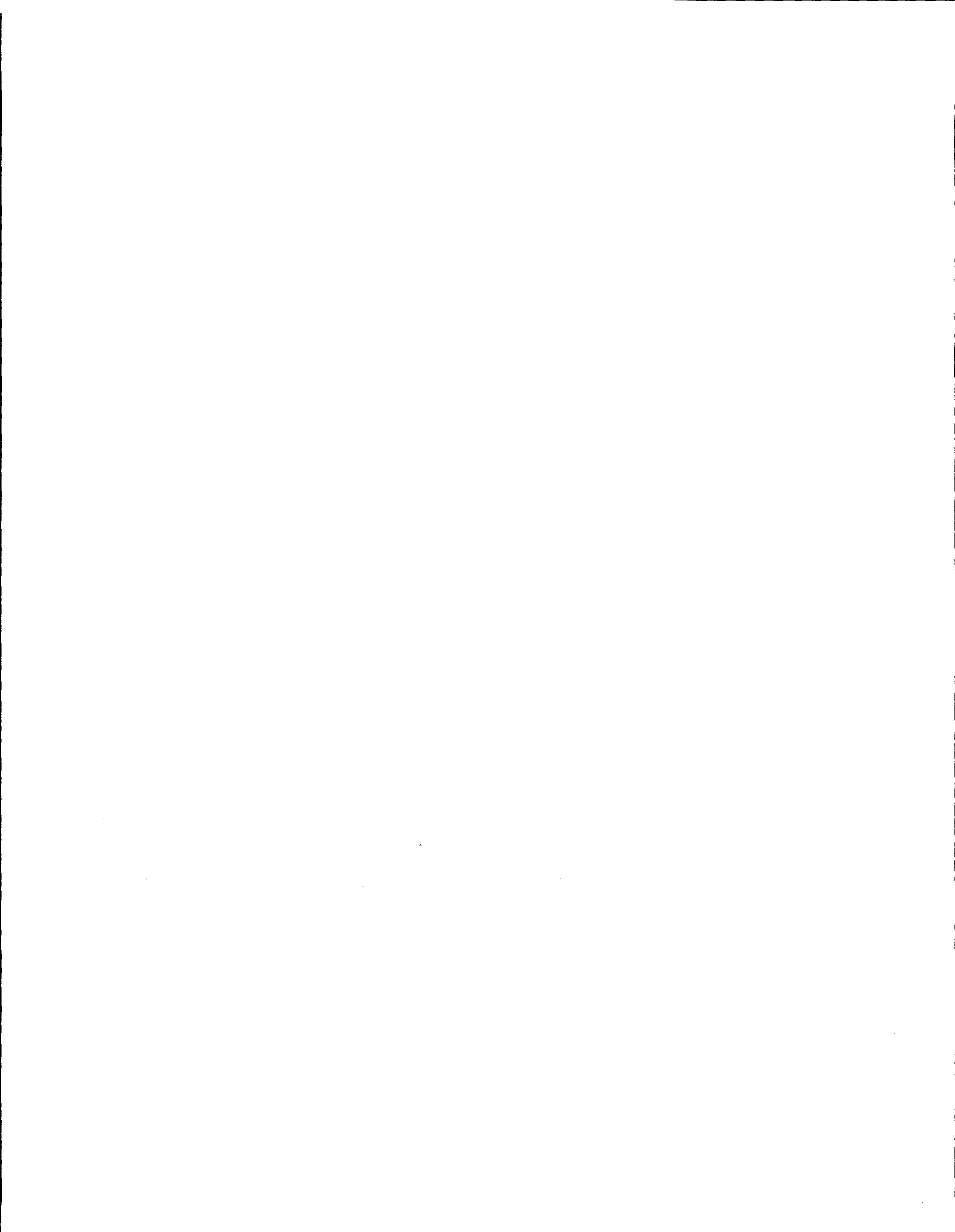
Signed sealed and delivered

in presence of  
Richard H. Carter  
Addison B. Carter  
James A. Pagit

R. H. Hooe {seal}  
Rob<sup>t</sup>. Hamilton {seal}

At a [sic] of Quarterly Sessions held for Prince William County June 2<sup>d</sup>. 1823. This deed from Rob<sup>t</sup>. H. Hooe & Rob<sup>t</sup>. Hamilton Exo<sup>rs</sup>. of Elizabeth Carter dec<sup>d</sup>. to Isaac Henry & wife was ack<sup>d</sup>. by Rob<sup>t</sup>. Hamilton & proved by the oaths of Rich<sup>d</sup>. H. Ca[rd?] & James A. Pagit [120] & ordered to be cerified and At a Court of Quarterly Sessions Cont<sup>d</sup>. and held for the said County June 5<sup>th</sup> 1823. This said deed from Rob<sup>t</sup>. H. Hooe and Rob<sup>t</sup>. Hamilton Executors of Elizabeth Carter dec<sup>d</sup>. to Isaac Henry & wife was fully proved by the oath of Addison B. Carter & ordered to be recorded.

Teste P. D. Dawe [A? Cur?]



APPENDIX III

PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY CENSUS RECORDS 1810-1920

Census Records 1810-1920

1790 and 1800 censuses are lost for Prince William Co.

- 1810 Elizabeth Carter White Female 26-45 years of age; 12 slaves.  
Joseph Brown (#1) White Male 45 and older; White Male 16-26.  
Joseph Brown (#2) White Male 26-45; WM 10-16; 2 WM 01-10; WF 26-45; 3 WF 0-10; 4 slaves.  
John King
- 1820 Betsy Carter White Female over 45 years of age; 20 slaves (10 Male Slaves: 5 0-14; 2 14-26; 2 26-45; 1 45 and up. 10 Female Slaves: 6 0-14; 2 14-26; 1 26-45; 1 45 and up).
- 1830 John Henry White Male 10-15; White Male 15-20; White Male 20-30; White Female 15-20; White Female 50-60; 5 slaves (1 Male Slave 55-100; 4 Female Slaves: 1 0-10; 1 10-24; 2 55-100).
- 1840 Judith Henry 6 persons in household: White Female 60-70; White Female 20-30; Male Slave 55-100; Female Slave 55-100; 2 Female Slaves under 10.
- 1850 Judith Henry age 74, White Female, born in Virginia; Ellen, age 43, White Female, born in Virginia; Hugh F., age 39, White Male, born in Virginia.
- 1860 Ellen Henry age 52; Judith, age 82; John (teacher), age 35; Mary E., age 31; Ida L., age 3; Arthur L., age 1. Post Office listed as Groveton.
- 1870 Ellen Henry age 61, occupation: house-keeping; Edwin J. Carter age 41, white male, occupation: farmer; Sarah J. Carter, age 48, white female; Virginia N. Carter, age 30, white female; Arthur L. Henry, age 14, white male; Hugh F. Henry, age 9, white male.
- 1880 Arthur Lee age 21, white male, farmer; Hugh F., Jr., age 18, white male, brother; Ellen P.M., age 13, white female, sister.
- 1890 **Census records destroyed.** (H.F. Henry, Sr. listed as paying personal property taxes in that year. Info from Thrasher 1998. see bibliography).
- 1900 Arthur Henry white male, [born November 1858]; Hugh, white male, [born January 1861] Note: Info. in brackets provided by compiler/annotater for genealogical purposes.



1910 Arthur L. age 51, white male; Elnora P., age 35, white female; Robert M., age 4, white male; Judith C., age 3, white female.

1920 Arthur [Lee] Henry white male, age 61, farmer, born in Virginia [d.1939]; Elna [Page], white female, age 44, born in Virginia, [daughter of Herrell]; Robert N., white male, age 14 born in Virginia, [moved to Newport News]; Judith [Constance], white female, age 12, [died 24 September 1943]; Edward [Newman], white male, age 8, [U.S. Army 1940].  
Note: Info. in brackets provided by compiler/annotater for genealogical purposes.



APPENDIX IV  
INVENTORY OF ELIZABETH CARTER'S ESTATE

Inventory: Elizabeth Carter (Will Book L: 510-513)

Agreeably to an Order of the County Court made the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of September 1822 for the appraisment of the Estate of Elizabeth Carter dec<sup>d</sup> we the subscri=bers being first duly sworn have made the follow=ing appraisment to wit

1 Negro man Alfred	\$ 400
1 D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> Billy	400

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1 D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> Peter	150
1 D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> Marshall	500
1 D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> Jack	500
1 negro Boy George	250
1 D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> Beverly	350
1 D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> Harrison	250
1 D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> Davy	225
1 D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> Alexander	150
1 D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> Marshall	150
1 negro woman Sukey	100
1 negro Girl Sarah	330
1 D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> Betsey	180
1 D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> Maria	225
1 D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> Nancy	125
1 D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> Betsey	145
1 D <sup>o</sup> Clary & child Jenny	400
1 D <sup>o</sup> Lucy & child Mary	400
1 D <sup>o</sup> [F?]anny & child Marthy	250
	<u>5480</u>

Stock

1 Sorrel mare	35.00
1 Sorrel horse	10.00
1 old bay horse	10.00
1 Colt	15.00
1 large Steer	25.00
1 small white cow	8.00
1 small Red Do & calf	10.00
1 small white & Red	4.00
1 white spotted Do	8.00

1 Red & white Do	8.00
1 Brindle & white Heefe	5.00
1 Red & white Do	6.00
12 Sheep	18.00
5 Shoats	10.00
1 Black sow	4.00
1 Red sow	4.00
3 Small shoats	4.00

[512]

Produce

2 Stack & 1 shock of wheat (say 60 bushels	45.00
Rye say 5 bushells at 50 [cents]	2.50
Rye in the straw & Flax	1.00
Fodder	15.00
corn (supposed 60 barrels at 2.50	

1 Grind Stone	.25
3 Scythes & Cradles	3.00
4 Ploughs	4.00
4 Hilling Hoes & 1 Grubbing D <sup>o</sup>	1.50
2 pair Traces & 3 Collars & lock chain	4.00
1 Lot of Iron	1.00
2 axes	1.00
3 Barrels	1.50
2 Spining wheels & cards	4.50
1 Lot of crockery ware &c	5.00
1 Table & can	1.50
3 Empty Barrells Basketts & 15 lbs woolen yarn	8.00
1 white & Blue coverlaid yarn	4.00
1 D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> cotton	3.00
1 canopy	2.00
1 cotton Bed Quilt	2.00
1 white fig <sup>d</sup> . Cotton counterpain	3.00
1 cotton Table (Huckaback)	1.50
3 pair cotton sheets (\$2 p <sup>r</sup> . paid	6.00
2 pillow cases (25 [cents]	.50
1 cotton counterpain (m <sup>[s<sup>7</sup>]</sup> &c)	3.00
1 Bible	6.00
1 Beureau	10.00
1 cherry Bed stead	5.00
1 cart & yoke	15.00
Turkeys (30)	12.00
Ducks (8)	1.28

W<sup>m</sup>. Robinson  
R Newman

[513]

Garner Fortune  
Henry Dogan

At a Court held for Prince William County Jan<sup>y</sup>. 6<sup>th</sup> 1823  
This Inventory & appraisment of the Estate of  
Elizabeth Carter dec<sup>d</sup>. was returned to the Court  
and ordered to be recorded.

Teste P. D. Dawe [A: Cur: ?]

APPENDIX V

ACCOUNT OF ELIZABETH CARTER'S ESTATE WITH ROBERT H. HOOE

Estate Account: Elizabeth Carter (Will Book M: 353-358)

	D'	The Estate of Elizabeth Carter Dec <sup>d</sup> .	
		In acc <sup>t</sup> . with Robert H. Hooe one of her Executors	
1821			
Jan <sup>y</sup> .	20	To balance due me by the Testatrix at the time of her death	122.24
1822			
Septr.	4	Cash paid Robert Hamilton amt of his son Roberts legacy	200
	"	Cash Judith Carter amt of her legacy	300
	8	" paid postage of a letter	.10
Octo	"	" paid printer for publishing adver= tisement and printing hand bills for the sale of the Estate	3.84
Novr	25	" paid for paper at Sale of the Estate	.12 ½
[354]			
	"	" paid Sheriff of Prince William for taxes levies and fee bills for 1822	48.74
	"	" paid [Lees?] Anthoney for Chickens had by the Testatrix in her life time	3.25
	"	" paid [?] Blacksmiths acct.	1.39
	"	" paid Bernard Hooe Senr Amount of his acct.	37.98
	"	By Cash received of E Taylor on acct. of a debt due the Estate	200.00
	"	" " received of Conrad for hire of a negro to work on road last fall	3.50
Decr.	23	To Cash paid Charles S Carter his proved account against the Estate	180.83
	24	" " E. L. Carter his Ditto	25.00
	"	" " Isaac Henry one of the leg= atees his order in favour of C.S. Carter	89.00
	"	" " Ditto this sum due to me by him in the division of the negroes	1.67
	"	" " Ditto Amt. of his bond to me for \$375.84 and Interest thereon from the	



	14th Octbo. 1822	380.46	
"	By Amt. received of Isaac Henry in part payment of land sold him Octo. 14th 1822		375.84
"	To Cash paid the Children for Mrs. Bruce their order in favor of R Hamilton	400.00	
"	" " John Bruce \$5 & \$15	20.00	
"	" " Ditto his order in favour of John Carter	128.53	
"	" " Eleanor Bruce	5.00	
26	By Cash received of Dy. Marshal Craig on acct. of Execution agt. C. S. & E Carter		<u>310.00</u>
	Amount	1948.15 ½	889.34

[355]  
1823

Januay 21	To Cash paid Judith Bruce	15.00	
March 8	" " postage on business of the Estate	.20	
"	By Am <sup>t</sup> . received on execution ag <sup>t</sup> . C. S. Carter & others		855.00
24	" Cash received of R Hamilt =on a Executor of Wormly Carter dec <sup>d</sup> .		30.00
April 7	" " D <sup>y</sup> . Marshall Craig		108.00
May 9	To " paid Negro Billy hire of a horse to plough last year	1.00	
24	By Cash received of D <sup>y</sup> . Mars hall Craig		30.00
Sept <sup>r</sup> . 13	" " " of Ditto		350.00
"	" Amount received of E. L. Carter		90.00
Dec <sup>r</sup> . 30	To Cash paid Doc <sup>t</sup> . Draper his account	2.00	

1825

Feb <sup>y</sup> . 16	" " paid John Lee am <sup>t</sup> . of his exon.	143.76	
"	" " " Commissioner Stone his fee in suit ag <sup>t</sup> . Carters Exors.	53.99	
"	" My half part of Cash pay		

		ment made Isaac Henry for land sold him	375.84	
"	"	My ½ part of the nett am <sup>t</sup> . received on Execution ag <sup>t</sup> . Carters Exors.	528.67	
"	"	Commission on \$2352.34. Amount of receipts credits in this acc <sup>t</sup> . @ 7 ½ per Cent	176.42	
"	"	" paid Commissioners fee for this Settlement and Reports	5.00	
<u>Balance due the Executor</u>				897.70
			3240.04	3240.04
1825	Feb <sup>y</sup> . 16	To Balance due the Exor. as above	897.70	

Brentsville May the 5<sup>th</sup> 1825  
In Obedience to the annexed Order of the County Court  
of Prince William I have examined the executorial account  
of Robert H Hooe one of the executors of Elizabeth Carter dec<sup>d</sup>.

[356]

upon the Estate of his testatrix and his vouchers in support  
thereof from which I have made up the foregoing state  
ment exhibited a balance in favor of the Executor of Eight  
hundred and ninety seven dollars and seventy cents.

I have rejected the following charges for expences  
incurred and losses sustained in attending the business  
of the Estate. Viz.

1822	Aug <sup>t</sup> . 15	To Cash paid Expences to Prince William on business for the Estate	1.37	
	Sep <sup>t</sup> . 5	To ditto Expences to Dumfries to gratify as Exor. under the Will and see the Marshall of the Chancery Court on business of the Estate	1.75	
	14	To ditto Expences to the marshall of the chancery Court and from thence to Warrenton to get notices served on the forfeited forthcoming bonds due from L. Carters Exor.	2.75	
1823	Janu <sup>y</sup> . 1	To ditto expences to Prince William at Sale of the Estate	1.75	

March	1	To ditto Expences to Fauquier Court in decb <sup>r</sup> 1822 and Jan <sup>y</sup> . & Feb <sup>y</sup> . 1823 on business of the Estate	9.00
	24	To ditto Expences to Fauquier Court on ditto	2.00
Ap <sup>l</sup> .	15	To ditto Expences to Prince William Court on D <sup>o</sup> .	2.00
May	7	To ditto Expences to the Marshall's on ditto	.75
Sep <sup>l</sup> .	2	To ditto Expences to Rector Town to attend a Sale	1.50
	12	To ditto to Fauquier Court on business of the Estate	2.87
Aug <sup>t</sup> .	7	To ditto to Prince William in July & Aug <sup>l</sup> . on D <sup>o</sup> .	2.00
1825			
Feb <sup>y</sup> .	9	To ditto to Prince William & Alexandria on ditto	2.50
March	1	To ditto to Prince William on ditto	1.50
	20	To ditto ditto ditto ditto	1.50
		To loss sustained in passing \$155 on notes of Pennsylvania & Maryland Banks	3.00
Ap <sup>l</sup> .	1	To Cash paid expences to Prince William on business of the Estate	<u>.75</u>
		Amounting to	36.99

Because such charges are not usually allowed by the Court but if the Court shall be of Opinion that he is entitled to any thing for extreordinary labour, trouble and Expences incurred in manageing the Concerns of the Estate of his Testatrix, more than the Commission [357] of 7 ½ per Cent, upon the amount of his receipts allowed in the foregoing statement they can allow those Charges or such of them as they may deem right or make Suitable Compensation in any way they think proper.

M<sup>r</sup> Robert H. Hooe has urged before me a claim for one moiety of the Commission heretofore allowed by the Court to Robert Hamilton the other Executor of Elizabeth Carter dec<sup>d</sup>. but I have not taken any notice of this Claim in making up my statement of his Executorial account, because, I conceive it has nothing to do with it and must be settled by the Executors themselves; if the Court shall be of different opinion they can make such order in relation to the said Claim as they may deem just and proper.

All such is respectfully reported.

M. B. Sinclair M. C.

\*Prince William County Court March 11 1825  
On the motion of Robert H. Hooe one

of the Exors. of Elizabeth Carter dec<sup>d</sup>. it is ordered that he do settle his Executorial account on the said Estate before Master Commissioner Sinclair, who is ordered to make report to the Court.

A Copy

Teste P. D. Dawe A [Cur?]

Statement and report Suppletory to that made on the 5 day of May 1825 in settling the Executorial Account of Robert H Hooe on the Estate of Elizabeth Carter dec<sup>d</sup>.

D<sup>r</sup>. The Estate of Elizabeth Carter dec<sup>d</sup>.

In account with R H Hooe one of her Executors

1822				
Sep <sup>t</sup> .	22	By Amount received from the debt due		
		by Carters Estate		500.00
Dec <sup>r</sup> .	24	" ditto from Ditto		400.00
1825				
May	5	To Commision on \$900 @ 7 ½ per Cent		67.50
		" Balance reported in favor of the Exor.		897.70
June	18	" Cash paid Clerk of the Chancery Court of		
		Fredericksburg his 3 fee bills		26.75
		" Cash paid Clerk of Stafford his fees		.70
	"	" " " postage on letter		.10
		Balance due the Exor.		92.75
			992.75	992.75
1825				
June	18	To Balance due the Exor. as above	92.75	

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Brentsville July 4<sup>th</sup> 1825

The Executor upon examining the statement made the 5<sup>th</sup> day of May 1825 discovered that he had omitted to give the Estate of his Testatrix a credit for the nine hundred Dollars above credited: and having since disbursed \$27.55 as appears by his vouchers I have at his request made this supple-  
 =tory statement shewing a balance of ninety two dollars  
 =seventy five cents due him instead of the balance reported  
 in the former Statement, which is not allowed, making

a total of \$37.99 which I have refused to pass to his credit  
in this settlement which is referd to the particular atten  
=tion of the Court

All of which is submitted to the Court

M. B. Sinclair M. C.

At a Court held for Prince William County July 4<sup>th</sup> 1825  
This Estate account of Elizabeth Carter dec<sup>d</sup>. was returned to  
the Court and ordered to lie over. And at a Court held for  
Prince William County the 5<sup>th</sup> day of September 1825  
This said Estate account of Elizabeth Carter dec<sup>d</sup>. was  
again exhibited to the Court and no exceptions being taken  
thereto the same is confirmed and ordered to be recorded.

Teste.

P. D. Dawe A[Cur?]



APPENDIX VI

ACCOUNT OF ELIZABETH CARTER'S ESTATE WITH ROBERT HAMILTON

Estate Account: Elizabeth Carter (Will Book M: 197-200)

D<sup>f</sup>. The Estate of Elizabeth Carter dec<sup>d</sup>. In account with  
Rob<sup>t</sup>. Hamilton one of her Exor<sup>s</sup>.

1822				
Octbo	14	By Cash received from sale of personal property sums under ten dollars		32.46½
"	"	Cash in part of the Cash payment of the Land, R. H. Hooe received the balance of this payment on settlement with I. Henry the purchaser		751.70
"	"	To am <sup>t</sup> . paid Isaac Henry his proportion of the first payment of the land sold this day	375.85	
"	"	Ditto John Bruce & sisters their ditto per their order in favor of Isaac Henry	375.85	
"	"	To Cash paid M <sup>c</sup> Intyre for advertising Sale	3.00	
"	26	To R. Hamilton the Exor. am <sup>t</sup> . of his account against the Estate	10.40	
"	"	To Cash paid A Millon for crying sale	3.00	
"	"	" John Bruce & sisters per their order in favor of A. Millon	15.00	
"	30	" Cash paid ditto per their order in favor of B. M. Lane	25.50	
Nov <sup>r</sup> .	13	By 32 Bushels of wheat estimated at 6p		32.00
"	"	To 32 Bushels of wheat paid W <sup>m</sup> . M. Lewis	32.00	
[198]				
"	"	" am <sup>t</sup> . paid Walter Ward[er?] for crying the Sale of Mare	.30	
Dec <sup>r</sup> .	2	" am <sup>t</sup> . paid B. Hooe Jr. in part of his acc <sup>t</sup> .	10.00	
"	"	By cash received for 4 Barrels of flour		20.20
"	10	Cash paid R Newman for his Services as as appraiser and Commissioner	3.00	
"	27	To am <sup>t</sup> . paid John Powell per acc <sup>t</sup> . & receipt	5.50	
"	8	" Am <sup>t</sup> . paid Samuel Grimes	3.50	
"	12	" Am <sup>t</sup> . of expences to Mount Vernon to collect the hire of Slaves from Judge Washington	3.00	
"	13	By Cash received of Judge Washington for hire of Slaves		130.00
"	"	To Cash paid in part of E Carters subscription to the Methodist Church	10.00	
Feb <sup>y</sup> .	4	" Amount paid Russel K Wigginton in part of his Execution against E Carter & security	130.00	
March	10	" Cash Paid F W Ball amt of his account	4.42	
"	"	" Cash paid Bob Robinson	.90	
"	"	" Cash paid R K. Wigginton in part, of his Exon.	55.00	



Aug <sup>t</sup> .		By am <sup>t</sup> . of Balance of personal property due the 14 <sup>th</sup> day of July		460.88
		Amounts of Debits & Credits	1066.42	1427.24
	5	To am <sup>t</sup> . paid Sheriff of Prince William in part of Wiggintons Exon.	7.00	
	6	" " Cash paid John Lee	2.68	
Sept <sup>r</sup> .	1	" " R K Wigginton on Exon.	10.00	
	13	" " Ditto on Ditto	13.90	
		" " T. Townshend for Baldwin	8.50	
		"Ditto for D <sup>r</sup> . Hereford	8.50	
Oct	14	By am <sup>t</sup> . of second payment of the land due this day and uncollected		1127.55
		To Cash paid P. D. Dawe his fee bill	1.32	
1824				
Jan <sup>y</sup> .	6	" " William Florence for D <sup>r</sup> . Little	5.30	
Feb <sup>y</sup> .	6	" " James A. Pagit & negro Sally	16.89	
March	30	" " G. W. Lane am <sup>t</sup> . of his Judgement against the Est.	51.15	
[199]				
June	30	" " Doc <sup>t</sup> . Lane am <sup>t</sup> . of his acct	2.00	
		" " George N Berkely...ditto	9.19	
		" " John Bruce & sisters by purcha ses at the sale	11.45	
		" " Isaac Henry by Ditto	7.80	
		" " Robert H. Hooe by Ditto	41.41	
		By am <sup>t</sup> . of third payment of the land due the 14 <sup>th</sup> of October next		1127.55
		To Commission on \$3682.34 ½ at 5 pr Ct am <sup>t</sup> . of rect <sup>s</sup> . & Bonds due from I. Henry	184.11 ¾	
		" Commission on \$1256.92 at 2 ½ pr Ct of Disbursements charged in this acc <sup>t</sup> .	31.42	
		To am <sup>t</sup> . of D <sup>r</sup> . Henry's Bonds credited above as 2 <sup>d</sup> & 3 <sup>d</sup> payments for the land	2255.10	
		Balance due R. Hamilton		51.20 ¼
			3733.54 ¾	3733.54 ¾

1824				
July	3 <sup>d</sup>	To balance due R Hamilton as above	51.20 ¼	
		By am <sup>t</sup> . of D <sup>r</sup> . Henrys Bonds not yet		

collected

2255.10

In obedience to the annexed order of the County Court of Prince William I have stated and settled the Executorial account of Robert Hamilton upon the estate of Elizabeth Carter deceased which is herto annexed + The disbursements are well supported by the vouchers exhibited and after allowing the Executor the usual Commission which is not more than adequate Compensation for his trouble in managing the affairs of the Estate of his testatrix so far as he has administered it. I find that the said Estate is now indebted to him in the sum of \$51.20  $\frac{1}{4}$  and that he has in his hands two Bonds from Isaac Henry each for the sum of \$1127.55 one of which was due on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of October 1823 and the other will become due on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of October next. Robert H Hooe the other Exor has not taken any step for the settlement of an account of his transactions relative to the Estate of the said Elizabeth Carter dec<sup>d</sup>. before me.

Fee for this statement and reports \$3.75

[200]

All which is respectfully submitted

M. B. Sinclair M. Comm<sup>sr</sup>

July 3<sup>d</sup> 1824

Prince William County Court April 5<sup>th</sup> 1824

On the motion of Robert H Howe and Robert Hamilton Executors of Elizabeth Carter dec<sup>d</sup>. it is ordered that they do settle their Executorial accounts before master Commissioner Sinclair

A Copy

Teste

P D Dawe [A Cur?]

At a Court held for Prince William County July the 5<sup>th</sup> 1824 and ordered to lie over and At a Court held for said County September the 6<sup>th</sup> 1824 This Estate account of Elizabeth Carter dec<sup>d</sup>. was presented to the Court and being examined is allowed and admitted to record

Teste

P. D. Dawe [A Cur?]

APPENDIX VII  
ELIZABETH CARTER'S WILL

Will: Elizabeth Carter (Will Book L: 477-479)

I Elizabeth Carter of Prince William County and State of Virginia, being at this time dangerously ill, but of sound mind and discretion, and feeling anxious that my estate after my decease, should be distributed according to my wishes, do make and ordain this my last will and Testamen=  
=t in manner and form following, that is to say. Imprimis, I desire that my Estate be kept together till Christmas next [478] for the purpose of finishing the crop now growing and collecting all my slaves together that are hired out, and when the crop is finished at the end of the year, I desire that my land may be sold by my Executors herein after named, on such credit as my said Executors may think best to increase the price, and the money arising from the said sale, as well as all my slaves, and every other discription of property that I own (except such as is herein after bequeathed) it is my will and desire shall be equally divided between my much beloved sisters Mrs. Robert Hooe, and Mrs. Henry, and the children of my deceased Sister Mrs. Bruce in equal portions, in which distribution (as it relates to the slaves) they are requested to divide the families in such a way as will occasion the least distress. Item. I direct that the money recove=  
=red by me of the Executors of my Father may be received by my Executor Mr. Hooe and when received may be divided equally as I have directed the other part of my Estate into three parts and paid over accordingly,  
Item I give and bequeath to my beloved neice Judith Carter as a mark of my affection for her, the sum of three hundred dollars.  
Item I give and bequeath to Robert Hamilton the son of Robert Hamilton the sum of two hundred dollars, which I beg he will accept in remembrance of me.

Lastly, I appoint my Brother in law Mr. Robert Hooe, and Mr. Robert Hamilton, Executors of this my last will and Testament, hereby revoking all other wills and establishing this as my last ~

In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed my seal this 5<sup>th</sup> day of August 1822.

Signed sealed and acknowledged as the  
{seal}  
last will and testament of Elizabeth Carter  
in the presence of  
J H Hooe

E Carter

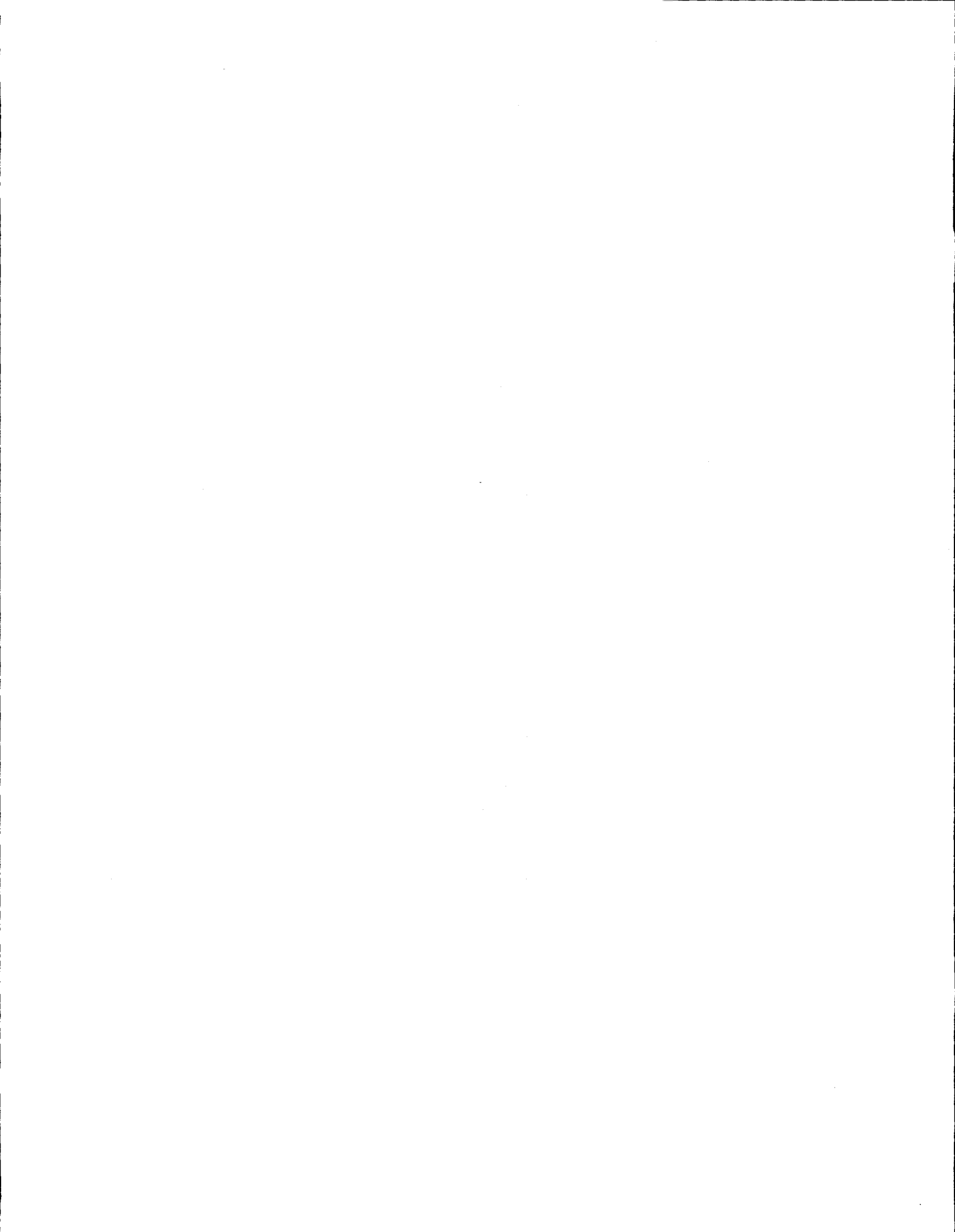
E Brooke  
Richard H. Carter

At a Court held for Prince William County, Sept. the 2<sup>nd</sup> 1822.  
This last will and testament of Elizabeth Carter dec<sup>d</sup>. was  
presented to the Court and the same being proved by the oaths  
[479] of Ja<sup>s</sup>. H Hooe & E. Brooke is ordered to be recorded and Rob<sup>t</sup>. Hooe  
and Rob<sup>t</sup>. Hamilton the Exors. therein named came into court  
and made oath to the same according to law, and having performed  
what is usual in such cases, certificate is granted there  
in for obtaining a probate thereof in due form.

Teste

P. D. Dawe [C?

House?]



APPENDIX VIII

ISAAC HENRY'S ESTATE ACCOUNT

Estate Account: Isaac Henry (Will Book N: 416-417)

D<sup>r</sup>.

The Estate of Isaac Henry dec<sup>d</sup>. In acct. with the administration[s?]

1829			
July	5 <sup>th</sup>	To cash paid Sheriff on Exon <sup>s</sup> .	\$50.00
	"	Postage acc <sup>t</sup> . on business for the Estate	1.00
Aug <sup>t</sup> .	3	Sheriff on Exon <sup>s</sup>	58.00
	10	D <sup>o</sup> . D <sup>o</sup> .	14.50
	19	D <sup>o</sup> . D <sup>o</sup> .	34.54
	27	Browns judgment to constable	7.10
Nov.	20	Tax acc <sup>t</sup> . for this year	17. 2
	"	Constable several Exons.	38.70
	"	Brawner for crying sale	1.50
1830	"	B. Newman for making coffin	15.00
June	7	Re[ads?] judgment	13.70
	18	Cost of warrant [vs?] [..horam?]	0.30
	"	Com <sup>n</sup> . \$373.47 @ 5 per cent	18.67
	"	Com <sup>n</sup> . \$251.36 @ 2 ½ per cent	6.28
	"	Bal. due the Estate	<u>97.16</u>
			373.47

1829	Contra		
July	5	By cash from sale of two young mares	50.00
Aug <sup>t</sup> .	3	D <sup>o</sup> . for cow ans steer sold	20.00
	"	D <sup>o</sup> . 49 ½ bushels wheat	38.00
	10	D <sup>o</sup> . sale of cow and heifers	14.50
1830	19	D <sup>o</sup> . 41 bu <sup>s</sup> . 29 <sup>[b?]</sup> wheat	34.54
May	20 <sup>th</sup>	am <sup>t</sup> of sales on the 20 <sup>th</sup> Nov. last and due this day not collected	211.95
June	"	sale of medicine and bal. of books	<u>4.48</u>
			<u>373.47</u>
July	24	by balance due the Estate as per contra	97.16

Pursuant to an order of the worshipfull County Court of Prince W<sup>m</sup>. bearing date the 7<sup>th</sup> June 1830 and hereto annexed and having been first duly sworn according to law we have examined and settled the above acct. and find a balance of nine=

ty seven dollars and 16 cent due the Es<sup>t</sup>. of Isaac He=  
nry dec<sup>d</sup>. by his administrator this 24<sup>th</sup> July 1830  
Jesse Ewell  
Peyton Norvill  
T. B. Hamilton



[417]

Prince William County Court June 7<sup>th</sup> 1830

On the motion of Robert Hamilton administrator of Isaac Henry dec<sup>d</sup>.  
It is ordered that Jesse Ewell senior Thomas B. Hamilton Peyton  
Norvill and Richard B. Tyler, or any three of them being first  
sworn do settle his administration account on the estate of his tes=  
tator and report to the Court. A Copy Teste

P. D. Dawe [A:?)

At a Court held for Prince William County the 7<sup>th</sup> day of May  
1832. This Estate account of Isaac Henry dec<sup>d</sup>. was presented to the  
[inserted between lines]: And at a court held for Prince William County the 7<sup>th</sup> day of May 1832.  
Court and ordered to lie over for exceptions.^ This Estate account of  
Isaac Henry dec<sup>d</sup>. which was ordered to lie over at August Court 1830  
was again presented to the Court, and it appearing that no excep=  
tions have been taken thereto it is ordered to be recorded.

Teste P. D. Dawe [A: Cur:?)



APPENDIX IX

ACCOUNT OF SALES OF ISAAC HENRY'S ESTATE

Account of Sale: Isaac Henry (Will Book N: 264-266)

Account of sales of the Estate of Isaac Henry dec<sup>d</sup>.  
 which took place on the 20<sup>th</sup> November 1829 on a credit of 6 months.

1 Cow	7.50	James Florance
1 Dutch plough	.26	W <sup>m</sup> . H. Dogan
1 double shovel D <sup>o</sup> .	.26	M <sup>rs</sup> . Henry
2 Small shovels	.35	W <sup>m</sup> . H. Dogan
2 Grubing Hoes	.50	Ja <sup>s</sup> . D. Tennelle
2 broad & 1 Grub. Hoes	.66	J. Henry
1 Barshear plough	1.16	R. Hamilton
2 Whiskey barrels	.49	Ja <sup>s</sup> . Pollock
1 Hammer & Chisel	.41	John Bowen
1 old hand saw	. 6 ¼	Ja <sup>s</sup> . Pollock
1 auger & drawing knife	.86	J. Henry
2 Halters & chain	.50	John Bowen
1 pair Gear	.50	J. Henry
1 Collar & chains	.38	Tho <sup>s</sup> . Davis
1 mould board & car[...?] plough	.25	Tho <sup>s</sup> . P. Hooe
Books		
Cammels Pulpit Eloquence	1.25	John Bowen
Letters to Blanton	.80	John Lee
History of Inquisition	1.51	John Bowen
Scotish adventures	.35	Tho. P. Hooe
Nicholson Chymostroy	.75	John Bowen
Dictionary of Arts	4.75	John Lee
Illustration of Prophecy	2.00	John Bowen
Cicero's Letters	.30	Tho. P Hooe
Newtons Works	3.35	John Bowen
History of the World	4.00	Tho. P. Hooe
Boyles Works	7.30	John D. Dogan
Se[b?]i[...?]s Works	4.25	Tho. P. Hooe
Brainards life	.30	Do. Do.
Father	1.27	Wm. J. Weldon
Confession of Faith	.25	G. H. Carter
Letters of Pope Clement	1.30	Do. Do.
Cooks last Voyages	2.50	A. B. Carter
Gil Blas	.85	C. C. Cushing
Josephus History	3.10	John D. Dogan
Junius Poems	.31	Wesley D. Wheeler

Memoirs of Sully	1.25	A. B. Carter
Robertsons History of Charles 5	2.25	Do. Do.
Millers retrospect	.85	G. H. Carter
Spirit of Laws	1.00	A B. Carter
Gills body of Divinity	1.30	John Bowen
American Monitor	.50	Do. Do.
Account of Cas[ius?]	.55	C. C. Cushing
Atlas	.50	A. B. Carter
Complete Astronomy	.62	Richd. Newman
Clarks Marlyology	.90	B. Mathers
Plutarcks Si[ves?]	2.80	John Henry
Barckleys Appology	.15	Jas. Florance
Common sense by Pain	.37	Wesley D. Wheeler
[265]		
Essays in the Stage	.12 ½	Tho. P. Hooe
C[...?]ns Collections	.12	G. H. Carter
North Britton	.30	C. C. Cushing
Lolands History	2.10	Tho. P. Hooe
Pens Maxims	.30	John Bowen
Life of Catherine	.55	C. C. Cushing
Bostons fourfold state	.75	John Bowen
Vaninass's Geargraphy	.25	Wm. J. Weldon
Cases of Contience	.25	B. Hutchison
Roses History	.21	Do. Do.
U. S. Constitution	.30	T. B. Sinclair
Crusades	.25	Richd. Newman
Burk on Revolution	.25	G. H. Carter
Durham on Do.	.15 ½	Tho P. Hooe
Pierces on Epistles	.30	Do. Do.
[L?]ims Guide	.30	John Lee
Ewings Sermons	.51	John Bowen
Bowmans review	.12 ½	Tho P. Hooe
Lelands View	.25	Do. Do.
Cicero on old age	. 4	Richd. Newman
Zemamon on Solitude	.37 ½	John Williams
Sacramental Selections	.16	Wesley D. Wheeler
Use of the Globes	. 6 ¼	R. Newman
Life of Homer	.30	G H Carter
Military Guide	.12 ½	Tho. P. Hooe
Attonement	. 6 ¼	C. C. Cushing
P[u?]daulgh Connection	1.00	John Henry
History of Revolution	.10	G. H. Carter
Naval Cronical	.12 ½	Tho. P. Hooe
Weekley Magazine	.80	Wm. P. Cundiff
Kenadys Chronology	.25	Tho. P. Hooe
Akins Letters	.28	John Williams

Fletchers appeal	.40	Rob. Hamilton
Cullins Practice	.30	G. H. Carter
Harveys Letters	.15	Rob. Hamilton
Greenes history	.12 ½	C. C. Cushing
Bishops of Ireland	.25	Tho. P. Hoee
1 Horse Cart	11.20	John Anderson
5 Windsor Chairs	1.00	J. Henry
4 Mahogany Chairs	1.00	Do. Do.
1 Bed Bedstead and furniture	10.00	Do. Do.
1 Mahogany table	5.00	Do. Do.
1 Mahogany tea table	5.00	Do. Do.
3 Tea trays	1.00	Do. Do.
1 Bed Bedstead & furniture	10.00	Do. Do.
3 trunks	2.00	Do. Do.
1 Press Tea and dining china	2.00	Do. Do.
[266]		
1 Press and drawers	9.00	John Bowen
1 Looking Glass	.50	J. Henry
1 sett of Casters	3.00	Do. Do.
2 Candlesticks	.26	Do. Do.
4 Cuts or Saints	.25	Do. Do.
1 large Do.	.25	Do. Do.
2 Glass tumblers	.12 ½	Do. Do.
2 Cotton Counterpains & Sheets	1.50	Do. Do.
2 pair of andirons	1.00	Do. Do.
1 Shovel and Tongs	.65	Do. Do.
1 Tea kettle	.25	Do. Do.
1 Box knives & coffee pot	.76	Do. Do.
1 Saddle	.50	Do. Do.
7 Hogs and 2 pigs	7.00	Do. Do.
2 Axes	.52	Do. Do.
1 Spinning Wheel	.77	Do. Do.
1 Scythe & cradle	1.25	Do. Do.
1 Scythe & cradle	0[?].30	J. Henry
Lott kitchen furniture	5.	Do.
1 Cow	5.50	Do.
10 Barrels Corn	11.50	Wm. H. Dogan
10 do. do.	10.70	J. Henry
10 do. do.	11. 6	Do.
1 Stack fodder & blades	. 5	Do.
1 Sorrel Mare	6.00	Do.
1 Bay Do.	5.00	Do.
	\$211.95	
Medicine & bale of books sold for cash	4.48	
1 of the Horses appraised to \$12		

died before the sale.  
1 yearling appraised to \$4 killed  
for the use of the family

Rob. Hamilton adm<sup>r</sup>. of  
Isaac Henry Dec<sup>d</sup>.

At a Court of Quarterly Sessions for Prince William County  
the 2<sup>d</sup> day of August 1830. This account of Sales of the estate  
of Isaac Henry dec<sup>d</sup>. was presented to the Court & admitted to record

Teste

P. D. Dawe [A: Cur?]





APPENDIX X  
JUDITH HENRY'S WILL

Will: Judith Henry (Will Book R: 267)

I Judith Henry make this my last will and testament.

I desire my funeral expenses and all my just debts to be paid by my Executor hereinafter named as soon as it may be convenient for him after my death and for that purpose I hereby bind my entire estate both real and personal.

Item. I give and bequeath to my son John Henry my sorrell mare.

Item. I give and bequeath to my son Hugh F. Henry my colt. the colt of the mare given above to my son John.

Item. I give and bequeath to my daughter Ellen P. M. Henry the land on which I reside together with all the stock Implements and Household and Kitchen furniture.

And lastly I appoint my son Hugh F. Henry sole executor of this my last will and testament revoking all former wills made by me and desire the Court not to require security of him as my executor.

In testimony of which I hereto set my hand and seal this 24<sup>th</sup> day of Dec. 1860.

Signed, sealed, published  
& delivered as the last will  
& testament by the testatrix  
in our presence and in the  
presense of each other

J B Grayson  
John D. Dogan

Judith Henry {seal}

At a court held for Prince William County on the 6<sup>th</sup>  
day of January 1862.

This last will and testament of Judith Henry dec<sup>d</sup>. was  
presented to the Court and ~~ordered~~ being proved by John B Grayson and  
John D. Dogan the subscribing witnesses thereto is ordered to be  
recorded.

Teste

P. D. Lipscomb clerk

A Copy. Teste P. D. Lipscomb clk.

At a Quarterly Court held for Prince William County August 6 1866  
The last will and testament of Judith Henry deceased  
was presented to the Court and it appearing that the book  
in which said will was heretofore recorded has been lost or destroyed it is ordered  
that the said will be recorded again.

Teste

W. B. Sinclair Clk.

APPENDIX XI

HUGH FAUNTLEROY HENRY, SR.'S WILL

Will: Hugh Fauntleroy Henry, Sr. (Will Book V: 233-234)

I Hugh Fauntleroy Henry S<sup>r</sup>. being of Sound Mind deliberately make this my Will and testament, I give to my nephew Arthur Lee Henry the full possession, and use of my Henry house and farm, and the Manassas or Bull Run Battlefield in Prince William Co. Virginia during his life time, and Should he survive my nephew Hugh Fauntleroy Henry Jr. I will that shall become the full possessor of Said Henry House and farm, in fee Simple, But should he not survive my nephew Hugh Fauntleroy Henry Jr. I will that at his death my Nephew Hugh Fauntleroy Henry Jr. Shall become the full possessor of Said Henry House & farm in fee Simple. and I will that the said Henry House shall be the home of my Niece Ida Landon Henry whenever She may wish to make it So, and I give and bequeath to her my old Silver and China Sets, and give and bequeath to her whatever balance may yet be coming to me on a bond given to me by James Blackwell deceased of Bethel Fauquier County Va. for Twenty one hundred Dollars (\$2100) and which was placed in the hands of Commissioners appointed to Settle up his estate. And I give and bequeath to my Niece Ida Landon Henry and my Nephew Hugh Fauntleroy Henry Jr. my Sixteen hundred Dollars (\$1600) in Charlottesville and Rapidan railroad coupon Six per Cent bonds, in equal Shares. and all the balance of my personal property in the Henry House and on the farm, I give and [234] bequeath to my Nephew Arthur Lee Henry. and I wish my Nephew Arthur Henry to be my Executor without security.

I wish to be buried by the side of my Mother with plain Tomb Stones to my grave—Similar to those to my Sister Ellens grave, and my burial expenses and my debts I may owe, I wish my Executor to pay with means that will be in his hands—

Hugh Fauntleroy Henry Sr

Sept 1<sup>st</sup> 1891

Teste A. H. Compton

Robt. H Tyler

In Prince William William [sic] County Court October 4th 1898. A writing [purporting?] to be the last Will & Testament of Hugh Fauntleroy Henry Sr. decd. was this day produced in Court by Arthur Lee Henry the Executor therein named, and A H Compton and C [F?] Brown was sworn and [...?]rally deposed that they well acquainted with the Testatore handwriting, and verily believed the said Will and Signature thereto subscribed, to be wholly written by the Testatores own hand. Whereupon the said writing is ordered to be recorded, as the true last Will and Testament of the said Hugh Fauntleroy Henry deceased.

And on the motion of Arthur Lee Henry who made oath there  
(No security being required) entered into and acknowledged  
a bond in the penalty of \$400- Conditioned according to law  
certificate is granted him for obtaining a probate of the  
said will in due form.

Teste

E. Nelson. Clerk



MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK  
EXCAVATION UNIT SUMMARY  
HENRY HOUSE 44PW293

Andrew Lee

EXCAVATION UNIT 1

Excavation Unit (EU) 1 measured 4 x 4 ft. It was opened on the east side of the existing Henry House to further investigate a feature that was discovered during previous archeological investigations. The feature consisted of what appeared to be intact remnants of a foundation that extended east of the building. Subsurface probing was done to aid in the placement of EU 1. The ultimate goals were to determine the nature and extent of this unidentified feature.

After the removal of the sod layer, Stratum A was excavated. Stratum A consists of a yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) clayey silt soil that contains a few small pebbles, red sandstone fragments, and numerous white paint chips. Stratum A was divided into two arbitrary levels. Level 1 was excavated to an average depth of 0.29 ft. At this depth a mottled clay stain in the east half was designated Feature 1. Feature 1 consists of yellowish brown (10YR 5/4), yellowish red (5YR 4/6), and light grayish brown (2.5YR 6/4) silty clay soils with numerous fragments of siltstone and sandstone. This feature is identified as a pipe trench. The fill soil for the trench contains a mixture of late 19th and 20<sup>th</sup>-century artifacts. The average thickness of the pipe trench is 0.8 ft. The profiles of the north and south walls indicate that the trench cuts layers A1, A2, B1, B2, and C. Documents reveal that the National Park Service installed a waterline pipe from the Visitor Center to the Henry House in 1962.

The second level of Stratum A consists of the non-feature soil in the west half of the excavation. This level consists of the same soils as Level 1. Three large sandstone rocks were exposed along the west wall of EU 1 at an average depth of 0.55 ft below the ground surface. The rocks form the corner of an architectural feature and were designated Feature 3. Further excavations exposed several courses of stone laid directly on sterile subsoil. The feature has an average thickness of 1.55 ft. The stones are not dressed and no mortar was used in the construction. No builder's trench was associated with the feature. Feature 3 was tentatively identified as the northeast corner of the foundation for the early house (Spring Hill). However, after Excavation Unit 1 was expanded (see EU 7 and EU 9), the feature was identified as a chimney base. Strata A1 and A2 both contained artifacts that date primarily from the late 19th to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Level 2 terminates on top of Stratum B at an average depth of 0.75 ft.

Stratum B consists of light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) clayey silt with numerous natural, unmodified siltstone chunks. Stratum B was divided into two arbitrary levels. Level 1 was 0.5 ft. thick and contained a single unidentified nail fragment. No artifacts were recovered from Level 2, which was 0.1 ft. thick. At the base of Level 2, at an average depth of 1.35 ft., the siltstone fragments were clustered in the southern and central portions of the excavation unit. Stratum B was terminated on top of Stratum C.

Stratum C consists of a brown/strong brown (7.5YR 5/4-5/6) slightly clayey sand. This stratum was determined to be sterile subsoil and excavations were ceased.

EXCAVATION UNIT # 1

STRATUM	MUNSELL	TEXTURE	ELEVATION		DESCRIPTION
			TOP	BOTTOM	
A1	10YR 5/4	CLAYEY SILT	271.87	271.58	THIN STRATUM OF SOD AND MID-LATE 20 <sup>TH</sup> -CENTURY DEPOSITS FEATURES 1 AND 3 CUT STRATA A-C
FEATURE 1	10YR 5/4 5YR 4/4 2.5YR 6/4	CLAYEY SILT CLAY SILTY CLAY	271.57	270.77	UTILITY TRENCH WITH MIXED FILLS AND GRAVEL, 19 <sup>TH</sup> -20 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ARTIFACTS
FEATURE 3	MASONRY	NA	271.67	270.12	RED SANDSTONE FOUNDATION WALL, N/S ALIGNED, EXPOSED IN WESTERN EDGE OF UNIT, STONES ARE DRY-LAID
A2	10YR 5/4	CLAYEY SILT	271.58	271.12	ARBITRARY STRATUM ESTABLISHED AT THE TOP OF FEATURE 1, MIXED LATE 19 <sup>TH</sup> TO MID 20 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY DEPOSIT
B1	10YR 6/4	SLIGHTLY CLAYEY SILT	271.12	270.62	LIGHTER SOIL MATRIX WITH STONE INCLUSIONS, ONLY 1 NAIL FRAGMENT PRESENT- POSSIBLY MID 19 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY
B2	10YR 6/4	SLIGHTLY CLAYEY SILT	270.62	270.52	NO ARTIFACTS, FEW PEBBLE INCLUSIONS
C	7.5YR 5/4- 5/6	SLIGHTLY CLAYEY SAND	270.52	269.97	STERILE SUBSOIL, GROUNDHOG BURROW IN SOUTH CENTRAL PORTION OF UNIT



MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD  
EXCAVATION UNIT SUMMARY  
HENRY HOUSE 44PW293

Jeremy Lazelle

EXCAVATION UNIT 2 AND AUGER TEST 1

Excavation Unit (EU) 2 was excavated to further examine foundations encountered during earlier investigations along the exterior south side of the existing Henry House. The location for the 4 x 4 ft. EU was determined following subsurface probing that suggested the previously excavated foundation feature continued toward the south and a possibly turned, forming a corner. An auger test had been placed in the area prior to excavation (Augur Test 1). The auger test produced a common cut nail and six fragments of flatglass. Auger Test 1 terminated at 1.1 ft below the surface within sterile subsoil.

After removal of the sod layer, Stratum A was excavated, averaging in depth at 0.5 ft. below the ground surface. This stratum consists of yellowish brown (10YR5/4) clayey silt with small gravel, charcoal and paint chip inclusions. The stratum produced a mix of historic artifacts both domestic and Civil War related, as well as modern 20<sup>th</sup>- century debris. A prehistoric lithic biface was also uncovered in the stratum. This assemblage indicates a mixed context contributable to disturbances to the ground, possibly by tree roots, animal burrows or human modifications to the landscape.

Stratum B, dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) clayey silt mottled with brownish yellow (10YR4/4) silt, was excavated in two arbitrary levels. The soil was dry and compact with sandstone gravels and charcoal inclusions in addition to root intrusions. Feature 2, a series of varying sized sandstones was first encountered in the northern portion of the unit at a depth of 0.85 ft. below the ground surface. Feature 2, most prominent in the northwest corner of the EU is identified as the south west corner of a foundation associated with the earlier site occupation (Spring Hill). As the stones in Feature 2 became more defined, Stratum B was split into two arbitrary excavation levels in order to gain a more defined sample of the depositional history. Artifacts counts notably decreased with depth and those recovered were located only near Feature 2. Stratum B was excavated to an average depth of 1.14 ft below the ground surface with an average thickness of 0.84 ft. The stratum was excavated to just below the bottom of Feature 2 where subsoil was recorded.

north wall into the central portion of the unit in Level 1. After its excavation, this intrusion was interpreted to be the result of extensive rodent disturbance. An unidentified nail fragment was recovered from Level 1, possibly from the disturbed soil. No builder's trench is associated with the foundation. No artifacts were recovered from Level 2. Excavations were stopped at an average depth of 1.35 ft. below the ground surface

### EXCAVATION UNIT # 3

STRATUM	MUNSELL	TEXTURE	ELEVATION		DESCRIPTION
			TOP	BOTTOM	
A	10YR 4/3 10YR 6/6 7.5YR 5/6	LOAM SILT CLAY	271.73	271.28	MOTTLED FILL WITH NUMEROUS YELLOW AND LIGHT GREEN SILTSTONE CHUNKS. MOSTLY MODERN ARTIFACTS (NAILS AND PLASTIC) MIXED WITH 2 PREHISTORIC FLAKES AND 1 MUSKET BALL
B	5YR 4/4	CLAYEY SILT WITH PATCHES OF RED CLAY	271.28	271.18	NATURAL GRAVEL-SIZE SANDSTONE INCLUSIONS. STRATUM B PEELS EASILY OFF OF STRATUM C, PERHAPS INDICATING STANDING WATER
C	10YR 4/3	CLAYEY SILT	271.18	270.94	SOIL IS LESS COMPACT NEAR THE HOUSE FOUNDATION- THERE IS A MOISTURE DIFFERENCE IN THIS AREA RATHER THAN A FEATURE. NUMEROUS NAILS AT THE TOP OF THIS STRATUM
D1	10YR 5/6 TO 10YR 5/8 7.5YR 5/6	CLAYEY SILT  SANDY SILT	270.94	270.47	SUBSOIL WITH THREE SMALL ROCKS IN N/E CORNER OF UNIT. THESE ROCKS ARE NOT A FEATURE
D2	SEE D1	SEE D1	270.47	270.38	SUBSOIL-ARBITRARY DIVISION OF STRATUM D. EXCAVATION CONTINUED TO EXPOSE BOTTOM OF EXISTING HENRY HOUSE WEST WALL FOUNDATION.

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EXCAVATION UNIT 4

Excavation Unit 4 was placed 6 ft. south of the southeast corner of the Henry House. This 4 x 4 ft. unit was placed here to expose more of the foundation wall (Feature 2) that was discovered in Excavation Unit 2 and to determine if another corner of the newly discovered foundation was present. (Projections of Feature 3 southward from Excavation Unit 1 and Feature 2 eastward from Excavation Unit 2 would intersect here.) Although no corner was discovered, additional information was generated on the nature of the original foundation and a drip line feature was documented.

Stratum A consists of dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) silt containing no inclusions. Stratum A was excavated in two levels. Level 1 was comprised of the first 0.5 ft. below ground surface and it contained an abundance of artifacts. The artifacts are a mix of historic period ceramics, including colonoware, metal, glass and a projectile point tip fragment. The removal of Level 1 revealed a soil discoloration and artifact concentration in the southwest corner, foundation stones (Feature 2), Level 2 in the north half, and Stratum B in the southeast corner.

The stain in the southwest corner was designated Feature 4. This feature was comprised of brown/dark brown (10YR 4/3) clayey silt. It appeared slightly darker than the surrounding soil and had a noticeable cluster of glass as well as a few ceramics and nail fragments. A small amount of charcoal flecking was present. The feature was thickest in the southwest corner, with an average thickness of 0.3 ft. and was excavated to a depth of 0.45 ft below ground surface. Very small pea gravel was present at the base of the feature. When fully excavated, this feature did not appear to be a pit specifically dug for trash disposal.

Stratum A2 was initially limited to the north half of the excavation unit, corresponding to that portion north of the foundation stones of Feature 2 (interior of structure). As excavations continued, however, it became clear that Level 2 undercut Stratum B. That is, Stratum B was wholly contained within Stratum A. Excavation of Level 2 represents a continuation of Level 1. As in Level 1, numerous artifacts were recovered. However, the artifacts from Level 2 seem to predate those found above and the assemblage contained a higher amount of tableware, including pearlware fragments.

Stratum B is a brown/dark brown (7.5YR 4/2) clayey silt with numerous small gravel inclusions. Between 0.1 and 0.15 ft. in thickness, Stratum B is confined to the area south of the foundation stones. At the time of its excavation, this lense was not assigned a feature number. This same lense was also noted in Excavation Units 6 and 8 where it was also found south of the foundation stones. This gravelly deposit is interpreted as a drip line feature.

Stratum C consists of culturally sterile dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/6) silty clay subsoil. It was removed to an average depth of 1.51 ft below the ground surface. This depth allowed archeologists to fully examine the remains of the foundation (Feature 2). The foundation in this area consists of a single course of stone rubble. The foundation stones show no evidence of the use of mortar and the wall is one stone wide.

EXCAVATION UNIT # 4

STRATUM	MUNSELL	TEXTURE	ELEVATION		DESCRIPTION
			TOP	BOTTOM	
A1	10YR 4/4	SILT	271.40	270.89	LARGE CONCENTRATION OF MIXED-CONTEXT ARTIFACTS/SOIL DISTURBANCE. FEATURE 4 FIRST DOCUMENTED IN STRATUM A
FEATURE 4	10YR 4/3	CLAYEY SILT	270.84	270.54	DARKER SOIL STAIN IN SW CORNER OF UNIT. CONCENTRATION OF GLASS AND CERAMICS -SMALL HISTORIC TRASH SCATTER
A2	10YR 4/4	CLAYEY SILT	270.89	270.32	EXCAVATED IN THE NORTHERN 1/2 OF UNIT. STRATUM B MAKES UP THE SE CORNER AND FEATURE 4 IS IN THE SW CORNER. A2 HAS A MODERATE QUANTITY OF HISTORIC ARTIFACTS
B	7.5YR 4/2	CLAYEY SILT	270.84	270.69	STRATUM B CONSISTS OF A GRAVEL LENSE WITHIN STRATUM A AND IS IDENTIFIED AS A POSSIBLE DRIP LINE FOR THE STRUCTURE (FEATURE 2)
C	10YR 4/6	SILTY CLAY	270.32	270.04	SUBSOIL CONTAINING FEATURE 2 (CONTINUED FROM EU 2)
FEATURE 2	MASONRY	NA	270.60	270.04	CONTINUATION OF SANDSTONE FOUNDATION FIRST DOCUMENTED IN EU 2. PORTION OF SOUTH WALL OF STRUCTURE, DRY-LAID CONSTRUCTION-SINGLE COURSE

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EXCAVATION UNIT 5

Excavation Unit (EU) 5 is a 2ft. x 4ft. extension of EU 2, in which Feature 2 (a sandstone foundation) was discovered. The unit was placed adjacent to the north edge of EU 2, extending it an additional two feet north. Subsurface probing that detected below grade stones in this area prompted the location for EU 2 and EU 5. EU 5 served to expose more of Feature 2, further defining the width of the foundation.

Stratum A, a dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/6) silty clay, was identified as a possible fill level with friable or crumbly yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) clay "lumps" and gravel inclusions. This stratum had an average depth of 0.32 ft. Artifacts were of twentieth century deposition.

Stratum B was excavated in two arbitrary levels. Stratum B1, a yellowish brown (10YR 5/4-5/6) silty clay was excavated to the top of Feature 2. Charcoal and pebble inclusions were noted. Artifacts were concentrated in the top 0.3 ft. of this level, which had an average depth of 1.03 ft. and was 0.71 ft. thick. The assemblage included a mix of prehistoric, early historic, Civil War related and late historic artifacts, indicating disturbances to the stratigraphy. The number of artifacts notably decreased with depth. Excavation of the unit determined that Feature 2, the foundation wall was 1.8 ft wide.

Stratum B2, a yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) silty clay was a dry soil with small rock inclusions and no artifacts. The level was identified as a transition to sterile soil. Excavation revealed that Feature 2 averaged 1 ft. thick at a depth of 0.62-1.62 ft. below ground surface. Excavation did not reveal evidence of a builder's trench related to the Feature 2 foundation, constructed of dry-laid random sized red sandstones.

EXCAVATION UNIT # 5

STRATUM	MUNSELL	TEXTURE	ELEVATION		DESCRIPTION
			TOP	BOTTOM	
A	10YR 4/6 10YR 5/6	SILTY CLAY	271.54	271.22	MIXED CONTEXT SOIL WITH CLAY AND GRAVEL INCLUSIONS. 20 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY FILL
B1	10YR 5/4 TO 10YR 5/6	SILTY CLAY	271.22	270.51	MIXTURE OF MOSTLY 19 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY AND SOME MODERN AND PREHISTORIC ARTIFACTS APPEARS TO BE A PARTIALLY INTACT HISTORIC OCCUPATION LEVEL. FEATURE 2 (PORTION OF THE WEST AND SOUTH WALL) CONTINUES FROM EU2
B2	10YR 5/6	SILTY CLAY	271.51	269.96	STERILE SOIL IS A TRANSITION TO SUBSOIL.
FEATURE 2	MASONRY	NA			CONTINUATION OF SANDSTONE FOUNDATION DOCUMENTED IN EU 2 AND 4. DRY-LAID STONES FORMING THE SW CORNER OF STRUCTURE

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EXCAVATION UNIT 6

Excavation Unit (EU) 6 is a 4 x 4 ft. eastward extension of EU 4. This unit exposed more of the earlier house foundation and helped refine the interpretation of Feature 3 in EU 1. The fact that EU 6 did not contain the southeast corner of the earlier foundation put into question whether the feature exposed in EU 1 was in fact the northeast corner of the earlier foundation.

Stratum A consists of a brown/dark brown (10YR 4/3) loam that was excavated in three arbitrary levels. Level 1 was 0.5 ft. thick and contained many artifacts. The artifacts included a wide variety of ceramics, bottle glass, window glass, and nails. However, these items were recovered from a mixed context as the presence of plastic fragments and prehistoric debitage indicates. The removal of Level 1 revealed a slightly darker soil in the south half of the excavation unit. This was designated Stratum B. Stratum A Level 2 was a continuation of Level 1 and covered the north half of the excavation unit. Stratum A2 was excavated to a depth of 0.98 ft. below the ground surface. As was the case in the adjacent EU 4, the dividing line between these soil horizons was the earlier house foundation.

Stratum B lies to the south of the earlier house foundation and was excavated to a depth of 1.57 ft. below ground surface. This deposit consists of a dark brown (10YR 3/3) clay loam and contains numerous small gravel inclusions. Ranging from 0.25 to 0.45 ft. thick, this gravelly lense is interpreted as the result of a drip line.

Stratum A Level 3 consists of the remainder of the brown/dark brown (10YR 4/3) loam underlying both A2 and Stratum B. Tree root stains were noted within this level in the north and the stain extends well into the subsoil. There were noticeably fewer artifacts recovered in Stratum A Level 3 as compared to the upper levels. This level was excavated to a depth of 1.22 ft. below ground surface.

Stratum C is a yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) silty clay containing a few gravels. This stratum was determined to be sterile subsoil and was excavated to an average depth of 1.77 ft. below ground surface. At this depth, archeologists were able to fully expose the remnants of the earlier house foundation (Feature 2). Very little of the foundation remains intact at this location.

Stratum C is strong brown (7.5YR 5/8) silty clay. This stratum is sterile subsoil and was excavated to an elevation of 270.13, a depth sufficient to examine the bottom course of stones of the architectural feature.

EXCAVATION UNIT # 7

STRATUM	MUNSELL	TEXTURE	ELEVATION		DESCRIPTION
			TOP	BOTTOM	
A	10YR 4/3	LOAM	271.90	271.58	MIXED CONTEXT STRATUM DUE TO GROUND DISTURBANCE, 19 <sup>TH</sup> -20 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ARTIFACTS
B1	10YR 5/4	CLAYEY SILT	271.58	271.31	MID TO LATE 19 <sup>TH</sup> -CENTURY ARTIFACTS AND ARCHITECTURAL DEMOLITION DEBRIS
B2	10YR 5/4	CLAYEY SILT	271.31	271.01	STERILE SOIL WITH A FEW INCLUSIONS OF SANDSTONE FRAGMENTS
C	7.5YR 5/8	SILTY CLAY	*270.42	270.13	STERILE SOIL EXCAVATED TO EXPOSE PORTION OF FEATURE 3 THAT EXTENDS INTO THIS UNIT FROM UNIT 1
FEATURE 5	5YR 4/6	MOTTLED CLAY	271.80	270.34	UTILITY TRENCH (PROBABLY A WATER LINE) ALSO IDENTIFIED DURING PREVIOUS EXCAVATION IN THE SPRING OF 2001. MANY EARLY TO MID 19 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ARTIFACTS FOUND IN THIS FILL.
FEATURE 3	MASONRY	NA	271.02		THIS FEATURE WAS FIRST IDENTIFIED IN UNIT 1 AND IS RECORDED IN UNIT 9. THE SUBSTANTIAL SANDSTONE FEATURE IS IDENTIFIED AS A CHIMNEY BASE THAT WAS ON THE EXTERIOR OF THE NORTH ELEVATION OF THE EARLY HENRY HOUSE (SPRING HILL)

\* AFTER EXCAVATION OF FEATURE 5



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EXCAVATION UNIT 8

Excavation Unit (EU) 8 was placed to examine subsurface remains detected during probing. This 4 ft. by 4 ft. unit was located 2 ft. west of EU 6, where additional elements of foundation Feature 2 was exposed, but no definitive corner was found. Removal of the sparse sod covering, part of Stratum A, exposed the gravel identified in EUs 4 and 6. This was limited to the eastern 1.3 ft of the EU at a depth of 0.51 ft below grade extending an average depth of 0.8 ft. below grade. Additionally, numerous bricks in flat pattern (Feature 6) were encountered in the southeast quadrant of the EU at an average depth of 0.32 ft. below grade. These bricks were laid in running bond and may represent a landscape feature, such as a walkway of unknown date. Stratum A, a dark yellowish brown (10YR 3/6) silty loam, averaged 0.65 ft in thick. This stratum included smooth pebble and gravel inclusions. In addition to the features noted, numerous artifacts were recovered predominately representing the twentieth century.

Excavation of the pea-sized gravels mixed with dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) clayey silt (designated Feature 7 in this EU) and removal of the brick feature fully exposed Stratum B, a yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) silty clay. The stratum was defined as transitional to sterile soil. Artifacts recovered from the stratum included nails, flat glass, a fragment of colonoware pottery, red paste earthenware, porcelain and a white saltglazed tableware fragment. Only charcoal inclusions were noted. Additionally, two large stones (Feature 2) in the northwest corner of the EU were exposed within Stratum B along with several smaller scattered stones located along the west wall. These stones possibly represent the eastern wall of an earlier house. Stratum B extended an average of 0.36 ft in depth. The unit was bisected and excavated to a total depth of 1.25 ft in the north and southeast and to an average of 1.66 ft in the central and western portions. No subsoil Stratum C was excavated. Probing under the Feature 2 stones revealed no additional underlying stones.

EXCAVATION UNIT # 8

STRATUM	MUNSELL	TEXTURE	ELEVATION		DESCRIPTION
			TOP	BOTTOM	
A	10YR 3/6	SILTY LOAM	271.58	270.93	MIXED CONTEXT STRATUM DUE TO GROUND DISTURBANCE
B	10YR 5/6	SILTY CLAY	270.93	270.57	HISTORIC LEVEL TRANSITIONS TO STERILE SUBSOIL
FEATURE 6	BRICK	NA	271.32	271.12	1.7 X 1.15 FT AREA OF LEVEL BRICK PAVING. DRY LAID, ONE COURSE THICK, POSSIBLY PART OF A WALKWAY TO THE MONUMENT?
FEATURE 7	10YR 4/4	CLAYEY SILT	271.14	270.87	SMALL GRAVEL FIRST IDENTIFIED IN UNIT 6 (STRATUM B) MAY BE A DRIP LINE ALONG THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE EARLY HENRY HOUSE (SPRING HILL)

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EXCAVATION UNIT 9

Excavation Unit 9 is a 2 x 4 ft. extension of Excavation Units 1 and 7. It abuts Excavation Unit 1 to the east and Excavation Unit 7 to the south. This area was excavated to help determine the dimensions and function of an architectural feature (Feature 3) that was exposed in the adjacent units. Excavation Unit 9 revealed the substantial nature of the feature, showing it to be a configuration of massed stacked stones that is more typical of a chimney base than a foundation wall.

The area encompassed by Excavation Unit 9 included two areas of disturbance just beneath the sod layer. The first disturbance was a roughly 1 x 2 ft. area that had been previously excavated by archeologists investigating the current Henry House foundation. The second disturbance was a pipe trench (Feature 5) in the west half of the unit. It was demonstrated in Excavation Unit 7 that the installment of the pipe trench had disturbed the upper portion of the chimney base. The excavation of the yellowish red (5YR 4/6) mottled clay, revealed that a portion of the chimney base remains intact beneath the pipe trench, at a depth of approximately 1.22 ft below grade.

The undisturbed portion of the excavation unit, limited to the east half, was designated Stratum A. Stratum A, a dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) loam, was arbitrarily divided into two levels. Both Level 1 and Level 2 contained artifacts indicative of a mixed context. The artifacts included 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>-century ceramics as well as prehistoric debitage. The removal of Stratum A Level 2 revealed the top of the sandstone rocks that make up the chimney support (Feature 3) and excavation of the unit was stopped.

EXCAVATION UNIT # 9

STRATUM	MUNSELL	TEXTURE	ELEVATION		DESCRIPTION
			TOP	BOTTOM	
A1	10YR 4/4	LOAM	272.07	271.81	MIXED CONTEXT SOIL PROBABLY DISTURBED BY INSTALLATION OF UTILITIES AROUND THE HOUSE
A2	10YR 4/4	LOAM	271.81	271.52	CONFINED TO EAST HALF OF THE UNIT
FEATURE 3	MASONRY	NA	270.59		BENEATH STRATUM A2, FEATURE 3, A DRY LAID SANDSTONE CHIMNEY BASE COVERS THE ENTIRE 2 X 4 FT AREA OF UNIT 9. PORTIONS OF THIS FEATURE ARE ALSO RECORDED IN UNITS 1 AND 7. ONLY THE EASTERN PORTION OF THE CHIMNEY BASE IS REVEALED BY THESE EXCAVATIONS
FEATURE 5	5YR 4/6	MOTTLED CLAY	271.89	270.97	PIPE TRENCH, 1.0 FT WIDE, WAS INITIALLY DISCOVERED IN EU 13 DURING THE SPRING 2001 EXCAVATIONS. THE TRENCH HAS DISTURBED MUCH OF THE UPPER LEVELS OF FEATURE 3 (CHIMNEY BASE)

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EXCAVATION UNIT 10

This excavation measured 4 x 4 ft. and was opened to reveal the northeast corner of the Spring Hill house foundation. It is located approximately ten feet east of the existing structure. The excavation showed that the foundation retained little of its original integrity, consisting of only a few sandstone rocks set into the subsoil.

The excavation of the sod revealed a stain that cut diagonally across the southwest corner. This stain was identified as a trench dug during the installment of a water pipe in 1962. The pipe trench, designated Feature 1, was also present in Excavation Unit 1. Since the feature was excavated and documented in Excavation Unit 1, no additional work was deemed necessary on Feature 1 in Excavation Unit 10. The undisturbed portion of the excavation was designated Stratum A.

Stratum A is a dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/6) loam with moderate amounts of mortar, plaster, gravel, and small rocks. An assortment of mostly 20<sup>th</sup>- century artifacts was recovered from this stratum. Stratum A was terminated at an average depth of 0.31 ft. below grade upon encountering Stratum B.

Stratum B consists of yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) clayey silt. Plaster and gravel inclusions were only present in the upper 0.1 ft of Stratum B. The number of artifacts sharply increased as the excavation of this layer continued. The majority of the artifacts were nails and unidentified fragments of flat glass. The sandstone rocks that make up the foundation of the Spring Hill House (Feature 2) were also exposed in Stratum B, at a depth of about 0.45 ft below grade.

Stratum C underlies Stratum B. Stratum C, a yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) clayey silt, was determined to be sterile subsoil. Excavations were stopped at a depth of 0.82 ft. below grade. At this depth it became clear that the foundation extended no deeper into the subsoil.

EXCAVATION UNIT # 10

STRATUM	MUNSELL	TEXTURE	ELEVATION		DESCRIPTION
			TOP	BOTTOM	
A	10YR 4/6	SILTY CLAY	271.81	271.50	DISTURBED SOIL CONTAINING MORTAR, PLASTER, GRAVEL AND SMALL STONES. MODERATE QUANTITY OF ARTIFACTS INCLUDING MODERN PLASTIC. MORE OF FEATURE 1 UNCOVERED IN THE SW CORNER.
B	10YR 5/6	CLAYEY SILT	271.50	271.12	CONTAINS PLASTER FRAGMENTS AND GRAVEL. STONES UNCOVERED, DESIGNATED AS THE NE CORNER OF FEATURE 3 FOUNDATIONS (EARLY HENRY HOUSE/SPRING HILL). A CAST IRON UTILITY PIPE WAS UNCOVERED IN THE SE CORNER OF THE UNIT. THE PIPE RUNS SW TO NE AND IS PROBABLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE NPS ERA UTILITIES FOR THE HENRY HOUSE BATHROOM
C	10YR 5/6	CLAYEY SILT	271.12	270.99	STERILE SUBSOIL
FEATURE 1	10YR 5/4 5YR 4/4 2.5YR 6/4	CLAYEY SILT CLAY SILTY CLAY	271.60		PIPE TRENCH CUTS ACROSS THE SW CORNER OF THE UNIT. SAME FEATURE ALREADY IDENTIFIED IN UNIT 1
FEATURE 3			271.38		A SERIES OF SANDSTONES WERE RECORDED WITHIN STRATUM B. THIS FEATURE IS IDENTIFIED AS THE NE CORNER OF THE EARLY HENRY HOUSE (SPRING HILL)

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Mia Parsons

EXCAVATION UNIT 11

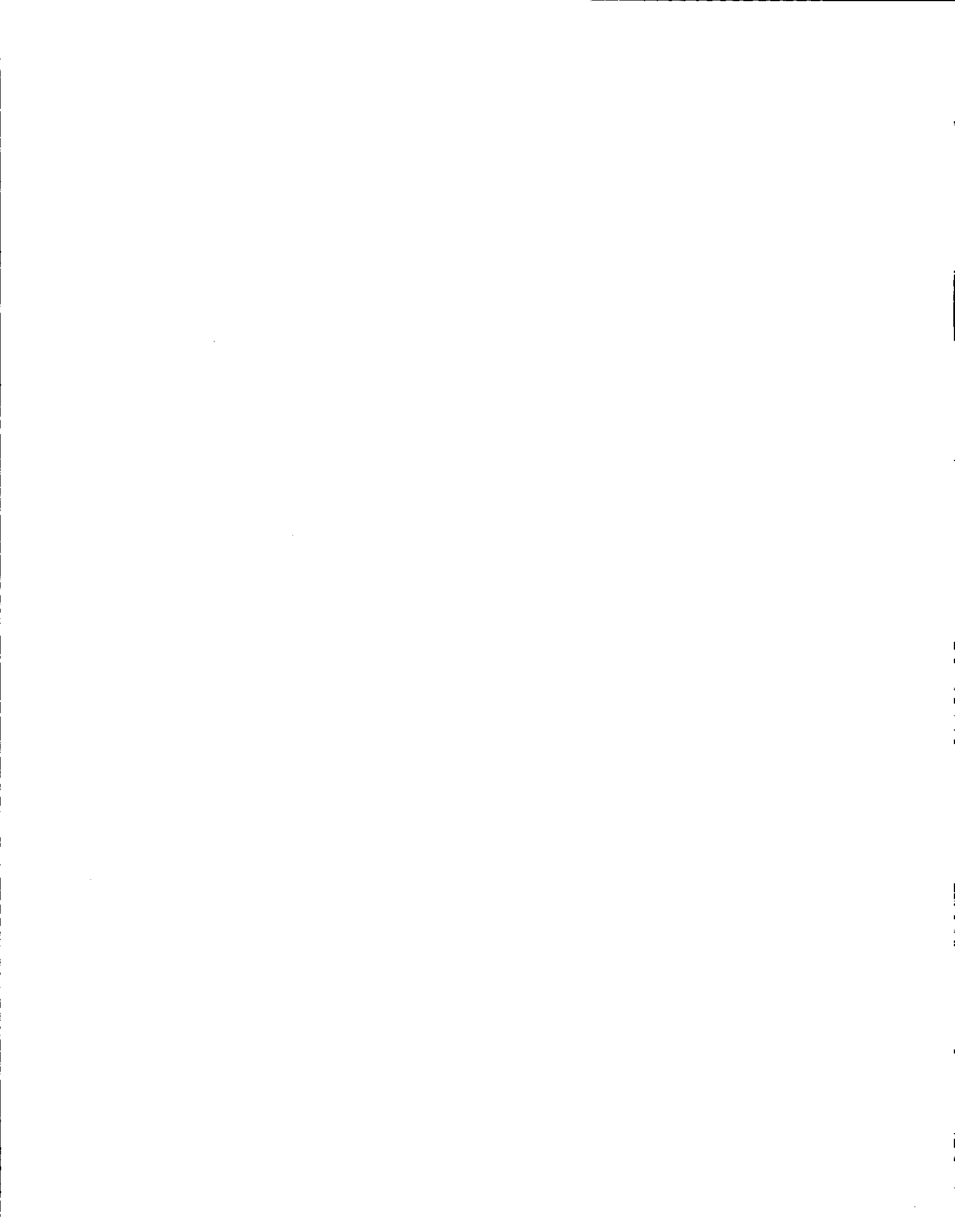
Excavation Unit (EU) 11 was a 3 by 5 ft. area of investigation placed on the east/west axis between EUs 2/5 and 4/6 in order to examine the south elevation of the Spring Hill house for a second chimney. The size of the house foundations (approximately 27 by 30 ft.) may signify that the house was designed with four rooms and a central hall on each of two-stories, lending to consideration of a second chimney.

The sod was removed to reveal Stratum A, dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) slightly clayey silt with only slight inclusions of sandstone pebbles or spalls. A continuation of Feature 2, the south foundation of Spring Hill farm became visible in the lower depth of Stratum A at approximately 0.35 ft. below ground surface. The soil is considerably more dry and compact along the northern 1 ft. of the EU, the area falling within the interior of the house foundation feature. A large quantity of colonoware pottery was recovered from directly on and around the stones of Feature 2 while large amounts of window glass was recovered predominantly from south (exterior) of the foundation.

Stratum B is yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) clayey silt that becomes sterile subsoil with natural sandstone inclusions. Artifacts were present in the upper 0.1 ft. of Stratum B. This level was excavated to just below the Feature 2 foundation stones, averaging 1.0 ft. below the ground surface.

EXCAVATION UNIT 11

STRATUM	MUNSELL	TEXTURE	ELEVATION		DESCRIPTION
			TOP	BOTTOM	
A	10YR 4/4	CLAYEY SILT	271.31	270.86	MIXED CONTEXT DEPOSIT IN UPPER LEVEL, MORE UNIFORM HISTORIC DEPOSIT AT LOWER LEVEL. FEASURE 2 FOUNDATION WALL (SOUTH ELEVATION) FOUND ALONG NORTH SECTION OF THE EU. HIGH CONCENTRATION OF FLATGLASS FOUND SOUTH OF THE FOUNDATION WALL (EXTERIOR OF STRUCTURE) AND COLONOWARE CONCENTRATION FOUND ON TOP OF AND AROUND THE FOUNDATION STONES
B	10YR 5/4	CLAYEY SILT	270.86	270.29	GRADES INTO STERILE SUBSOIL. ARTIFACTS ONLY PRESENT IN UPPER 0.1 FT. OF STRATUM. EXCAVATIONS CEASED JUST BELOW THE FOUNDATION WALL.





APPENDIX XIII  
ARTIFACT INVENTORY

(pending)



APPENDIX XIV  
MINIMUM VESSEL TABLES

