

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-900

USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form (Rev. 8-86)

OMB No. 1024-0018

BALL'S BLUFF BATTLEFIELD HISTORIC DISTRICT

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United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

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1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District (boundary change)

Other Name/Site Number: VDHR 253-5021 / 053-0012-0005

2. LOCATION

Street & Number:

Not for publication: X

City/Town: Leesburg (VA)

Vicinity: X

State: VA; MD County: Loudoun; Montgomery Code: 107; 031

Zip Code: 20176 (VA)

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property

Private: XPublic-Local: XPublic-State: XPublic-Federal: X

Category of Property

Building(s): District: XSite: Structure: Object:

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing

5119025

Noncontributing

114 buildings4 sites26 structures7 objects151 TotalNumber of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 10

7: Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park Historic District

2: Catocin Rural Historic District

1: Murray Hill

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: "The Civil War in Virginia, 1861 – 1865: Historic and Archaeological Resources"

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4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official_____
Date_____
State or Federal Agency and Bureau

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

Signature of Commenting or Other Official_____
Date_____
State or Federal Agency and Bureau**5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION**

I hereby certify that this property is:

- ____ Entered in the National Register
____ Determined eligible for the National Register
____ Determined not eligible for the National Register
____ Removed from the National Register
____ Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper_____
Date of Action

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6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	DOMESTIC	Sub:	Single Dwelling
	COMMERCE / TRADE	Sub:	Warehouse
	FUNERARY	Sub:	Cemetery
	AGRICULTURAL / SUBSISTENCE	Sub:	Agricultural
	DEFENSE	Sub:	Fortification
			Military Facility
			Battle Site
	LANDSCAPE	Sub:	Forest
			Unoccupied Land
			Natural Feature
	TRANSPORTATION	Sub:	Water-related
			Road-related
	Current:	DOMESTIC	Sub:
FUNERARY		Sub:	Cemetery
RECREATION AND CULTURE		Sub:	Monument / marker
AGRICULTURAL / SUBSISTENCE		Sub:	Agricultural
LANDSCAPE		Sub:	Park
			Natural Feature
TRANSPORTATION		Sub:	Road-related
			Water-related

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: N/A (Battlefield)

MATERIALS:

Foundation:

Walls:

Roof:

Other:

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Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.**Summary Paragraph**

The Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District is located along a sweeping curve of the Potomac River within Loudoun County, Virginia and Montgomery County, Maryland. Measuring approximately 5.8 miles in length and ranging between 0.4 miles and 1.9 miles in width, the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District encompasses 3,266 acres, and is composed of two discontinuous parcels: a primary parcel of 3,256 acres that straddles the Potomac River; and a 10-acre parcel that encompasses the Civil War-era earthwork known as Fort Evans. The Fort Evans parcel is located 1.5 miles east of Leesburg and 550 feet southwest of the main parcel. The historic district is roughly bisected by the broad and eastward turning course of the Potomac River, the west bank of which defines the boundary between Virginia and Maryland. At the time of the Civil War, when the Battle of Ball's Bluff took place, the river also marked the political and military boundary between the Union and the Confederacy. Within the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District, much of the Virginia shore is rimmed by a high, rocky escarpment, while the Maryland shore features a wide expanse of level floodplain, edged to the east by bluffs. The Potomac River, as well as the two-mile-long, 395-acre Harrison's Island located within the bend of the watercourse, are also prominent landscape features of the battlefield that played important roles in structuring military movement and engagement during the battle. To either side of the Potomac River, the battlefield is composed of terrain, either wooded or cleared, that has changed very little in terms of its essential character since 1861. Along the western margin of the battlefield, however, encroachment of development associated with the nearby Loudoun County seat—Leesburg, Virginia—has resulted in the loss of integrity for some areas of the battlefield as defined in 2009 by the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP), a division of the National Park Service (NPS).¹ These areas have been excluded from consideration herein so that the historic district retains a high degree of historic integrity, especially integrity of location, feeling, and association, while individual built features possess integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. In addition, in deference to landowner objection and following the recommendation of the National Park System Advisory Board, approximately 30 acres of privately owned land on the bluffs above Edwards Ferry, Maryland (portions of Montgomery County Tax Parcels P573 and P613) are not included in the expanded National Historic Landmark despite retaining a high level of integrity and being located within the core battlefield area of the Battle of Ball's Bluff.

This National Historic Landmark nomination update, which amends documentation prepared in 1984, addresses a revised spatial and chronological understanding of the Battle of Ball's Bluff that is based on careful investigation by the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission (CWSAC) in 1993 and by the 2009 ABPP update as well as additional recent scholarship and study. The amended nomination includes a boundary expansion from the 76 acres originally designated in 1984 to 3,266 acres. The expanded area corresponds, for the most part, with that portion of the 10,436-acre battlefield delineated as Core Battlefield by the ABPP in 2009 that retains a high degree of integrity. Following more recent scholarship, this updated nomination also includes two primary areas of additional Core Battlefield where integrity remains high. The expanded property, as defined herein, is also generally consistent with that identified in a Preliminary Information Form prepared by the Loudoun County Heritage Commission in 2013. This nomination update also clarifies the criteria, period, and areas of significance associated with the battlefield in accordance with current practices. Finally, the nomination also describes the important connection between military tactics, the events of the battle, and the cultural landscape of the battlefield using the KOCO military terrain analysis process.²

¹ American Battlefield Protection Program, "Ball's Bluff (VA006)," *Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields, Commonwealth of Virginia*, Final Draft (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, July 2009), 52–54.

² The connection between the terrain and features of the battlefield landscape and the military tactics employed by army commanders has been formalized by U.S. Armed Forces in a military terrain analysis system known as KOCO. The system is an acronym that stands for K – Key Terrain; O – Observation and Fields of Fire; C – Cover and Concealment; O – Obstacles; and A –

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The Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District is nationally significant under National Historic Landmark Criterion 1 in the areas of Politics/Government and Military, during the period October 20–24, 1862. The Battle of Ball's Bluff derives its significance from the way it directly influenced military policy for the remainder of the Civil War and beyond. As a result of the Federal defeat at the Battle of Ball's Bluff, members of the 37th Congress established the Joint Committee on the Conduct of War in early December 1861. While providing itself with broad investigative powers, the Joint Committee focused on examining the causes of four prominent Union military failures during the first year of the war, namely the Battle of Big Bethel, First Manassas, the Battle of Wilson's Creek, and the Battle of Ball's Bluff. Based on the investigation, the committee worked to influence Union military tactics and operations throughout the remainder of the war. The Ball's Bluff Battle, which is the most temporally connected to its formation, is considered to have played a key role in convincing Congress to create the Joint Committee on the Conduct of War and the battlefield is the best location for learning about this significant story.

The Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District exhibits numerous historic features that survive with a high degree of integrity to convey its historic associations with the nationally-significant Civil War battle. These include **5** buildings, **11** sites, and **9** structures, which range from the battlefield landscape, to earthworks, road corridors, dwellings, and natural features. There are also additional features that post-date the period of significance. These include **114** buildings, **4** sites, **26** structures, and **7** objects, which range from dwellings, to outbuildings, commemorative markers, and a national cemetery where Union dead were buried after the battle. Many of these later additions remain compatible with the character of the historic battlefield landscape, however, and the degree to which they diminish integrity is limited.

Systematic archaeological research, particularly when it incorporates controlled geophysical survey (including metal detection), has the potential to identify battle-related archaeological remains that can illuminate and even extend existing understanding of the battle event and, by extension, reinforce the structure and boundaries of the battlefield landscape.³ To date however, very few formal archaeological investigations have been conducted within the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District. Consequently, current understanding of the battle and of the battlefield remains heavily grounded in the analysis of historic documentary sources combined with topographical and military terrain analysis. Archaeological testing and metal detection across limited areas at

did not identify archaeological deposits clearly associated with the Battle of Ball's Bluff, however given the remarkable integrity of these two landscape features such deposits may yet be discovered by more intensive research in both of these locales. Similarly, at existing archaeological research suggests but does not yet confirm the presence of intact and potentially significant archaeological resources. Systematic archaeological research in the area of Big Spring has identified potentially significant mid-nineteenth-century domestic deposits and features at, however known Civil War era archaeological remains in this locale appear to slightly post-date the Battle of Ball's Bluff. At other important locations within the battlefield—including in the area of

—no archaeological research has yet been conducted. While the relatively high degree of landscape integrity throughout the battlefield historic district strongly suggests that archaeological deposits dating to the battle's period of significance may survive in these and other locations, given the relative paucity of sustained

Avenues of Approach.

³ See, for example, the articles, especially in "Part I: The Flow of Battle and Battlefield Landscapes," in Clarence R. Geier, Douglas D. Scott, and Lawrence E. Babits (eds), *From These Honored Dead: Historical Archaeology of the American Civil War* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2014).

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archaeological research, revision of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield NHL nomination to include Criterion 6 currently is considered premature. That said, all future work within the battlefield should remain highly sensitive to the likely presence of important archaeological resources associated with the battle and the contemporaneous cultural landscape.

National Register Status of the Property

A 76-acre portion of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield where some of the heaviest fighting occurred on October 21, 1861, was designated a National Historic Landmark and listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1984 under the title 'Ball's Bluff Battlefield and National Cemetery'. The nomination was based on documentation prepared by National Park Service Chief Historian Edwin C. Bearss.

In addition to the existing 76-acre National Historic Landmark property, the expanded property addressed in this nomination encompasses portions of two other historic districts, associated with historic contexts other than the Civil War. The first is the 23,592-acre Catoctin Rural Historic District (VDHR 053-0012) located north of the corporate limits of Leesburg and extending to Catoctin Creek. The Catoctin Rural Historic District was listed in the Virginia Landmarks Register in 1989, and has been determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. The second is the 184.5-mile-long Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park Historic District (MT 12-46), which was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1979 and the nomination updated in 2014 with additional resource documentation and a boundary increase. An approximately 6.5-mile long portion of the C & O Canal National Historical Park Historic District along the Potomac River in Maryland lies within the expanded Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District.

There is also one individual property within the Battlefield Historic District that is already listed in the National Register of Historic Places: Murray Hill (VDHR 053-5783). Murray Hill is a 56-acre residential property located on the bluffs overlooking the south bank of the Potomac River. It was listed in 2014. Additionally, several of the historic resources located within the historic district have been surveyed, with the data entered in the Virginia Department of Historic Resources and Maryland Historical Trust databases. Several of these have been determined to be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, including the Edward's Ferry Road Earthwork (44LD0869), Sage Hill Farm (VDHR 053-5248), Fort Evans (VDHR 253-5138), the Edwards Ferry Road corridor (VDHR 053-6078), and the Edwards Ferry (MD) Archaeological Site (18MO476).

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Setting

Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District falls within the Piedmont physiographic province of eastern North America and, more specifically, within the Triassic period Culpeper basin, one of a series of sediment-filled declivities common to the Atlantic seaboard that formed some 220 million years ago during the breakup of supercontinent Pangaea and the separation of the North American and African continental plates. Geologically, the district is underlain primarily by non-marine sedimentary sandstones, siltstones, and limestone conglomerate comprised of parent material shed from upland environments surrounding the Triassic basin. These sand- and siltstones are exposed along the high escarpment that borders the western bank of the Potomac through much of the district. Later, intrusive volcanic rock occurs in the southern part of the district on the Virginia side of the Potomac in the Tuscarora Creek and Goose Creek watersheds. The Catoctin Mountain range, a southwest-northeast trending up-thrust ridge of geologically earlier metamorphic (primarily greenstone and quartz) and igneous (basalt) rock, rises approximately one mile west of downtown Leesburg and provides a topographical backdrop to the battlefield.⁴ To the east in Maryland, the high bluffs that rise up typically about one-half mile back from the river frame the district.

The Ball's Bluff Battlefield landscape is dominated by the Potomac River, which flows north to south-southeast through the historic district, following a long westward bend that begins some seven miles to the north near the mouth of the Monocacy River. The Maryland shore is composed of a nearly half-mile-wide floodplain. This broad, nearly level terrace has an average elevation of 220 feet above mean sea level (amsl) and is comprised of deep deposits of recent (Holocene) alluvial sediment. A number of small, unnamed streams cross-cut the Maryland floodplain and enter the Potomac at fairly regular intervals between White's Ferry (known historically as Conrad's Ferry) and Edwards Ferry, located at either end of the battlefield historic district. Harrison's Island, which stretches for two miles through the historic district, is a topographical extension of the Maryland floodplain, although separated from it by the Potomac's 225-yard-wide eastern channel. South of Broad Run, the largest of the Maryland tributary streams within the district, which enters the Potomac about one mile north of Edwards Ferry, the Potomac floodplain becomes increasingly narrow. Just east of Edwards Ferry, the Maryland high ground rises to a height of 300 feet amsl within one-quarter mile of the river's edge. The deep alluvium of the Maryland floodplain and Harrison's Island is classified as prime agricultural land and was under extensive cultivation at the outbreak of the Civil War.⁵ The C & O Canal, opened between Georgetown and Harpers Ferry in 1834, closely follows the Maryland shore of the Potomac River.

On the Virginia side of the Potomac, the landscape is more highly variable, both topographically and as regards historic and current uses. West of White's Ferry at the northern end of the battlefield historic district, the land is underlain by limestone-rich conglomerate bedrock. Here, the terrain is characteristic of the gently rolling topography of the Piedmont physiographic province. A narrow, 500-foot-wide strip of floodplain borders the river immediately west of White's Ferry. Approximately three-quarters of a mile south of White's Ferry, Big

⁴ Scott Southworth et al., *Geologic Map of the Frederick 30' x 60' Quadrangle, Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia*, (Washington, D.C.: US Geological Survey, 2007), 10–12; Scott Southworth, W.C. Burton, J.S. Schindler, and A.J. Froelich, *Geologic Map of Loudoun County, Virginia* (Washington, D.C.: US Geological Survey, 2006); C.S. Southworth et al., *Geology of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park and Potomac River Corridor, District of Columbia, Maryland, West Virginia, and Virginia* (Washington, D.C.: US Geological Survey, 2001); William C. Burton, A.J. Froelich, J.S. Pomeroy, and K.Y. Lee, *Geology of the Waterford Quadrangle, Virginia and Maryland, and the Virginia Part of the Point of Rocks Quadrangle*, US Geological Survey Bulletin 2095 (Washington, D.C.: US Geological Survey, 1995); E. Clayton Toewe, *Geology of the Leesburg Quadrangle Virginia* (Charlottesville, Virginia: Virginia Division of Mineral Resources, 1966). Casper Crowninshield, Co. D, 20th Massachusetts Infantry, described the backdrop provided by the Catoctin range as viewed from Edwards Ferry Maryland in October 1861 (cited in Richard F. Miller, *Harvard's Civil War: A History of the Twentieth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2005), 52.

⁵ "Web Soil Survey," United States Department of Agriculture, Natural Resources Conservation Service, accessed June 2, 2015, <http://websoilsurvey.sc.egov.usda.gov/App/HomePage.htm>; "Official Soil Series Descriptions," United States Department of Agriculture, Natural Resources Conservation Service, accessed June 2, 2015, <https://soilseries.sc.egov.usda.gov/>.

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Spring Branch empties into the Potomac. Just south of the stream's mouth is another area of a narrow floodplain, near which was sited the historic Smart's or Big Spring Mill. Big Spring Branch is fed by a prodigious spring that gives the stream its name. Between White's Ferry and Big Spring Branch, the rolling terrain ranges in elevation between 220 and 260 feet amsl. The limestone-based soils of this area rank among the most productive agriculturally within Loudoun County. They were used for the cultivation of crops during the antebellum period, and in many areas remain in agricultural production today.

South of Big Spring Branch, the terrain along the Potomac rises abruptly to an intricately dissected, multi-lobed plateau with maximal elevations of 300 to 335 feet amsl. The northern end of this high plateau is known as Ball's Bluff, and was the site of the most intense fighting during the October 1861 engagement. From Ball's Bluff south for a distance of approximately 3.25 miles, the eastern edge of this plateau is marked by a steep, rocky escarpment that falls abruptly 100 feet or more to the edge of the Potomac River. Subsequently, the height of the escarpment gradually decreases towards the south to about 60 feet. In places, a narrow low alluvial terrace lies between the base of the escarpment and the water's edge. However this terrace is discontinuous and is interrupted at regular intervals by steep outcroppings of rock that drop precipitously to the river. About three-quarters of a mile north of the mouth of Goose Creek, located at the southern end of the battlefield historic district, the terrace broadens into a wide floodplain that reaches a maximum width of one-quarter mile at Goose Creek and Edwards Ferry, Virginia. The western edge of this floodplain is bordered by a continuation of the escarpment, although its height reaches only 45 feet in this area. At Ball's Bluff, where the escarpment is at its highest, a series of regularly-spaced and deeply incised dendritic drainages cut inland from the escarpment's edge for a distance of 0.2 to 0.4 miles, making north-south passage along the top of the escarpment difficult. Beyond the heads of these drainages, the terrain becomes less broken and begins to decline gently into the valley of Cattail Branch, which roughly parallels the Potomac River. West of Cattail Branch, in the southwestern part of the historic district, the terrain again becomes more broken. It is here that For Evans is located atop a high hill at a height of 430 feet amsl.

Historic Physical Appearance

On the eve of the Civil War, the economy of Loudoun County, Virginia, and Montgomery County, Maryland, revolved predominantly around agriculture. In 1860, more than 1,200 Loudoun County farms valued collectively at \$10.5 million tilled nearly one-quarter of a million acres of improved land, the fourth largest area of arable land among all Virginia counties. These farms yielded more corn than any other Virginia county, ranked second state-wide in wheat production, and also produced significant quantities of rye and oats. Across the river in Montgomery County, Maryland, nearly 1,300 farms valued at almost \$6 million tilled more than 176,000 acres, the fifth largest in the state. Montgomery County in 1860 had Maryland's third highest wheat yield and ranked among the state's leading producers of rye, corn, and oats.⁶ Leesburg, Virginia, and Poolesville, Maryland, were the largest towns in the area; the vast majority of the region's population resided in the countryside on farms of varying sizes. The regional transportation infrastructure consisted of a network of primary roads, river crossings, canals, and rail lines constructed largely during the preceding half-century to facilitate the efficient conveyance of agricultural produce eastward to market, and commercial goods westward to more rural areas. Specialized structures including mills, warehouses, and landings for the processing and transshipment of agricultural produce were common nodes within this transportation network, especially along the Virginia side of the Potomac River east of Leesburg.

On the Virginia side of the Potomac, large portions of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District were in the hands of a relatively small number of property owners. West of Conrad's Ferry lay A. T. M. Rust's 575-acre

⁶ United States Census Office, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860. Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census*, 72–73. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864).

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Rockland plantation.⁷ South of Rust's property and extending to the northern portion of Ball's Bluff was George W. Ball's 740-acre Springwood plantation that reached from Big Spring to the Potomac, except for a 40-acre tract containing John P. Smart's mill just south of the mouth of Big Spring Branch. Properties owned by John Thomas and leading Leesburg citizen, Henry T. Harrison, who also owned the large island in the Potomac, lay south of George Ball's Springwood. In the vicinity of Ball's Bluff, ownership of the dissected and relatively unproductive land was in dispute, with the widow Margaret Jackson and her sons claiming ownership of several small tracts. South of Ball's Bluff and the Jackson and Harrison properties, was the 1,700-acre Exeter plantation that had been acquired a decade before the war by Abner and Horatio Trundle. This land reached to the high hill where Fort Evans would later be constructed and from the Potomac River west to the town limits of Leesburg. East of the Trundles' Exeter Plantation, towards Edwards Ferry, the land holdings were more fragmented. John Ault owned perhaps 250 acres on both sides of Edwards Ferry Road, including the building now known as Cattail Ordinary where he resided and the river access called Chichester's or Ault's Landing about 0.4 miles to the northeast. Among the smaller landholdings in this area was a 67-acre tract held by Cornelia Harris, the common-law widow of free Black boatman Bazil Newman who, prior to his death in 1852, also held interests in a local mill and a grain warehouse. A 500+-acre tract immediately east of the Harris-Newman property and north of the mouth of Goose Creek, known as Goshen, was owned by the milling and shipping partnership of John P. Smart and Edgar Bentley.⁸

Landholdings east of the river in Maryland are less well researched, however available maps suggest that here too the bulk of the most productive land was in the hands of relatively few individuals. As mentioned, at the start of the Civil War Leesburg resident Henry T. Harrison owned the nearly 400-acre island in the Potomac that bore his name.

The appearance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District in 1861 reflected the primary agricultural focus of the regional economy and the opportunities and constraints imposed by local geographical and environmental conditions. On the Maryland side of the Potomac, the vast expanse of fertile floodplain appears to have been largely cleared by the middle of the nineteenth century and almost entirely devoted to agriculture. The C & O Canal, opened through the district more than a quarter-century earlier, paralleled the Maryland shore, at a distance between 250 and 1,000 feet from the water's edge. Between Conrad's Ferry (present-day White's Ferry) and Edwards Ferry, the canal consisted of a tapered channel or "prism" six feet deep and 60 feet wide at its surface, and contained on both sides by earthen embankments or berms. On the river side of the canal ran the towpath, a roughly 12-foot-wide smooth-surfaced path used by the horses and mules that pulled the canal boats. On the opposite, or "berm side" of the canal, the embankment was less wide.⁹ Wherever present, crossing streams passed under the canal prism and tow path by means of arched stone culverts. Broad Run was the largest such cross stream. Located about a mile north of Edwards Ferry, the stream was directed beneath the canal through a pair of arched stone culverts, however these had been washed out by flooding in 1846. By 1861, the canal bridged Broad Run by means of a wooden aqueduct.¹⁰ A detailed topographical map of the left bank of the Potomac produced by the U.S. Coast Survey in 1865 just after the War's end shows a narrow fringe of

⁷ The Rockland property was acquired by George Rust in 1817 from Burgess Ball, grandfather of George Washington Ball of Springwood (John Wells, "Rockland," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1987; http://www.dhr.virginia.gov/registers/Counties/Loudoun/053-0096_Rockland_1987_Final_Nomination.pdf)

⁸ This reconstruction of Loudoun County land holdings at the start of Civil War draws heavily on Wynne C. Saffer, *Loudoun County Virginia: 1860 Land Tax Maps, George K. Fox's District*, manuscript maps, Thomas Balch Library, Leesburg, Virginia.

⁹ Harlan D. Unrau, *Historic Structure Report: The Canal Prism Including Towpath with Canal Berm and River Revetments, Historical Data, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, MD.-D.C.-W-VA*, (Denver, Colorado: NPS Historic Preservation Team, 1974), 9-19; Thomas F. S. Hahn, *Towpath Guide to the C&O Canal: Georgetown Tidlock to Cumberland, Revised Combined Edition* (Shepherdstown, West Virginia: American Canal and Transportation Center), 62.

¹⁰ John F. Luzander, *Historic Building Survey: Broad Run Trunk, C & O Canal National Monument*, Part 1, historic data. (Hagerstown, MD: National Park Service, Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park, 1961).

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trees on the steep bank of the Potomac; otherwise the terrain between the river and canal was clear and open except along streams and in low-lying flood chutes.¹¹ Various primary accounts also record the presence of thick trees and brush along the banks of the Potomac which the Union pickets used for cover and concealment in the summer and fall of 1861.¹² To the east, away from the river and canal, the Maryland floodplain landscape opened out into large agricultural fields broken infrequently by orchards, woodlots, and hedgerows. Even the high bluffs east of Edwards Ferry were cleared during the Civil War. Casper Crowninshield, 20th Massachusetts Infantry, described the unobstructed view across the river into Virginia from here in August 1861, and it was on this high ground that Gen. Charles Stone sited his artillery during the October 1861 battle.¹³ Harrison's Island appears to have been almost entirely cleared of trees except along the river bank and field edges. A cluster of buildings, including a house and barn, stood near the island's center while the foundations of a unique octagonal barn lay to the east. By 1861, the island appears to have been occupied only seasonally by enslaved agricultural workers.¹⁴

At C & O Canal Lock #25 near Edwards Ferry, a pivot bridge allowed ferry traffic to cross the canal. Here too stood a two-story brick house, the residence of the lock keeper, as well as various other buildings, mainly commercial, that had been constructed to take advantage of the intersection between canal, river, and overland traffic.¹⁵ The cluster of buildings at Edwards Ferry is depicted in a photograph reportedly taken in the winter of 1861–1862 as well as in period drawings and illustrations.¹⁶ Conrad's Ferry upstream about five miles was far less developed. Here, period accounts report only the presence of one or two crude structures – a cabin that may have once housed Page's Tavern and a rough shed by the canal that perhaps was used by the ferryman and his passengers. There was no bridge to cross the canal at Conrad's Ferry, and ferry traffic utilized a stream culvert passing below the canal to reach the river. River Road ran between the two ferries, following the outer edge of the Potomac floodplain about a half-mile east of the river for much of the distance and largely outside of the battlefield historic district. During the October 1861 Battle of Ball's Bluff, the Union army relied on the C & O Canal towpath to move troops and equipment north and south.¹⁷

¹¹ John W. Donn (under the direction of Maj. C.S. Stewart, Chief Engineer, Middle Military Division, U.S. Engineers), *Upper Potomac: Topographical Survey of the North Bank and Reconnaissance of the South Shore and Islands of the Potomac River*, in 6 sheets, 1:10,000 (Washington, D.C.: US Coast Survey, 1865), digital copies held by University of Alabama Cartographic Research Laboratory, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, <http://alabamamaps.ua.edu/historicalmaps/>.

¹² Jasper N. Searles, M. F. Taylor and R.I. Holcombe, *History of the First Regiment Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, 1861–1864* (Stillwater, Minnesota: Easton and Masterman, 1916), 64; William R. Hamilton, "Ball's Bluff: From the Diary of the Late Major L.H.D. Crane, Third Wisconsin Volunteers," *The United Service. A Monthly Review of Military and Naval Affairs*, n.s. vol. 17 (January 1897), 15.

¹³ Miller, *Harvard's Civil War*, 52; Robert N. Scott, ed. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of Official Records, of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 Volumes, ser. 1, vol. 5, 336. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901). Because these volumes are commonly referred to as the 'OR's,' subsequent citations will refer to O.R.; See also Donn, *Upper Potomac*, sheet 5, which shows the bluff tops and slopes down to Edwards Ferry as cleared in 1865.

¹⁴ U.S. Corps of Topographical Engineers, *Map of N. Eastern Virginia; OR Atlas, Plate 7*; see also Donn, *Upper Potomac*, sheets 4 and 5; P. A. Hanaford, *The Young Captain: A Memorial of Capt. Richard C. Derby, Fifteenth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, Who Fell at Antietam* (Boston, Massachusetts: Estes & Co., 1865), 85–86.

¹⁵ George A. Bruce, *The Twentieth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 1861–1865* (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906), 17.

¹⁶ The photograph, from the collection of Poolesville resident Jim Poole is reproduced as Plate 13 in Stuart Fidel, John Bedell and Charles LeeDecker, *Cohongorooto: The Potomac Above the Falls. Archaeological Identification and Evaluation Study of Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park, Rock Creek to Sandy Hook (Mile Markers 0 to 59). Final Report*. vol. 1. Prepared for the National Park Service, National Capital Region (Washington, D.C.: Louis Berger Group, Inc. 2005); Other historic illustrations include "Our Army at Edwards's Ferry, On The Potomac, Opposite Leesburg," *Harper's Weekly*, vol. 5, No. 254 (November 9, 1861), 708; and Robert K. Sneden, "Edward's Ferry on Upper Potomac near Ball's Bluff Va. Where Gen'l. Bank's Division crossed over Oct. 22nd 1861," *Robert Knox Sneden Scrapbook, 1861–1865, Part 1: April 1861 – March 1862*. Collection #1994:80.1–538. Mss #5:7 Sn237:1, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.

¹⁷ Kephart, Mary Ann. "White's Ferry," 180–181. *The Montgomery County Story*, vol. 44, No. 2 (May 2001); Hanford, *The Young Captain*, 90; Hamilton, "Crane Diary Extract," 13; Donn, *Upper Potomac*, sheet 5; Harlan D. Unrau, *The Culverts, Historical*

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On the Virginia side of the Potomac, the 1861 battlefield landscape within and around the historic district was far more varied than on the Maryland shore. North of Ball's Bluff, the narrow Potomac floodplain and relatively low-lying but hilly lands of the adjoining limestone region appear to have been largely cleared for agricultural purposes by the onset of the Civil War. However trees likely still lined the banks of the river and Big Spring Branch. Several large buildings stood within this part of the district, including George W. Ball's recently constructed Springwood north of Big Spring as well as the large brick mill, alternately known as Smart's or Big Spring Mill, and a group of related buildings on the bank of the Potomac below the mouth of Big Spring Branch. An earlier Ball house also probably still stood on a low rise about one-half-mile northwest of the mill. A road ran down the narrow floodplain between Limestone Creek, past Conrad's Ferry, to Smart's Mill, crossing Big Spring Branch via a small covered bridge on stone abutments. At the mill, the road forked, with one branch leading west along a tributary to Big Spring Branch and the southern boundary of George Ball's property to reach the main road north from Leesburg at Big Spring. The road's second, eastern branch continued in a more southerly direction from Smart's Mill, ascending the steep terrain towards Ball's Bluff.¹⁸

South of the limestone district, the terrain rose sharply and became rocky. Poorly suited to cultivation, the land in proximity to the Potomac River was heavily wooded. As described by G. Nash Morton, a member of the Richmond Howitzers artillery battalion stationed at Big Spring in the late summer–early fall of 1861, “skirting the river was a considerable stretch of woodland concealing precipitous bluffs rising from the river.”¹⁹ The view of the bluffs from the east was much the same, and numerous period accounts described the heavily wooded land dropping sharply down the rocky slope to a narrow ledge of floodplain bordering water's edge.²⁰ At the top of the escarpment, occasional areas of more level land had been cleared, including an approximately 14-acre field hemmed in by thickly wooded steep ravines to the north and south that had grown up in “wild grass, scrub oak and locust trees” on Ball's Bluff.²¹ About one-half to one mile west of the bluffs' edge, the landscape northeast of Leesburg opened up into a vista of more gently rolling, largely cleared agricultural fields.²² Small houses were found along this margin between the forested, dissected land along the bluff and the road leading from Smart's Mill that continued south for a mile and a half, skirting the heads of the numerous deep ravines draining down to the Potomac and passing through the Trundles' extensive Exeter plantation, before striking the Edwards Ferry Road running east from Leesburg. Cattail Branch flowed northwest to southeast between the Smart's Mill–Edwards Ferry Road and the Exeter planation house, and the stream valley and the steeper, rising land to its west remained at least partially cloaked in forest. Fort Evans, sited atop a high hill about one-half mile south of Cattail Branch, was designed to afford unobstructed observation and, perhaps, fields of fire for

Data, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, MD–DC–W.VA (Denver, Colorado: National Park Service Historic Preservation Team, 1976), 1, 39, 84; and Edwin C. Bearrs, *Chesapeake & Ohio Canal: The Bridges*, 47. (Washington, D.C.: NPS Division of History Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation).

¹⁸ Craig Rose, *North Spring Behavioral Hospital, Loudoun County, Virginia. Phase I Archaeological Investigation of (+/- 46 acres)*, 28–30 (Gainesville, Virginia: Thunderbird Archaeology, 2013); William Bauman, “Compilation of Canal Trade Articles from *The Washingtonian*, a Leesburg Newspaper, 1836–1871, Loudoun County, Virginia,” (Glen Echo, Maryland: C & O Canal Association, 2012), 4, 13–14, accessed July 22, 2015, <http://www.candocanal.org/histdocs/Newspapers-Leesburg.pdf>; U.S. Corps of Topographical Engineers, *Map of N.Eastern Virginia*; Loudoun County Road Case RP1834-001, Bridge Cases B1833-001, B1836-001, B1850-001.

¹⁹ G. Nash Morton, “The Richmond Howitzers and the Battle of Ball's Bluff,” *Confederate Veteran* 32 (1924):14.

²⁰ Hamilton, “Crane Diary Extract,” 15; Francis W. Palfrey, *Memoir of William Francis Bartlett* (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton, Osgood & Co., 1879), 20 and map opposite p.22; Testimony of Col. Isaac J. Wistar, January 11, 1862. *Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War. Part II. Bull Run–Ball's Bluff [JCCW]*, 309. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1863).

²¹ Wistar testimony, *JCCW*, part 2, 309; Report of Capt. Francis C. Young, *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 327–28.

²² *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 308–309.

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emplaced artillery, at least towards the likely avenues of approach associated with an enemy to the east. The lower slopes of the Fort Evans hill however remained wooded.²³

The wooded terrain below Fort Evans appears to have extended for some distance east of Cattail Branch towards Edwards Ferry. The account of Major John Mix, 3rd New York Cavalry, indicates that the woods continued about 300 yards beyond the intersection of Edwards Ferry Road and the road south to Kephart's Mill, formerly located opposite the present-day parking lot at Red Rock Wilderness Park.²⁴ South of the intersection, wooded land in all likelihood extended along Cattail Branch to Goose Creek where the road skirted the summit of a high wooded hill before descending the steep escarpment to the covered bridge across the stream just up from Kephart's Mill on its south bank.²⁵ East of the Edwards Ferry Road–Kephart's Mill Road intersection the terrain appears to have become increasingly cleared agricultural land, although to the north of Edwards Ferry Road the woods continued along the steep escarpment bordering the river, occasionally extending inland away from the river along at least the steeper-sided drainages and ravines dissecting this rocky edge. Similarly, drainages leading south into Goose Creek appear to have been wooded.²⁶ Although tree-lined field and property boundaries seem to have been common in the vicinity of the Dailey House, placed by most researchers about one mile northwest of the mouth of Goose Creek, much of the land here within the historic Goshen plantation, which extended down into the broad floodplain along the Potomac north of Goose Creek, appears to have been cleared. Near the Edwards Ferry landing on the Virginia shore there had stood a warehouse and ferryman's house, however these structures had been damaged if not destroyed by fire two months prior to the October 1861 Battle of Ball's Bluff.²⁷

Historic images depicting the Goose Creek–Potomac River floodplain document the presence of a narrow verge of trees lining the Potomac River shoreline at Edwards Ferry, Virginia. The majority of the floodplain, however, was depicted as largely open, most likely reflecting the cultivation of this bottom land through much of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²⁸ The openness of the Goose Creek floodplain is also reflected in the fact that Federal forces easily observed activities in Virginia from the Maryland high ground. In the presence of the commander of the Corps of Observation on the Edwards Ferry, Maryland high ground, Capt. Francis G. Young noted that Brig. General Charles P. Stone was “looking very intently at a company of skirmishers which had crossed at Edwards's [sic] Ferry, and could be seen formed as skirmishers on the Virginia side.”²⁹ The Goose Creek floodplain was also described by Capt. John H. Richardson who landed there on October 20, 1861: “At the mouth of Goose Creek, . . . there is a flat of some 30 acres.” West of the floodplain the bluffs and dissecting ravines overlooked the Potomac River. “There is a high bluff right up from there; and there is a road very near the creek that runs up on the bluff; and there was a little ravine out about 60 yards beyond.”³⁰

²³ For the appearance of Fort Evans, see “Section of Earth—Works Commanding the Approaches to Leesburg, Virginia, On the South,” *Harper's Weekly* 5, no. 250 (October 12, 1861):650. A plat of a portion of Exeter plantation drafted in 1833 shows woods lying between Cattail Branch and roughly the present-day Route 15 Bypass, Loudoun County Deed Book 4B: 143. The woods below Fort Evans to the east are mentioned by Col. William Barksdale, 13th Mississippi Infantry (*O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 354), Col. W.S. Featherston, 17th Mississippi Infantry (*O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 358), and by Morton, “Richmond Howitzers,” 15, among others.

²⁴ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 335; Loudoun County Deed Book 5Z: 46.

²⁵ The wooded hill above Kephart's Bridge is described by Gen. Charles Stone (*O.R.* ser. 1, vol. 5, 293, 331) while the specifications for the covered bridge built across Goose Creek at Kephart's Mill in 1851 are contained in Loudoun County Bridge Case B1851-001.

²⁶ *O.R.* ser. 1, vol. 5, 354–55.

²⁷ *The Daily Dispatch* (Richmond, Virginia), August 10, 1861, 3.

²⁸ “Engagement Between the National Troops and the Rebels on the Virginia Side of the Potomac, Opposite Edwards' Ferry on 22nd Oct.,” *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, November 16, 1861, 409.

²⁹ Testimony of Francis G. Young, January 16, 1862, *JCCW*, part 2, 319.

³⁰ Testimony of Capt. John H. Richardson, January 18, 1862, *JCCW*, part 2, 339.

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Present Physical Appearance

The evolution of the battlefield landscape over the past 150 years largely reflects the consequences of broad regional forces and trends. The Civil War itself altered the landscape, although most of these changes were reversible and relatively short-lived. The construction of earthworks around Leesburg continued under Confederate Brig. Gen. D. H. Hill through the winter of 1861–1862, and was taken up again briefly by Union forces occupying the area in June 1863. The remains of two modest earthworks likely post-dating the Battle of Ball's Bluff survive within the Ball's Bluff Battlefield. When the Confederate army withdrew from Leesburg in early March 1862, they reportedly burned much that the Union army would have found useful, including mills, storehouses, and bridges. Smart's Mill, which was described in an 1868 advertisement as burned, may have been among the casualties of the Confederate withdrawal. Horatio Trundle, whose large Exeter plantation occupied much of the land between Leesburg and the Potomac River, recorded considerable property losses over the course of the war, including damages caused by the construction of earthworks and the cutting of timber.³¹ On the Maryland side of the river, property loss appears to have been less severe, although the 1861–1862 Union winter encampment west of Poolesville likely left at least a temporary mark on the landscape. Within the historic district, the C & O Canal was damaged repeatedly. During a large Union river crossing at Edwards Ferry in June 1863 as part of the march towards Gettysburg, the Lock 25 pivot bridge suffered greatly from heavy use, while a year later Confederate soldiers burned the tow path bridge over the Goose Creek river lock just to the south.³²

In the decade following the close of the Civil War, damaged and destroyed agricultural and transportation infrastructure was gradually rebuilt. Agricultural recovery in the post-bellum period surged, and by 1880 Loudoun County was once again a leading producer in Virginia.³³

By 1900 the population of Loudoun County had recovered to 1860 levels. As a largely rural municipality located near metropolitan Washington, D.C., early twentieth-century Loudoun farmers focused on dairy production.³⁴ Following the Depression, agriculture and dairying was enhanced through modernization of processes and equipment. Production soared again due to increased demand during World War II. By the last quarter of the twentieth century, eastern Loudoun County was increasingly desirable as a residential area for those working in the Washington D.C. metropolitan area, resulting in extensive development of farm land for housing and commerce.³⁵

In Montgomery County, construction of the I-270 corridor in the 1950s, the I-495 'Beltway' in 1964, and the Metrorail system in 1968 led to intensive residential and commercial development in the southern and central portions of the county. Although the northwestern portion of the county has remained largely rural, the land continues to be developed and to change due to its proximity to the expanding Washington, D.C. metropolitan area.

Today, the Maryland side of the Potomac River within the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District retains its essential rural character. However, turf farming has replaced grain agriculture over much of the broad Potomac

³¹ Taylor M. Chamberlin and John M. Souders, *Between Reb and Yank: A Civil War History of Northern Loudoun County, Virginia* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co., 2011), 73–80, 96–97; Bauman, "Compilation of Canal Trade Articles," 14; Taylor M. Chamberlin, "Exeter Plantation During the War: Horatio Trundle's Southern Claims Commission Case File," *Bulletin of the Loudoun County Historical Society* (2004):40–74.

³² Bearrs, *The Bridges*, 46–47.

³³ James W. Head, *History and Comprehensive Description of Loudoun County, Virginia* (Washington, D.C.: Park View Press, 1909), 87–89.

³⁴ Patrick A. Deck and Henry Heaton, *An Economic and Social Survey of Loudoun County*, University of Virginia Record Extension Series, Volume X. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1926), 106.

³⁵ Rose, *North Spring Behavioral Hospital*, 26–27.

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floodplain, and area roads, although their routes are unchanged, are now widened and lined by overhead electrical lines. White's Ferry Road and Edwards Ferry Road are paved, but River Road along the outer margin of the Potomac floodplain is not. Since 1971, the C & O Canal corridor has been a publicly accessible unit of the National Park System and the towpath is now heavily traveled by hikers, bicyclists, and horseback riders. The canal prism remains intact along much of its length, however it is only intermittently watered and is heavily overgrown. Many of the buildings and canal structures have been restored or stabilized, including the iron bridge and nearby warehouse at Conrad's (now White's) Ferry that post-date the October 1861 battle. The greatest change is that the canal corridor, indeed all of the C & O Canal National Historical Park land, is now heavily wooded where it was more open earlier. Consequently, views of the river, the steep escarpment rising up from the Virginia shore, and of Harrison's Island are possible only where the river's edge can be reached, as at Edwards Ferry, White's Ferry and occasional spots in between. Views west to Virginia and south to Harrison's Island from the relatively expansive open land at White's Ferry, Maryland, are particularly striking, especially in light of the relatively limited twentieth-century development on the opposite shore. The slopes rising to the bluffs above Edwards Ferry are also now heavily wooded both north and south of Edwards Ferry Road. Although the more level land atop the bluffs remains clear, there are several late twentieth-century homes and other post-Civil War additions to the landscape and the views towards the river and Virginia are obscured by the trees bordering the western edges of the bluffs. White's Ferry continues to function, transporting vehicular traffic back and forth across the Potomac and offering unique views of the surrounding landscape. Edwards Ferry apparently ceased operating in the early twentieth century. However, a public boat ramp in this location on the Maryland side continues to provide access to the river.

Harrison's Island is today more heavily wooded than it was during Civil War. Although the island remained largely under active cultivation until the late twentieth century, it is now used as a private hunting preserve. A significant portion of the two-mile-long island has been placed under conservation easement and tree-planting campaigns have been undertaken to enhance wildlife habitat and to provide a riparian buffer. Historic field boundaries, marked by lines of mature trees, survive. The two-story brick house that served as a field hospital for Union wounded, though long abandoned, still stands along a low spine of higher ground near the center of the island, while masonry remains of nineteenth-century barn foundations exist both north and northeast of this structure. An approximately 12-foot-high earthen mound measuring 100 feet by 200 feet rises north of the old barn foundations. This raised platform was constructed around 1970 to protect farm animals and equipment during major floods. A recently constructed two-story hunting cabin and a large equipment shelter are also sited atop this mound. A second equipment shelter stands some 600 feet to the south. West of this central complex, the terrain slopes down into a broad flood chute that runs the length of the island. Although previously farmed, this linear declivity has been dammed and converted into wetland habitat. Access to Harrison's Island is still possible only by boat, from either the landing at White's Ferry or from a small landing on the Virginia side just north of Ball's Bluff. No formal archaeological investigations have been conducted on Harrison's Island, however it seems highly likely that intact mid-nineteenth-century deposits and features, including potentially those associated with the Battle of Ball's Bluff, survive on the island.

On the Virginia side of the Potomac, development has been much more prolific, having accelerated rapidly during the last quarter of the twentieth century. The westernmost portions of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield core area as defined by the 2009 Civil Wars Sites Advisory Commission's restudy have been consumed by this development; the western boundary of the updated Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District is drawn to exclude the limits of this recent suburban expansion. The eastward expansion of Leesburg is also responsible for dividing the 10-acre Fort Evans parcel from the main 3,256-acre Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District due to a loss of integrity resulting from development.

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In the northernmost part of the battlefield, north of White's Ferry Road, the landscape immediately west of White's Ferry, comprised of a mix of open field and woodland, retains its historic rural character. Potential archaeological deposits associated with the historic ferry landing, including evidence of Confederate picket posts and artillery stations, have not been identified, however no archaeological research has been conducted in this area. Southwest of the ferry in the sharp angle made by White's Ferry Road is an early twentieth-century dwelling that occupies a nearly 50-acre, heavily treed and landscaped lot. The nineteenth-century road that once ran from the mouth of Limestone Branch past the ferry landing and south to Smart's Mill and Ball's Bluff now survives as a (paved) route for a distance of 0.35 miles south of White's Ferry.

South of White's Ferry Road, the rolling limestone land extending south towards the high ground at Ball's Bluff, was developed in the late 1990s as the Big Spring Farm subdivision. Lots in this subdivision have an average size of approximately 25 acres. Most houses are quite large. The subdivision includes a network of narrow paved roads. The former agricultural land occupied by this subdivision remains otherwise open and its essential topographic character has been little altered. Smart's Mill, which was located south of the mouth of Big Spring Creek, is no longer standing; the physical remains of this and other associated nineteenth-century buildings are not known. Similarly, evidence of the covered bridge crossing of Big Spring Branch north of the mill has not been discovered. Traces of the nineteenth-century road leading west from Smart's Mill to Big Spring survive and the abandoned roadbed recently was recorded by data generated by a Light Detection and Ranging (LiDAR) system, while much of the nineteenth-century route leading south to Ball's Bluff remains in active, if infrequent, use. The Big Spring Farm subdivision is bounded to the west by Route 15, a heavily trafficked, four-lane, divided highway that cuts north-south through the battlefield for a distance of nearly 1,700 feet along the historic route of the old Carolina Road. West of Route 15, Tutt Lane follows its nineteenth-century corridor. Big Spring, described by soldiers encamped in the vicinity before the battle, survives, although the highway has encroached upon its eastern edge. George W. Ball's mid-nineteenth-century Springwood mansion and the Ball family cemetery still stand north of Big Spring. Subsurface testing has identified a large archaeological site associated with Springwood mansion that has been recommended eligible for listing on the National Register for its potential to contribute to understanding of local mid-nineteenth-century plantation life.³⁶ Commercial development of the larger 45-acre parcel consists of the late twentieth century North Spring Behavioral Hospital complex with associated paved roads and parking areas, as well as remnants of a dispersed late nineteenth to early-twentieth century agricultural complex. The large size of the tract and the dispersed nature of development help this historic property retain elements of its rural, agrarian past. Although conclusive evidence of the October 1861 Confederate camp at Big Spring has not been discovered on the property, a slightly later Civil War earthwork has been recorded.³⁷

Progressing south from the Big Spring area, the rural character of the landscape remains intact as the terrain rises up towards Ball's Bluff. Today, much of this land is wooded, perhaps more so than in the mid-nineteenth century. The house occupied by Margaret Jackson and her sons during the Battle of Ball's Bluff still stands within a small clearing at the edge of the woods that extend east towards the river. Systematic archaeological testing in this area is likely to document evidence of mid-nineteenth-century domestic life and, if accompanied by geophysical prospection and metal detection, military remains directly associated with the Battle of Ball's Bluff. The old road to Smart's Mill, now a graveled track, passes the house to the north, traversing cleared fields and increasingly wooded terrain as it descends the bluff towards the river. South of the Jackson house, late twentieth-century residential development encroaches from the east. However, to the west and northwest the vista still opens out into cleared fields similar to those viewed by Col. Charles Devens and his 15th Massachusetts Infantry on the morning of October 21, 1861.

³⁶ Rose, *North Spring Behavioral Hospital*, 111–117, 121.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 82–86.

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[REDACTED]

Southeast of the Jackson house, Ball's Bluff Road transitions to gravel and extends east for about one-quarter mile along the approximate route of the nineteenth-century cart path traveled by Devens's men in 1861. It ends in a parking area that provides access to footpaths leading to Ball's Bluff National Cemetery, sited at the edge of the escarpment another one-quarter-mile to the northeast and located within the original National Historic Landmark as defined in 1984. Segments of a narrow, incised roadbed survive paralleling the north side of the current park road and are identified by park signage as remnants of the mid-nineteenth-century cart path traveled by Union troops during the battle. The old field across which so much of the heaviest fighting took place on October 21, 1861 has been recently re-cleared and is maintained in open vegetation, affording visitors the opportunity to understand key terrain associated with the battle. Archaeological testing and controlled geophysical survey has never been conducted on this portion of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield, however the area very likely retains material remains associated with the battle even though that area appears to have been the focus of relic hunting prior to 1984.³⁸ Publicly-owned parkland today extends north of the Ball's Bluff National Cemetery for 0.43 miles to the southern boundary of the Big Spring Farm subdivision, and extends from the bank of the Potomac River west for a distance of one-half mile. South of the cemetery, the public parkland continues for nearly one mile along the wooded, dissected bluffs and escarpment bordering the river. In all, nearly 350 acres of undeveloped public land border the river, providing a buffer around the national cemetery and preserving the natural character and historic setting of the long Potomac River escarpment. Today, more than eight-and-a-half miles of walking trails crisscross the parkland. A low earthwork, identified as a Civil War infantry trench constructed after the Battle of Ball's Bluff, survives along the western edge of the parkland [REDACTED]. Further to the southeast, segments of the abandoned mid-nineteenth-century Smart's Mill/Big Spring-Edwards Ferry Road survives along the margin of the parkland and battlefield historic district.

Approximately one mile south of the Ball's Bluff National Cemetery and just east of the twenty-first-century Edwards Landing subdivision, the battlefield expands to encompass a series of relatively large, privately owned rural properties, and one public park, located along the historic Edwards Ferry Road corridor and within the Cattail Branch valley. Although the Edwards Ferry Road environs contain predominantly late nineteenth- and twentieth-century residences and outbuildings, the rural agrarian character of the landscape survives and the patterns of cleared fields and woodland likely approximates that during the Battle of Ball's Bluff. Through this portion of the battlefield, historic plats and maps reveal that Edwards Ferry Road continues to follow its mid-nineteenth course. Now paved and lined by overhead electrical lines, the road's gently sinuous and undulating course, which was travelled by both Union and Confederate troops in October 1861, remains an important feature of the battlefield for understanding the events of the battle. West of Cattail Branch, Edwards Ferry Road passes through a well-preserved Confederate earthwork, the so-called masked battery, which spanned the road in October 1861 and guarded this important eastern approach to Leesburg. Archaeological testing and metal detection in proximity of the earthwork has thus far not yielded Civil War era artifacts or other features. West of the earthwork, Edwards Ferry Road widens before it intersects the four-lane Battlefield Parkway. The battlefield includes about 0.3 miles of this north-south suburban artery to encompass wooded, undeveloped land to its west along the Edwards Ferry Road corridor. [REDACTED] contains the remains of a Confederate artillery encampment occupied during the Battle of Ball's Bluff that has yet to be investigated archaeologically. To the southwest, the land slopes up steeply towards the summit of the high hill

³⁸ See, for example, the examples of small arms ammunition, military buttons, artillery friction primers, and iron shrapnel collected by relic hunters in this area and illustrated in Kim Bernard Holien, *Battle at Ball's Bluff: The Fateful Clash of North and South at Leesburg, Virginia, October 21, 1861*, 3rd printing (Shepherdsville, Kentucky: Publishers Press, Inc., 1995), 30, 58–59, 61, 68.

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occupied by Fort Evans. Twentieth-century commercial development now encircles the hilltop. Contained within the Fort Evans parcel is a mid-twentieth century residence associated with the Carr/Harris occupation of the property. The 2-acre earthwork enclosure survives with only minor direct impacts to its fabric and structure. Limited archaeological testing and metal detection conducted on the hilltop northeast of the fort recorded Civil War features and artifacts, suggesting that undisturbed areas of the hilltop likely contain significant remains.³⁹

Roughly 0.4 miles east of Cattail Branch along the Edwards Ferry Road corridor, the rural landscape gives way on the south side of the road to dense suburban development lying outside of the battlefield boundary. Edwards Ferry Road continues along its historic alignment for another 0.4 miles, with the land north of the road to the Potomac River remaining rural and undeveloped. Here, the historic district encompasses a small nineteenth century log cabin set amidst pasture, field, and woodland and fronting Edwards Ferry Road as well as the course of the nineteenth-century road to Ault's Landing that now serves the Murray Hill estate but that lead to a riverside warehouse at the time of the Battle of Ball's Bluff. To the east lies the nearly 70-acre, heavily wooded Red Rock Wilderness Park that extends north from Edwards Ferry Road to the Potomac. This public park, encompassing buildings and stabilized ruins of a late nineteenth-century farm, is accessed by gravel drive and parking area arising from Edwards Ferry Road. At the park's northwestern corner, trails descend to the river's edge at the mouth of a deep ravine, providing views of the southern tip of Harrison's Island and the Maryland shoreline. At the time of the battle, there was a nineteenth-century warehouse just north of the ravine's mouth used to store Loudoun grain and flour for shipment east along the C & O Canal. Although the road trace leading down to the river survives along the north side of the ravine on private property, physical remains of the warehouse have not been discovered. To the east, trails continue along the top of the wooded escarpment, which here rises about 60 feet above the Potomac.

Moving east along the river, the floodplain of the Potomac widens. This low-lying level ground has been adapted to accommodate the tee boxes, fairways, sandtraps and greens of the lightly landscaped River Creek Golf Course that follows the base of the declining wooded bluff north and east of the residential development. A narrow verge of trees like that present in 1861 also graces the golf course property north of and adjacent to Goose Creek and west of and adjacent to the Potomac River. Despite the presence of the golf course, the essential open character of the floodplain remains, along with the historic topography at the outer margin, and the steep and wooded bluff edge. The viewshed east from the golf course across the Potomac and into Maryland continues to encompass broad expanses of undeveloped land. Although evidence of the nineteenth-century Edwards Ferry landing is not visible, archaeological remains associated with the historic ferry site lie deliberately buried beneath the golf course's ninth tee.

From the mouth of Goose Creek, the battlefield historic district extends west in a narrow arm along the stream for about one mile to the masonry ruins of the mid-nineteenth-century Kephart's Bridge abutments. Goose Creek served as a natural southern boundary to the Ball's Bluff Battlefield, with engagements and troop movements confined to land north of the stream, much of which is now heavily developed. The northern bank of Goose Creek becomes increasingly high and steep towards the west and has prevented its development. Access to this rugged area is currently limited, but the terrain, which includes the sole surviving trace of Kephart's Mill Road, can be viewed from public parkland bordering the south bank of Goose Creek. Undisturbed portions of the hilltop overlooking the remains of Kephart's Bridge may contain physical remains directly associated with the Battle of Ball's Bluff, however this area has never received formal archaeological investigation.

³⁹ Joseph Balicki, Walton H. Owen, and Donna J. Seifert, *Historical and Archeological Investigations at Fort Evans* (Report prepared by John Milner Associates, 1998).

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Contributing Resources**1. Ball's Bluff Battlefield (Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR) #253-5021) (contributing site)**

The Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District encompasses 3,266 acres in eastern Loudoun County, Virginia, and western Montgomery County, Maryland, and represents a significant portion of the 10,436-acre Ball's Bluff Battlefield as delineated through survey and assessment in 2009 by the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Study update administered by the American Battlefield Protection Program.⁴⁰ The battlefield landscape is defined by a variety of locations and landscape features, both natural and cultural, that shaped the military engagement and helped to structure the event and its outcome. The Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District constitutes the majority of the battlefield core area as defined by the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission that retains sufficient integrity to convey its historic associations.⁴¹ As mentioned, systematic archaeological and geophysical investigation of the below-ground physical remains of the Battle of Ball's Bluff has been extremely limited within the historic district, however the district's high level of landscape integrity suggests that significant, as yet unidentified deposits and features with the potential to illuminate aspects of the battle's unfolding action and conduct may survive in multiple locations. Although largely undocumented, such archaeological resources should be considered a fundamental component of the battlefield landscape of Ball's Bluff with the potential of further contributing to the property's historical significance.

The Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District landscape has been altered very little since October 1861. There has been little to no change to the topography. The Potomac River, and Harrison's Island continue to anchor the center of the conflict area at the foot of Ball's Bluff. Between the edge of the river and the foot of the bluff is the gently sloping bench where Cols. Charles Devens and Milton Cogswell vainly sought to rally their men after they had been routed from their chosen position atop the bluff. Downstream and upstream from the beachhead area deep ravines, through which intermittent streams course, define the Ball's Bluff area, and present as formidable a barrier today as they did to the Civil War soldier in October 1861. Ball's Bluff rises abruptly from the shelf to a height of 300 feet amsl. The traces of several antebellum roads continue to pass through the landscape, while many contemporary thoroughways follow the routes of roads present during the battle and used by both sides for troop movements. The plateau of Ball's Bluff remains open high ground. Ball's Bluff National Cemetery, established in 1865, marks the graves of at least fifty-four of the Federal soldiers who died in the battle. On the ridge, 2,600 feet west of the bluff, stands the much altered house occupied by the widow Margaret Jackson in 1861. In this area the first skirmishing took place. Over many parts of the battlefield landscape, the vegetative cover exhibits similar patterns of woodlands and fields, although the C & O Canal corridor is far more wooded today than it was during the battle.

Several natural and cultural landscape features are character-defining for the battlefield landscape. These include the Potomac River, White's (Conrad's) Ferry, the C & O Canal prism and towpath, Big Spring, Smart's Mill, Harrison's Island, Ball's Bluff plateau and field, the Jackson house and environs, Fort Evans, Edwards Ferry Road, the Daily house and environs, Edwards Ferry in Maryland, and the bluffs overlooking the ferry. Each of these elements played an important role in the military events of October 1861, and each is discussed

⁴⁰ American Battlefield Protection Program, "Ball's Bluff (VA006)," *Update to the Civil Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields, Commonwealth of Virginia*, Final Draft (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service American Battlefield Protection Program, 2009), 52–54.

⁴¹ The Core Area of a battlefield is the area of direct combat on the battlefield. A Core Area includes critical land where fighting occurred and casualties were sustained. It is contained within a larger geographic area known as the Study Area. The Study Area defines tactical context and visual setting and reflects the historic extent of the battle as it unfolded across the landscape. The Study Area contains all resources and related to or contributing to the battle event: where troops maneuvered and deployed, immediately before, during, and after combat, and where they fought during combat. The Study Area also includes all locations and geographic features that directly contributed to the development and ending of the battle.

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below in more detail using the KOCOAs military terrain analysis assessment process to describe its role in the battle.

Battlefield landscapes can be understood and described by evaluating terrain for its impact on the selection of military objectives and how and where troops, resources, and weapons are positioned and moved. Military terrain analysis commonly uses the five military aspects of terrain often encapsulated by the acronym KOCOA:⁴²

Key and decisive terrain

Observation and fields of fire

Cover and concealment

Obstacles

Avenues of approach

Key terrain refers to any location or area whose capture or retention gives an advantage to either side of an engagement. Typically, key terrain dominates the surrounding landscape, either topographically or through some other quality, so that it enhances offensive or defensive movements. Decisive or critical terrain is key terrain that must be controlled to ensure a successful mission; it may not be present in every battle situation.

Observation is a function of terrain that allows a military force to see its own elements as well as those of the enemy in addition to allowing for the identification of key aspects of the surrounding landscape. In Civil War settings, the highest terrain often provided the best opportunities for observation. Field of fire defines the effective area covered by a weapon or group of weapons and is directly related to observation. Dead space refers to battlefield areas that, although within maximal weapon range, cannot be covered by observation or fire from a particular position because of intervening obstacles.

Cover refers to protection from enemy fire while **concealment** refers to protection from observation. Fields of fire are limited by terrain that offers both cover and concealment to the enemy.

Obstacles are any obstruction, natural or cultural, that impede or disrupt or block the movement of a military force. Existing obstacles are landscape features already present on the battlefield, including natural examples such as rivers, swamps, and steep escarpments, as well as cultural examples, such as fence lines, railroad embankments, and canals. Reinforcing obstacles are those deliberately placed upon a battlefield to stop, slow, or control enemy movement. These include earthworks and abatises.

Avenues of approach are routes taken by attacking forces that lead to mission objectives and key and/or decisive terrain. Typically, a good avenue of approach allows ease of movement as well as opportunities for concealment, cover, observation, and fields of fire. In contrast, avenues of withdrawal or retreat lead away from objectives and key/decisive terrain and ideally share the same qualities as good avenues of approach. Mobility corridors define particular types of avenues of approach and withdrawal in which specific aspects of terrain, such as topography or hydrology, act to constrict or channel movement.

The following thirteen associated landscape elements constitute defining features of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield landscape site, and were of particular military importance in shaping the events and outcome of the battle of

⁴² This discussion draws heavily on Christopher T. Espenshade, *Archaeological/Historical Research and Military Terrain Analysis of the Credit Island Battlefield (War of 1812), Iowa and Illinois* (Jackson, Mississippi: Commonwealth Cultural Resource Group, Inc. for City of Davenport, Iowa, 2013), 2–3, and U.S. Department of the Army, *Mission Command: Command and Control of Army Forces*, Field Manual No. 6-0 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army, 2003), B-4–B-6.

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October 20–24, 1861. The order in which these defining features is discussed is relative to their position from north to south within the battlefield. A number of these battlefield defining features constitute contributing resources in their own right and receive further discussion subsequently under their own headings. In most cases, the archaeological record contained within these defining features remains wholly or largely unexamined, but may hold the potential to corroborate, revise, or extend existing understanding of the battle.

Potomac River: The battlefield historic district is roughly bisected by the broad and eastward turning course of the Potomac River, the west bank of which defines the boundary between Virginia and Maryland and, in October 1861, also formed the front between the opposing armies of the Union and the Confederacy. Arguably the single most prominent, and militarily important, landscape feature within the Ball's Bluff Battlefield, the Potomac River exerted a profound effect on the distribution and movement of troops. Securing full control of the Potomac River, and particularly the established crossings, between Montgomery County, Maryland and Loudoun County, Virginia, was the initial military objective for Union Gen. George B. McClellan. Although McClellan would later claim that his only intention was to try to induce a Confederate withdrawal from the river's south bank through a show of force rather than an actual invasion, insofar as gaining control of the Potomac was an objective of the Union commanders, the river must be regarded as key terrain. In implementing McClellan's orders, the 300- to 400-yard-wide Potomac River presented a formidable obstacle to both the advance and withdrawal of Gen. Charles Stone's attacking Union force. The high, steep, and rocky escarpment rising from the western bank of the Potomac from Ball's Bluff south for a distance of more than 2.5 miles further amplified the river's role as a military obstacle. Within the battlefield district, movement across the Potomac River was channeled into two primary, existing mobility corridors defined by the Conrad's Ferry and Edwards Ferry crossings to the north and south, respectively. During the Battle of Ball's Bluff, Union troops used the southern crossing at Edward's Ferry in addition to establishing a second, more ad hoc crossing that included Harrison's Island as a "stepping stone." Throughout the battlefield historic district, the Potomac River retains a high level of integrity.

Conrad's Ferry (White's Ferry): Today known as White's Ferry, a ferry was established in this location no later than 1786. Today White's remains the last operational ferry on the Potomac River. During the Civil War, Conrad's Ferry was one of two primary existing mobility corridors within battlefield providing access across the Potomac River. On the Maryland side, Conrad's Ferry was the site of a Union encampment and artillery post, sometimes called Center or Central Pickets, in the months leading up to the Battle of Ball's Bluff. The same location became a primary staging point during the October 1861 battle for U.S. troops arriving from Poolesville to the east and Edwards Ferry, Maryland, to the south.⁴³ However, troops were not conveyed across the river at this location during the battle. The Virginia side of Conrad's Ferry was also regularly picketed by Confederate troops, while artillery was occasionally brought to the location. During the battle itself, the Virginia side appears not to have been occupied by Confederate troops. Union artillery posted at Conrad's Ferry, Maryland, were in position to cover the opposite shore as far south as Smart's Mill as well as the northern end of Harrison's Island, but played no active role during the Battle of Ball's Bluff. Although today there are various scattered late nineteenth- and twentieth-century buildings and structures in the environs of Conrad's Ferry, primarily on the Maryland shore, the presence of a still-operating ferry and the consistent view of the river and its high banks, amplified by relatively broad expanses of cleared or sparsely treed land, contribute to a high degree of integrity of location, setting, association, and feeling at this locale. The Virginia side of the crossing has never been examined archaeologically. Although the Maryland side has not been investigated systematically, prehistoric archaeological sites, in one instance containing deeply stratified deposits, and one nineteenth-century site in the vicinity of the ferry crossing have received cursory recordation. Archaeological deposits and features associated with the Civil War may survive on both sides of the crossing, but may well lack material that can be associated unambiguously with the Battle of Ball's Bluff.

⁴³ JCCW, part 2, 473; Miller, *Harvard's Civil War*, 55.

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Chesapeake & Ohio Canal and Towpath: By 1834, the C & O Canal had been opened as far as Harpers Ferry, providing a route to market for local farmers and contributing to the agricultural economy of Loudoun and Montgomery counties. The economic boost to Loudoun County was amplified by the completion, in 1838, of the Goose Creek river lock some 400 yards below Edwards Ferry, which allowed boats carrying Virginia produce to enter the canal from the Potomac River.⁴⁴ Because the 60-foot-wide C & O Canal was bridged only at Edwards Ferry within the battlefield, the feature was a considerable obstacle to east-west movement for Union troops. During the Battle of Ball's Bluff, the canal towpath, located on the river side of the feature, was the primary avenue of approach for Union troops moving north and south between the two ferries and Harrison's Island. The Union army also commandeered commercial boats, hauling them out of the canal and into the river during the October 20–24 battle to assist troop crossings to and from Virginia at both Harrison's Island and Edwards Ferry. Today, most of the C & O Canal corridor is quite heavily wooded, in contrast to its more open character in October 1861. Periodic openings in the vegetation, as at Edwards and Conrad's Ferry and the mouth of the Goose Creek river lock, allow for less obstructed views of the river and the Virginia shore that contribute to integrity of setting and association. The long ribbon of the generally well-preserved canal prism and adjacent towpath, now adapted for non-motorized recreational uses, similarly imparts integrity of association and feeling. The C & O Canal, as defined by the numerous extant interrelated structural components that together made up the waterway, is a contributing resource to the battlefield historic district and receives further discussion below. Archaeological deposits and features uniquely associated with the Civil War have not been recorded along the course of the canal between Whites/Conrad's Ferry and Edwards Ferry, however the area to date has received only limited, targeted archaeological study.

Site of Smart's Mill: Among the earliest merchant mills in the Leesburg area and powered by the copious and unfailing stream issuing from Big Spring to the west, by the time of the Civil War Smart's Mill, also known as Big Spring Mill, had become a regional focal point for the milling of Loudoun grain, the warehousing of both flour and unmilled grain, and its transport across the Potomac and, via the C & O Canal, to the markets of Alexandria and Georgetown. Although the precise location of the mill and associated structures have not been identified archaeologically, nineteenth-century maps and local land records place it on the banks of the Potomac between the mouth of Big Spring Creek and the northern edge of the Ball's Bluff plateau in an area now occupied by large lot, suburban development. Several roads converged on the mill, providing access to the establishment from Conrad's Ferry upstream, Big Spring on the Leesburg–Noland's Ferry Road (modern Route 15) to the west, and Edwards Ferry Road to the south. A nearby low water ford across the Potomac provided access from Harrison's Island. During the Civil War, the mill was regularly picketed by Confederate troops, thus providing opportunities for observation and possibly cover and concealment within the building itself. It was from the mill site that Union Col. Charles Devens' crossing toward Ball's Bluff on October 21 was first detected.⁴⁵ Confederate troops travelled along the road between Smart's Mill and Big Spring at the beginning of hostilities of October 21, 1861. Later that day, Union commander Brig. Gen. Charles Stone identified Smart's Mill as key terrain, and made plans to secure it as a defensive position in providing cover to support the U.S. troops who had crossed over into Virginia from Harrison's Island. Because his orders were not followed, Stone's plan was not successful.⁴⁶ On the evening of October 21, following the rout at Ball's Bluff, a small boat that was discovered in the mill's race was used by a group of Union soldiers to escape back across the river to Harrison's Island.⁴⁷ The mill site was a landmark referenced by many first-hand accounts of the battle. Because physical remains of Smart's Mill and associated structures have not been identified, therefore no contributing

⁴⁴ Harlan D. Unrau, *Historic Resource Study: Chesapeake & Ohio Canal* (Hagerstown, Maryland: U.S. Department of the Interior National Park Service, Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park, 2007), 238, 648, 652–654.

⁴⁵ James A. Morgan III, *A Little Short of Boats: The Battles of Ball's Bluff and Edwards Ferry, October 21–22, 1861*, 37. (New York: Savas Beatie, 2011).

⁴⁶ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 295, 307, 309.

⁴⁷ Palfrey, *Memoir of William Francis Bartlett*, 28.

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resource is associated with this map-projected location. The potential for as yet unidentified archaeological deposits and features dating to the battle's period of significance in this area remains high.

Big Spring Confederate Encampment: Big Spring is a reliable water source that feeds a natural pond contained within a sinkhole or cavity of limestone conglomerate located on the west side of the Leesburg–Noland's Ferry Road (modern Route 15) some 2 miles north of Leesburg. During the months leading up to the October 20–24, 1861 battle, Big Spring was the site of a Confederate encampment for elements of Col. Nathan Evans' 7th Brigade, comprised of portions of the 17th Mississippi Infantry and a section of the Richmond Howitzers artillery battalion. The Big Spring encampment was tasked with picketing the roads leading into Leesburg from the north as well as several river crossings to the east that included White's Ford, Conrad's Ferry, and Smart's Mill Ford, the crossing that led to Harrison's Island. Pickets from the Big Spring encampment were the first to observe U.S. troops crossing from Harrison's Island to Ball's Bluff on October 21, while the entire approximately forty-five-man encampment, under the command of Capt. William L. Duff, of the 17th Mississippi Infantry, provided the first resistance to the Union incursion. Although the location of the Big Spring Confederate encampment has not been identified archaeologically, [REDACTED]

Harrison's Island: This roughly 2-mile-long, 395-acre island is located in the broad bend in the Potomac River below the steep slopes of the Ball's Bluff plateau. The island is separated from the Virginia shore by a relatively narrow, 125-yard-wide western channel and from the Maryland shore by the broader, 250-yard-wide eastern channel. At the time of the Battle of Ball's Bluff, the island was part of the estate of Henry T. Harrison, one of Leesburg's wealthier citizens. The island appears to have been managed principally as agricultural land. A house and at least one large barn stood near the center of the island. Since early October, 1861, a single company of the 15th Massachusetts Infantry had occupied the island. In the days leading up to the Battle of Ball's Bluff, defensive "entrenchments" were constructed there, providing cover and concealment from enemy observation and fields of fire along the Virginia shore and from the bluffs above.⁴⁹ Harrison's Island also figured as a mobility corridor across the Potomac, providing the crossing point for the initial Union reconnaissance towards Leesburg on the night of October 20 and of the larger crossing to Ball's Bluff that occurred the following day. Likewise, U.S. troops retreating from the Bluff on October 21 crossed, or tried to cross, the river channel in order to reach Harrison's Island. The house and barn on Harrison's Island were used as temporary field hospitals between October 21 and 22 for the Union wounded; an unknown number of Union dead, together with amputated limbs from the field hospital operation, are thought to have been buried on the island.⁵⁰ The island remains little developed and retains a high level of integrity. Although the island has never been the focus of archaeological study, the landform has a high potential to contain diverse archaeological features and deposits, including human burials, directly associated with the Battle of Ball's Bluff. The extant nineteenth-century plantation house on Harrison's Island contributes to the historical significance of the battlefield historic district and receives additional discussion below, while various more recent buildings and structures on the island are discussed among the battlefield's noncontributing resources.

Ball's Bluff Plateau and Potomac River Escarpment: The Ball's Bluff plateau is a high promontory set at 310 feet amsl that overlooks the Potomac River to the east, and is located approximately 2.25 miles northeast of

⁴⁸ Rose, *North Spring Behavioral Hospital*, 85–86.

⁴⁹ *JCCW*, part 2, 421.

⁵⁰ Hamilton, "Crane Diary," 13–16; A. B. Crosby, "Extracts from Reports of the Wounded at the Engagement at Ball's Bluff, Virginia, October 21st, 1861," in J. J. Woodward, *The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion*, part 1, vol. 1, appendix (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1870), 10–12; John A. Lidell, "Extracts from a Narrative of the Surgery at Ball's Bluff, Virginia, and from a Report of the Wounded of Gen. Barker's Brigade at the Affair of October 21st, 1861," in J. J. Woodward, *The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion*, "Part 1, vol. 1: Medical History" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1870), appendix, 12–13.

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Leesburg and 1.2 miles southeast of Big Spring. The landform is bounded to the north and south by deeply incised ravines that drain eastward to the Potomac, while the eastern margin of the bluff is defined by a 120-foot-high, rocky escarpment that falls steeply to a narrow terrace bordering the west side of the river. The bluff marks the northern terminus of and forms the highest point along an approximately three-mile-long escarpment that extends south and east along the broad bend of the Potomac River. This high escarpment was a natural terrain obstacle that further compounded movement back and forth between Virginia and Maryland, amplifying the river's role as an obstacle. Furthermore, deep and steep-sided ravines draining into the Potomac River cut the escarpment at regular intervals and created a further obstacle to north-south movement parallel to the river in October 1861. As it was heavily wooded, the entire escarpment offered the possibility of cover and concealment. The height of the escarpment above the river afforded opportunities for observation and fields of fire eastward, however these qualities were limited by the difficulty of access to the promontory as well as thick woods along the escarpment's eastern edge. At the time of the October 1861 battle, the more level land of Ball's Bluff comprised an irregular, roughly crescent-shaped, approximately 14-acre cleared field or pasture. A narrow trail led from the river's terrace up the escarpment, into the clearing, and southwest to the Jackson house where it intersected the more prominent roads leading to Big Spring, Smart's Mill, and Edwards Ferry Road. This trail or "cart path" provided the primary avenue of approach and withdrawal for Union troops as they crossed over from Harrison's Island on the night of October 20 and the following day. On the afternoon of October 21, the field on Ball's Bluff was the site of the battle's heaviest fighting and ultimately became the target of both Union and Confederate forces. As such, it constituted key terrain. Woods surrounding the field provided cover and concealment to both sides in the engagement, while Union troops along the field's eastern side also found cover and concealment behind the crest of the escarpment. Deep ravines both north and south of the Ball's Bluff field were an obstacle to Union movement along the river corridor. Third Brigade commanding officer Col. Edward D. Baker, a standing U.S. Senator and close friend of President Abraham Lincoln, died in the Ball's Bluff field pinned against the eastern edge of the field. The chaotic, tumbling Union retreat down the steep escarpment to the river while under intense Confederate fire from above conjures the iconic image of the Battle of Ball's Bluff. The Confederate seizure of the bluff top provided them observation and fields of fire that effectively controlled the Union crossing back to Harrison's Island. Union dead, only one of whom is identified, were buried in the Ball's Bluff field on October 22. Ball's Bluff National Cemetery was formally established by the War Department in December 1865 at its eastern edge following the close of the War to honor Union soldiers buried in this location.

Today, public parks enclose more than a mile-long stretch of the steep and wooded Potomac River escarpment north and south of Ball's Bluff and are laced by almost 9 miles of trails that allow access to and appreciation of the rugged terrain that proved such an effective barrier against the Union incursion, and retreat, of October 1861. Views of the river, of Harrison's Island, and of the Maryland shore of the Potomac are afforded at various locations within this parkland. Although probably more heavily wooded now than in 1861, the battlefield landscape throughout this area retains an extremely high level of integrity. The location of the most intense and sustained fighting, the area of the Ball's Bluff plateau, has never been investigated using archaeological or geophysical methods, but can be expected to retain significant deposits associated with the battle despite the indications of prior relic hunting mentioned above. In addition, the potential exists for previously unidentified primary burials in the field immediately west of the existing Ball's Bluff cemetery enclosure. South of Edwards Landing Park, the escarpment area remains little developed across the large and privately-owned Sage Hill Farm and Murray Hill properties. Immediately downstream of Murray Hill, Red Rock Wilderness Park affords access to an additional 0.35 miles of undeveloped Potomac River escarpment with views of the river and the southern end of Harrison's Island.

Jackson House and Environs: Located just over one-half mile west of the Ball's Bluff escarpment, the house occupied by the widow Margaret Jackson and her sons at the time of the battle lay at the transition between the

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more heavily wooded terrain of Ball's Bluff and the Potomac River escarpment and more open, rolling agricultural lands to the west. This locale offered Union reconnaissance parties, first under Capt. Chase Philbrick and then under Col. Charles Devens (15th Massachusetts), the opportunity to observe the disposition of Confederate forces towards Leesburg. The fields and woods surrounding the Jackson house were the site of the first sustained engagement around 8:00 a.m. on the morning of October 21 between the small Union scouting party led by Devens and an even smaller Confederate force from the Big Spring encampment led by Capt. William L. Duff (17th Mississippi). Hedge rows, fences, and wood lines in this area provided cover and concealment to both sides of the engagement. Both sides received reinforcements and the fighting continued around the Jackson house until around 2:30 p.m. when Devens' force fell back to the Ball's Bluff field where additional Union forces under Col. Baker's command had been assembling along its eastern and northern margins since late morning. The Jackson house survives with sufficient integrity to constitute a contributing resource to the battlefield historic district and receives further discussion below, while the undeveloped rural landscape to the east, north, and west of the Jackson House contributes to the historical significance of the battlefield historic district. Archaeologically, the environs surrounding the Jackson House can be expected to contain significant material remains associated with the Battle of Ball's Bluff in addition to broadly contemporaneous domestic deposits associated with residential occupation of the dwelling. Such as yet unidentified and undocumented resources hold the potential to contribute to the historical significance of the battlefield district.

Fort Evans: Sited on a prominent knoll set at 430 feet amsl and located roughly 1.75 miles east of Leesburg, Fort Evans commanded the Edwards Ferry Road immediately to its north and east as well as the Leesburg–Alexandria Turnpike further to the southeast. The top of the knoll was cleared of trees, providing unparalleled observation and fields of fire towards the east. While no artillery was posted within the earthwork during the October 1861 battle, Fort Evans did serve as the command and observation post for Confederate commander Col. Nathan Evans. Evans claimed that the fort was shelled by Union artillery firing from the bluffs overlooking Edwards Ferry on the Maryland side of the river on October 20 as part of Brig. Gen. Charles Stones' unsuccessful "demonstration." However it appears that Fort Evans was at the extreme outer edge of the range of Stones' artillery.⁵¹ Having observed the U.S. crossings at both Ball's Bluff and Edwards Ferry early on October 21 from his eponymously named fort, Evans massed the bulk of his force on the wooded slopes below Fort Evans to the east in preparation for potential further Union incursions from this direction and possibly south. The extensive woods below Fort Evans to the east, which appear to have extended at least as far as Cattail Branch, offered concealment for the bulk of Evans's force on October 21. Fort Evans survives with sufficient integrity to constitute a contributing resource to the battlefield historic district and receives further discussion below. While the earthwork fortification has been mapped, most recently during this study using LiDAR data, archaeological and metal detection survey has been limited to a small area located northeast of the enclosure. Fort Evans likely contains archaeological deposits associated with the Battle of Ball's Bluff, however given the fort's use throughout the War it may prove difficult to dissociate such remains from a more generalized Civil War archaeological record.

Edwards Ferry Road (Virginia): Running west from the area north of the mouth of Goose Creek toward Leesburg, Edwards Ferry Road was the primary east-west route through the Ball's Bluff Battlefield and the primary avenue of approach (and withdrawal) for Union troops crossing into Virginia at Edwards Ferry. The easternmost section of the road, which traversed relatively open agricultural fields, was well covered by rifled Union artillery sited on the bluffs above Edwards Ferry on the Maryland side of the river.⁵² On the night of October 20, following the initial Union crossing of the river and withdrawal, a Confederate scouting party traveled the road to inspect the landing. The following morning, October 21, a second Union crossing was

⁵¹ W. H. French, W. F. Barry, and H. J. Hunt, *Instruction for Field Artillery* (New York, New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1864), 31.

⁵² Morgan, *Boats*, 212, n. 17.

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accompanied by a cavalry reconnaissance and diversionary thrust along the corridor that reached perhaps as far as Cattail Branch some two miles west of Edwards Ferry. On both October 21 and 22, Confederate troops traveled east along Edwards Ferry Road from the area of Fort Evans to engage Union forces in the vicinity of the Dailey House about one mile west of the Edwards Ferry landing. While the easternmost portions of Edwards Ferry Road have been lost to development, an approximately 0.7-mile section of the road survives and is discussed below among the contributing resources to the battlefield historic district.

Dailey House Environs: The Union forces that crossed over to Virginia at Edwards Ferry on October 21 created ad hoc field fortifications to either side of the road roughly one mile from the ferry in the vicinity of a white house often referred to in Confederate records as the Dailey House. The hastily constructed fortifications included rifle pits as well as barriers for cover composed of farm equipment, fence rails, and other material at hand, and reached from the Potomac River escarpment in the north to the wooded heights overlooking Goose Creek in the south. An advance picket post was sent forward to the west to a wooded hill overlooking the Kephart's Bridge crossing of Goose Creek. In addition to providing cover and concealment to the Union troops, the fortifications had a clear field of fire towards the west, especially along the Edwards Ferry Road corridor. The Union line was augmented and extended by the addition of two pieces of artillery likely placed near the center of the line, probably on higher ground south of the Dailey House and Edwards Ferry Road. Having been strengthened and further extended on October 23, this line of field fortifications remained manned by Union troops until their final withdrawal during the early morning hours of October 24.⁵³ Confederate troops briefly attacked the fortified Union line near the Dailey house on October 21 and again, in a more sustained fashion on October 22. In both instances, the line held; for three days the position provided effective protection for the vital mobility corridor to its rear comprised of the Edwards Ferry Landing and river crossing. The Dailey House and surrounding area were heavily developed during the late twentieth century and due to the resulting loss of historical integrity are not included within the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District.

Edwards Ferry: As at Conrad's (now White's) Ferry located five miles upstream, a ferry had been located at this site by the mouth of Virginia's Goose Creek since the late eighteenth century. Owing to the presence of a C & O Canal lock (#25), a bridge over the canal, and a river lock a short distance downstream, Edwards Ferry, Maryland, was more heavily developed than Conrad's Ferry upstream.⁵⁴ On the Virginia side of Edwards Ferry, historic maps and local land records indicate the presence of a warehouse that is not mentioned in accounts of the battle. During the October 20–24, 1861, Battle of Ball's Bluff, Edwards Ferry served as a heavily utilized mobility corridor across the Potomac River, with Union troops making repeated crossings back and forth at this site to reach the battlefield on the Virginia side of the river. Archaeological sites associated with the Edwards Ferry landings on both the Maryland and Virginia sides have been identified and are among the contributing resources to the battlefield historic district discussed below.

Bluffs above Edwards Ferry, Maryland: In contrast to the steeply-sloped and elevated escarpment lining much of the Potomac River on the Virginia shore between Conrad's and Edwards ferries, the most prominent landscape feature along the inside of the great river bend on the Maryland side is a broad, half-mile-wide, nearly level, alluvial terrace. East of Edwards Ferry and Canal Lock #25, however, the terrain rises more abruptly to roughly 300 feet amsl within 500 yards of the water's edge. These bluffs provided an excellent opportunity for observation of the Virginia shore and the landscape to the west as far as Leesburg for Union forces, as indicated in the October 15, 1861, diary entry of Casper Crowninshield (20th Massachusetts):

After dinner [I] walked up on a hill just opposite the Ferry. The view was magnificent. This is the highest point for many miles and all Virginia seemed to lie in the plains below us, stretching away, in the well wooded hills

⁵³ O.R. ser. 1, vol. 5, 333–334, 337; JCCW, part 2, 340, 354, 359, 365; "The Grand Fight Near Leesburg," *Democratic Mirror* (Leesburg, Virginia, October 30, 1861) 2, as cited in Morgan, *Boats*, 117–118.

⁵⁴ J. Franklin Dyer, *The Journal of a Civil War Surgeon* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 6.

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[Catocin Mountain?] towards the West, where cloud upon cloud was piled up in the rich array, gilded by the setting sun.⁵⁵

The bluffs also afforded a clear field of fire over the Potomac and into Virginia, as noted by Gen. Charles Stone in a mid-August report that suggested his rifled artillery placed here was capable of reaching Fort Evans.⁵⁶ During the Battle of Ball's Bluff, Union artillery sited on the bluffs above Edwards Ferry, Maryland shelled various known and suspected Confederate positions between October 20 and 22, covering the Union crossings and the position established on the opposite Virginia shore.⁵⁷ The faces of the Maryland bluffs at Edwards Ferry are more heavily wooded today than in 1861. While the tops of the bluffs remain largely clear of trees and maintained as agricultural fields, several twentieth century buildings have been constructed here. These changes notwithstanding, the bluffs overlooking Edwards Ferry, Maryland, retain sufficient integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association to contribute positively to the historical significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District. The bluffs have never been the focus of formal archaeological or geophysical investigation and may retain enduring physical evidence of Union artillery used during the battle. Although the core battlefield as defined in the 2009 ABPP updated study of the Battle of Ball's Bluff⁵⁸ justifiably takes in the entirety of the bluffs above Edwards Ferry, Maryland, following the November 18, 2016 recommendation of the National Park System Advisory Board approximately 30 acres of privately owned land on the bluffs south of Edwards Ferry Road (portions of Montgomery County Tax Parcels P573, P613) are excluded from the expanded Ball's Bluff Battlefield National Historic Landmark due to objections raised by the landowner.

2. Big Spring (VDHR #s 053-0255 and 053-0012) (contributing site)

Big Spring is located just north of the intersection of present-day Tutt Lane and Route 15 north of Leesburg in Virginia. It is the largest limestone spring in Loudoun County, and was well known to travelers along the road by the eighteenth century. Route 15 follows the historic alignment of Old Carolina Road (also known as the Leesburg–Noland's Ferry Road), which dates to the eighteenth century. The road extended between North Carolina and Frederick, Maryland. The spring feeds a roughly 1/4-acre, irregularly-shaped pond that is located beneath a large stone outcrop. The northern boundary of the pond is a sloped hill that leads up to where the North Spring Behavioral Healthcare Complex is located. The western and southern boundaries are formed by a rock cliff that stands nearly 30 feet at its highest point. The eastern boundary of the pond is the Route 15 right-of-way. On the northwest bank of the spring is a stone carriage step of unknown age that presumably served vehicles that once stopped at the feature. A fence constructed of ten concrete posts and ten metal pipe rails parallels the Route 15 right-of-way, approximately 50 feet northwest of the road. A concrete culvert conveys the outflow of Big Spring into Spring Creek, historically referred to as Big Spring Branch, beneath Route 15. Spring Creek continues east of Route 15 and empties into the Potomac River approximately one mile to the east, opposite the northern end of Harrison's Island. An encampment of approximately 45 Confederate soldiers occupied the area around Big Spring in October 1861, and were the first to engage Union forces at the onset of the Battle of Ball's Bluff. Various archaeological sites have been identified in the immediate vicinity of Big Spring, however none can be conclusively associated with either military or civilian occupation during the Battle of Ball's Bluff (though see the discussion of nearby Springwood Archaeological Site (44LD1622) below).

⁵⁵ Cited in Miller, *Harvard's Civil War*, 52.

⁵⁶ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 568.

⁵⁷ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 568; *JCCW*, part 2, 339; Frank Leslie, "Engagement between the National Troops and the Rebels," Nov. 16, 1861, 408.

⁵⁸ American Battlefield Protection Program, "Ball's Bluff (VA006)," *Update to the Civil Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields, Commonwealth of Virginia*, Final Draft (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service American Battlefield Protection Program, 2009), 54.

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The Big Spring site possesses excellent integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. The integrity of the resource has been slightly compromised by the construction of the concrete fence and the Route 15 embankment along its eastern margin. Big Spring survives from the battle period of significance with good integrity and contributes to the significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District.

3. Ball Family Cemetery (44LD1623, VDHR #053-0012-0019, #053-0298) (contributing site)

The Ball Family Cemetery is located to the south of the North Spring Behavioral Healthcare Complex on a slightly sloped lot, approximately 500 feet south of Springwood Mansion. The cemetery is approached by a brick path from Victory Lane, and is bounded by an approximately 5-foot-tall brick wall constructed in an open-work pattern. The wall encloses an area approximately 50 by 60 feet in size. The walls, oriented north-northeast and south-southwest, are stepped. The cemetery is accessed via a cast iron gate centrally located on the east-southeast wall. Within the cemetery there are thirty grave markers aligned in four rows oriented east-to-west. The markers consist of raised, flat, engraved granite markers and upright, engraved granite tablets, some of which are only inscribed with a number. The earliest burials date to 1815 and include George Washington Ball and Frances Thornton Washington, niece of General George Washington. Documentary evidence suggests that additional unmarked graves may exist south of the walled cemetery.⁵⁹ Located near the graveyard is a commemorative marker erected in 1926 that is believed to indicate the location of the Chapel Above Goose Creek. The family graveyard is currently maintained by the Ball Burial Ground Association.

The site possesses excellent integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The setting has been slightly compromised by the construction of the North Spring Behavioral Healthcare Complex to the north. The Ball Family Graveyard survives from the battle period of significance with good integrity and contributes to the significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District.

4. Springwood Archaeological Site (44LD1622) (contributing site)

[REDACTED] the Springwood Archaeological Site, which contains belowground evidence of mid-nineteenth-century occupation of the property. Springwood appears to have been constructed just prior to the onset of the Civil War and was occupied during the October 1861 Battle of Ball's Bluff. Although late twentieth-century construction has impacted portions of the site, significant portions remain with good integrity and the site has been recommended eligible for NRHP listing.⁶⁰ Springwood and its associated archaeological site stands as one of the few large nineteenth-century plantations around Leesburg to survive the town's extensive late twentieth-century suburban development and expansion.

5. [REDACTED] Artillery Encampment Archaeological Site (44LD0868, VDHR #053-5058) (contributing site)

Evidence of the 1861 encampment of the Richmond Howitzers, a Confederate artillery battalion, is apparent [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] the site contains at least nine surface depressions believed to mark the locations of winter huts. The regularly spaced depressions occur within a roughly level, 135 by 85 foot area [REDACTED] Approximately 190 feet northwest of the northernmost hut depressions, on the descending terrain to the north and east, is a group of six closely spaced earthen mounds

⁵⁹ Rose, *North Spring Behavioral Hospital*, 77–78.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 111–117, 121.

⁶¹ Joseph Balicki and Walton H. Owen, II, *Documentation of Eight Civil War Forts and Earthworks in the Vicinity of Leesburg, Virginia* (Report prepared by John Milner Associates, 2002), 30–37.

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arranged in a roughly semi-circular pattern believed to be the remains of a gun emplacement. To the south, another arc of earthen mounds encloses a recent rectangular excavation of uncertain function and origin.

According to an early history of the Richmond Howitzers, on October 9, 1861, the right section of the battalion's First Company established a camp "in the woods on the left [north] of the road [redacted]

The account describes the camp's [redacted]

[redacted] noting further that the section's two smoothbore field howitzers were installed at the earthwork east of the camp while its one rifled gun was placed at Fort Evans. In early October 1861, the battalion's other two cannon remained with the left section encamped at Big Spring with elements of the 13th Mississippi Infantry Regiment.⁶² There was no Confederate artillery directly involved in the Battle of Ball's Bluff and there is no record of Confederate artillery having been mounted within Fort Evans during the battle. However, on the night of October 21 the left section of First Company Richmond Howitzers was ordered to unlimber their guns "on the Edwards Ferry Road where it passes through the wood," [redacted]

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Following the Battle of Ball's Bluff, the left section of First Company Richmond Howitzers went into winter camp at the Edwards Ferry Road location, remaining there until the Confederates abandoned Loudoun County in early March 1862.⁶⁴ While it is likely that many of the visible features at this site post-date the Battle of Ball's Bluff, Confederate troops occupied and moved through the camp during the battle. More specifically, the encampment is located within the broad belt of woodland that covered the slopes below Fort Evans and within which Col. Nathan Evans positioned significant portions of his Seventh Brigade during the main period of combat on October 21 and 22.

Although formal archaeological excavations have not been conducted at 44LD0868, the presence of surface features indicates that the site has not been plowed and likely retains good subsurface integrity and has been recommended as individually eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.⁶⁵ The site was occupied during the Battle of Ball's Bluff and contributes to the significance of the battlefield historic district.

6. Kephart's Bridge Abutments (44LD0628) (contributing site)

Approximately 1 mile west of the mouth of Goose Creek, dry-laid stone abutments and wing walls associated with a former mid-nineteenth-century bridge crossing survive on both the north and south banks of the stream.

On the north bank of Goose Creek, the upstream wing wall and lower courses of the abutment are all that appear to survive, however intact elements of the downstream wing wall may survive below an abundant quantity of collapsed stone. The abutments associated with the north bank are located at the eastern end of an abandoned road bed that roughly parallels Goose Creek, gradually ascending the steep, approximately 50-foot-high stream bank. The upstream wing wall extends at an obtuse angle from the southern side of the road bed, which also may have been defined by a low stone wall now collapsed or obscured. Near the water's edge, only the lowest courses of the upstream wing wall are preserved. Similarly, no more than two courses of the northern abutment wall, which runs parallel to the flow of the stream at the water's edge, are visible. The northern wing walls and abutment appear to have defined a relatively broad approach embankment or terrace that allowed vehicles to negotiate the roughly right angle turn between bridge and adjoining roadway. On the south side of Goose Creek the stream bank is far lower and ascends more gently from water's edge. Here, surviving dry stone

⁶² McCarthy, *Contributions to a History of the Richmond Howitzer Battalion*, 62–63; see also Morton, "Richmond Howitzers," 14.

⁶³ Morton, "Richmond Howitzers," 15.

⁶⁴ Lee A. Wallace, Jr., *The Richmond Howitzers* (Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1993), 13.

⁶⁵ Balicki and Owen, *Eight Forts*, 56.

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walls define the margins of a roughly 12-foot-wide southern approach embankment that extends for approximately 30 feet. The southern abutment and both wing walls appear to have collapsed completely into the dense pile of stone rubble that rises from the edge of the stream to meet the surviving end of the approach embankment.

Yardley Taylor's 1854 map of Loudoun County depicts a road running between Edwards Ferry Road and the Leesburg-Alexandria Turnpike (present-day Route 7), crossing Goose Creek just downstream of George Kephart's merchant mill and saw mill. Maps produced during the Civil War show this road in roughly the same location.⁶⁶ The age of the road is not known, nor is it known when the first bridge was constructed across Goose Creek at this site, although a mill was in operation near the bridge site by the 1820s. George Kephart purchased the mill, previously known as Clapham's or Elizabeth mill, in 1847, and in 1849 and again in 1853 petitioned Loudoun County for improvements to the road connecting his mill to Edwards Ferry Road to the north and the Leesburg-Alexandria Turnpike to the south.⁶⁷ In 1851, a contract was awarded to Maryland bridge builder John A. Snovel to construct a bridge near the site of Kephart's Mill. The bridge was to incorporate, with rebuilding and modification, the surviving stone abutments of "Clapham's old bridge" and was to be a covered structure that incorporated the arch and truss system patented by Theodore Burr in its design.⁶⁸

Snovel's bridge was in place at Kephart's Mill on Goose Creek by the onset of the Civil War and was mentioned by several participants in the Battle of Ball's Bluff. In his probe west along Edwards Ferry Road on the morning of October 21, 1861, Maj. John Mix of the 3rd New York Cavalry reported passing the intersection with the road "running to the bridge over Goose Creek."⁶⁹ The following day, on October 22, troops under the command of Brig. Gen. John J. Abercrombie in Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Banks' Division, strengthened the U.S. line on the Virginia side of the Potomac, and threw forward an advance picket to the extreme left of the line intended "to prevent the enemy from crossing a bridge about a mile and a half above the ferry and across Goose Creek, and to hold the wooded hill adjacent to it." After helping to repulse the brief Confederate attack made late in the day on October 22, the U.S. picket post guarding Kephart's Bridge was reinforced with an additional five companies of infantry.⁷⁰ The picket post remained in place overnight, and the following day, October 23, a group of fifteen sharpshooters were detached from it to shadow a cavalry foray across Goose Creek and along the road to the Leesburg-Alexandria Turnpike. Following reports on October 23 of possible Confederate advances, a total of twelve companies was posted at the bridge and adjacent hill, with instructions to fell trees to fortify the position if deemed necessary. The Kephart's Bridge picket post remained in place until all Federal troops had withdrawn back across the Potomac after midnight.

Kephart's Bridge reportedly was burned by the Confederates when they withdrew from Leesburg in early March 1862, although there is no indication that the abutments were significantly damaged.⁷¹ Historic maps

⁶⁶ Taylor, *Map of Loudoun County*, Library of Congress digital ID g38831 la001287; *Map of N.Eastern Virginia and Vicinity of Washington*; U.S. War Department, "Map of Northeastern Virginia and Vicinity of Washington, D.C."; *Map of Loudoun County, Va., and parts of Fairfax County, Va., Jefferson County, W.Va., and Washington and Frederick counties, Md.*, 186-, Library of Congress digital ID g38831 cwh00044.

⁶⁷ Loudoun County Deed Book 4Z: 409; Loudoun County Road Cases RR1849-0004 and RR1853-0004.

⁶⁸ Loudoun County Bridge Case B1851-001.

⁶⁹ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 335.

⁷⁰ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 337.

⁷¹ "Edwards Ferry Part 2 With Historian Craig Swain," Craig Swain, accessed June 18, 2015, <http://www.gettyburgdaily.com/edwards-ferry-part-2-with-historian-craig-swain/>; see also John Divine, *Loudoun County and the Civil War: A History and Guide* (Loudoun County, Virginia: Civil War Centennial Commission, 1961), 38; Chamberlin and Souders, *Reb and Yank*, 96; William M. Gardner et al., *Phase I Archaeological Investigations of a 1200 Acre Parcel, Loudoun County, Virginia*, VDHR File NO. 96-0584 (Gainesville, Virginia: Thunderbird Archaeological Associates, Inc., 1999), 28, 121.

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indicate that Kephart's Mill Road and the bridge crossing of Goose Creek near the mill site remained in use through the close of the nineteenth century, but fell out of use soon thereafter.⁷²

The stone abutments of the bridge over Goose Creek at Kephart's Mill have suffered considerable damage as a result of flooding and lack of maintenance. As a result, the integrity of design, workmanship, and materials is substantially diminished. Nevertheless, the remains still are clearly legible as bridge abutments and, as such, mark the location of the former crossing. Furthermore, given the undeveloped character of this section of the Goose Creek valley and the close proximity of a number of related nineteenth-century historic resources including the bed of Kephart's Mill Road, the site of Kephart's Mill and associated features, and elements of the Goose Creek and Little River Canal, the Kephart's Bridge abutments retain considerable integrity of location, setting, association, and feeling. The Kephart Bridge abutments survive from the battle period of significance with sufficient integrity to contribute to the significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District. Additional mapping and field study, including archaeology, may contribute to an enhanced understanding of the configuration and construction of the bridge.

7. Harrison's Island Farmstead (MHT #M: 16-32, VDHR #053-0082) (1 contributing building, 4 noncontributing buildings, 2 noncontributing structures, 1 noncontributing site)

Harrison's Island is named after Leesburg resident, Henry T. Harrison, who purchased the land in 1850. The 395-acre island is located within the heart of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield. In use as an agricultural property at the time of the battle, the site today retains its historic rural setting and is composed of a mix of agricultural land, lightly wooded areas, and managed wetlands. Set prominently within the center of the island is the circa 1800 plantation house and the stone foundation of an antebellum bank barn. The house was used as a field hospital during the Battle of Ball's Bluff and Union dead were reportedly buried nearby.⁷³ Physical remains of a unique, two-winged octagonal or circular barn located approximately 750 feet northeast of the plantation house during the Battle of Ball's Bluff have not been identified.⁷⁴ Dispersed around the historic plantation core are various other buildings and structures that were built during the twentieth century—a concrete silo, an outbuilding (likely corn crib), a twentieth-century hunting cabin, and two twentieth-century equipment sheds. Today, much of the island is managed under a conservation easement, and the entire nearly 400-acre property is leased by a hunting club. Documented components of the plantation complex that date to the battlefield historic district period of significance include the following:

7a. A two-story, circa 1800 vernacular plantation house (**contributing building**) is constructed of common-bond brick and has a side-gabled roof covered with standing seam metal. The house features an interior brick chimney on the south slope of the roof. Fenestration consists of single-leaf wood doors; six-over-one, single-hung, wood-frame windows; and a fixed four-light wood window. The windows feature soldier-course lintels. A one-story, full-width porch on the south facade documented in 1972 is no longer extant. The house has been abandoned for a number of years and is in increasingly bad condition.

7b. The stone foundations of the plantation's bank barn (**noncontributing structure**), which was standing during Henry Harrison's ownership of the property in the mid-nineteenth century, is located 275 feet north of the brick plantation house. When photographed in 1972, the former frame structure was clad with board-and-batten siding and had shed additions to its west and north facades. The barn was burned by the current owners in 2000 due to its dilapidated and dangerous condition. The visible portions of the barn's extant northern

⁷² U.S. Geological Survey, *Harper's Ferry, Virginia* (1898) and *Montgomery, Maryland* (1893) 1:125,000 quadrangles; U.S. Post Office Department, Division of Topography, *Rural Delivery Routes, Loudoun County, Virginia*, 1925, Library of Congress digital ID g38831 cr001423. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

⁷³ Hamilton, "Crane Diary," 13–16; Crosby, "Extracts from Reports," 10–12; Lidell, "Extracts from a Narrative," 12–13.

⁷⁴ Donn, *Upper Potomac*, sheet 4; Hanaford, *The Young Captain*, 85–86.

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retaining wall and east and west side walls are constructed of irregularly-shaped sandstone blocks set in a mud mortar.

Additions to the Harrison's Island plantation complex that post-date the battlefield district period of significance include the following buildings and structures.

7c. A large earthen mound or platform (**noncontributing structure**) constructed in 1970 following Hurricane Camile, apparently to provide protection for equipment and livestock during future floods.⁷⁵ The mound measures approximately 200 by 100 feet in plan and 12 feet in height. It is sited immediately north of the bank barn foundations, and envelopes and completely obscures the barn's original bank. Two modern buildings stand on top of the mound.

7d. A late twentieth-century equipment barn (**noncontributing building**) occupies the central portion of the earthen mound. The equipment barn is clad with metal siding and covered with a standing seam metal roof. Attached to the south elevation is a partial width lean-to addition that also has metal roofing.

7e. A twenty-first century hunting cabin (**noncontributing building**) occupies the southern end of the earthen mound. The hunting cabin is a one-and-a-half story, circa 2000 building clad in wood siding, with a side-gabled roof covered with asphalt shingles.

7f. A twentieth-century concrete silo (**noncontributing structure**) located approximately midway between the nineteenth century brick plantation house (7a.) and the earthen mound (7c.)

7g. A small, twentieth century, gable roof outbuilding of unidentified function (**noncontributing building**) located 45 feet southeast of the brick plantation house,

7h. A large, open-sided, twenty-first century pole equipment barn (**noncontributing building**) located at the southern end of the building complex approximately 200 feet south-southeast of the nineteenth century brick plantation house. The building features a gable roof covered with metal panels.

Overall, the Harrison's Island plantation complex possesses a good degree of historical integrity, especially as regards location, setting, association, and feeling. The vernacular brick house retains good overall integrity and was extant during the battle period of significance. As such the building contributes to the significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District. The bank barn foundation, although extant during the period of significance, no longer retains sufficient essential physical features to convey its function and use as a bank barn; therefore the structure is a noncontributing resource. The construction dates of the concrete silo, gable roof outbuilding, hunting cabin, and two equipment sheds post-date the period of significance, therefore they are noncontributing resources. As mentioned, archaeological study here and in the vicinity of the Harrison's Island farmstead have the potential to yield additional information concerning the mid-nineteenth-century domestic and agricultural aspects of the island in addition to deposits and features directly associated with the Battle of Ball's Bluff.

8. Granary and Wharf Ruins near C & O Canal Lock #25 (National Park Service List of Classified Structures (LCS) 47560, [REDACTED]) (contributing site)

⁷⁵ Neal Brown, personal communication with Steve Thompson, May 14, 2015; "Digital Aerial Photo Image Server," Montgomery County, Maryland, accessed May 15, 2015, www6.montgomerycountymd.gov/apps/gis/imageviewer/imgservr.asp.

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The granary and wharf ruins located [REDACTED] consist of a random coursed red Seneca sandstone retaining wall along the east side of the canal prism and the adjoining foundations of a circa 1851 granary.

The granary and wharf ruins site retains excellent integrity of location, setting, workmanship, feeling, and association. The integrity of design and materials are diminished by the poor condition of the structure. The site retains sufficient integrity to convey its historic associations. These features were extant during the battle period of significance, and contribute to the significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District. Archaeological deposits associated with the operation of the facility, including Civil War era occupation and use, may survive in below-grade contexts.

9. Jarboe's Store Ruins (MHT #M: 17-48, LCS 11605, mile 30.84) (contributing site)

The masonry remains of the walls of Jarboe's Store are located immediately west of the C & O Canal and towpath at Lock #25, and just south of Edwards Ferry Road. The site is surrounded by a manicured lawn, a paved parking lot to the northwest, and densely forested woods to the immediate south. Jarboe's Store was constructed near the canal circa 1850. The remains of the building rest on a random coursed sandstone and granite foundation. The surviving walls are five-course American-bond brick. Window and door openings are extant on all elevations; the roof is no longer extant. In 1996, the National Park Service partially demolished the abandoned, flood-damaged structure and stabilized and conserved the remaining masonry walls from further deterioration through the construction of concrete caps on their tops, and the fastening of a wood beam with concrete cap on the northeast elevation.

Jarboe's Store was present during the period of significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District. Although the integrity of design and materials is diminished due to the poor condition of the building, the site retains excellent integrity of location, setting, workmanship, feeling, and association. The resource possesses sufficient integrity to convey the building's historic associations and therefore it contributes to the significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District. Jarboe's Store, like several other architectural resources surrounding Lock #25, are located within the Edwards Ferry (MD) archaeological site, which has received only cursory archaeological examination to date.

10. Foundation Ruins [REDACTED] (MHT #M: 17-49, LCS 47559, [REDACTED]) (contributing site)

These foundation ruins, measuring approximately 15 by 25 feet, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The foundation is constructed of irregular-shaped Seneca red sandstone. The west and north elevations are built into an earthen berm and include a large fireplace and chimney base. The remains of the south elevation include a square support arch centered in the remains. The building is believed to have been a dwelling constructed during the first half of the nineteenth century following completion of the canal.

The site retains excellent integrity of location, setting, workmanship, feeling, and association. The integrity of design and materials is diminished due to the condition of the structure. Nevertheless, the site retains sufficient integrity to convey its historic associations, the building was present during the battle period of significance, and therefore the resource contributes to the significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District. Archaeological deposits and features capable of enhancing existing understanding of these ruins have yet to be identified, however the location has not been the focus of sustained field research.

11. [REDACTED] Archaeological Site (18MO476, [REDACTED]) (contributing site)

The [REDACTED] Archaeological Site encompasses approximately 4.5 acres on the Maryland shore of the Potomac River. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Development of the site appears to have begun following completion of the canal around 1834. By the onset of the Civil War the site contained a small concentration of mercantile and residential buildings. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] may have impacted associated archaeological deposits, limited archaeological testing within the [REDACTED]. Archaeological Site has recovered a range of nineteenth-century artifact types. Overall the site appears to retain a relatively high degree of integrity.⁷⁶ The features associated with the site were present at the time of the battle. As such, the site contributes to the significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District.

12. Edwards Ferry, Virginia, Archaeological Site (44LD0008) (contributing site)

On the Virginia side of the Edwards Ferry crossing, archaeological excavations conducted in advance of the development of River Creek Country Club and Golf Course in the early 1990s identified the masonry remains of two structures located [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Architectural and domestic artifacts recovered from the vicinity date from the late eighteenth through the nineteenth centuries. The structural remains may be associated with a warehouse depicted in this location on Yardley Taylor's 1854 *Map of Loudoun County, Virginia*, and other maps produced during the course of the Civil War. A deed recording the sale of the property in 1855 mentions a "warehouse and appurtenances," as well as the ferry located near the mouth of Goose Creek, while an account from June 1861 mentions a ferry house at the site, suggesting that a small cluster of buildings may have been present here at the onset of the Civil War. In early August 1861, the warehouse and ferryman's house reportedly were burned by a Union raiding party; the extent of the damage is not known.⁷⁸ During the October 20–23, 1861, Battle of Ball's Bluff, large numbers of Union troops passed through this location, with many occupying the broad floodplain that extends north of the ferry landing.

Researchers in the early 1990s recommended that development avoid the site, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Consequently, historic archaeological deposits and features within the Edwards Ferry, Virginia, Archaeological Site are thought to retain a high level of integrity. These features, present at the time of the battle, constitute a contributing site of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield.

13. Lockhouse, C & O Canal, Lock #25 (MHT #M: 17-49, LCS 11604, mile 30.84), (contributing building)

⁷⁶ Fiedel et al., *Cohongorooto*, vol. 2, 80–86; see also William Marvel, *Mr. Lincoln Goes to War* (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin, 2006), 200, n. 51.

⁷⁷ Heidy Fogel, John Bedell, and John Rutherford, "Archaeological Investigations at the River Creek Club, Loudoun County, Virginia" (Fairfax, Virginia: Engineering-Science Inc., 1994), 89–90.

⁷⁸ Taylor, *Map of Loudoun County*; Loudoun County Deed Book 5M, 155; *The Daily Dispatch* (June 28, 1861): 2, (August 10, 1861):3.

⁷⁹ Fogel et al., *Archaeological Investigations at the River Creek Club*, 105–106; William H. Gordon Associates, Inc. (Leesburg, Virginia), *Grading Plan for River Creek*, Grading Plan 5 (1993). Documents on file at Loudoun County Department of Planning, Leesburg, Virginia.

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A lockhouse parallels the west side of the C & O Canal and towpath, just north of Edwards Ferry Road. The lockhouse was built into the declining topography between the towpath and the Potomac River, and features an exposed basement level on the west elevation. The building is surrounded by a manicured lawn and densely forested woods.

Lockhouses were built along the C & O Canal between 1829 and 1851 to house lock tenders and their families. The lock tender was responsible for operating lift locks and maintaining the correct water level in the canal. This one-and-a-half-story lockhouse was constructed in 1831 of five-course American-bond brick. The building rests on a random coursed stone foundation. The building measures approximately 18 by 30 feet in plan. It features a side-gabled roof covered with wood shingles. Interior-end brick chimneys are located on the east and west ends. Fenestration on the east-facing facade consists of a centrally-located single-leaf wood door with three-light transom that is flanked on either side by one window with closed wooden shutters. Fenestration on the basement story of the west elevation consists of two single-leaf wood doors, and two windows with closed wooden shutters. Fenestration on the first story of the west elevation consists of two windows with closed wooden shutters. Fenestration on the half-story of the east and west elevations consists of two, four-light wood windows.

The building possesses excellent integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. It was extant during the battle period of significance, and therefore contributes to the significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District.

14. Jackson House (also known as Callaghan House/Coombs Tract) (VDHR #s 053-0012-0004, 053-5058-0001) (1 contributing building, 1 noncontributing building)

The Jackson House is sited on a 3.22-acre parcel of land at 42326 Balls Bluff Road. The property consists of a circa 1840 vernacular single-family dwelling and an early twentieth century barn. The buildings are sited on the north end of the parcel and are accessed via an approximately 470-foot-long gravel driveway. The driveway and environs of the house and barn are maintained in mown turf lawn, while the perimeter of the property features deciduous trees.

14a. The two-story dwelling (**contributing building**) is clad in smooth stucco and has a side-gabled roof that is covered with standing seam metal panels. An exterior-end brick chimney is located on both the south and north elevations. A two-story, early twentieth-century addition is located on the west-facing facade. The addition is clad in hardboard siding and stucco, and is covered by a lean-to roof with standing seam metal. The first-story of this addition consists of a partial-width porch, supported by square wood Tuscan columns. A one-story addition, clad in hardboard siding, with a flat roof and balustrade is located on the west (rear) elevation. A smaller one-story, early twentieth century addition is located on the north elevation. This addition is clad in hardboard siding and covered by a flat roof. Fenestration on the main block and additions consists of a single-leaf wood and glass door; one-over-one, double-hung, wood and vinyl windows; a three-part vinyl picture window; two-light sliding casement windows; and a two-part sliding glass door with multiple snap-in muntins.

14b. A tall one-story, early twentieth-century barn (**noncontributing building**) is located 125 feet northeast of the house. The barn rests on a concrete block foundation, is clad in board-and-batten siding, and has a steeply-pitched gable roof that is covered with standing seam metal panels. A vented cupola is centrally-located on the ridgeline. A one-story, lean-to wing is located on the south elevation. Fenestration consists of sliding-bay wood doors and 16-light fixed wood windows.

The property retains good integrity of location and association. The integrity of setting has been slightly compromised by the late twentieth-century Potomac Crossing subdivision constructed to the south of the

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property. The integrity of design, materials, and workmanship of the house have been diminished by the additions and replacement windows and doors; however the overall vernacular form of an antebellum period house is still readily apparent. Integrity of feeling has also been slightly diminished by the addition of an early-twentieth-century barn.

The Jackson House retains sufficient overall integrity to convey its historic associations with the Battle of Ball's Bluff, and was present during the battle period of significance. The Jackson House thus contributes to the significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District. As mentioned, the surrounding area may contain domestic and battle-related archaeological deposits that hold the potential to further contribute to the historical significance of the battlefield historic district. The barn post-dates the battlefield historic district period of significance and is a noncontributing resource.

15. Springwood Mansion (44LD1622, 44LD1623, VDHR #s 053-0298, 053-0012-0020) (contributing building)

Springwood Mansion falls within the 46-acre North Spring Behavioral Healthcare Complex at 42009 Victory Lane, Leesburg, Virginia. The building sits atop a hill approximately 750 feet west of Route 15, and overlooks Big Spring. Previous documentation notes that Springwood Mansion was constructed circa 1840, however historic maps and 1860 census data for George Washington Ball suggest that the house probably was constructed slightly later circa 1854–1860.⁸⁰ Historic maps as well as census records for 1850 suggest that George W. Ball resided east of the main road north of Leesburg near Smart's Mill until at least 1854. Springwood Mansion was owned by George Washington Ball during the Civil War, and he and his wife operated the home as a boarding school for girls after the war.

Springwood Mansion is a Second Empire style building. The main block of the building has a square-shaped form with central passage plan and is two-and-a-half-stories in height. It rests on a raised basement, is clad in stucco, and has a mansard roof that is covered with hexagonal-shaped slate tiles. The building is ornamented with quoins on the first and second story corners, modillions under the porch and second story roof line, and front-gabled attic dormers. A one-story addition is located on the southwest elevation. The addition is faced in stucco and has a flat roof. A one-story wrap-around porch extends the entire length of the northeast-facing facade and the northwest elevation, terminating at the one-story addition. The southernmost portion of the porch on the northeast facade has been enclosed. The facade is divided into two parts, with the southernmost portion slightly recessed. An interior end brick chimney is located on the northwest and southwest elevations. A two-and-a-half-story wood staircase is located on the southeast elevation. The main block of the building is fenestrated with a double-leaf wood entry door that features single lights and three-light side lights; two-over-two, double-hung, wood windows; and four-over-four, double-hung, wood windows. Fenestration on the one-story addition consists of four-over-four, double-hung, wood windows and single-leaf metal door.

The property retains good integrity of location, setting, and association. Integrity of design, materials, and workmanship of the Springwood Mansion are diminished by the additions and replacement windows. The integrity of feeling has been slightly diminished by the construction of the nearby North Spring Behavioral Healthcare Complex. The Springwood Mansion retains good overall integrity and was extant during the battle period of significance. The mansion thus contributes to the significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District. The associated Springwood Archaeological Site (44LD1622), a contributing resource in its own right, is discussed above. Noncontributing buildings associated with the North Spring Behavioral Healthcare complex are itemized below.

⁸⁰ Rose, *North Spring Behavioral Hospital*, 32–35.

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16. Unnamed Log House (VDHR #053-6567) (1 contributing building, 2 noncontributing buildings, 1 noncontributing structure)

A log house situated at 43022 Edwards Ferry Road in Leesburg, Virginia, was constructed circa 1830. Today, it is part of the 56-acre Murray Hill property. Associated with the log house are various mid- to late twentieth century small outbuildings and structures. The log house and associated features are grouped within the northwest corner of an approximately 3-acre open field near the southeastern corner of the Murray Hill property. The log house is accessed via a gravel driveway from Edwards Ferry Road that continues northwest to the other buildings on the larger Murray Hill property. The immediate setting of the log house consists of a manicured lawn, with a few randomly spaced deciduous trees along the driveway, and open fields and pasture beyond to the east and west and mature woodland to the north. The location has never been studied archaeologically and may retain intact mid-nineteenth-century archaeological deposits and features associated with the property's domestic occupation as well as, potentially, military remains deposited during the Battle of Ball's Bluff.

16a. The one-and-a-half story log house features a hall-parlor plan. The building rests on a random-coursed stone foundation, features hand-hewn log construction, and has a steeply-pitched side-gabled roof that is covered with corrugated metal panels. The gable-ends are clad in wide-lap wood siding. On the south-facing facade is a centrally-located lean-to porch. The corrugated metal roof on the porch is supported by two square wood posts. The porch roofline features exposed rafter tails. An exterior-end stretcher-bond brick chimney is located on the west elevation. An exterior-end chimney on the east elevation is constructed of random-coursed stone for the lower half and stretcher-bond brick for the upper half. A one-story, L-shaped, lean-to wing is located on the rear (north) elevation and a portion of the east elevation. The wing is clad in weatherboard siding and features an interior stretcher-bond brick chimney and metal stovetop pipe. A small, one-story addition is attached to the north elevation of the wing. The addition is open-air on a portion of the west elevation. Fenestration on the main-block and additions consists of a single-leaf wood entry door with nine-lights; six-over-six, single-hung, wood windows; four-light fixed wood windows; six-light wood casement windows; one-over-one, double-hung, vinyl windows; and a single-leaf screen door.

16b. A circa 1940 well (**noncontributing structure**) is located directly east of the log house. The well cap stands approximately 2 feet tall, has poured concrete walls, and a flat concrete roof.

16c. Sited south of the log house is a one-story, mid-twentieth century shed (**noncontributing building**). The shed is clad in vertical corrugated metal panels, and is covered with a side gable roof sheathed with corrugated metal. A corrugated metal lean-to addition is located on the shed's north elevation.

16d. Sited north of the log house is a one-story prefabricated, late twentieth century shed (**noncontributing building**). The shed is clad in vertical wood siding and has a gambrel roof that is covered with asphalt shingles. The southwest-facing facade is fenestrated with a double-leaf, strap-hinged, wood door.

The property retains good integrity of location, setting, and association. Integrity of design, materials, and workmanship of the log house is diminished by the additions and replacement windows; however the hall-parlor plan and log materials of the house are still readily visible. Integrity of feeling is also slightly diminished by the addition of the two twentieth century sheds and well.

The log house retains good overall integrity and was extant during the period of significance; the building contributes to the significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District.

17. Smart's Mill/Big Spring-Edwards Ferry Road Trace (44LD1729, 44LD1730), (contributing structure)

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As early as 1807, petition was made for a public road between Big Spring in the north and Edwards Ferry and Kephart's (then Lee's) Mill in the south. The road appears to have been built in the early 1820s. During the early 1830s, the road was depicted on at least two maps.⁸¹ Although the route was not included on Yardley Taylor's 1854 *Map of Loudoun County, Virginia*, a similar route, with a northern terminus at Smart's Mill rather than Big Spring, was indicated on the January 1, 1862, *Map of Northeastern Virginia and the Vicinity of Washington, D.C.* produced by the U.S. Topographical Engineers Office.⁸² Along much of its length, this road paralleled the Potomac River, skirting the heads of the ravines that dissect the high bluffs along the river east of Leesburg.

Recent suburban development has erased evidence of the Smart's Mill–Edwards Ferry Road over much of its length. However, in the western portions of Sage Hill Farm and bordering the eastern margin of the Edwards Landing subdivision, the trace of the approximately 15-foot-wide and 1- to 2-foot deep incised bed of the Smart's Mill/Big Spring–Edwards Ferry Road survives in wooded terrain for a distance of approximately 1,950 feet (0.35 mi). The northern end of the road as it was depicted on the 1862 *Map of Northeastern Virginia and the Vicinity of Washington* also survives for approximately 3,650 feet (0.7 mi) as it passes west of the Jackson house and continues northeast in the direction of Smart's Mill. The northern section of the Smart's Mill–Edwards Ferry Road remains in use, terminating at a small boat ramp on the Potomac River used to access Harrison's Island.

The surviving southern sections of the Smart's Mill/Big Spring–Edwards Ferry Road fall on privately owned land, and do not appear to be currently threatened by development. Portions of the road trace on Sage Hill Farm overlap with an active farm road. The surviving northern section of the road is on publicly owned park land and receives very limited vehicular use. The road, which was present at the time of the battle, survives with sufficient integrity to convey its historic associations. As such, it contributes to the significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield. Systematic geophysical

18. Smart's Mill–Big Spring Road Trace (44LD1728), (contributing structure)

A trace of the nineteenth century road that linked Smart's Mill and Big Spring is evident within undisturbed terrain [REDACTED]. A road between Big Spring and Smart's Mill was first depicted on Yardley Taylor's 1854 *Map of Loudoun County, Virginia*. As illustrated by Taylor, the road ran east from Big Spring before turning northeastward towards the residence and mill belonging to John P. Smart that edged the high ground of the Ball's Bluff plateau. Subsequent maps produced during the Civil War also show this road in much the same location.⁸³ The road is not shown on known later nineteenth- and twentieth-century maps.

The Smart's Mill–Big Spring Road appears to have been in service at least by 1840, while an earlier section running along the Potomac between Smart's Mill and Conrad's Ferry dates to 1824.⁸⁴ During much of August and September 1861, a portion of the 17th Mississippi Infantry regiment, under the command of Capt. William L. Duff, which was sometimes joined by members of the Richmond Howitzers artillery battalion, were

⁸¹ Loudoun County Road Cases RP1807-001, RR1821-001; Loudoun County Road Overseers RO1822-001; Loudoun County Road Bill RB1825-002; plat, Loudoun County Deed Book 4B, 143; map, circa 1835, "Survey of Goose Creek and Little River & Beaver Dam branches thereof," *Citizens of Fauquier, Prince William, & Loudoun Counties: Petition, Fauquier County, 1839*, 25, Legislative Petitions Digital Collection, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

⁸² U.S. Corps of Topographical Engineers, *Map of N.Eastern Virginia*; U.S. War Department, "Map of Northeastern Virginia and Vicinity of Washington, D.C.," Plate 7, *Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880) which was derived from the 1862 map.

⁸³ Taylor, *Map of Loudoun County*; U.S. Corps of Topographical Engineers, *Map of N.Eastern Virginia*; U.S. War Department, "Map of Northeastern Virginia and Vicinity of Washington, D.C.," Plate 7, *Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880).

⁸⁴ Loudoun County Road Cases RR1840-007, RR1824-003; see also Road Case RP1827-001.

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encamped at Big Spring, tasked with picketing the road north to Point of Rocks and Noland's Ferry as well as the various river crossings to the east, including those at Conrad's Ferry and Smart's Mill.⁸⁵ On the morning of October 21, 1861, at the onset of the Battle of Ball's Bluff, pickets of the 17th Mississippi in the vicinity of Smart's Mill observed and fired on U.S. troops who had crossed over from Harrison's Island. The Confederate pickets were "driven in" by the return fire and returned to Big Spring to report to Captain Duff, likely traveling along the Smart's Mill–Big Spring Road. Upon receiving the news, Duff assembled the entire company encamped at Big Spring and "marched in the direction of Smart's Mill, where my pickets had been driven in. On reaching the mouth of the lane leading to the river, some 500 or 600 yards from the mill," Duff reported, he turned his small force southward and moved upslope in the direction of the Jackson house, where they soon encountered the Union reconnaissance party led by Col. Charles Devens of the 15th Massachusetts.⁸⁶

Impacts to the road trace associated with the Big Spring Farm subdivision are relatively limited, and much of this rolling former agricultural land is maintained as mowed grass or woodland. Topographical mapping of the area provided by a LiDAR system reveals a linear depression that corresponds closely to the course of the road as mapped by Yardley Taylor and others in the nineteenth century. The road trace, which possesses sufficient integrity to convey its historic associations, was present at the time of the battle and contributes to the significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield.

19. Kephart's Mill Road Trace (44LD1727) (contributing structure)

At the time of the Civil War, Kephart's Mill Road was an approximately 3-mile-long route running between the Leesburg–Alexandria Turnpike in the south to Edwards Ferry Road in the north. A plat drawn in 1869 showing the northern portion of the road indicates that it joined Edwards Ferry Road roughly opposite the present-day entrance to Red Rock Wilderness Park. Just north of its midpoint, the road crossed Goose Creek via a bridge located nearly 1 mile upstream from the mouth of the creek and adjacent to George Kephart's merchant and saw mill.⁸⁷ To the south, the road entered the Leesburg–Alexandria Turnpike opposite Belmont plantation, which Kephart acquired in 1851.⁸⁸ A mill had existed at the Kephart site on Goose Creek at least since the beginning of the nineteenth century and in all likelihood some version of the mill road is also at least as old.⁸⁹ As noted above, George Kephart petitioned the county in 1849 and 1853 for improvements to the road running past his mill both north and south of Goose Creek.⁹⁰

On October 20, 1861, elements of the 17th and 18th Mississippi Infantry regiments traveled along Kephart's Mill Road north of Goose Creek on a reconnaissance mission to Edwards Ferry.⁹¹ The following day, Maj. John Mix, 3rd New York Cavalry, traveling west on Edwards Ferry Road, noted the road's intersection with

⁸⁵ Morgan, *Boats*, 36–37; see also Carlton McCarthy, "Extracts From An Old 'Order Book' of First Company Richmond Howitzers," Pamphlet 4, *Contributions to a History of the Richmond Howitzer Battalion* (Richmond, Virginia: J.W. Randolph & English, 1886), 62, and Morton, "Richmond Howitzers," 14.

⁸⁶ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 363; as noted by Morgan, *Boats*, 44, n. 2. Duff's report calls the mill "Stuart's," which is likely a later transcription error. See also Casper Crowninshield to Harriet Sears Crowninshield, 22 October 1861, Charles Pickering Putnam papers, 1844–1914, Massachusetts Historical Society, Ms N-755, accessed June 10, 2015, <http://www.masshist.org/object-of-the-month/objects/ball-s-bluff-the-civil-war-comes-home-to-massachusetts-2011-10-01>

⁸⁷ Loudoun County Deed Book 4Z: 409.

⁸⁸ Loudoun County Deed Book 5D: 336.

⁸⁹ Kephart's Mill is located within a 7,500-acre land grant made to Thomas Lee in 1728. An 1803 Mutual Assurance Society policy for Thomas Ludwell Lee's Croton plantation records a two-story stone mill, known as Lee's Mill. The mill was sold to Samuel Clapham in 1828 and became known, first, as Clapham's and then as the Elizabeth Mill after Clapham's daughter, VDHR site form, Cotton Plantation, 053-0155. An 1807 Loudoun County Road Case (RP187-001) contains a petition for a road between Big Spring and Lee's Mill. See also Loudoun County Road Case RR1821-001, Loudoun Road Overseers RO1822-001, and Loudoun County Road Bill RB1825-002.

⁹⁰ Loudoun County Deed Book 4Z: 409; Loudoun County Road Cases RR1849-0004 and RR1853-0004.

⁹¹ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 360–361.

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Kephart's Mill Road, though he did not travel south along the route.⁹² On October 22, Col. William Barksdale's 13th Mississippi regiment moved east from Fort Evans along Edwards Ferry Road before turning south onto Kephart's Mill Road to launch an attack on the Union line assembled on the Virginia side of Edwards Ferry, while the following day Union troops under the command of Brig. Gen. Charles Stone followed the road south across Goose Creek as they scouted the Confederate withdrawal from Leesburg.⁹³

Changes were made to Kephart's Mill Road north of Goose Creek following the Civil War, most notably in how the road joined Edwards Ferry Road. Elsewhere the route continued to be depicted much as it was during the Civil War on the first United States Geologic Survey (U.S.G.S.) maps of the region produced in the 1890s.⁹⁴ By the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century, however, the road appears to have been abandoned, and it was not included on a map of Loudoun County's rural mail delivery routes drafted in 1925.⁹⁵ Today, the only known surviving remnant of Kephart's Mill Road within the Ball's Bluff Battlefield is the approximately 750-foot-long section of 15-foot-wide road bed that ascends the steep slope north of Goose Creek and west of the site of Kephart's Bridge. At the top of the steep slope, the road trace turns north, but is soon lost due to the land disturbance associated with suburban development that extends north to Edwards Ferry Road. No physical evidence survives of the road's original northern terminus at Edwards Ferry Road. The trace of Kephart's Mill Road that survives possesses sufficient integrity to contribute to the significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield.

20. Road to Ault's Landing (44LD1731) (contributing structure)

Ault's Landing, formerly known as Chichester's Landing, is located on the Virginia shore of the Potomac River roughly opposite the lower end of Harrison's Island. Here, on the present-day Murray Hill property approximately 725 east of the main house, the high bluffs overlooking the Potomac River are cut by a deeply incised ravine that drains to the river. The landing, which is still used to provide emergency access to the river, is at the mouth of the ravine.⁹⁶ Although no formal landing structure is visible at its mouth, a narrow (12–15 feet wide) roadway runs up the western side slope of the ravine for a distance of approximately 450 feet from the river's edge to the top of the bluff just south of the vacant, c.1900 Murray Hill tenant house (noncontributing resource 50f., below) and turns to the northwest. At this point, the course of the road appears to have been lost to twentieth century landscaping and development, however topographical considerations and early nineteenth century descriptions strongly suggest that it continued westward along the course of what is today the Murray Hill graveled entrance drive at least to the point where the drive meets the western boundary of the Murray Hill property. As discussed below, the road in its earliest circa 1830 iteration likely continued west from this point, cutting diagonally across the present Sage Hill Farm to meet Cattail Branch near where the stream is now crossed by Edwards Ferry Road. The present alignment of the old road to Ault's Landing along what is now the Murray Hill drive to its intersection with Edwards Ferry Road opposite Cattail Ordinary (VDHR 053-0403) probably dates from the 1850s.

Ault's landing, which appears to have remained in active and perhaps public use well into the twentieth century, is named for John Ault who purchased the property in 1851 from descendants of Aaron Saunders.⁹⁷ Both

⁹² *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 335.

⁹³ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 331, 354.

⁹⁴ Loudoun County Road Cases RP1869-001, RP1875-014; U.S.G.S., *Harpers Ferry, Virginia* (1898) and *Montgomery, Maryland* (1893) 1:125,000 quadrangles.

⁹⁵ U.S. Post Office Department, Division of Topography, *Rural Delivery Routes, Loudoun County, Virginia*, 1925.

⁹⁶ Lori Kimball, *Murray Hill, Loudoun County, Virginia*, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2014), 7.5.

⁹⁷ In her NRHP nomination of Murray Hill, Kimball notes that a 1937 deed conveying the property to Sterling Murray and Mary H. Rust refers to the drive as "the road to Ault's Landing," *ibid.*, 7.11. Ault's Landing is included on a list of access points for fisherman along the upper Potomac published in a special Touring and Outing insert of the June 18, 1922 (Sunday) *Washington Times*, p. 17. An article titled "Canoeing Season Opens on the Potomac" in the April 15, 1906 edition of the *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), part 4, p. 5, mentions Ault's Landing as a favorite camping spot for fisherman.

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landing and road however pre-date Ault's ownership and appear to have been closely connected with a warehouse established for the transshipment of Loudoun County grain and flour to the markets of Alexandria and Georgetown. In 1828, Aaron Saunders, who owned a roughly 450-acre property called the Neck or River Tract just east of Wilson Cary Seldon's large Exeter plantation, sold a small, circa 4.75-acre tract bordering the Potomac River in this location to George Chichester.⁹⁸ In 1831 and again in 1833 reports were made regarding the possibility of opening a public road from Leesburg across the lands of Seldon and Saunders to Chichester's Landing with the express purpose of providing access to the C & O Canal, which at that time was nearing completion to Edwards Ferry, Maryland.⁹⁹ The 1831 effort mentions a facility, called "Saunders' warehouse," at the landing that likely had been constructed as a waypoint for stockpiling local grain and flour prior to shipment downstream. According to both a written description and a plat of the road to Chichester's Landing from the early 1830s, after crossing Cattail Run the road was to traverse the land of Aaron Saunders to intersect with the Edward's Ferry Road (at that time, the road ran along the bluff edge from Smart's Mill and Big Spring towards Edwards Ferry) and follow that road "to the head of a hollow on G.M. Chichester's land near the river and winding on the north side of said hollow round between the house and the branch to the river."¹⁰⁰ An 1842 plat of the division of Aaron Saunders' estate depicts the 4.75-acre "warehouse lot" in the northeastern corner of the 66-acre Lot 2 that would, in 1851, be purchased by John Ault.¹⁰¹ This plat shows no means of accessing the warehouse lot and depicts Edwards Ferry Road along its present-day alignment. Nevertheless, a series of county road bills between 1839 and 1848 record payments made for labor and materials used for maintaining "the road from Leesburg to Chichester's Landing," providing clear evidence of the road's existence if not its actual route.¹⁰² Possibly, the warehouse at Chichester's/Ault's Landing may have been the same facility, reported to have been located about 2.5 miles from Leesburg, that was leased first to Robert G. Bowie and then to William and Jacob Ish in the late 1840s.¹⁰³ Yardley Taylor's 1854 map of Loudoun County depicts a warehouse at this location but does not show the road by which it was reached. By this date, the larger property surrounding the warehouse lot had been acquired by John Ault who lived at an adjoining property on the south side of Edwards Ferry Road now known as Cattail Ordinary. It seems highly likely that, if not already in existence, the road now used as the Murray Hill drive would have been opened by Ault to provide more direct access to the landing.¹⁰⁴ In the 1860 federal census of Loudoun County, farmer John Ault with real estate valued at \$3,000 is listed one house away from tenant and "keeper of warehouse" Richard Collier while the two houses beyond Collier were occupied by the families of "boatmen" Charles Clark and Silas Simpson.

No mention of the road to Ault's Landing has been discovered in the primary documents associated with the Battle of Ball's Bluff, however evidence suggests that the feature must have been in place at the time of the battle. The existence of the landing, and probably the warehouse, appears indicated in the January 27, 1862 testimony of Capt. J. J. Delaney, 2nd New York Infantry, before the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War. Delaney's regiment was part of General Stone's Corps of Observation and since mid-August 1861 had been patrolling the upper Potomac from its principal encampment near Poolesville. During the Battle of Ball's Bluff, Delaney's 2nd New York was part of the Union force that crossed into Virginia at Edwards Ferry the morning of October 21, however the regiment appears not to have traveled west much further than the crest of

⁹⁸ Loudoun County Deed Books 3R, 163.

⁹⁹ Loudoun County Road Cases RR1831-002, RR1833-005.

¹⁰⁰ Loudoun County Road Case RR1831-002; see also Loudoun County Deed Books 3R, 163; 4B, 143 and Road Case RR1833-005.

¹⁰¹ "Plat of a tract of land part of the real estate of Aaron Saunders Dec'd call'd the Neck or River Tract," *Aaron R. Saunders etc. vs Susan C. Saunders*, widow, etc. Loudoun County Cause No. 1859-005 (Richmond, Virginia: Library of Virginia, Richmond), 64.

¹⁰² Loudoun County Road Bills RB1839-001, RB1840-001, RB1840-003, RB1845-003, RB1847-002, RB1848-001, RB1848-002, RB1848-003, RB1848-004

¹⁰³ See the 1848 advertisement from Leesburg's *The Washingtonian* reprinted in Bauman, "Compilation of Canal Trade Articles," 5.

¹⁰⁴ Kimball, *Murray Hill, Loudoun County, Virginia*, 7.11.

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the bluffs or perhaps the Dailey house, still less than one mile from Edwards Ferry, and so would have had no opportunity to directly encounter the Road to Ault's Landing. During his interrogation by the Joint Committee, Delaney was questioned about his knowledge of mills and other features along the Virginia shore gained through his months of patrolling and observation along the opposite bank. It was in this context that Captain Delaney discussed what likely was Ault's landing, which he described as "a sort of inclined plane down towards the river as if for the purpose of loading boats or something of that kind . . . about opposite the lower end of Harrison's Island." Associated with the landing was a building "on the river bank" that Delaney had been told, by a Maryland resident on the opposite shore, was a mill but that in all likelihood was the warehouse. Delaney further reported having seen "the enemy's pickets and fires about this place," indicating that the location was actively patrolled by Confederate troops.¹⁰⁵

Although not explicitly mentioned in first-hand accounts of the Battle of Ball's Bluff, the road connecting Edwards Ferry Road to Ault's Landing must have been a landscape feature present during the battle period of significance. Over most of its roughly 3,000-foot length, impacts to the feature appear to have been relatively few and likely have been limited to periodic grading, ditching, and graveling between Edwards Ferry Road and the main residence at Murry Hill. Beyond the current terminus of the graveled Murray Hill drive, the historic road bed has been lost for a distance of approximately 200 feet, however it reappears just south of the vacant, early twentieth century tenant house and continues northeastward down the ravine to the river's edge. The Road to Ault's Landing retains sufficient integrity to contribute to the significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield. The various twentieth century buildings and structures on the Murray Hill property that post-date the battle period of significance and that do not contribute to the battlefield's significance are discussed below. Archaeological study of the area at the road's riverside terminus may identify physical remains of the warehouse pictured on the Taylor map and possibly mentioned by Capt. Delaney. Similar study of the bluffs above may locate remains of the house mentioned in one earlier nineteenth-century source, though twentieth-century impacts associated with the construction of Murray Hill may have removed such evidence.

21. Fort Evans (44LD0870; VDHR #253-5138) (contributing structure)

Fort Evans is a trapezoidal earthwork enclosing nearly 2 acres at the southwestern margin of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield. Industrial, commercial, and residential development has occurred to the north, west, and south of the property. Much of the area around the fort has lost historic integrity; Fort Evans, while part of the historic district, is documented as a discontinuous parcel.

Consisting of roughly 5-foot-high earthen rampart walls marked at the corners by bastions, Fort Evans stands atop a knoll that constitutes the highest point within the battlefield. Located approximately 1.75 miles east of the Leesburg courthouse and 300 yards south of Edwards Ferry Road, the fort commanded both Edwards Ferry Road and the Leesburg–Alexandria Turnpike (present-day East Market Street/Route 7), the two principal approaches to Leesburg from the east at the time of the battle.

Although named for Nathan G. "Shanks" Evans, who assumed command of the Confederate forces in Loudoun County in August 1861 and for whom the earthwork served as headquarters during the Battle of Ball's Bluff, construction of Fort Evans appears to have begun by early summer 1861, during Col. Eppa Hunton's command of the Confederate forces occupying Leesburg and Loudoun County. In June 1861, immediately upon his arrival in Poolesville, Maryland, Col. Charles P. Stone reported that the Confederate forces were "throwing up a battery on the road between Edwards Ferry and Leesburg."¹⁰⁶ Kundahl concludes that initial construction of the fort should be credited to the military engineer, John Morris Wampler, who was attached to Hunton's command

¹⁰⁵ Testimony of Capt. J. J. Delaney, January 27, 1862, *JCCW*, part 2, 402.

¹⁰⁶ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 2, 109.

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as special aide and topographical engineer. Wampler referred to the earthwork in his diaries as “Fort Wampler.”¹⁰⁷

On August 19, shortly after newly commissioned Brig. Gen. Charles P. Stone returned to Poolesville in command of the nascent U.S. Corps of Observation, he reported back to General McClellan that “the enemy appear to be throwing up additional intrenchments [sic] about 3½ miles back from Edwards Ferry, on the Leesburg road, in an excellent position for guarding the approach to Leesburg.” Stone further observed that “these works were commenced previous to the battle at Bull Run, and are now being extended,” suggesting that they were the same fortifications he had reported on in June. Stone also noted that the Confederate fort was “good for nothing for offensive operations,” and that it “might be reached by shot from a rifled gun planted on the heights above Edwards Ferry.”¹⁰⁸ A month later in mid-September 1861, Stone reported observing “considerable activity . . . in improving the defensive works on the road from Edwards Ferry to Leesburg,” which works he noted also “cover the approaches to Leesburg from the Chain Bridge and Alexandria turnpike.” This flurry of activity at Fort Evans was carried out in such plain view that Stone wondered whether it was intended as a ruse or deception. However communications from both Stone and Gen. Nathan P. Banks during the preceding days suggest that the heightened Confederation activity may have been in direct response to a recent Union foray across the Potomac into Loudoun County.¹⁰⁹

On October 12, 1861, *Harper's Weekly* published a “telescopic view” of “earth-works commanding the approaches to Leesburg” that probably depicts Fort Evans. Hand-drawn by a member of Gen. Willis Gorman's brigade, which formed part of Stone's Corp of Observation encamped between Poolesville and Edwards Ferry, the view shows a low earthwork with bastion or salient enclosing a small encampment on “the brow of an eminence some four miles distant from Edward's Ferry.”¹¹⁰ According to a member of the Richmond Howitzers, the artillery brigade attached to Evans' Leesburg command, by early autumn the hill above Edwards Ferry Road contained merely “the outlines of some earthworks, called by courtesy ‘the Fort.’”¹¹¹ The anonymous English author of *Battlefields of the South* thought to be Thomas E. Caffey, Company D, 18th Mississippi, described Fort Evans just prior to the Battle of Ball's Bluff as “the mudwork on the hill, towards Edward's Ferry, called by the dignified term of ‘Fort Evans,’” noting further that the fort “had not guns, and was not pierced for any.”¹¹²

Although located nearly 1.5 miles from Ball's Bluff and more than 3 miles from Edwards Ferry, Fort Evans played a significant role during the Battle of Ball's Bluff. As mentioned, Colonel “Shanks” Evans, commanding Confederate officer at Leesburg, used the fort as his headquarters and observation post throughout the battle. By the night of October 19, Evans reported heavy shelling from three Union batteries, “one playing on my intrenchment (known as Fort Evans), one on the Leesburg turnpike, and one on Edwards Ferry.”¹¹³ Union shelling continued the following day, Sunday, October 20, according to Evans, and Stone too reported rather extensive shelling that day “to produce an impression that a crossing was to be made” as opposed to simply the “demonstration” or feint that was underway.¹¹⁴ On Monday, October 21, Evans reported that “on observing the

¹⁰⁷ George G. Kundahl, *Confederate Engineer: Training and Campaigning with John Morris Wampler* (Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 80–84, n. 22.

¹⁰⁸ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 2, 568.

¹⁰⁹ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 2, 583–884, 591.

¹¹⁰ “Section of the Earth-Works Commanding the Approaches to Leesburg, Virginia, on the South,” *Harper's Weekly* 5, no. 250 (October 12, 1861): 650.

¹¹¹ Morton, “Richmond Howitzers,” 14.

¹¹² Thomas E. Caffey, “An English Combatant” in *Battle-Fields of the South* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1863) 133. Elsewhere, Caffey described Fort Evans as “the red earthworks of which could be plainly discerned dotting the green hill, and overlooking a bend in the road near town,” 139.

¹¹³ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 348–349.

¹¹⁴ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 293, 349; See also Caffey, *Battle-Fields*, 139, for a description of the heavy Union shelling of Fort Evans on

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movements of the enemy from Fort Evans at 6 o'clock a.m., I found he had effected a crossing both at Edwards Ferry and Ball's Bluff, and I made preparations to meeting him in both positions."¹¹⁵ In addition to sending reinforcements to his troops already engaged at Ball's Bluff, Evans ordered the bulk of the force at his disposal into concealed positions on the wooded slopes below Fort Evans to the east and southeast to counter the possibility of additional Union advances from Edwards Ferry and/or Dranesville.¹¹⁶ Colonel Evans continued to observe the action throughout the day from the fort, but in the evening withdrew much of his force into Leesburg. Fort Evans remained a point of command and observation throughout the following day, October 22, as a part of Evans' command engaged Union forces near Edwards Ferry and on Wednesday, October 23 the fort was used to cover Evans' further withdrawal southwards towards Carter's Mill on the Carolina Road (contemporary Route 15) south of Oatlands.

Following the Confederate victory at Ball's Bluff, Evans was promoted to brigadier general. However, in early December 1861, he was replaced by Brig. Gen. D. H. Hill as commander of the Confederate forces in Loudoun County.¹¹⁷ Hill focused his attention on the construction of fortifications around Leesburg, as is suggested by his order of spades almost immediately upon his arrival.¹¹⁸ Although General Hill requisitioned slave labor from local plantation owners for the construction of fortifications, members of his brigade were also involved in this work.¹¹⁹ Robert M. Anderson's Company, Virginia Light Artillery, also known as 1st Company, Richmond Howitzers, remained encamped at Fort Evans after the Battle of Ball's Bluff and through November and December 1861 were actively engaged in "throwing up earthworks."¹²⁰ By January 6, 1862, Hill was overseeing construction at three separate earthworks, including Fort Evans, which must have continued to receive modification.¹²¹ Later in January, Hill was visited by Edward Porter Alexander, chief ordnance officer in Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston's army (a position he held subsequently in the Army of Northern Virginia), who was tasked with overseeing Hill's efforts.¹²² Specific changes that may have been made to Fort Evans between the Battle of Ball's Bluff and the Confederate withdrawal from Loudoun County in March 1862 unfortunately remain unknown, although it is likely that the fort was enlarged and at least some gun openings may have been inserted into its ramparts.¹²³ The short Union occupation of Leesburg following the Confederate withdrawal in March 1862 seems too brief a time to have allowed for substantial Federal modifications to the fort, although Col. John Geary, 28th Pennsylvania Infantry, reported taking possession of all three forts surrounding Leesburg.¹²⁴ A little over a year later, in June 1863, elements of the Union Army's XII Corps en

October 20, 1861.

¹¹⁵ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 349.

¹¹⁶ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 350, 354, 358; Morgan, *Boats*, 60.

¹¹⁷ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 981; see also, Chamberlin and Souders, *Between Reb and Yank*, 76, 78, who report construction at Fort Evans through the latter half of December, 1861. Private Robert Moore of the 17th Mississippi also reported in his diary the arrival of Hill and the renewed focus on fortifications; James W. Silver, ed., *A Life for the Confederacy: As Recorded in the Pocket Diaries of Pvt. Robert A. Moore, Co. G, 17th Mississippi Regiment* (Jackson, Texas: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1959), 85.

¹¹⁸ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 995.

¹¹⁹ Silver, *A Life*, 85–89, 99; Chamberlin and Souders, *Between Reb and Yank*, 76.

¹²⁰ Janet B. Hewett et al., *Supplement to the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, part 2, vol. 70 (Wilmington, North Carolina Broadfoot Publishing Co., 1994–2001), 370.

¹²¹ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 1021. Only three Confederate forts are known in the Leesburg area—Fort Evans, Fort Johnson located northwest of town, and Fort Beauregard thought to have been sited on a hill south of town. For these latter two forts; see Balicki and Owen, *Eight Forts*, 19–24. Robert Moore reported that in mid-December 1861, the 18th Mississippi was directed by Hill to work on Fort Evans at night as they were getting shelled by U.S. troops there during the day; Silver, *A Life*, 87.

¹²² Gary W. Gallagher (ed.), *Fighting for the Confederacy: The Personal Recollections of General Edward Porter Alexander* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 64–65.

¹²³ In January 1862, Maj. J.J. Dimmick, 2nd New York Infantry, testified that the fort was the site of considerable Confederate activity following the Battle of Ball's Bluff that included the insertion of gun embrasures; *JCCW*, part 2, 392–393.

¹²⁴ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 513, 549; Chamberlin and Souders, *Between Reb and Yank*, 98–100. Fort Johnston, constructed by Hill northwest of Leesburg, appears to have been the primary focus of the roughly ten-day Union occupation of Leesburg in mid-March 1862.

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route to Gettysburg occupied Leesburg for a similarly short period, during which they made unspecified “repairs” to Fort Evans.¹²⁵

In its current configuration, Fort Evans approximates a right trapezoid, with nearly parallel western and eastern sides and near right angles at both its southwestern and southeastern corners. The basic form of the fort reflects the underlying natural topography and shape of the summit of the high hill on which it is sited, as well as its intended purpose, which may have changed somewhat over time. The fort’s longest side, which measures 345 feet (interior), faces north and overlooks Edwards Ferry Road, while its shortest side, measuring 200 feet, faces east. The south and west sides of Fort Evans measure 320 feet and 305 feet respectively. Outside the fort, the terrain falls away most steeply to east and north while declining more gradually to south and west. Much of the area inside and outside of Fort Evans is maintained as mowed turf, although trees, predominantly eastern red cedar, have been allowed to grow atop the ramparts and bastions and may well help to stabilize these earthen embankments

As mentioned, the earthen ramparts of Fort Evans today rise to a height of roughly 5 feet above the fort’s interior. At their bases, the ramparts measure approximately 20 to 30 feet thick. There is no visible evidence that the ramparts once supported a parapet, terreplein, or banquette nor is there any indication of a ditch along the outer edge of the ramparts. Towards the center of the space enclosed by the fort, the terrain is several feet higher than it is around the interior of the ramparts. A broad, approximately 55-foot-wide, opening pierces the fort’s south wall, slightly west of its center, and is thought to be a sally port, possibly enlarged after the Civil War.¹²⁶ In addition to this opening, all four walls of the fort are marked by more narrow transverse cuts or depressions of variable width, depth, and spacing. The north rampart is pierced by three such cuts, the west by four, the south by five, and the east rampart by two. With the exception of the westernmost transverse cut in the south wall, which is thought to be a post-Civil War road cut, these narrow cuts through the ramparts are typically interpreted as embrasures, with some if not all added after the Battle of Ball’s Bluff.¹²⁷

Bastions are present at the fort’s northeast, southeast, and southwest corners and a fourth may have once existed at the northwest.¹²⁸ Each of the three surviving bastions appears to display a different configuration, suggesting that they may not have been constructed contemporaneously. The northeast bastion has parallel sides and a squared end wall and each of the three walls is pierced by a single gun opening or embrasure. The southwest bastion appears as a roughly circular protrusion, however this may reflect the eroded form of a classic four-sided structure. No embrasures are visible in the southwest bastion, but the structure does enclose an elevated gun platform reached via a ramp from the interior. The original form of the southeast bastion cannot be

¹²⁵ Hewett, *Supplement*, part 1, vol. 5, 221; Hewett, *Supplement*, part 2, vol. 47, 128, 149; Part 2, vol. 59, 157, 215. Balicki and Owen, *Eight Forts*, 15, suggest these repairs probably concerned primarily the western side of the fort, which would have been used to cover the U.S. crossing at Edwards’ Ferry.

¹²⁶ Balicki and Owen, *Eight Forts*, 15; Swain, “Fort Evans.”

¹²⁷ There are no known first-hand accounts either before or during the Battle of Ball’s Bluff of artillery being mounted within Fort Evans. According to Caffey, *Battle-fields*, 133, 141, in mid-October 1861 Fort Evans “had not guns, and was not pierced for any,” however he states that artillery was held in reserve within the fort during the Battle of Ball’s Bluff on October 21. Capt. J.H. Richardson, 7th Michigan, testified that during the Battle of Ball’s Bluff no artillery was fired from the fort. Capt. J.J. Delany, 2nd New York, also saw no guns mounted in Fort Evans during the battle, but claimed to have observed two embrasures in the earthwork. Maj. J. J. Dimmick, 2nd New York, also testified that at the time of the Battle Ball’s Bluff, Fort Evans “was only a breastwork a few feet high” and without any guns. By January 1862, however Dimmick reported that the fort had received considerable work and was “about 500 feet long, and pierced, I should think, for from 20 to 30 guns;” *JCCW*, part 2, 344, 392–393, 400. Although Major Dimmick’s figures might be exaggerated, some of Fort Evans’ embrasures may have been Confederate constructions from either before or, more likely, after the Battle of Ball’s Bluff.

¹²⁸ According to Balicki and Owen, *Eight Forts*, 15, bastions are present only at the fort’s northeastern, southeastern, and southwestern corners. Swain, in “Fort Evans,” argues that existing topography suggests that a fourth bastion has been removed from the northwest corner, an interpretation supported the highly detailed surface map of the fort generated from LiDAR data that shows elevated terrain protruding from this corner.

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determined because of late twentieth-century disturbances in this area caused by construction of a mausoleum and insertion of a sub-grade storm drain system. This bastion may originally have been a triangular, redan-like protrusion or a four-sided structure, and likely enclosed a gun platform.¹²⁹ A low, roughly circular protrusion surrounding the fort's northwestern corner is visible in a LiDAR-derived surface map and suggests that a fourth bastion may have been present at this location. This bastion may have been lost during the cutting of a twentieth-century drainage ditch through the fort's northwestern corner.

For nearly 100 years following the end of the Civil War, Fort Evans and the land immediately surrounding it appear to have been little disturbed. Around 1950, radio and communications engineer Lester Carr and his wife, Helmi, purchased Fort Evans and the surrounding farmland. Carr, who was working as a government contractor in Washington, D.C., was attracted to the property as a descendant of a Minnesota infantryman involved in the Battle of Ball's Bluff who, according to family tradition, had scouted Fort Evans just prior to the battle.¹³⁰ The Carrs constructed their home and several dependencies, which still stand, just outside the fort's southern rampart. A small mid-twentieth-century farmhouse that once stood approximately 175 feet north of the fort also may have been built by the Carrs. Corporate offices and labs associated with Carr's company, Developmental Engineering Corporation, were built on the upper slopes of the hill east of the fort and today are occupied by Rehau, Incorporated, the current owner of the property.¹³¹ The Carr house and office building, while not built on top of the earthworks of Fort Evans, are close enough to the structure to adversely affect its setting, blocking the once impressive, and strategically important, views from the fort to the east and south. Direct impacts to the fabric of Fort Evans associated with Carrs ownership are limited primarily to the southeastern corner of the earthwork where installation of a storm sewer to improve drainage and the construction of a family mausoleum, an approximately 10 foot by 10 foot masonry structure, apparently removed much of the southeastern bastion. To date, no archaeological investigations have been conducted within Fort Evans, however limited Phase I testing conducted north of the fort identified rifle pits and a broad scatter of Civil War era artifacts.¹³²

Late twentieth-century impacts to the structure's fabric and setting notwithstanding, Fort Evans has been described as among the largest and best preserved Confederate fortifications of 1861 in Northern Virginia, and has been recommended as individually eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criteria A and D.¹³³ Although extensive Confederate fortifications were constructed in 1861 around Centreville and Manassas to the southeast, relatively few elements of these earthworks survive. In addition to its significant role in the Battle of Ball's Bluff, Fort Evans joins surviving earthworks at Mayfield and Signal Hill in Prince William County and at Battery Ridge, old Chantilly Road-Mount Gilead, and Camp Early-Battery Hill in Fairfax County in embodying both Confederate military strategy and engineering principles of the time.¹³⁴ The earthen fortification survives with sufficient integrity to convey its historic associations with the Battle of Ball's Bluff, and contribute to the significance of the battlefield. As mentioned, archaeological investigations to date have been limited to a relatively small area lying northeast of the fort where generalized Civil War era objects and features have been recorded.¹³⁵ Additional work, including geophysical prospection, within and

¹²⁹ Balicki and Owen, *Eight Forts*, 15; Swain, "Fort Evans."

¹³⁰ Lorin Buck, "Helmi E. Carr, Leesburg Land Owner, Visionary, Dies at 95," *Fairfax Times*, July 19, 2006; Scheel, "With Leesburg in Their Sights."

¹³¹ The Carrs' house and office, as well as the farmhouse north of the fort, are visible in 1957 U.S.D.A. aerial photography. None of the structures were present in 1937.

¹³² Balicki, Owen, and Seifert, *Historical and Archeological Investigations*.

¹³³ Balicki and Owen, *Eight Forts*, 13, 54; see also Balicki, Owen, and Seifert, *Historical and Archeological Investigations*, 26–27.

¹³⁴ Details of comparable Northern Virginia Confederate earthworks are found in VDHR site forms for Mayfield Fort (44PW0138, 155-5002), Signal Hill (44PW0138), Battery Ridge earthworks (44FX3708), Chantilly Road redoubt (44FX0711), Covered Way (44FX2456), Mt. Gilead earthworks (44FX1097, 44FX2611), "A" Fort/Camp Early (44FX0507), and Battery Hill redoubt (44FX0529).

¹³⁵ Balicki, Owen, and Seifert, *Historical and Archeological Investigations*.

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surrounding the fort may identify further such remains, however given the military use of the fort throughout the War it may prove difficult to associate specific objects and deposits directly with the Battle of Ball's Bluff.

22. [REDACTED] Earthwork (44LD0869, VDHR #053-5248-0004) (contributing structure)

[REDACTED] The earthwork consists of an approximately 285-foot-long linear embankment and ditch constructed at the crest of a steeply sloping [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The embankment measures roughly 20 feet wide at its base and survives to a height of 2 to 3 feet. The ditch is more pronounced north [REDACTED] where it measures up to 10 feet wide and nearly 3 feet deep. At its northern end, the earthwork ends in a salient angle that provides commanding views to both the northeast and southeast. Three rifle pits have also been identified just east of the northern end of the earthwork.¹³⁶ Systematic subsurface archaeological testing and metal detection of the earthwork and immediately surrounding area yielded no Civil War era artifacts,¹³⁷ however as the site does not appear to have been the locus of direct military engagement during the Battle of Ball's Bluff these results are not wholly unexpected.

The [REDACTED] Earthwork clearly was placed to protect this primary eastern approach [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] In addition, a gun placed in the salient angle at the northern end of the earthwork would also have been able to command the [REDACTED] Road, which passed along the edge of the river bluff roughly 500 yards to the northeast. The earthwork frequently is associated with a Confederate masked battery reported by U.S. forces to have been in this area during the Battle of Ball's Bluff.¹³⁸ During his foray west along Edwards Ferry Road on the morning of October 21, 1865, Maj. John Mix, 3rd New York Cavalry, is thought to have been turned back by Confederate troops encountered near this location. Mix's report, however, makes no mention of either artillery or an earthwork.¹³⁹ Nevertheless, other sources indicate that the [REDACTED] Earthwork was in place at least as early as October 9, 1861, when it was manned by a section of the Richmond Howitzers that was encamped just to the west.¹⁴⁰

The [REDACTED] Earthwork exists entirely on privately owned, forested land. While [REDACTED] [REDACTED] may have caused minor impacts to the structure and the recent construction of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] an associated storm water detention pond as well as the widening [REDACTED] immediately to the west have all affected the site's setting, the earthwork remains remarkably well preserved and possesses a high degree of integrity of design, workmanship, and materials as well as setting, location, association, and feeling. Although recently paved, the [REDACTED] corridor immediately east of the earthwork is little changed since the mid-nineteenth century and the significance of the earthwork in protecting this approach to Leesburg remains readily apparent. Indeed, the [REDACTED] Earthwork has been deemed eligible for individual listing in the National Register on the basis of its association with significant historic events and its potential to yield important historical information.

23. Edwards Ferry Road (VDHR #053-6078) (contributing structure)

A segment of Edwards Ferry Road, approximately 0.7 miles long, stretches in an east-west alignment roughly from Battlefield Parkway to River Creek Parkway. West of Battlefield Parkway, Edwards Ferry Road follows

¹³⁶ Balicki and Owen, *Eight Forts*, 40–41.

¹³⁷ Brad M. Duplantis, Megan Rupnik, and Philip E. Pendleton, *Cultural Resource Survey of Route 773 (Edwards Ferry Road) and Archaeological Evaluation of Site 44LD0869. VDHR Report LD-174* (Washington, D.C.: Louis Berger Group, Inc., 2005).

¹³⁸ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 294–295, 298.

¹³⁹ *O.R.* ser. 1, vol. 5, 335; Holien, *Battle at Ball's Bluff*, 36.

¹⁴⁰ McCarthy, *Contributions to a History of the Richmond Howitzer Battalion*, 62.

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its historic alignment but was widened substantially circa 2000. An earlier course of Edwards Ferry Road is visible as a trace that departs from the south side of the present road just west of Cattail Branch and opposite the Sage Hill Farm drive. From here, the road trended southwest, ascending the hill on which Fort Evans is sited. As revealed in early nineteenth-century plats and maps, the original Edwards Ferry Road passed diagonally from northeast to southwest across the site where the fort would later be built. Edwards Ferry Road continued southwest to join the Leesburg–Alexandria Turnpike (modern East Market Street/Route 7) just east of a turnpike tollhouse. The current alignment of Edwards Ferry Road west of Cattail Branch dates to circa 1833.¹⁴¹

Between Battlefield Parkway and River Creek Parkway, Edwards Ferry Road retains its original rural setting for the most part, and is edged by agriculture fields and lightly wooded areas. Rural properties located along this stretch of road include nineteenth- and early twentieth-century farmsteads. A modern residential subdivision is located along the south side of the road at the eastern end of the segment. The road is mostly straight, with a few slight curves and undulations at the western end where the land becomes more hilly. The two-lane roadway was paved with bituminous asphalt in the late twentieth century, and edged by a gravel and earthen shoulder. Power lines and poles parallel the roadway on the southern side.

Edwards Ferry Road retains excellent integrity of location, design, workmanship, feeling, and association. The integrity of setting and materials is diminished due to the presence of an incompatible residential subdivision at the eastern end, and the change in surface from hard-packed earth to asphalt. Edwards Ferry Road retains good overall integrity and was extant during the battle period of significance. It therefore contributes to the significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District. While the road itself likely contains no significant archaeological deposits, the relatively undisturbed farmland that borders it may contain subsurface deposits and features associated with mid-nineteenth-century civilian life in addition to military materials deposited during the Battle of Ball's Bluff.

24. C & O Canal, mile 30.29 – 36.15 (MHT #M: 12-46) (contributing structure)

The Chesapeake & Ohio Canal is a 184.5-mile-long, manmade, flat-water waterway constructed along the left (north) bank of the Potomac River between Georgetown in Washington, D.C and Cumberland, Maryland. A planned western section between Cumberland, Maryland, and the Ohio River or one of its tributaries was never constructed. The purpose of the canal was to provide rapid and efficient transport of coal and other natural resources, as well as agricultural products, to the markets in Georgetown. The canal was opened through the Leesburg area in 1834.

The canal is a highly complex structure comprised of a large number of interrelated parts or substructures, including the canal prism, towpath, lift locks, dams, guard or inlet locks, river locks, aqueducts, bypass flumes, culverts, wasteweirs, mooring and turning basins, and canal and towpath bridges. Locations along the canal by tradition are measured in miles from its origin in Georgetown. Approximately 5.87 miles of the C & O Canal, from milepost 30.28 to milepost 36.15, fall within the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District. Along this stretch, the canal prism typically measures 60 feet wide at its surface, tapering to about 42 feet wide at the channel's maximum depth of 6 feet. The towpath was sited along the river (south) side of the canal approximately 2 feet above the water level of the canal, and in its original configuration measured 12 feet wide and was variously surfaced with sand, clay, or fine gravel.¹⁴² A single lift lock, Lock #25 at Edwards Ferry, is

¹⁴¹ *Citizens of Fauquier, Prince William, & Loudoun Counties: Petition, Fauquier County*. "Survey of Goose Creek and Little River & Beaver Dam branches thereof," c.1835. Legislative Petitions Digital Collection, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia; Loudoun County Road Cases RR1831-002, RR1833-005; Loudoun County Deed Book 4B: 143; *Henry T. Harrison, etc. vs Abner Gibson, Admin.* Loudoun County Chancery Cause Index No. 1880-036, 20, 22, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia; Loudoun County Deed Book 4W: 41.

¹⁴² Unrau, *Historic Structure Report: The Canal Prism*, 9–19; John F. Luzander, *Historic Structure Report: The Towpath of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal* (Hagerstown, Maryland: C & O Canal Historical Park, 1961), 2.

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located within the battlefield historic district. Constructed of red Seneca sandstone quarried some 8 miles downstream, Lock #25 had a lift of 8 feet and conveyed boats between canal "levels." Originally 90 feet long, Lock #25 was lengthened on its downstream end to 120 feet in 1882 using red Seneca sandstone rubble and wooden cribs. A stone-walled bypass flume at Lock #25 is an original canal feature that served to divert water around the lock when not in use. An approximately 150- by 150-foot mooring or turning basin on the berm side of the canal just upstream of Lock #25 and opposite the lockhouse was likely present during the Battle of Ball's Bluff.¹⁴³

A pivot bridge was constructed across the canal at Lock #25. This was the first such bridge built over the canal, and the only canal bridge within the battlefield historic district at the time of the October 1861 Battle of Ball's Bluff. The bridge was rebuilt in 1839, and again following the Civil War. A towpath bridge located about 1/4-mile downstream spanned the Goose Creek River Lock. It was rebuilt in 1850, and again after the Civil War.¹⁴⁴

A total of eleven masonry culverts channeled the water of crossing streams below the canal prism and towpath within the battlefield historic district. These culverts typically consist of a stone vault that extends beneath the canal and towpath and is edged by a stone retaining or wing walls at each end to protect the openings built into the face of the berm. Culvert 51, located at milepost 35.47 near Conrad's/White's Ferry, originally also allowed pedestrian and small vehicle traffic to pass beneath the canal and towpath.¹⁴⁵ Broad Run, the largest crossing stream within the battlefield historic district located approximately 1 mile north of Edwards Ferry, originally passed under the canal through a pair of arched stone culverts. However these culverts were washed out by flooding in 1846 and were replaced by a wooden aqueduct. A replacement wooden aqueduct that carried the canal over Broad Run was in place in October 1861.¹⁴⁶

Today, the canal is encompassed by the C & O Canal National Historical Park, a unit of the National Park System administered by the National Park Service. The canal corridor is heavily wooded and the canal prism, breached in multiple locations, is only intermittently watered. Many of the canal's structural elements have been dismantled, stabilized, and/or rebuilt to preserve the essential fabric of the resource and its numerous components. The resurfaced towpath is heavily used by hikers and bicyclists.

Overall, the C & O Canal and its subsidiary structures retain excellent integrity of location, setting, feeling, workmanship, and association. The canal contributes to the significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District. The individual component parts of the canal, both contributing and noncontributing, are listed in summary form in the Data Sheets accompanying this nomination. Intense archaeological study incorporating metal detection along the canal corridor may identify picket posts and other relatively ephemeral Civil War era contexts associated with Stone's Observation Corps. Identifying specific archaeological remains directly attributable to the period of significance of the Battle of Ball's Bluff along the canal seems unlikely.

25. Goose Creek River Lock (MHT #M: 12-46, LCS 11600, mile 30.64) (contributing structure)

The Goose Creek River Lock, also referred to as the Edwards Ferry River Lock or Outlet Lock, was one of three such structures built along the length of the C & O Canal that allowed boats to pass between the canal and the Potomac River. The Goose Creek River Lock is approximately 180-feet-long and features a two-lift lock combine with a total lift of 15 feet. It was constructed in 1837 on the Maryland shore of the Potomac opposite

¹⁴³ The boat basin appears to be visible in a photograph of the area reportedly taken in 1861–62 in the collection of Poolesville, Maryland, historian Jim Poole and reproduced as Plate 13 in Fiedel et al., *Cohongorooto*, vol. 2, 86.

¹⁴⁴ Bearrs, *The Bridges*, 45–46.

¹⁴⁵ Kephart, "White's Ferry," 180–181; Hanaford, *The Young Captain*, 90; Hamilton, "Crane Diary," 13; Donn, *Upper Potomac*, sheet 5; Unrau, *The Culverts, Historical Data, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park*, 1, 39, 84; Bearrs, *The Bridges*, 47.

¹⁴⁶ Luzander, *Historic Building Survey: Broad Run Trunk*.

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the mouth of Goose Creek approximately 1,250 feet south of Lock #25 and Edwards Ferry. The lock was intended to allow farmers to export the rich agricultural products of Loudoun County, Virginia, to urban markets such as Washington, D.C.¹⁴⁷ The main components include the lock walls, gates, and gate pockets. The lock walls were constructed of cement mortar and finished stone laid in regular courses. The walls of this staircase lock are constructed of rectangular-coursed red Seneca sandstone with brownish Aquia Creek sandstone coping. During the Battle of Ball's Bluff, the Goose Creek River Lock was used by the Union Army to move canal boats from the canal into the river in order to allow troops to cross the river.¹⁴⁸ Around the beginning of the twentieth century, the structure ceased to be used as an outlet lock, but continued to function as a wastewear, carrying excess water from the canal. The structure retains excellent integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Present during the battle period of significance, the structure contributes to the significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District. Possibly, the area contains scattered Civil War era archaeological remains, however the potential for significant deposits associated with the Battle of Ball's Bluff appears to be relatively low.

NONCONTRIBUTING RESOURCES**26. Big Spring Farm Barns and Outbuildings Ruins (noncontributing site)**

Located in the southeastern corner of the Big Spring Farm subdivision along the western edge of the property at 17240 Twin Maple Lane, is a collection of farm outbuildings that includes two concrete silos, and the foundations of three barns. These structures appear on 1937 aerial photography of the area. To the west on the adjoining property at 17175 Twin Maple Lane is the ruins of a roughly contemporaneous icehouse with concrete foundation/shaft and a concrete rectangular-shaped foundation, possibly the remains of a barn. All structures appear to date to the early twentieth century and to have been associated with Big Spring Farm. As such they post-date the period of significance of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District and constitute noncontributing resources.

27. Ball's Bluff National Cemetery (VDHR 253-5021) (noncontributing site)

Ball's Bluff National Cemetery is located within Ball's Bluff Battlefield Regional Park near the Potomac River escarpment. The site contains twenty-five grave markers that honor Union soldiers who lost their lives in the Battle of Ball's Bluff. As many as fifty-four individuals, some disinterred from earlier burial sites, were reinterred in the 45-by-45-foot cemetery in 1865.¹⁴⁹ The cemetery was enclosed within a perimeter wall by 1875. Access occurs through a wrought iron gate. Several commemorative markers are also featured in the cemetery. Ball's Bluff National Cemetery post-dates the battle period of significance and constitutes a noncontributing site.

28. River Creek Country Club Golf Course (noncontributing site)

The River Creek Country Club Golf Course is an 18-hole course that is located, in part, within the Potomac River and Goose Creek floodplains north of the mouth of Goose Creek. The golf course was designed to respect the natural topography, however the course also contains artificially elevated tees, sunken sand bunkers, and scattered artificial ponds. The Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District contains the eighth, ninth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth holes, as well as a driving range, two hard-surfaced tennis courts, and a hard-surfaced basketball court. Much of the course is maintained in open grass cover, although both the bank of the Potomac and the steep slope at the western margin of the floodplain are wooded. The property was

¹⁴⁷ Unrau, *Historic Resource Study: Chesapeake & Ohio Canal*, 201, 207–208, 238, 442, 648. National Park Service, List of Classified Structures, Physical Description of CHOH LCS #11600, accessed June 10, 2015, <http://www.hscf.cr.nps.gov/insidenps/report.asp?STATE=&PARK=CHOH&STRUCTURE=&SORT=&RECORDNO=219>.

¹⁴⁸ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 293, 296, 299, 301, 304, 307, 333; *JCCW*, part 2, 269, 292–93, 314, 320, 330, 333, 364, 436, 467, 485.

¹⁴⁹ Morgan, *Boats*, 332–335.

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developed in the late twentieth century and therefore constitutes a noncontributing site. As mentioned above,

constitute a contributing resource to the battlefield historic district.

Additional, previously unidentified archaeological remains associated with the nineteenth-century ferry site and military occupation during the Battle of Ball's Bluff may also survive in buried contexts within the floodplain golf course.

29. Turtle Run Campsite (noncontributing site)

The Turtle Run Campsite falls within the C & O Canal National Historical Park and is administered by the National Park Service. It is located at milepost 34.43 of the canal. The campsite was established in the late twentieth century between the canal and the Potomac River. It is composed of a clearing in the woods and a manual water pump on a concrete base. The campsite post-dates the battle period of significance and constitutes a noncontributing site.

30. Near White's Ferry, Loudoun County, Virginia (5 noncontributing buildings)

Two residential buildings and several outbuildings occupy a 50-acre parcel west of White's Ferry, Virginia. All buildings post-date the battle period of significance and constitute noncontributing resources.

30a-c. The primary residence, a detached garage, and a small barn are located at 42478 Whites Ferry Road near the center of the 50-acre parcel and appear to date to the early twentieth century.

30d-e. A subsidiary residence and shed located at 42478 Whites Ferry Road along the northern edge of the 50-acre parcel also appear to date to the early twentieth century.

31.-41. Big Spring Farm Subdivision, Loudoun County, Virginia (11 noncontributing buildings)

The Big Spring Subdivision is sited north of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Regional Park, between Route 15 and the Potomac River and south of Whites Ferry Road. The subdivision contains widely spaced, high-end residences on large lots. Eleven single-family residential buildings and an apartment/carriage house that were constructed from the mid-1990s to the early 2000s are located within the historic district. The average lot size of these properties exceeds 20 acres. Terrain consists primarily of rolling, open former agricultural fields traversed by the narrow asphalted drives of the subdivision. The eleven subdivision residences contained within the battlefield historic district post-date the battle period of significance and constitute noncontributing buildings.

42. North Spring Behavioral Health Complex, Loudoun County, Virginia (8 noncontributing buildings)

The North Spring Behavioral Healthcare complex occupies 46 acres located west of Route 15 at 42045 Victory Lane (and 42008, 41992, 41994, 41996, 441984 Victory Lane) and consists of the following eight buildings:

42a. The primary building of the North Spring complex is a large, slab-built, one-story, ell-shaped hospital building located at 42045 Victory Lane. The earliest portion of the building was constructed in 1977.

42b-e. Also present within the complex are four late twentieth-century, one- and two-story stucco buildings.

42f-h. Three late twentieth-century frame sheds of varying size are scattered around the 46-acre property.

These buildings all post-date the battle period of significance and are, therefore, noncontributing buildings. Historic Springwood Manor (053-0298), discussed above, is a contributing building located north of the main hospital building.

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43.–47. Little Spring–Ball's Bluff Area (5 noncontributing buildings, 2 noncontributing structures)

The Little Spring area is located north of Leesburg on the east side of Route 15 and the Route 15 Bypass, immediately south of the Big Spring Subdivision and southeast of Big Spring. The area contains the following three single-family dwellings constructed circa 1970:

- 43.** 42122 Maple View Lane (**noncontributing building**),
- 44.** 42184 Maple View Lane (**noncontributing building**), and
- 45.** 17320 Little Spring Road (**noncontributing building**).

These three residences post-date the battle period of significance and constitute noncontributing buildings.

Near the entrance to Ball's Bluff Battlefield Regional Park and immediately west of the Jackson House at the southern end of the old Smart's Mill/Harrison's Landing Road is a fourth noncontributing building:

- 46.** a vacant/abandoned circa 1960 brick Ranch house at 42312 Balls Bluff Road (**noncontributing building**).

Approximately 900 feet to the northeast along old Smart's Mill/Harrison's Landing Road and within the Veterans Park at Ball's Bluff tract are several agricultural outbuildings, including:

- 47a–b.** a pair of mid-twentieth-century metal corncribs (**noncontributing structures**) and
- 47c.** an abandoned early twentieth-century barn located another 1,650 feet further to the northwest along this roadway (**noncontributing building**).

This residence and these three agricultural outbuildings post-date the battle period of significance and constitute noncontributing resources.

48. Carr/Harris Residential Complex at Fort Evans (5 noncontributing buildings, 3 noncontributing structures, 1 noncontributing object)

The Carr/Harris property located at 1401 Edwards Ferry Road abuts the south side of Fort Evans. The complex is composed of nine mid- to late twentieth-century features.

- 48a.** The primary building is a circa 1950 two-story, Neo-Classical style dwelling with a rear stone patio and steps built adjacent to the southern rampart wall of Fort Evans (**noncontributing building**).

Associated buildings, structures, and one object clustered around the main dwelling include:

- 48b.** a mid-twentieth-century stone outbuilding with gabled roof (**noncontributing building**),
- 48c.** a dilapidated, circa 1870 log building that was moved to this property from an unknown location (**VDHR #253-5139**) (**noncontributing building**),
- 48d.** a circa 1970 one-story brick Ranch house (**noncontributing building**),
- 48e.** a late twentieth-century, in-ground swimming pool (**noncontributing structure**),

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48f. a circa 1950 one-story, single-stall garage built of rough-cut stone, with a side-gabled roof of slate shingles (**noncontributing building**),

48g. an ornamental fountain (**noncontributing object**),

48h. a circa 1967 marble mausoleum (**noncontributing structure**), and

48i. a one-room, rough-cut, random-coursed stone spring/well house that dates to the mid-twentieth century (**noncontributing structure**).

The mausoleum (**48h.**) was built into and significantly impacted the southeastern bastion of Fort Evans. The Carr/Harris residential complex post-dates the battle period of significance and its nine components all constitute noncontributing resources.

49. Speek Farm/Red Rock Wilderness Park (VDHR #053-0752) (6 noncontributing buildings, 1 noncontributing structure)

The Frances V. Speek Farm lies within Red Rock Wilderness Park, a public park owned and administered by the Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority. Located at 43098 Edwards Ferry Road, the farm complex contains the following buildings and structures:

49a. a circa 1870 frame farmhouse (**noncontributing building**),

49b. a circa 1880 stone granary (**noncontributing building**),

49c. a circa 1915 two-room concrete well house (**noncontributing building**),

49d. a circa 1885 frame equipment shed (**noncontributing building**),

49e. a circa 1985 reconstructed frame smokehouse (**noncontributing building**),

49f. the ruins of a circa 1880 stone carriage house (**noncontributing building**), and

49g. a circa 1885 restored stone icehouse (**noncontributing structure**).

This farm complex post-dates the battle period of significance and all of its associated architectural components constitute noncontributing resources. Systematic archaeological study of the core farm area might yield evidence of earlier nineteenth-century occupation and/or military remains associated with the Battle of Ball's Bluff.

50. Murray Hill (VDHR #s 053-5783 and 053-5367) (16 noncontributing buildings, 3 noncontributing structures)

The 57-acre Murray Hill property is located between Edwards Ferry Road and the Potomac River between Sage Hill Farm and Red Rock Wilderness Park. Numerous twentieth-century buildings and structures are present on the property, including

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- 50a.** the primary residence, a two-and-a-half-story, 1938 Colonial Revival style house with attached two-story, two-stall garage at 42910 Edwards Ferry Road sited at the edge of the bluff overlooking the Potomac River (**noncontributing building**);
- 50b.** a detached garage/garage house constructed circa 1938–39 (**noncontributing building**);
- 50c.** a circa 1870 smokehouse that was moved to the property (**noncontributing building**);
- 50d.** a circa 1940, three-bay frame shed (**noncontributing building**);
- 50e.** a circa 1940 frame boat house (**noncontributing building**);
- 50f.** a circa 1900 frame tenant house (**noncontributing building**);
- 50g.** a circa 1980 frame house at 42916 Edwards Ferry Road (**noncontributing building**);
- 50h.** a circa 1980 frame walk-in shed (**noncontributing building**);
- 50i.** a circa 1950 generator shed (**noncontributing building**);
- 50j.** an early twenty-first-century, in-ground swimming pool (**noncontributing structure**);
- 50k.** a circa 1940 concrete-block shed (**noncontributing building**);
- 50l.** a circa 1940 frame saw mill (**noncontributing building**);
- 50m.** a circa 1940 frame shed (**noncontributing building**);
- 50n.** a circa 1950 framed shed (**noncontributing building**);
- 50o.** a circa 1987 frame barn with enclosed office at 42904 Edwards Ferry Road (**noncontributing building**);
- 50p.** a one story, twentieth-century hay barn (**noncontributing building**);
- 50q.** a circa 1940 frame chicken coop (**noncontributing building**); and
- 50r–s.** two twentieth-century ponds (**noncontributing structures**).

Murray Hill is individually listed in the National Register of Historic Places (November 2014). The 11 architectural resources of the property listed here post-date the battle period of significance and constitute noncontributing resources. A circa 1830 log building (resource **16a.**, located on the Murray Hill property at 43022 Edwards Ferry Road) is a contributing resource and was discussed earlier. The Murray Hill entry drive, also known as the Road to Ault's Landing, is also a contributing resource to the battlefield historic district and is discussed above (resource **20.**).

51. Cattail Ordinary (VDHR #053-0403) (4 noncontributing buildings)

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The property known as Cattail Ordinary occupies a 10-acre parcel on the south side of Edwards Ferry Road approximately 1,200 feet east of the bridge over Cattail Branch and immediately opposite the Murray Hill entry drive. Located at 42885 Edwards Ferry Road, the property includes a primary dwelling and 3 secondary buildings.

51a. The original core of the building known as Cattail Ordinary, a two-story log dwelling, appears to have been constructed during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In the 1960s, the building's original second story was lost to fire and a major two-story frame and stone addition was added to its eastern side. Other smaller, one-story twentieth-century additions extend from the north and south facades of the original log core. Around most of its exterior the original log structure is sheathed in clapboard. Although present during the Battle of Ball's Bluff, due to the substantial loss of historic integrity, Cattail Ordinary constitutes a **noncontributing building**. Archaeological study of the surrounding property may well identify significant deposits and features associated with nineteenth-century occupation of the property that might help clarify the poorly understood occupational history of this site, which clearly spanned the period of significance of the Battle of Ball's Bluff. Very possibly, the surrounding area contains Civil War era artifacts deposited during the battle.

51b. A circa 1950 side-gabled equipment shed sited 160 feet west of the main dwelling and oriented perpendicular to the Edwards Ferry Road (**noncontributing building**).

51c. An early twentieth-century, two-story, clapboard-sided barn with a concrete foundation is located between the dwelling and equipment shed. A one-story frame addition runs the full length of the barn's south facade (**noncontributing building**).

51d. An early twentieth-century, small, one-story, frame shed with asphalt shingled gable roof located 230 feet southeast of the primary dwelling (**noncontributing building**).

52. Cattail Run Farm, (VDHR #053-5782) (10 noncontributing buildings, 1 noncontributing structure)
Cattail Run Farm is located at 42843 and 42845 Edwards Ferry Road in Leesburg, Virginia, immediately west of Cattail Ordinary. Ten late nineteenth- and twentieth-century buildings and one structure occupy the northeastern corner of the 28-acre parcel.

52a. A circa 1870 one-and-a-half-story frame dwelling with multiple side and rear additions (**noncontributing building**).

52b. A mid-twentieth-century, two-bay, gable roof, frame garage on concrete block foundation with shed roof addition to north facade (**noncontributing building**).

52c. A late twentieth-century, one-story, side-gabled, board-and-batten workshop with standing seam metal roof (**noncontributing building**).

52d. A pole-built, two-bay garage with standing seam metal shed roof (**noncontributing building**).

52e. A circa 1920, side-gabled, board-and-batten barn (**noncontributing building**).

52f. A late twentieth-century, frame equipment shed on concrete block foundation (**noncontributing building**).

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52g. A late twentieth-century, one-story, pole-built shed with corrugated metal roof (**noncontributing building**).

52h. A mid-twentieth-century, one-story dwelling on concrete foundation (**noncontributing building**).

52i. A small, late twentieth-century greenhouse (**noncontributing building**).

52j. A circa 1950, one-story, stone pump house (**noncontributing building**).

52k. A late twentieth-century, in-ground, concrete swimming pool (**noncontributing structure**).

All buildings and structures at Cattail Run Farm post-date the battle period of significance and therefore constitute noncontributing resources.

53. Sage Hill Farm (VDHR #s 053-5248, -001, -002, -003) (10 noncontributing buildings, 1 noncontributing structure)

The approximately 125-acre Sage Hill Farm is located at 42760, 42754, 42750, and 42748 Edwards Ferry Road. This property lies immediately west of Murray Hill and north of Cattail Run Farm. Architectural resources on the farm include

53a. a circa 1940, two-and-a-half-story, Colonial Revival style dwelling (**noncontributing building**)

53b. a circa 1940, detached stone guest house (**noncontributing building**);

53c–d. two mid-twentieth-century garages (**noncontributing buildings**);

53e. a stable with attached equipment barn (**noncontributing building**);

53f. a one-and-a-half-story log building moved to the property from an unknown location with a frame addition (**noncontributing building**);

53g. a mid-twentieth-century, concrete block dairy barn (**noncontributing building**),

53h. a mid-twentieth-century, concrete silo (**noncontributing structure**),

53i–j. two frame sheds (**noncontributing buildings**); and

53k. a late twentieth-century, one-story frame dwelling (**noncontributing building**).

All eleven buildings and structures on Sage Hill Farm post-date the battle period of significance and constitute noncontributing resources. According to the current landowner, metal detectorists have reported the presence of a “colonial era” domestic site on the property. A segment of the nineteenth-century Smart’s Mill/Big Spring–Edwards Ferry road trace that crosses the property is discussed above.

54. White’s Ferry Sportsmen’s Club complex (22 noncontributing buildings)

The White’s Ferry Sportsmen’s Club is located at 24500 Whites Ferry Road in Dickerson, Maryland. The complex occupies approximately twenty acres of land that falls within the C & O Canal National Historical Park south of Whites Ferry Road between the canal and towpath and the Potomac River. The complex consists

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of twenty-two seasonally-occupied, pier-built, frame vacation cabins build circa 1950 – 1965 (**54a. – 54v**). The buildings all post-date the battle period of significance and constitute noncontributing resources.

55. White's Ferry Store (4 noncontributing buildings, 2 noncontributing structures)

Directly east of the White's Ferry landing area at 24801 Whites Ferry Road, in Dickerson, Maryland, is White's Ferry Store. The complex is composed of four twentieth-century buildings and two structures, including

- 55a.** a two-story, concrete block store building (**noncontributing building**),
- 55b.** a mid-twentieth-century, one-story, frame Ranch house (**noncontributing building**),
- 55c.** a late twentieth-century, cast stone restroom (**noncontributing building**),
- 55d.** a concrete block garage (**noncontributing building**),
- 55e.** a frame picnic pavilion (**noncontributing structure**), and
- 55f.** an asphalt and concrete boat ramp (**noncontributing structure**).

The White's Ferry Store complex post-dates the battle period of significance and its various components all constitute noncontributing resources.

56. [REDACTED] Earthworks (44LD1625) (noncontributing structure)

These earthworks consist of an approximately 100-foot-long trench and two rifle pits located on the western and northern flanks of a low hill [REDACTED]. As these features provide observation and fields of fire primarily to the west, they are believed to post-date the Battle of Ball's Bluff. The features have been tentatively associated with the program of defensive fortification construction undertaken by Confederate Brig. Gen. D. H. Hill between December 1861 and early March 1862.¹⁵⁰ Alternately, the features may have been constructed in June 1863 by Federal forces who held Leesburg and fortified outlying locations to protect the large Union crossing at Edwards Ferry during the army's march to Gettysburg.¹⁵¹ Archaeological study, including systematic metal detection, of the surrounding area failed to recover material directly attributable to the Battle of Ball's Bluff although the general locale is known to have housed a Confederate infantry camp that responded to the initial Union crossing from Harrison's Island to Ball's Bluff.

57. [REDACTED] Earthwork (44LD0867), noncontributing structure

This earthwork consists of an approximately 275-foot-long shallow trench and associated low linear earthen mound [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] An additional 420 feet of the feature was destroyed during construction of the subdivision around 2001. The earthwork, interpreted as an infantry trench constructed to control passage along the historic Smart's Mill–Edwards Ferry Road that skirted the heads of the ravines draining the Potomac escarpment, faces north. Designed to obstruct movement south towards Edwards Ferry, the earthwork likely post-dates the October 1861 Battle of Ball's Bluff and should be attributed to either Brig. Gen. D. H. Hill's subsequent fortification efforts during the winter of 1861–1862 or the June 1863 Union occupation associated with that army's crossing at Edwards Ferry en route to Gettysburg. In

¹⁵⁰ Rose, *North Spring Behavioral Hospital*, 82–86.

¹⁵¹ Hewett, *Supplement*, part 1, vol. 5, 221; part 2, vol. 47, 128, 149; part 2, vol. 59, 157, 215; Chamberlin and Souders, *Reb and Yank*, 181.

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fact, Horatio Trundle, the owner of Exeter plantation on which the earthwork is located, later filed claims for compensation for damages caused by Union fortifications constructed in June 1863 on his property.¹⁵² Systematic archaeological study of this feature and environs may help clarify its date of construction.

58. Edwards Ferry (MD) Boat Ramp (noncontributing structure)

The late twentieth-century Edwards Ferry Boat Ramp is located at the west end of Edwards Ferry Road in Maryland within the C & O Canal National Historical Park. The ramp is a poured concrete structure, constructed in the late twentieth century, and links a public parking area to the Potomac River. The boat ramp post-dates the battle period of significance and constitutes a noncontributing structure.

59. Wasteweir (LCS 11606, mile 30.89) (noncontributing structure)

This wasteweir at Lock #25 on the C & O Canal was constructed circa 1900. The structure provides an opening beneath the C & O Canal towpath and was used to remove excess water and to drain the canal for repairs or for winter shutdown. The wasteweir consists of concrete wing walls sited perpendicular to concrete columns. The concrete roof of the structure is currently supported with contemporary metal leveling jacks. The wicket gates used to release water from the canal are no longer present. The wasteweir post-dates the battle period of significance and constitutes a noncontributing structure.

60. Bridge at White's Ferry (MHT #M: 16-8, LCS 11606, mile 35.49) (noncontributing structure)

This abandoned bridge over the C & O Canal near White's Ferry is an iron, Warren truss structure supported by two large random-coursed, red Seneca sandstone piers that enclose earthen access ramps. The bridge was constructed in 1876.¹⁵³ As such, it post-dates the battle period of significance and constitutes a noncontributing structure.

61. Granary Ruins at White's Ferry (MHT #M: 16-7, LCS 49907, mile 35.53) (noncontributing site)

The granary ruins at White's Ferry are composed of a random-coursed, red Seneca sandstone foundation, comprised of two distinct walls with a low center wall. The structure was built in 1864 by Daniel S. White. The granary's timber superstructure was demolished by the National Park Service after acquisition of the C & O Canal.¹⁵⁴ The warehouse post-dates the battle period of significance and constitutes a noncontributing site.

62. Picnic Pavilion, Edwards Landing Park (noncontributing structure)

Edwards Landing Park, located at 901 Powhatan Court in Leesburg, contains a rectangular picnic pavilion. The structure features a hipped roof of asphalt shingles supported by paired timber columns set in concrete caps that rest on rough-cut, random-coursed stone piers and shelters a poured concrete floor. The pavilion dates to the late twentieth or early twenty-first century and post-dates the battle period of significance. As such it constitutes a noncontributing structure.

63. Potomac Crossing Park recreational features (2 noncontributing structures)

Potomac Crossing Park, a public recreational facility located at 508 Shanks Evans Road in Leesburg, contains a twenty-first-century playscape (62a.) and frame picnic shelter (62b.). Both constructions post-date the battle period of significance and constitute noncontributing resources.

64. High voltage transmission line (noncontributing structure)

A late twentieth-century, high-voltage transmission line crosses the Potomac River southeast of Harrisons Island between Virginia and Maryland. The two-circuit, single-voltage power line is carried by tall metal

¹⁵² Balicki and Owen, *Eight Forts*, 44–49; Chamberlin and Souders, *Between Reb and Yank*, 181.

¹⁵³ Bearrs, *The Bridges*, 47–48, 101–102.

¹⁵⁴ Unrau, *Historic Resource Study: Chesapeake & Ohio Canal*, 695, 753, 764, 833.

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pylons. The twentieth-century line post-dates the battle period of significance, and constitutes a noncontributing structure.

65. Ball's Bluff Battlefield Commemorative Markers (5 noncontributing objects)

Five commemorative markers are sited within Ball's Bluff Battlefield Regional Park near the Ball's Bluff National Cemetery.

65a. A vertical stone slab of cut and polished "Dark" or "Extra Dark" Quincy (Massachusetts) granite commemorates Clinton Hatcher, 8th Virginia Infantry Regiment, and is believed to have been a reconciliation gift given by Massachusetts veterans of the Battle of Ball's Bluff around 1900.¹⁵⁵ The stone stands approximately 135 feet due west of the National Cemetery.

65b. Located approximately 60 feet south of the southeastern corner of the Ball's Bluff National Cemetery, a white marble monument commemorates Oregon senator Col. Edward D. Baker, 71st Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment, who was killed on October 21, 1861, during the Battle of Ball's Bluff. The stone, which purports to mark the site where Baker fell, replaced an earlier informal marker and is thought to have been placed around 1920.¹⁵⁶

65c. A monument of mortared local red sandstone with a bronze plaque commemorating the 8th Virginia Infantry Regiment was erected in 2007 within the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Regional Park approximately 675 feet west of the National Cemetery.¹⁵⁷

65d. A marker erected around 1984 commemorating the original listing of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield as a National Historic Landmark is located approximately 10 feet south of the southeastern corner of the Ball's Bluff National Cemetery and consists of a small bronze plaque affixed to an uncut boulder or local stone.

65e. A bronze plaque bearing an excerpt from Theodore O'Hara's poem "Bivouac of the Dead" and set on a cut granite block is located just south and east of the entrance to the Ball's Bluff National Cemetery and five feet west of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield and National Cemetery NHL marker stone. This marker is thought to have been installed during the late twentieth century.

These five commemorative markers all post-date the battlefield period of significance and are noncontributing resources

66. Chapel Above Goose Creek Commemorative Marker (noncontributing object)

Located south of the Ball Family Cemetery near Big Spring is a commemorative marker erected in 1926 to mark the location of the eighteenth-century Chapel Above Goose Creek. The marker, composed of rough-hewn granite, is inscribed "On this spot stood the first Church of England and Episcopal Ch. in this locality named the Chapel Above Goose Creek erected in 1733 and used for worship until 1801." The marker was erected in this location after the battle period of significance and thus constitutes a noncontributing object.

Prehistoric Archaeological Resources within the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District

A number of prehistoric Native American archaeological sites have been identified within the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District and are included in the inventories of the Maryland Historical Trust and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. In Maryland, twelve previously identified prehistoric archaeological sites of

¹⁵⁵ Morgan, *Boats*, 235–237. James Morgan, personal communication, October 18, 2015.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 237–239.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 239.

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varying size are located within the battlefield historic district, while an additional nine prehistoric sites have been recorded within the historic district in Virginia.¹⁵⁸ At those prehistoric sites where chronologically diagnostic material has been recovered, dates range between the Late Archaic Period and the Late Woodland Period. Eleven of the prehistoric archaeological sites in Maryland lie within the boundaries of the C & O Canal National Historical Park [REDACTED] Within the Virginia portion of the battlefield historic district, all nine known prehistoric sites are located on privately owned land.

Human occupation of the prehistoric Native American archaeological sites located within the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District pre-dates the period of significance and therefore these sites do not contribute to the significance of the historic district. However, these prehistoric archaeological sites as well as other similar sites yet to be identified within the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District may be individually eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

Integrity Assessment

The Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District retains a high degree of integrity to the October 20th–24th, 1861, period of significance due to the continued presence of natural terrain features—the Potomac River corridor, Harrison's Island, the escarpment and bluffs, and rolling landform and topography—that were integral to battlefield decisions and events. Also present are the sites of historic road corridors, ferry crossings, farms and field patterns, historic dwellings and other buildings, as well as military features such as Fort Evans, the Richmond Howitzers artillery campsite and the [REDACTED] Earthwork that characterized the landscape at the time of the battle. These landscape features contribute to the battlefield's high degree of historic integrity by conveying a visual and spatial sense of the area as it appeared during the Civil War.

Those areas that have been substantially altered by residential subdivision, commercial, industrial, and office development resulting in compromised or lost integrity, have been excluded from the boundary identified for the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District National Historic Landmark. Areas of residential and commercial development that fall within the expanded property boundary are limited in terms of scale and density. These areas include the North Spring Behavioral Hospital complex, the Big Spring Branch drainage area, the Edwards Ferry Road area, Red Rock Wilderness Park, White's Ferry, Maryland, and Harrison's Island. A portion of the post-1861 development, particularly in the Cattail Branch drainage area, is not incompatible with the historic rural and agricultural character of the property. Another post-1861 development that diminishes the property's integrity to a degree is the River Creek Golf Course that lies partly within the Goose Creek and Potomac River floodplain. Course features located within the floodplain include tee locations, fairways, greens, sand bunkers, an asphalt cart path, storm water lines and impoundment ponds. An examination of existing conditions and grading plans for the golf course documents that most of these features have had a minimal impact on the floodplain landscape. Important vegetative elements including the tree-lined fringe bordering Goose Creek and the Potomac River, the tree-lined bluff separating high land from floodplain, and the relatively open nature of the floodplain itself are in keeping with what is known about the 1861 landscape as well as what is documented in historic aerial photographs. Only one golf course associated structure has been built in the floodplain and non-golf recreational facilities are limited in scale and location. In addition, grading consisted primarily of fill, has protected the historic topography as well as three previously identified archaeological sites (44LD0008, 44LD0165 and 44LD0166). Finally, although characterized by high integrity and located within the core

¹⁵⁸ The previously recorded prehistoric archaeological sites within the Maryland portion of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District are 18MO14, 18MO15, 18MO17, 18MO55, 18MO391, 18MO572, 18MO625, 18MO703, 18MO704, 18MO705, 18MO727, and 18MO728. In Virginia, the previously identified archaeological sites are 44LD0008, 44LD0164, 44LD0165, 44LD0166, 44LD0208, 44LD1275, 44LD1626, 44LD1627, 44LD1628.

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battlefield as defined by both the 1993 CWSAC study and the 2009 APBB restudy¹⁵⁹ and confirmed by this project, approximately 30 acres of privately owned land on the bluffs overlooking Edwards Ferry, Maryland have been excluded from the expanded Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District National Historic Landmark in deference to landowner objection and following the recommendation of the National Park System Advisory Board.¹⁶⁰

As a whole, the battlefield retains integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, setting and association. Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association, which are the most important aspects of integrity for battlefield sites.¹⁶¹ As a rural historic district that is significant for its associations with a historic event, integrity of design, workmanship, and materials are generally less relevant to an assessment of the battlefield integrity. These qualities are more generally considered in the individual integrity assessments of constructed features on the battlefield, such as historic buildings and military earthworks.

Integrity of location is conveyed through the fact that the property encompasses the majority of the battlefield core area and key portions of the study area as identified by the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission's 2009 restudy of the nation's battlefields.¹⁶² The property extends over 3,266 acres that include lands in Virginia and Maryland, the 395-acre Harrison's Island, and the waters of the Potomac River. The boundary also encompasses buildings, sites, structures, objects and other landscape features present at the time of the battle.

Integrity of setting is conveyed by the expanse of largely undeveloped, rural space that is present along both sides of the Potomac River corridor, anchoring the context of character and helping to limit views of contemporary development. Integrity of setting is diminished to a degree along the western and southern margins of the battlefield property where views of residential subdivisions and other twentieth-century development are afforded. Nearby Leesburg is a growing town that has become a bedroom community for those working in the Washington, DC area. As such, it is surrounded by many residential subdivisions that do not resemble mid-nineteenth-century conditions. Nonetheless, the downtown area retains a historic character and configuration.

Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District also possesses a high degree of integrity of feeling due to the relatively open, undeveloped quality of the landscape, the presence of historic road corridors, property configurations, and ongoing agricultural activities. The property's large-scale topography including floodplain, dissected bluffs, and rolling hills, as well as other major natural features including springs, drainages, rivers and islands, remain unchanged. The broad patterns of vegetation present today remain remarkably comparable to those of 1861. Broad areas of historically wooded land, agricultural fields and cleared areas surrounding historic residences are still present. Portions of the battlefield property also retain important and pristine views and viewsheds significant to understanding military positions, advances and retreats effected during the October 1861 battle.

¹⁵⁹ American Battlefield Protection Program, "Ball's Bluff (VA006)," *Update to the Civil Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields, Commonwealth of Virginia*, Final Draft (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service American Battlefield Protection Program, 2009), 54.

¹⁶⁰ As originally amended, the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District National Historic Landmark boundary in the vicinity of Edwards Ferry, Maryland mirrored the core battlefield boundary as defined in the 2009 ABPP restudy. Although this boundary was approved and accepted by the National Historic Landmarks Committee at its October 19, 2016 meeting in full knowledge of the landowner objection, the National Park System Advisory Board at its November 19, 2016 meeting recommended that the private property at the heart of the objection be excluded from the final Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District National Historic Landmark. The land excluded from the amended NHL because of this objection consists of portions of Montgomery County, Maryland Tax Parcels P573 and P613.

¹⁶¹ Patrick Andrus, *Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating and Registering America's Historic Battlefields*, National Register Bulletin No. 40, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1992, revised 1999), 11–12.

¹⁶² American Battlefield Protection Program, "Ball's Bluff (VA006)," 52–54.

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Diminishing the integrity of feeling to a degree is the greater extent of natural forestation, particularly along the C&O Canal corridor within the Potomac River floodplain. However, as noted in the National Register Bulletin regarding battlefields, this is considered a reversible condition, serves to preserve historic structures and features, and does not adversely affect battlefield integrity.¹⁶³ Where noncontributing development subsequent to the period of significance has occurred within the property, it is dispersed in nature and in some cases continues the traditional agricultural heritage. Historic buildings, earthen fortifications and historic transportation corridors tied to the period of significance possess impacts that are limited in nature.

Based on the presence of so many important terrain, landscape, and built features that survive and can be tied directly to the military events of October 20th – 24th, 1861, as well as the Ball's Bluff National Cemetery that marks the graves of more than fifty fallen Union soldiers, the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District retains a high degree of integrity of association.

The Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District contains the essential physical features which aid in defining its historical associations and period of significance. In particular, the high level of integrity of setting and feeling, as defined by the intact natural features of the Potomac River, adjacent springs and drainages, the steep and rocky escarpment along the Virginia shore, the large expanses of wooded rural tracts, and the relatively open Goose Creek and Potomac River flood plain, as well as the extant cultural features within the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Historical Park, the historic road corridors and traces, historic buildings and structures, and several military features, serve to convey an enhanced understanding of the meaning and significance of the October 20–24, 1861, engagement.

As mentioned previously, formal archaeological investigations within the battlefield historic district to date have been quite limited both in terms of number and scale. In Virginia, archaeological research within the battlefield has been tied exclusively to federal or municipal requirements associated with planned development projects. In the case of the [REDACTED] archaeological site (44LD0008), [REDACTED] Earthwork (44LD0869), and the [REDACTED] archaeological site (44LD1622) such mandated research has led to the protection and preservation of important battlefield resources. In Maryland, existing formal archaeological research has been limited to land within the C & O Canal National Historical Park, however to date only very limited investigations have been undertaken in association with the inventorying of resources. Although little studied, given the characteristically high degree of landscape integrity throughout the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District, the property should be expected to contain as yet unidentified archaeological deposits and features associated with the Battle of Ball's Bluff as well as with earlier and later periods of human occupation. Future identification, recordation, and analysis of such archaeological contexts can be expected to only amplify the already high integrity of the historic district, while also holding the potential to expand the areas of historical significance currently recognized within the property.

¹⁶³ Andrus, *Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating and Registering America's Historic Battlefields*, 13.

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BALL'S BLUFF BATTLEFIELD HISTORIC DISTRICT RESOURCES DATA SHEET

Contributing Resources

No.	Resource Name	Resource Type	SHPO ID	LCS ID	ADDRESS/LOCATION	DATE	PHOTO #
1.	Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District	Site	253-5021	none		1861	
2.	Big Spring	Site	053-0255, 053-0012	none		n.a.	17
3.	Ball Family Cemetery	Site	053-0012-0019, 053-0298 44LD1623	none	42009 Victory Ln, Leesburg, VA	1800	
4.	Springwood Archaeological Site	Site	44LD1622	none		1800	
5.	Artillery Encampment Archaeological Site	Site	44LD0868, 053-5058	none		1861	11
6.	Kephart's Bridge Abutments	Site	44LD0628	none		1850	20
8.	Granary and Wharf Ruins, C & O Canal	Site	none	47560		c.1851	
9.	Jarboe's Store Ruins C & O Canal	Site	M: 17-48	11605		c.1850	
10.	Foundation Ruins C & O Canal	Site	M: 17-49	47559		c.1850	
11.	Archaeological Site	Site	18MO476	none		c.1830	
12.	Archaeological Site	Site	44LD0008	none		c.1775	
7a.	Harrison's Island Farmstead	Building	M: 16-32, 053-0082	none	Harrison's Island Montgomery County, MD	c.1800	14, 15
13.	Lockhouse, Lock 25, C & O Canal	Building	M: 17-49	11604	CHOH mile 30.84	1831	16
14a.	Jackson House	Building	053-0012-0004	none	42326 Balls Bluff Rd, Leesburg, VA	c.1840	6
15.	Springwood	Building	053-0298	none	42009 Victory Ln, Leesburg, VA	c.1850	7
16a.	Unnamed log house	Building	053-5367	none	43022 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	c.1830	8
17.	Big Spring-Smart's Mill Road Trace	Structure	44LD1728	none		c.1840	
18.	Smart's Mill/Big Spring - Edwards Ferry Road Trace	Structure	44LD1729, 44LD1730	none		c.1807	19
19.	Kephart's Mill Road Trace	Structure	44LD1727	none			
20.	Road to Ault's Landing	Structure	44LD1731	None		c.1851	
21.	Fort Evans	Structure	44LD0870, 253-5138	none		1861	9
22.	Earthwork	Structure	44LD0869, 053-5248-0004	none		1861	10

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Contributing Resources (cont'd)

No.	Resource Name	Resource Type	SHPO ID	LCS ID	ADDRESS/LOCATION	DATE	PHOTO #
23.	Edwards Ferry Road	Structure	053-6078	none		c.1770	18
24.	C & O Canal	Structure	M: 12-46		CHOH mile 30.29-36.15	1834	
<i>Component Canal Sub-Structures</i>							
24.1	Canal Prism			46594, 45973, 45975, 45977, 45979, 45981, 45983	CHOH mile 30.29-36.15	1833	
24.2.	Tow Path			46600, 45974, 45976, 45978, 45980, 45982, 45984	CHOH mile 30.29-36.15	1833	
24.3.	Tow Path Bridge Piers at Goose Creek River Lock			none	CHOH mile 30.64	c.1850	
24.4.	Lock 25			11601	CHOH mile 30.84	1831	
24.5.	Bypass Flume, Lock 25			11602	CHOH mile 30.84	1831	
24.6.	Mooring/Turning Basin			11603	CHOH mile 30.84	early 19 th C.	
24.7.	Culvert 43			11607	CHOH mile 30.89	1831	
24.8.	Broad Run Trunk Aqueduct			00168	CHOH mile 31.94	1831	
24.9.	Culvert 46			11608	CHOH mile 32.93	1831	
24.10.	Culvert 46.5			11609	CHOH mile 33.67	1831	
24.11.	Culvert 47			11610	CHOH mile 33.97	1831	
24.12.	Culvert 47.5			11611	CHOH mile 34.28	1831	
24.13.	Culvert 48			11612	CHOH mile 34.50	1831	
24.14.	Culvert 49			11613	CHOH mile 34.82	1831	
24.15.	Culvert 50			11614	CHOH mile 35.08	1831	
24.16.	Culvert 51 (Conrad's Ferry)			11615	CHOH mile 35.47	1831	13
24.17.	Culvert 52			11617	CHOH mile 35.67	1833	
24.18.	Culvert 53			12752	CHOH mile 35.79	1833	
25.	Goose Creek River Lock	Structure	M: 12-46	11600	CHOH mile 30.64	1837	12

Noncontributing Resources

No.	Resource Name	Resource Type	SHPO ID	LCS ID	ADDRESS/LOCATION	DATE	PHOTO #
7.	Harrison's Island, Montgomery County, Maryland						
b.	Bank Barn foundations	Structure	M: 16-32, 053-0082	none	Harrison's Island, MD	c.1800	
c.	Earthen mound	Structure	"	none	Harrison's Island, MD	c.1970	
d.	Equipment barn	Building	"	None	Harrison's Island, MD	20th c.	
e.	Hunting cabin	Building	"	none	Harrison's Island, MD	Early 21st c.	

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Noncontributing Resources (cont'd)

No.	Resource Name	Resource Type	SHPO ID	LCS ID	ADDRESS	DATE	PHOTO #
7.	Harrison's Island, Montgomery County, Maryland (cont'd)						
f.	Silo	Structure	"	none	Harrison's Island, MD	Mid 20 th c.	
g.	Outbuilding	Building	"	none	Harrison's Island, MD	20 th c.	
h.	Pole equipment barn	Building	"	none	Harrison's Island, MD	Early 21 st c.	
14.	Jackson House						
b.	Barn	Building	053-0012-0004, 053-5058-0001	none	42326 Balls Bluff Road, Leesburg, VA	Early 20 th c.	
16.	Log House, Edwards Ferry Road (VA)						
b.	Concrete well cap	Structure	053-6567	none	43022 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	20 th c.	
c.	Shed	Building	"	none	43022 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	20 th c.	
d.	Shed (pre-fab)	Building	"	none	43022 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	20 th c.	
26.	Big Spring Farm Barn and Outbuildings Ruins	Site		none	17240 and 17175 Twin Maple Lane, Leesburg, VA	Early 20 th c.	24
27.	Ball's Bluff National Cemetery	Site	253-5021	none	Ball's Bluff Battlefield Regional Park, Leesburg, VA	1865	23
28.	River Creek Country Club Golf Course	Site		none	43800 Olympic Blvd, Leesburg, VA	2002	22
29.	Turtle Run NPS Campsite	Site	M: 12-46	none	CHOH mile 34.43	20 th c.	
30.	Near Whites Ferry, Loudoun County, Virginia						
a.	Unnamed house	Building			42478 Whites Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	Early 20 th c.	
b.	Garage	Building			42478 Whites Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	20 th c.	
c.	Barn	Building			42478 Whites Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	20 th c.	
d.	Unnamed house	Building			42478 Whites Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	Early 20 th c.	
e.	Shed	Building			42478 Whites Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	Early 20 th c.	
Big Spring Farm Subdivision, Loudoun County, Virginia							
31.	Unnamed house	Building			17061 Spring Creek Ln, Leesburg, VA	c.2000	
32.	Unnamed house	Building			17117 Spring Creek Ln, Leesburg, VA	1998	
33.	Unnamed house	Building			17160 Spring Creek Ln, Leesburg, VA	2000	
34.	Unnamed house	Building			17155 Spring Creek Ln, Leesburg, VA	1998	
35.	Unnamed house	Building			17232 Spring Creek Ln, Leesburg, VA	1999	
36.	Unnamed house	Building			17175 Twin Maple Ln, Leesburg, VA	2000	

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Noncontributing Resources (cont'd)

No.	Resource Name	Resource Type	SHPO ID	LCS ID	ADDRESS/LOCATION	DATE	PHOTO #
Big Spring Farm Subdivision, Loudoun County, Virginia (cont'd)							
37.	Unnamed house	Building			17100 Twin Maple Ln, Leesburg, VA	1999	
38.	Unnamed house	Building			17240 Twin Maple Ln, Leesburg, VA	2000	
39.	Unnamed house	Building			17230 Twin Maple Ln, Leesburg, VA	1999	24
40.	Unnamed house	Building			42485 Smarts Mill Ln, Leesburg, VA	2000	
41.	Unnamed house	Building			42490 Smarts Mill Ln, Leesburg, VA	1998	
42.	North Springs Behavioral Healthcare Complex						
a.	North Springs Behavioral Hospital	Building			42045 Victory Lane, Leesburg, VA	1977	
b.	North Springs Building 1	Building			41992 Victory Lane, Leesburg, VA	Late 20 th c.	
c.	North Springs Building 2	Building			41994 Victory Lane, Leesburg, VA	Late 20 th c.	
d.	North Springs Building 3	Building			41996 Victory Lane, Leesburg, VA	Late 20 th c.	
e.	North Springs Apsche Center	Building			41984 Victory Lane, Leesburg, VA	Late 20 th c.	
f.	North Springs Shed 1	Building				Late 20 th c.	
g.	North Springs Shed 2	Building				Late 20 th c.	
h.	North Springs Shed 3	Building				Late 20 th c.	
Little Spring – Ball's Bluff Area							
43.	Unnamed house	Building			42122 Maple View Ln, Leesburg, VA	1966	
44.	Unnamed house	Building			42184 Maple View Ln, Leesburg, VA	1982	
45.	Unnamed house	Building			17320 Little Spring Rd, Leesburg, VA	1976	
46.	Unnamed house	Building			42312 Balls Bluff Rd, Leesburg, VA	c.1960	
47.	Agricultural outbuildings in Veteran's Park at Ball's Bluff						
a.	Corncrib	Structure			Veterans Park at Ball's Bluff	Late 20 th c.	
b.	Corncrib	Structure			"	"	
c.	Barn	Building			"	"	
48.	Carr/Harris Residential Complex at Fort Evans						
a.	Carr/Harris main house	Building			1401 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	c.1950	
b.	Stone outbuilding	Building			"	Mid 20 th c.	
c.	Log building	Building	253-5139		"	c.1870	
d.	House 2	Building			"	c.1970	

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Noncontributing Resources (cont'd)

No.	Resource Name	Resource Type	SHPO ID	LCS ID	ADDRESS	DATE	PHOTO #
48.	Carr/Harris Residential Complex at Fort Evans (cont'd)						
e.	Pool	Structure			"	Late 20 th c.	
f.	Garage	Building			"	c.1950	
g.	Fountain	Object			"	20 th c.	
h.	Mausoleum	Structure			"	c.1967	
i.	Spring/Well house	Structure			"	Mid 20 th -c.	
49.	Francis V. Speek Farm at Red Rock Wilderness Park						
a.	Speek farmhouse	Building	053-0752		43098 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	c.1870	
b.	Granary	Building	"		"	c.1880	
c.	Well house	Building	"		"	c.1915	
d.	Equipment shed	Building	"		"	c.1885	
e.	Smokehouse	Building	"		"	c.1985	
f.	Carriage house	Building	"		"	c.1880	
g.	Ice house	Structure	"		"	c.1885	
50.	Murray Hill						
a.	Murray Hill main house	Building	053-5783		42910 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	1938	
b.	Garage	Building	053-5783		"	c.1938	
c.	Smokehouse	Building	"		"	c.1870	
d.	Shed	Building	"		"	c.1940	
e.	Boat house	Building	"		"	c.1940	
f.	Tenant house	Building	053-5783		42916 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	c.1900	
g.	House 2	Building	"		"	1980	
h.	Walk-in shed	Building	"		42910 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	c.1980	
i.	Generator shed	Building	"		"	c.1950	
j.	Pool	Structure	"		"	Early 21 st c.	
k.	Shed 1	Building	"		"	c.1940	
l.	Saw mill	Building	"		"	c.1940	
m.	Shed 2	Building	"		"	c.1940	
n.	Shed 3	Building	"		"	c.1950	
o.	Barn & office	Building	"		42904 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	1987	
p.	Hay barn	Building	"		"	20 th c.	
q.	Chicken coop	Building	"		"	c.1940	
r.	Pond 1	Structure	"		"	20 th c.	
s.	Pond 2	Structure	"		"	20 th c.	
51.	Cattail Ordinary						
a.	Main house	Building	053-0403		42885 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	c.1775	
b.	Equipment shed	Building	"		"	c.1920	
c.	Barn	Building	"		"	c.1920	
d.	Shed	Building	"		"	c.1940	

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Noncontributing Resources (cont'd)

No.	Resource Name	Resource Type	SHPO ID	LCS ID	ADDRESS	DATE	PHOTO #
52.	Cattail Run Farm						
a.	Main house	Building	053-5782		42843 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	c.1870	
b.	Garage	Building	"		"	c.1950	
c.	Workshop	Building	"		"	c.1970	
d.	Shed roof garage	Building	"		"	20 th c.	
e.	Barn	Building	"		"	20 th c.	
f.	Equipment Shed	Building	"		"	20 th c.	
g.	Shed	Building	"		"	20 th c.	
h.	Dwelling	Building	"		42845 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	c.1950	
i.	Greenhouse	Building	"		"	20 th c.	
j.	Stone pump house	Building	"		"	20 th c.	
k.	Swimming pool	Structure	"		"	20 th c.	
53.	Sage Hill Farm						
a.	Main house	Building	053-5248-0001		42760 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	c.1940	
b.	Guest house	Building	"		"	c.1940	
c.	Garage 1	Building	"		"	20 th c.	
d.	Garage 2	Building	053-5248-0002		42754 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	20 th c.	
e.	Stable & Equipment Barn	Building	053-5248-0003		42750 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	Mid 20 th c.	
f.	Log and frame house	Building	053-5248-0002		42754 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	c.1940	
g.	Dairy barn	Building	053-5248-0003		42750 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	c.1950	
h.	Silo	Structure	"		"	c.1950	
i.	Shed 1	Building	053-5248-0001		42760 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	c.1940	
j.	Shed 2	Building	053-5248-0003		42750 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	Late 20 th c.	
k.	Tenant house	Building	053-5248-0003		42748 Edwards Ferry Road, Leesburg, VA	Late 20 th c.	
54.	White's Ferry Sportsman's Club						
a.	Cabin 1	Building			24500 Whites Ferry Rd, Dickerson, MD	c.1955	
b.	Cabin 2	Building			"	c.1955	
c.	Cabin 3	Building			"	c.1955	
d.	Cabin 4	Building			"	c.1955	
e.	Cabin 5	Building			"	c.1955	
f.	Cabin 6	Building			"	c.1955	
g.	Cabin 7	Building			"	c.1955	
h.	Cabin 8	Building			"	c.1955	
i.	Cabin 9	Building			"	c.1955	
j.	Cabin 10	Building			"	c.1955	
k.	Cabin 11	Building			"	c.1955	
l.	Cabin 12	Building			"	c.1955	

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Noncontributing Resources (cont'd)

No.	Resource Name	Resource Type	SHPO ID	LCS ID	ADDRESS	DATE	PHOTO #
54.	White's Ferry Sportsman's Club (cont'd)						
m.	Cabin 13	Building			"	c.1955	
n.	Cabin 14	Building			"	c.1955	
o.	Cabin 15	Building			"	c.1955	
p.	Cabin 16	Building			"	c.1955	
q.	Cabin 17	Building			"	c.1955	25
r.	Cabin 18	Building			"	c.1955	25
s.	Cabin 19	Building			"	c.1955	25
t.	Cabin 20	Building			"	c.1955	25
u.	Cabin 21	Building			"	c.1955	
v.	Cabin 22	Building			"	c.1955	
55.	White's Ferry Store Complex, White's Ferry, Maryland						
a.	Store	Building			24801 Whites Ferry Road, Dickerson, MD	Late 20 th c.	
b.	House	Building			"	"	
c.	Shed	Building			"	"	
d.	Garage	Building			"	"	
e.	Pavilion	Building			"	"	
f.	Boat Ramp	Structure			"	"	
56.	██████ Earthworks	Structure	44LD1625		████████████████████	1861- 1863	
57.	██████ Earthwork	Structure	44LD0867		████████████████████	1861- 1863	
58.	Edwards Ferry (MD) Boat Ramp	Structure			CHOH mile 30.84	Late 20 th c.	
59.	Wasteweir	Structure	M: 12-46	11606	CHOH mile 30.89	c.1900	
60.	Bridge at White's Ferry	Structure	M: 16-8	11616	CHOH mile 35.49	1876	
61.	Granary Ruins at White's Ferry	Structure	M: 16-7	49907	CHOH mile 35.53	1864	
62.	Picnic Pavilion, Edwards Landing Park	Structure			901 Powhatan Ct, Leesburg, VA	2004	
63.	Potomac Crossing Park						
a.	Playground	Structure			508 Shanks Evans Rd, Leesburg, VA	2014	
b.	Picnic Pavilion	Structure			"	2014	
64.	High Voltage Transmission Line	Structure			Montgomery County, MD and Loudoun County, VA	Late 20 th c.	
65.	Ball's Bluff Battlefield Regional Park Commemorative Markers						
a.	Clinton Hatcher monument	Object			Ball's Bluff Battlefield Regional Park, Leesburg, VA	c.1900	
b.	Col. Edward D. Baker monument	Object			"	c.1920	
c.	8th Virginia Infantry monument	Object			"	2007	
d.	Ball's Bluff Battlefield NHL marker stone	Object			"	c.1984	23

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Noncontributing Resources (cont'd)

No.	Resource Name	Resource Type	SHPO ID	LCS ID	ADDRESS	DATE	PHOTO #
65.	Ball's Bluff Battlefield Regional Park Commemorative Markers (cont'd)						
e.	"Bivouac of the Dead" monument	Object			"	Late 20 th c.	23
66.	Chapel Above Goose Creek commemorative marker	Object			North Spring Behavioral Healthcare complex, Leesburg, VA	1926	

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8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

Nationally: X Statewide: Locally:

Applicable National

Register Criteria: A X B C X D

Criteria Considerations

(Exceptions): A B C D E F G

NHL Criteria: 1

NHL Criteria Exceptions:

NHL Theme(s): IV. Shaping the Political Landscape
2. governmental institutions
3. military institutions and activities

Areas of Significance: Military
Politics/Government

Period(s) of Significance: October 20 – 24, 1861

Significant Dates: N/A

Significant Person(s): N/A

Cultural Affiliation: N/A

Architect/Builder: Ball, George Washington; Lutz, Francis Asbury

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

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State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.**Summary Statement**

Ball's Bluff Battlefield is nationally significant under Criterion 1 in the areas of Military History and Politics/Government for its association with the early stages of the Civil War as one of four consecutive unsettling Union defeats in both the Eastern and Western Theatres that led to the creation of the Congressionally appointed Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War. As such, the battlefield property embodies Theme IV: Shaping the Political Landscape, and the associated sub-themes of (2) governmental institutions and (3) military institutions and activities. The Union's embarrassing loss at the Battle of Ball's Bluff between October 20 and 24, 1861, as well as lack of effective leadership and the high number of casualties, became the focus of an investigative committee—the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War—established by Congress in December of 1861. The actions of the Joint Committee had far-reaching implications for the operations of the military throughout the remainder of the war, and directly shaped the political landscape of Washington, D.C. during and immediately following the Civil War. Through their examinations of perceived faults in military strategy and questioning the loyalty and courage of professional soldiers and West Point graduates, the Joint Committee placed increasing pressure on the Lincoln administration and Union military leaders to deliver victory. The Joint Committee's self-appointed investigative and quasi-judicial powers and the highly public means through which they attacked military persons sowed widespread factionalism within the military, and in the process set a dangerous precedent for Congressionally appointed investigative committees.

The Battle of Ball's Bluff followed closely on the heels of Union defeat at the battles of Big Bethel (June 10, 1861), First Manassas (July 21, 1861), and Wilson's Creek (August 10, 1861). The defeat itself, while not significant for its impact on a larger campaign, instead culminated in a disastrous first year of the Civil War that surprised Union commanders and the public, who had anticipated a swift Federal victory. With the loss at Ball's Bluff, the numerically and technologically superior Union forces had campaigned for more than four months without a significant land-based victory, shocking an overly confident political leadership and general public. The death of Union Col. Edward D. Baker, a sitting U. S. Senator and a close and personal friend of President Lincoln, combined with the lack of a strategic battle plan and the mistakes of officers in the field, led to the perception of the events at Ball's Bluff as symptomatic of the Union war effort in general.

As a result, Congress formed the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, an investigative group whose initial stated purpose was to "inquire into the conduct of the present war . . . [and] have power to send for persons and papers."¹⁶⁴ The Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War was also formed in part as a response to the Lincoln administration and its military leaders by pro-abolitionist Radical Republicans to promote a more aggressive tack to the war. In their examination of the defeat at Ball's Bluff, the committee focused on what they perceived to be strategic errors, and in particular the decisions and actions of Brig. Gen. Charles P. Stone, the Union officer in charge of the Corps of Observation on the Maryland side of the Potomac who was responsible for carrying out General McClellan's 'slight demonstration,' as well as the general inactivity of General George McClellan and the Army of the Potomac. As Randall has noted, the establishment of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War was the first example of the:

injustice of placing inquisitorial powers in the hands of a legislative committee whose mere inquiry may produce the most serious damage to a man's name but whose proceedings lack the

¹⁶⁴ U.S. Congress, *The Congressional Globe*, 28–32, 40. Thirty-Seventh Congress, 2nd Session, Tuesday, December 10, 1861. (Washington, D.C.: John C. Rives).

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fairness, impartiality, and publicity of a proper trial such as would be conducted by a judicial or even a military tribunal.¹⁶⁵

Highly critical of West Point-trained leaders and the military strategy taught there, the Joint Committee attacked the character and leadership of these officers, and, in the instance of Brig. Gen. Charles P. Stone, ultimately destroyed his military career. Although conducted in secret, select findings of the committee were promoted publicly and served to influence public opinion. The work of the committee ultimately placed significant personal and political pressure on Lincoln and his military leaders to account for their actions and to advance the battle to the enemy.¹⁶⁶ The impact of the Joint Committee, its powers and biases, had a significant influence on subsequent investigative committees well into the twentieth century.

Chronology and Historical Development of the Property

Summary

The Battle of Ball's Bluff was a humiliating Union defeat suffered only three months after the devastating loss at the First Battle of Manassas on July 21, 1861. On the night of October 20, under Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan's orders to Brig. Gen. Charles P. Stone for a "slight demonstration" in hopes of moving Confederate forces out of Leesburg, a Federal reconnaissance patrol crossed the Potomac River from Montgomery County, Maryland, into Loudoun County, Virginia. The patrol erroneously reported the presence of a Confederate camp near Leesburg. The next day, Union commanders escalated the reconnaissance by degrees, ultimately culminating in a battle. Col. Edward D. Baker, a United States senator and close friend of President Abraham Lincoln, took command on the field. By the end of the day, counterattacking Confederate forces had killed Baker and driven most of the Federals over Ball's Bluff and into the Potomac River, where many drowned or were shot while in the water. Additional fighting occurred near Edwards Ferry on October 22. Around dark on October 23, the Federals began crossing back into Maryland and completed their retreat before dawn on October 24. The disaster emboldened the United States Congress to establish the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War a month and a half later, on December 10, 1861. The Joint Committee made Stone, overall commander of United States forces during the battle, the scapegoat for the defeat rather than Baker. Until the Joint Committee was dissolved in 1865 at war's end, it exercised investigative and quasi-judicial powers to advance or destroy officers' careers and to bedevil Lincoln. The Battle of Ball's Bluff, therefore, although a minor engagement, proved to be a formative event in shaping the national political landscape. In the four years that followed, the findings of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War and the committee members who ran it had a significant influence on Union military strategy.

Prelude

For the United States, the first year of the Civil War had presented one catastrophe after another. Between December 1860 and April 1861, eleven Southern slaveholding states had seceded from the Union to form the Confederate States of America. Even before Lincoln was inaugurated on March 4, 1861, Southern forces in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas had seized numerous Federal vessels, forts, posts, and arsenals. Fort Sumter, in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, was one of the only Union facilities that offered some resistance before surrendering.¹⁶⁷

In Virginia, the bad news continued from late in the spring into the early weeks of summer. Seeking to dislodge advanced Confederate positions located at Big Bethel and Little Bethel churches, on June 10, 1861, Federal forces from Hampton and Newport News, Virginia, under the command of Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Butler

¹⁶⁵ John G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company, 1953), 370.

¹⁶⁶ Bruce Tap, "Inevitability, Masculinity, and the American Military Tradition: The Committee on the Conduct of the War Investigates the American Civil War," *American Nineteenth Century History* 5, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 20–21.

¹⁶⁷ E. B. Long, *The Civil War Day By Day* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1971), 21–39.

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launched a surprise attack on the numerically smaller Confederate forces. After abandoning Little Bethel, the well-fortified Confederate troops at Big Bethel repulsed repeated and disorganized Union attacks. After failing to take the position of Big Bethel, Federal forces withdrew to their original positions. The Battle of Big Bethel was the first land-based military engagement of the Civil War of some size.¹⁶⁸

Events took an even worse turn later in the summer. In May of 1861 Maj. Irvin McDowell was promoted to Brigadier General and given command of the newly established Army of Northeastern Virginia, a force whose theatre included Virginia north of the James River and east of the Allegheny Mountains. After much public pressure and urging by Congress, Union forces under the command of McDowell began the long-awaited march to Richmond in mid-July of 1861.¹⁶⁹ Leaving Washington, D.C., the 35,000-member army advanced on the Confederate positions defended by Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard at Bull Run near Centreville, Virginia. The military train was accompanied by crowds of spectators including a number of Congressmen and their families anticipating a swift and overwhelming victory. On July 21, 1861, McDowell attacked the Confederate left flank, using his superior numbers to rout the defensive line at Matthews Hill. After a lull in the battle, the Federal forces continued to advance but, by this time, reinforcing troops under the command of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston had arrived from the Shenandoah Valley. After fresh Union attacks were repulsed, Confederate forces broke the Union right flank forcing a Federal retreat. Initially orderly, the withdrawal broke down into chaotic flight with retreating troops encountering roads encumbered with spectators. The failure of the numerically superior Federal forces to dislodge the Confederate troops near Centreville and the ignominious retreat shocked the Northern political establishment. McDowell bore the brunt of the blame for the defeat.¹⁷⁰

Unable to agree on how the Federal Army of the West and the neutral Missouri State Guard would interact in Missouri, Union and Confederate forces again clashed at Wilson's Creek, Missouri, in the first major battle west of the Mississippi River. On August 10, 1861, Union Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Lyon launched a surprise attack on Confederate Gen. Benjamin McCullough's forces camped across Wilson's Creek. Lyon's forces initially took 'Bloody Hill.' Subsequent Confederate counterattacks, however, forced them to give ground. In his press of the battle, Lyon was wounded twice and eventually killed. Following the death of Lyon, Maj. Samuel Sturgis withdrew the exhausted Federal forces back to Springfield. The retreat gave control of southwestern Missouri to the Missouri Guard and Confederate forces.¹⁷¹

Following the Battle of First Manassas, in late July of 1861, McDowell was relieved of command and the Federal forces were consolidated into the Army of the Potomac commanded by Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan, a West Point graduate, civil engineer, and railroad company president. Leading a force of Ohio volunteers, in mid-July McClellan won a pair of victories in present-day West Virginia at Rich Mountain and Corricks Ford. Although the engagements were small in scale, they were fought in difficult terrain and competently managed. They gained fame for McClellan, who arrived in Washington on July 26. He met the next day with the president, who informed McClellan that he was now in command of Washington, D.C., and the army.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ John S. Salmon, *The Official Virginia Civil War Battlefield Guide* (Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 2001), 69–72; "Big Bethel, VA003," National Park Service, CWSAC Battle Summaries, American Battlefield Protection Program, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://www.nps.gov/abpp/battles/va003.htm>.

¹⁶⁹ Bruce Tap, *Over Lincoln's Shoulder: The Committee on the Conduct of the War* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 15–16.

¹⁷⁰ Salmon, *Battlefield Guide*, 17–20; "The Battle of First Manassas (First Bull Run)," National Park Service, Manassas National Battlefield Park, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://www.nps.gov/mana/learn/historyculture/first-manassas.htm>.

¹⁷¹ "Wilson's Creek, MO004." National Park Service, CWSAC Battle Summaries, American Battlefield Protection Program, accessed June 16, 2015, www.nps.gov/abpp/battles/mo004.htm.

¹⁷² Patricia L. Faust, ed., *Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War* (New York, New York: Harper and Row, 1986), 456 ("McClellan, George Brinton"); George B. McClellan, *McClellan's Own Story* (New York, New York: Charles L. Webster and Company, 1887), 66.

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McClellan possessed superb analytical and organizational skills, and he immediately began to redesign, strengthen, equip, and train the Army of the Potomac. His concern for his men's welfare was obvious, and the soldiers soon returned his unceasing efforts on their behalf with a devotion that bordered on worship. His relationship with several of his superiors, however, almost immediately disintegrated into mutual loathing. McClellan could see no way but his way, and took umbrage at any suggestion that perhaps another way might be better. The day after his arrival, for example, he fell out with his immediate commander, the notoriously prickly Gen. Winfield Scott. Soon McClellan was also at odds with key members of Lincoln's cabinet and eventually with the president himself. Despite these clashes, however, McClellan succeeded not only in transforming the army, but also in initiating an effective defensive plan for the capital and in expanding the Union presence into Virginia. Within a few months, the construction of earthworks was under way all around the city, and his army's divisions were posted for both defensive and offensive purposes in Washington, Virginia, and Maryland.¹⁷³

Maryland, unlike Virginia, had been the scene of successful springtime Federal military and political activities that kept the state in the Union. The first bloodshed of the war occurred during the infamous Baltimore (Pratt Street) Riot of April 19, when secessionist civilians stoned the 6th Massachusetts Infantry as it marched down the street between railroad stations en route to Washington. Shooting erupted, and the soldiers claimed four dead and thirty-nine wounded, while allegedly a dozen civilians were killed and dozens more wounded. On May 13, Gen. Benjamin F. Butler brought the regiment back to Baltimore, occupied Federal Hill above the harbor, and informed local officials that if any further disturbances occurred he would shell the city. Baltimore, a noisy, bustling port, grew strangely quiet and remained so for the rest of the war.¹⁷⁴

At about the same time, Lincoln suspended the writ of Habeas Corpus in several of the Border States including Maryland to suppress secessionist activities. Thousands of civilians were arrested, although most were quickly released. In Maryland, Unionist governor Thomas H. Hicks delayed calling the state legislature into session while emotions were running high. When Hicks did finally summon it, the legislature convened in Unionist Frederick, north of Montgomery County. Lincoln's tactics and Hicks's careful inaction kept the state in the Federal column and avoided the humiliation and strategic disaster of having the Union's national capital embedded in Confederate territory.¹⁷⁵

Although eastern Maryland retained strong Confederate sympathies, the opposite was the case in the western part of the state. Montgomery County, located northwest of Washington, contained residents who supported each side. Pockets of Unionists lived in towns such as Rockville, while the more thinly populated rural part of the county near the Potomac River just across from Loudoun County, Virginia, had secessionist sympathies. During the summer, McClellan posted several of his divisions in Montgomery County to guard the river fords and ferry crossings that led to the northern approaches to Washington.¹⁷⁶

With the approach of autumn, McClellan's growing army of critics had begun what later became a familiar refrain. The litany grew over the years during and after the war to create a truism: McClellan simply would not seize the initiative and move until prodded; he grossly overestimated the numbers of the enemy he faced; he never believed that he was adequately supplied; he suffered from a fear of failure rather than having confidence in success. The mounting criticism was not undeserved, as Lincoln would discover in 1862 during the Peninsula

¹⁷³ McClellan, *Story*, 66, 68–73.

¹⁷⁴ Faust, *Encyclopedia*, 37 ("Baltimore Riots"), 331 ("*habeas corpus*"); Susan C. Soderberg, *A Guide to Civil War Sites in Maryland: Blue and Gray in a Border State* (Shippensburg, Pennsylvania: White Mane Books, 1998), 55.

¹⁷⁵ Faust, *Encyclopedia*, 478 ("Maryland").

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*; Soderberg, *Guide*, 55.

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and Antietam campaigns and their aftermath. In mid-October 1861, however, McClellan had only been on the job for fewer than three months, and was rebuilding a shattered army while simultaneously constructing a defensive wall around Washington. The task was colossal, and McClellan's answers to these early critics—many of them men with little or no military experience—had at least some grounding in reality. The army at that point was still a work in progress. The construction of defensive works was proceeding, albeit slowly, and at this early stage McClellan did not appear to be lacking confidence in success. He wrote with vigor in his posthumously published memoir:

Some persons, who ought to have known better, have supposed that in organizing the Army of the Potomac I set too high a model before me and consumed unnecessary time in striving to form an army of regulars. This was an unjustifiable error on their part. I should, of course, have been glad to bring that army to the condition of regulars, but no one knew better than myself that, with the means at my command, that would have been impossible within any reasonable or permissible time.

What I strove for and accomplished was to bring about such a condition of discipline and instruction that the army could be handled on the march and on the field of battle, and that orders could be reasonably well carried out.¹⁷⁷

In other words, McClellan was trying to organize and train the army to be the opposite of the undisciplined horde that had fled in disgrace from Manassas Junction. Aside from this task, McClellan considered the defense of Washington and the prevention of Confederate incursions into Maryland to be his primary mission. In August and September, he received reports of potential attacks, sometimes directed at points below Alexandria, sometimes north of Washington. On September 8, he wrote to Secretary of War Simon Cameron:

It is well understood that, although the ultimate design of the enemy is to possess himself of the city of Washington, his first efforts will be directed towards Baltimore, with the intention of cutting our line of communication and supplies, as well as to arouse an insurrection in Maryland. To accomplish this he will no doubt show a certain portion of his force in front of our positions on the other side of the Potomac, in order to engage our attention there and induce us to leave a large portion of our force for the defense of those positions. . . . His main and real movement will doubtless be to cross the Potomac between Washington and Point of Rocks, probably not far from Seneca Mills, and most likely at more points than one. His hope will be to so engage our attentions by the diversions . . . as to enable him to move with a large force direct and unopposed on Baltimore.¹⁷⁸

In fact, the Confederate commander across the Potomac River, Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, had little intention of trying to "possess Washington" or strike toward Baltimore. He and Confederate president Jefferson Davis conferred on the subject on October 1 but agreed that the odds were against them and abandoned the idea. Johnston had entrenched his main force at Manassas Junction and Centreville. He left a brigade under Col. Nathan G. Evans at Leesburg to protect Johnston's extreme left flank, to keep watch on the Federal army, and to give him early warning should it cross into Virginia. Johnston, who was every bit as cautious as McClellan, was far more concerned with defending his position than with going on the attack.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ McClellan, *Story*, 98.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 93–94, 106 (quote).

¹⁷⁹ Morgan, *Boats*, 12–13; Stephen W. Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond: The Peninsula Campaign* (New York, New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1992), 12.

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Neither army, however, remained static. Each commander made moves in part to disguise his intentions and partly to counter the other's potential maneuvers. Even before McClellan built earthworks around Washington, for example, the Confederates began constructing batteries downstream from the city at present-day Quantico and at Aquia Creek. Eventually—until the Federals discovered that the Confederate guns generally could not hit moving vessels—the batteries effectively blockaded Washington from the south, another embarrassment for the administration. To counter the possibility of a Confederate invasion of Maryland, McClellan shifted his forces on the Potomac River. In August, he modified Maj. Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks's area of operations and extended it from Harpers Ferry southeast to the Monocacy River at the northern boundary of Montgomery County. McClellan designated Brig. Gen. Charles P. Stone's division as the "Corps of Observation" to keep an eye on the river from Great Falls, about ten miles upriver from Washington, to the Monocacy. Stone's "corps," then, was responsible for a twenty-seven-mile-long front as it followed the Potomac River's meanders. Stone made his headquarters in Poolesville.¹⁸⁰

First Day: October 20, 1861

Aside from the troop movements, all was quiet on the Union side of the Potomac in October 1861, much to the growing frustration of McClellan's critics. The general seemed to them content merely to keep an eye on Confederate Gen. Joseph E. Johnston and his smaller army (McClellan thought it much larger than it really was) camped around Centreville and Manassas Junction, twenty-five miles southwest of Washington. McClellan countered on October 19 by ordering Brig. Gen. George A. McCall and his division of Pennsylvania Reserves to advance from their post at Langley, Virginia, to Dranesville, fifteen miles southeast of Leesburg. The next day, McClellan telegraphed Stone and ordered him to keep a sharp watch toward Leesburg to see if McCall's advance compelled Evans to evacuate the town. If not, McClellan suggested to Stone, "Perhaps a slight demonstration on your part would have the effect to move them."¹⁸¹

To execute his "demonstration," Stone had six cavalry companies and three artillery batteries available in his division, besides three infantry brigades and two infantry regiments (Col. Charles Devens's 15th Massachusetts and Col. Milton Cogswell's 42nd New York). Brig. Gen. Frederick W. Lander, Brig. Gen. Willis A. Gorman, and Col. Edward D. Baker, the senator, commanded the three brigades. At the time, Lander was in Washington and Gorman was busy overseeing activities at Edwards Ferry, so Baker eventually would command in the field. Stone himself moved his headquarters from Poolesville to Edwards Ferry.¹⁸²

To oppose any threat to Loudoun County, Evans had four infantry regiments (8th Virginia and 13th, 17th, and 18th Mississippi), three companies from the 4th Virginia Cavalry and two from the 6th Virginia, and the Richmond Howitzers artillery battalion with five guns. Evans had devoted some time to building earthworks near Leesburg, although for the most part on a much smaller scale than Johnston's works at Centreville and Manassas. The largest of Evans's works, known as Fort Evans, was constructed not quite two miles east of the town center. The fort commanded Edwards Ferry Road, which passed it about three hundred yards to the north, as well as the Leesburg Turnpike to Alexandria about fifteen hundred yards to the south. No guns were mounted there, although fields of fire had been cleared that afforded expansive views of the terrain to the north, south, and east into Maryland. About a quarter of a mile northeast of the fort was another, smaller earthwork, a three-hundred-foot-long bank and ditch, in the woods straddling Edwards Ferry Road. The Federals had heard rumors of a "masked battery" hidden somewhere between the river and Leesburg, and they feared that any concealed artillery could easily repel any Union advance up the road. They were aware of the presence of Fort Evans, so it

¹⁸⁰ Salmon, *Battlefield Guide*, 9–12; McClellan, *Story*, 79, 94.

¹⁸¹ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 290.

¹⁸² Morgan, *Boats*, 13, 209–212.

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is likely that this small earthwork, which was hard to see as one approached from the east because of the trees, was the fictitious “masked battery.”¹⁸³

On October 20, Stone shifted troops from Poolesville to Conrad's Ferry, to a prospective crossing point to Harrison's Island from the Baltimore and Ohio Canal, and to Edwards Ferry. He executed the movements in full view of the Confederates, hoping to confuse them as to his intentions while he carried out the “slight demonstration.” Stone's artillery also shelled Fort Evans and other targets across the river in Virginia. The canal towpath bustled with activity. Late in the day, Stone ordered Gorman to move some infantry from Edwards Ferry over to the Virginia shore north of Goose Creek. Stone hoped that this demonstration, coupled with the threat from McCall at Dranesville, would accomplish McClellan's goal of forcing Evans to evacuate Leesburg. Gorman, shortly before sundown, sent two companies of the 1st Minnesota Infantry across in three flatboats. The troops landed, drove off a few Confederate pickets, and immediately returned to the Maryland side at dusk. Soon thereafter, a small reconnaissance patrol from the 15th Massachusetts Infantry crossed the river in skiffs from Harrison's Island and began to climb Ball's Bluff and obtain information about the Confederate dispositions and strength. In full darkness, the men moved inland along a cart path to the vicinity of the Jackson farmhouse. Looking across a field, they saw light on a hill in the distance and what appeared to be an unpicketed camp of about thirty tents. The patrol quickly passed back over to Harrison's Island, and its findings were reported to Stone at about 10 P.M. The general decided to order a raid across the river at dawn, to take advantage of what he believed was a Confederate error in leaving a forward camp undefended. Perhaps a raid, coupled with McCall's pressure from the south at Dranesville, would move the Confederates from Leesburg if they had not already fled after the day's demonstrations. What Stone did not know was that McClellan had ordered McCall back to Langley; that although Evans did not know that McCall had withdrawn, Evans believed that the Federals were not advancing from Dranesville toward Leesburg; that the late-afternoon landing had alerted Evans to Federal activity on the Potomac; and that what the patrol observed was not tents in the moonlight but a mere trick of the light causing open spaces among the trees to look like tents. To execute the raid, Stone ordered Devens to move five companies of the 15th Massachusetts across the river by boat, climb Ball's Bluff, attack and destroy the Confederate camp, and pursue the enemy as far as he deemed prudent. He was then either to withdraw to Harrison's Island and the Maryland shore, or if circumstances permitted, he was to hold a position on the bluff and await reinforcements. Devens spent the rest of the night organizing and executing the expedition.¹⁸⁴

Second Day: October 21, 1861

Between midnight and dawn, Devens's men crossed the Potomac River in shifts, as boats went back and forth transporting them from Maryland to Harrison's Island and from there to Virginia. Two light mountain howitzers belonging to the 2nd New York State Militia took up positions on Harrison's Island to cover the crossing. Part of Col. William R. Lee's 20th Massachusetts Infantry (known as the Harvard Regiment because so many of its men had attended that institution) occupied the island with several companies, while two companies crossed over and ascended Ball's Bluff to protect Devens's rear. At Poolesville, Baker had received orders to march his California regiment to Conrad's Ferry, have the rest of his brigade ready to move, and await orders. By about 6 A.M., as dawn approached, Devens's men had crossed, climbed the bluff, and begun their march west on the cart path toward the Jackson House. Once they arrived where the scouting party had thought it saw tents, it became

¹⁸³ Ibid., 212–213; Thomas E. Caffey, *Battle-Fields of the South*, two vols. (London, England: Smith, Elder & Co., 1863), 1: 133, 141. Whenever one side made strategic, tactical, or technological changes or improvements, usually the other side first reacted with varying degrees of concern, fear, hysteria, or outrage, and then rushed to adopt the same innovations. Well-known examples include “masked batteries,” nautical mines (also called torpedoes or “infernal machines”), ironclad naval vessels, rifled cannons and muskets, submarines, and irregular, partisan, or guerilla troops. While irregulars were generally considered to be in violation of the rules of warfare, both sides employed them. “Bushwhackers,” or civilians who shot soldiers, however, were considered by both sides as murderers and were summarily executed when caught.

¹⁸⁴ Morgan, *Boats*, 20–29.

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clear in the growing light that the “tents” were merely gaps in the branches of a grove of fruit trees. The Confederate camp did not exist. Devens detailed Lt. Church Howe to carry the news to Stone.¹⁸⁵

While Devens and his men were advancing toward the Jackson House, flanking patrols from the 20th Massachusetts moved upstream and down to watch for Confederates. Suddenly, one patrol found a handful of pickets, and the two groups exchanged fire. The pickets, which belonged to Company K, 17th Mississippi Infantry, fled west to report that Federal troops had crossed the river. Their commander, Capt. William L. Duff, and his company were posted at Big Spring. Once informed, Duff sent a message to Evans in Leesburg and then hurried his company east toward the river, taking the road that led toward Smart’s Mill and then turning south and marching up the high ground to the Jackson House.¹⁸⁶

Meanwhile, Howe reported Devens’s position to Stone, who had ordered another diversionary incursion across Edwards Ferry. Stone told Maj. John Mix, commanding a battalion of the 3rd New York Cavalry, to take a small number of his men and reconnoiter the terrain between the mouth of Goose Creek and Fort Evans. Preceded by two companies of the 1st Minnesota Infantry to act as skirmishers, Mix crossed over and then advanced west on Edwards Ferry Road. About two miles down the road, at a point in the woods short of the “masked battery” earthwork that spanned the road, he encountered elements of the 13th Mississippi Infantry. After a brief firefight he withdrew back toward the ferry, where boats continued to transport more of Gorman’s troops across the river into Virginia. Back at Ball’s Bluff, Duff and his company arrived near the Jackson House and discovered Devens and his force. At about the same time, Baker was moving his California regiment at Conrad’s Ferry into position to cross to Harrison’s Island.¹⁸⁷

After 9 A.M., Howe reported Stone’s orders to Devens to remain where he was and he would be reinforced with the second battalion of the 15th Massachusetts as well as cavalry to continue his reconnaissance. Devens sent Howe back to Stone to tell him of the fight, and to say that he would await reinforcements. En route, Howe encountered the Massachusetts battalion and informed Lt. Col. George Ward of Devens’s engagement with the enemy. Rather than cross from Harrison’s Island to Smart’s Mill, as planned, and strike the flank of the Confederates confronting Devens, the Massachusetts battalion crossed and then moved down the riverbank to Ball’s Bluff. This crowded more men into a small space atop the bluff.¹⁸⁸

Meanwhile, Evans had posted most of his brigade in concealed positions in the woods near Fort Evans to resist any advance there by Gorman from the east or McCall from the south. Evans also had sent Jenifer’s cavalry, soon reinforced with infantry, to take charge of Duff’s Confederates and hold the Federals at Ball’s Bluff in place. As mid-morning came and went, and Gorman made no move to advance, Evans became convinced that the bridgehead at Ball’s Bluff constituted the principal threat. He ordered Col. Eppa Hunton, 8th Virginia Infantry, to reinforce Jenifer’s command and drive the Federals into the river. Hunton and his men arrived near the Jackson House about noon.¹⁸⁹

Stone, meanwhile, met with Baker at Edwards Ferry at about 9 A.M. and ordered him to take command at Harrison’s Island. He gave Baker a written order: “In case of heavy firing in front of Harrison’s Island, you will

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 29–34, 50.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 34–37.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 38–49, 52–54; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 335. Mix, in his report, does not mention the earthwork, which he would have seen had he advanced that far west.

¹⁸⁸ Morgan, *Boats*, 57–58; Andrew E. Ford, *The Story of the Fifteenth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry* (Clinton, Massachusetts: W. J. Coulter, 1898), 78.

¹⁸⁹ Morgan, *Boats*, 67; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 349, 367–368.

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advance the California regiment of your brigade, or retire the regiments under Colonels Lee and Devens on the Virginia side of the river, at your discretion, assuming command on arrival.”¹⁹⁰

Baker rode back up the canal towpath and rejoined his brigade at about 10 A.M., but instead of going immediately to the island and then to Ball's Bluff to assess the situation there, he spent the next few hours personally supervising the crossing of the river to the island by the remainder of his brigade. It was not until about 2 P.M. that Baker crossed the river and then ascended the bluff. Meanwhile, Howe had rejoined Devens at about 10 A.M. and had told him that Baker was coming with reinforcements and would take command. An hour later, Ward reported to Devens with the second battalion, 15th Massachusetts, and was followed soon after by elements of the 20th Massachusetts. Devens's reinforcements came none too soon, because at 12:30 P.M. Jenifer attacked.¹⁹¹

Jenifer's infantry, strengthened by Hunton's 8th Virginia, advanced through the woods against the Union left, while his cavalry harassed Devens's skirmishers posted in the fields west of the Jackson House and on either side of the Smart's Mill–Edwards Ferry Road. Devens's situation became desperate as the Confederates threatened to turn his left flank, so he retired his battle line about “60 paces into an open space in the wood,” and recalled his skirmishers.¹⁹²

Shortly after 2 P.M., Baker finally met with Devens. Reinforcements followed Baker: the 1st California, one company of the 42nd New York, the remainder of the 20th Massachusetts, two 6-pounder mountain howitzers (Company I, 1st U.S. Artillery), and a 12-pounder James rifle (Company B, 1st Rhode Island Artillery). The rifle had to be broken down and hauled to the top of the bluff. When Baker encountered Lee of the 20th Massachusetts, he remarked to Lee, “I congratulate you on the prospect of a battle.” It was an odd statement, given that a battle had been underway for hours by then.¹⁹³

Baker decided to hold a shallow bridgehead at Ball's Bluff, rather than the commanding ground farther inland. He posted the artillery in the field near the edge of the bluff and ordered most of the infantry into the woods that enclosed the field on the east and north. The 15th Massachusetts filed into position to the right of the 1st California, its battle line in the open woods forming the field's north boundary and perpendicular to the 1st California. The mountain howitzers were in advance of the angle formed by the two regiments and the James rifle was on the left, in front of the 1st California. The 20th Massachusetts was fragmented, with one company in the woods on the right of the 15th Massachusetts, five companies on the left of the 15th Massachusetts, and one company in the woods on the left of 1st California. On the left flank, a deep hollow paralleled the cart track, with a wooded ridge opposite the hollow. The ridge commanded the field. Although several officers urged Baker to occupy that ground, he failed to heed this advice. He also had aligned his right flank in such a manner that the companies there could not fire to the front if the center of his battle line advanced. Finally, the Union reserves were posted so they would be exposed to the fire of Confederate sharpshooters hidden in the woods.¹⁹⁴

Shortly after 3 P.M., Jenifer's troops and Hunton's 8th Virginia approached Baker's left front at Ball's Bluff. The Virginians took cover southwest of the field, and then fired on two 1st California companies as they advanced toward the woods. After a sharp fight, both sides retreated and regrouped, as other Confederate units fired on the Union gunners with their long-range rifle-muskets. Col. Milton Cogswell, 42nd New York, supervised the cannons while awaiting the arrival of his regiment. He later wrote, “Soon . . . nearly all the

¹⁹⁰ Morgan, *Boats*, 65–66; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 303.

¹⁹¹ Morgan, *Boats*, 71–72, 75–78.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 87–89; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 310, 349, 364, 367, 369.

¹⁹³ Morgan, *Boats*, 89–92, 95–98.

¹⁹⁴ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 310, 321; Morgan, *Boats*, 98.

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artillerymen had been shot and the pieces were worked for a time by Colonel Baker . . . a few other officers and myself.”¹⁹⁵

It took almost all day, but by 4 P.M. the last of Gorman's brigade had crossed the Potomac at Edwards Ferry. It soon occupied the bottomland north of Goose Creek as well as the high ground on both sides of the Dailey House. Besides Mix's 3rd New York Cavalry battalion and the 1st Minnesota Infantry, which had crossed early in the morning, the force included the 2nd New York State Militia, the 34th New York Infantry, the 7th Michigan Infantry from Lander's brigade, about seventy men from the 1st Massachusetts Sharpshooters, and two 12-pounder field howitzers of Battery I, 1st U.S. Artillery. At about midmorning, Evans had ordered the 13th Mississippi Infantry to keep an eye on Gorman's force as it accumulated on the western bank of the river. At about 2 P.M., after the observers reported no threatening advance, Evans ordered Col. Erasmus R. Burt's 18th Mississippi Infantry to Ball's Bluff from its position in the woods east of Fort Evans. When Burt arrived on the battleground by way of the cart path, he saw the Union guns across the field and immediately ordered a charge to capture them. As the Mississippians surged from the woods, the Federals posted in the edge of the timber to their front and flank struck them with a heavy fire. Burt and several of his men fell dead or wounded (Burt was mortally wounded and died on October 26), and the regiment retreated. Lt. Col. Thomas M. Griffin assumed command and with the regiment occupied the high ground on the far side of the hollow, downstream from the Ball's Bluff crossing. His action positioned the 18th Mississippi between Baker's command and Gorman's bridgehead at Goose Creek.¹⁹⁶

Evans summoned Col. Winfield S. Featherston's 17th Mississippi Infantry from its position near Fort Evans at about 4 P.M., and the regiment marched the two miles to Ball's Bluff in twenty minutes. Featherston deployed his men in the 200-yard interval that separated the left flank of the 18th Mississippi from the right flank of the 8th Virginia. From the Confederate right to left stood the 18th Mississippi, the 17th Mississippi, the 8th Virginia, and Jenifer's infantry cavalry. With the obstacle of the river behind the Federals, Baker and his command were essentially surrounded. In addition, because of the manner in which Baker had arranged his units, it was difficult for the Federals to launch effective counterattacks or to defend themselves without firing into their own forces.¹⁹⁷

Between 4:30 and 5 P.M., Baker was shot and killed as he moved toward the left flank to cheer on his men. At the time, the 18th Mississippi had launched an attack on that flank and it was likely that a volley from that unit killed him. In the smoke and confusion of the attack, there was a wild melee for possession of his body. The Federals prevailed and the corpse was taken down the bluff and sent back across the river. Cogswell, as senior officer present, took command of the brigade. Conferring with Devens and Lee, Cogswell vetoed their suggestion that the brigade escape from the trap by recrossing the river, believing that the attempt would be suicidal. Instead, he called for a sortie to cut their way through to Edwards Ferry. Two companies of the 42nd New York, supported by a battalion of the 1st California, led the attack, to sweep across the hollow and brush the 18th Mississippi aside and open the escape route downstream to Edwards Ferry. As the troops formed for the breakout, Confederate Lt. Charles B. Wildman appeared in front of the New Yorkers and taunted them by beckoning them forward. The New Yorkers charged followed by the Californians. The 18th Mississippi hurled them back with a "shower of bullets" and the Federals retreated to the edge of the woods with the steep bluff and river behind them. Evans, sensing that the fight had reached a turning point, ordered a general charge. The 17th Mississippi and 8th Virginia came under heavy small-arms fire from the Union battle line posted in the woods on the far side. After getting off several volleys, the Federals abandoned their position and, scrambling down the steep bluff, sought to reform on the narrow shelf between the bluff and river. Two more companies of

¹⁹⁵ Morgan, *Boats*, 108–113; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 321, 367, 369–370.

¹⁹⁶ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 349, 365; Morgan, *Boats*, 92–93, 116–117, 121–124.

¹⁹⁷ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 302, 349, 358, 361; Morgan, *Boats*, 131–132.

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the 42nd New York had just landed there from across the river, and Cogswell ordered them to ascend the bluff to cover the retreat. This was a futile maneuver and added to the confusion.¹⁹⁸

The Union retreat down the steep slope quickly became a rout and a mad scramble as the Confederates fired into the milling mass below from the edge of the bluff. Devens deployed some of his men as skirmishers near the river and returned the Confederate volleys, which fell like rain into the river. Two boats swamped as frightened men rushed aboard. Cogswell was captured as he led a sortie against the 18th Mississippi, which had crossed the hollow and struck the left flank of the disordered mass of humanity. Devens shouted for his men to throw their weapons into the river and escape, and as darkness fell he and several of his men swam the 125-foot channel to Harrison's Island and escaped. Skirmishes occurred here and there up and down the river from Ball's Bluff into the night.¹⁹⁹

Across the river in Maryland, the canal towpath had been jammed all day long with troops, supply wagons, artillery and caissons, horses, and couriers moving between Conrads Ferry and Edwards Ferry to the crossing point onto Harrison's Island. Col. Edward Hinks and the 19th Massachusetts Infantry were posted on the island to help transport men and equipment to the Virginia shore. When Baker's force fled down the bluff, Hinks's men attempted to make rafts and shove them the short distance across the river to assist those trying to escape. The effort was largely futile. By 8 P.M., most of the soldiers who had been hemmed in and driven to the river's edge and were not killed or drowned had surrendered. A total of 553 Union prisoners were marched off to Leesburg under guard. Estimates of Union battle casualties vary widely: at least 70 killed according to Confederate calculations, or between 49 and 223 according to Federal figures; 158 wounded (many of whom were also made prisoners), and 161 missing, most of whom had drowned while attempting to reach Harrison's Island. As late as mid-November, bodies of Union soldiers were still being recovered from the Potomac River between Ball's Bluff and Washington. Confederate losses, according to various estimates, were 33 killed, between 110 and 264 wounded, and perhaps 3 missing.²⁰⁰

Third to Fifth Days: October 22–24, 1861

By 6:45 P.M. on October 21, Stone had received word of Baker's death, telegraphed the news to McClellan, and left Edwards Ferry for the crossing point upstream from the canal to Harrison's Island. Stone had earlier telegraphed Banks for a brigade to assist Baker before he knew of the officer's death; he now called for Banks's entire division. When Stone reached the crossing point, having passed dozens of weaponless and wet survivors on the way, he reevaluated the situation. He decided to withdraw the remainder of his force—Gorman's brigade—from Virginia across Edwards Ferry, and sent a message to McClellan informing him. Shortly thereafter, Stone received a message from McClellan ordering him to hold Edwards Ferry, and Stone countermanded his previous order to withdraw. Sometime after 3 A.M. on October 22, Banks's division began arriving to cross from Maryland to Virginia by way of Harrison's Island. Most were across by midday, when Banks arrived to take command of the Union right wing in Virginia.²⁰¹

Also on October 22, under a flag of truce, a Federal burial party ascended Ball's Bluff to inter the Union dead there. Capt. Thomas Vaughn, Battery B, 1st Rhode Island Light Artillery, and Lt. James Dodge, 19th Massachusetts Infantry, led the ten-man party. By the time darkness fell and ended the operation, Vaughn could report that his detail had buried "47 bodies, . . . about two-thirds of the number [about 70] lying on the ground." Over the next few days, Confederate soldiers hastily buried the remainder.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 310, 319, 321–322, 327–328, 349, 358, 359, 347; Morgan, *Boats*, 131–156.

¹⁹⁹ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 310, 319–320, 322; Morgan, *Boats*, 156–171.

²⁰⁰ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 310, 319–320, 322; Morgan, *Boats*, 177–178.

²⁰¹ Morgan, *Boats*, 172–176.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 176–177, 233.

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On the Virginia side of Edwards Ferry north of Goose Creek, Gorman's force was augmented throughout the night of October 21 by the 16th Indiana Infantry and the 30th Pennsylvania Infantry, a company each from the 19th and 20th Massachusetts Infantry, as well as perhaps one hundred troopers from the 3rd New York Cavalry. Gorman threw a strong picket line out on the north side of the creek as far west as the bridge to Kephart's Mill. It extended from the edge of the bluff north of the Dailey House, across Edwards Ferry Road and along the edge of a field to the hill above Kephart's Bridge. Evans ordered two companies of the 13th Mississippi Infantry down Edwards Ferry Road as pickets in case the Federals advanced. In the morning, the full regiment, under Col. William Barksdale, began maneuvering to attack. Barksdale deployed part of his regiment north of the road toward the Dailey House, while the rest marched down the road to Kephart's Mill and then east toward the Federals. At about 4 P.M., Barksdale attacked. The fighting was sharp but short-lived as the Union artillery drove back the much-smaller Mississippi force. Both sides suffered only a handful of casualties. With that, the fighting effectively ended. The next day, Stone himself crossed to Virginia and strengthened Gorman's lines. Stone ordered cavalry patrols to reconnoiter across Kephart's Bridge and toward Leesburg in search of the Confederates, who had withdrawn to Carter's Mill south of Leesburg on the Old Carolina Road. No fighting took place. As darkness fell on October 23, McClellan ordered Stone to withdraw all forces from Virginia, and Stone sent Gorman across Edwards Ferry to Maryland to coordinate the landings on that side. By about 4 A.M. on October 24, the last boatful of men had shoved off to cross the river to Maryland.²⁰³

Aftermath: Ball's Bluff and the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War

Trying to avoid the public relations debacle that occurred after First Manassas, in the week following the Federal incursion at Ball's Bluff, the U.S. Government attempted to put a less damaging spin on the emerging bad news by withholding independent media reports of the event. Newspaper reporters noted the difficulty in filing dispatches from Washington, D.C.²⁰⁴ The strategy of containment however ultimately backfired.

There is a general murmur of dissatisfaction here, not loud, but deep, on account of the course of the authorities in suppressing all dispatches concerning the battle at Edwards Ferry [Ball's Bluff]. The State Department, it is said, out of motives of 'policy,' connected with the New York Stock market and our foreign diplomacy, sent to the telegraph office in Washington for positive orders to withhold all dispatches respecting that engagement, save one prepared or supervised by the Government. So the public were left, for days, in doubt whether the troops of the Union had met a defeat or a victory, while the most exaggerated rumors of the carnage . . . were spread from mouth to mouth.²⁰⁵

The Ball's Bluff disaster cast a pall of gloom across the North. President Lincoln wept when he learned of the death of his friend Baker, for whom he had named his second son, Edward Baker Lincoln (1846–1850). Cries of outrage soon followed the defeat as the news spread. The *Boston Post* proclaimed the debacle "Worse than a crime a blunder!" Brig. Gen. George G. Meade called it "A bungle from beginning to end." New York Congressman Roscoe Conkling demanded "the name of the person culpable." In the months ahead, three names would present themselves for that distinction: McClellan, Baker, and Stone. The first would evade responsibility and shift the blame to others, a hallmark of his career. The second, who had not only died on the field of battle but also had had the good fortune to possess a president and numerous fellow senators among his

²⁰³ Ibid., 187–192.

²⁰⁴ J. Cutler Andrews, *The North Reports the Civil War* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955): 154–155.

²⁰⁵ *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, October 29, 1861.

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friends, would be considered a hero and therefore off limits for criticism. That left Stone as the likely scapegoat.²⁰⁶

In late October of 1861, Radical Republican Senators Benjamin Wade, Zachariah Chandler and Lyman Trumbull visited the White House. Unhappy with Gen. George McClellan's lack of initiative, their goal was to convince President Lincoln that further inaction would not be tolerated and that the full weight of the Federal military force should be brought to bear on the Confederate rebellion. They left the White House unsatisfied that they had convinced the President of the need for urgency, nor were they convinced of Lincoln's resolve to remove commanding officers who they perceived to be inadequate.²⁰⁷

The first session of the 37th Congress had adjourned on August 6, 1861; the second session convened on Monday, December 2. Some of the members who attended the first session had gone out to Manassas Junction on July 21 to watch that battle and afterward had been caught up in the stampede back to the capital. In addition to that defeat, the second major battle of the war—Wilson's Creek, Missouri, on August 10—was not only another Federal loss, but it also resulted in the death of Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, the first U.S. Army general officer killed in combat. Now, as they assembled in the Capitol building, outrage consumed the Congressional members as they discussed the latest disaster, Ball's Bluff, which had cost the life of one of their colleagues, Oregon senator Edward Baker. They were also exasperated by what they saw as McClellan's failure to carry the war to the Confederate army in northern Virginia. And they were discontented over the way the Lincoln administration had prosecuted the war in general.²⁰⁸

Frustration over the results thus far in the war made the members grimly determined. If, after nearly eight months of armed conflict, the Executive Branch had made so little progress in suppressing the rebellion, then Congress itself would take a hand. There was precedent for such a committee; earlier versions had been established in 1791 and 1813 to investigate military disasters. Hardly had the members of the House of Representatives settled in their seats before Republican Roscoe Conkling of New York introduced a resolution calling for an inquiry into the Ball's Bluff imbroglio. It was promptly adopted. Three days later in the Senate, Republican Zachariah Chandler of Michigan proposed a resolution to investigate not only Ball's Bluff but also Manassas. During the debates that followed, various members added other disasters to the list to be investigated, including Wilson's Creek. Several other amendments were offered, including one to inquire generally into the "causes of the disasters that have attended the public arms."²⁰⁹

In a remarkably prescient speech, Senator Lafayette S. Foster of Connecticut observed,

I believe in letting the military authorities manage the army. If they manage it badly we shall make a bad matter worse by tampering and interfering, and that is all that will grow out of our action. If it is badly managed now I am sorry; I do not believe it is; but if it be, in Heaven's name do not let us make it worse by tampering, for worse we shall make it, and only worse.²¹⁰

After considerable debate, a concurrent resolution was proposed calling for an inquiry "into the conduct of the present war" by a select committee of the 37th Congress, to consist of three senators and four representatives. The committee was to have "power to send for persons and papers." The Senate adopted the proposal, thirty-

²⁰⁶ Ronald H. Bailey, *Forward to Richmond: McClellan's Peninsular Campaign* (Alexandria, Virginia: Time-Life Books, 1983), 36; William W. Pierson, Jr., "The Committee on the Conduct of the Civil War," *American Historical Review* 23 (1918): 552.

²⁰⁷ Tap, *Over Lincoln's Shoulder*, 19.

²⁰⁸ Tap, "Inevitability, Masculinity, and the American Military Tradition," 20–21.

²⁰⁹ Pierson, "Committee," 550–553.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 554.

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three to three, and on December 10 the House agreed unanimously. Thus the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War was established.²¹¹

Later in December, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House each appointed their committee members. The senators were Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio (chairman), Zachariah Chandler of Michigan, and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee. The congressmen were Daniel W. Gooch of Massachusetts, John Covode of Pennsylvania, George W. Julian of Indiana, and Moses F. Odell of New York. Johnson later withdrew after he was appointed military governor of Tennessee. Three senators subsequently took his seat: Joseph A. Wright of Indiana, followed once his term had expired by Benjamin F. Harding of Oregon, who was in turn replaced by Charles R. Buckalew of Pennsylvania after Harding resigned in January 1865. Congressman Benjamin F. Loan of Missouri eventually replaced Covode. Loan was the only member of the committee who had served in the armed forces.²¹²

In the opinion of many senators and congressmen, however, a lack of military experience was no impairment. Suspicion of a standing army and a professional officer corps extended back to the Revolution. There had been opposition to the establishment of the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1802. To some citizens it smacked of elitism and European stuffiness. Many legislators preferred the amateur soldiers of Lexington-and-Concord legend, the militiamen who left their fields, grabbed their muskets, and beat the red-coated “professional” British army. They ignored the reality that the state of the mid-nineteenth-century militia contributed substantially to the dreadful Federal defeat at Manassas Station: the citizen-soldiers were poorly armed, insufficiently trained, and badly led. Despite this, many members of Congress also viewed West Point generals as rigid and conservative, not bold enough in their tactics, and—given the large number who resigned their commissions to serve the Confederacy—possibly treasonous as well. That the architects of Confederate victory at Manassas (Joseph E. Johnston, P. G. T. Beauregard, and Thomas J. Jackson) were all West Point men only fueled the committee members’ suspicions. That George B. McClellan and Charles P. Stone, the architects of the Ball’s Bluff disaster, were also West Pointers did nothing to improve their images in the committee’s eyes.²¹³

In addition, the newly formed Joint Committee was packed with Radical Republicans. Wade and Chandler were the Republican senators, while congressmen Covode, Gooch, and Julian were also of that party. Senator Johnson was a Democrat but a steadfast Unionist. Odell was the sole Democratic congressman. Wade, Chandler, and Julian were strongly antislavery. They believed that Lincoln was insufficiently aggressive, not only with regard to the army but also on the subject of abolition, which they thought should be proclaimed immediately. During subsequent investigations, the committee endorsed West Point generals who supported the majority views on abolition and “hard war”—John Pope, Ambrose E. Burnside, John C. Frémont, Joseph Hooker, and Benjamin F. Butler, for example—even when those generals failed in the field.²¹⁴

Reacting to public demands for a scapegoat, the committee promptly began an investigation of the Ball’s Bluff debacle. The scapegoat could not be Baker, a Senate colleague and hero who had died in combat, or McClellan, who was too far removed from the field to be personally culpable. Stone, whom the committee regarded as soft on emancipation and of questionable loyalty as a West Point graduate, was the obvious choice. The committee questioned willing witnesses, permitted no cross-examination, and refused to give witness names to the accused, much less allow him to confront them. The committee listened to tales of Stone’s alleged disloyalty,

²¹¹ Ibid., 555–556.

²¹² Ibid., 557–558.

²¹³ Bruce Tap, “Amateurs at War: Abraham Lincoln and the Committee on the Conduct of the War,” *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 23 (2002): 5–7.

²¹⁴ Tap, “Inevitability, Masculinity, and the American Military Tradition,” 20–21; Tap, “Amateurs at War,” 14.

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his treasonable correspondence with the enemy, and supposed meetings with unnamed Confederate officers, and kept the "evidence" secret. Stone was not told of the charges against him.²¹⁵

In 1862, the committee summoned Stone to testify on January 5 and again on January 31. Stone explained the course of the battle as he understood it and correctly placed most of the blame where it belonged, on Baker's inept leadership on the ground. Rather than accept Stone's testimony, however, the committee instead preferred that of two of his subordinates with personal grudges against Stone because he had disciplined them. They, and other witnesses, questioned Stone's loyalty to the Union cause, alleging that he had had "undue intercourse with the enemy, both by letter and by personal intercourse with their officers" and that he had permitted the Confederates "to erect formidable fortifications and batteries within reach of his guns" while leaving other important manufacturing facilities, such as Smart's Mill, untouched rather than destroyed by artillery fire. The committee ignored, on the other hand, the testimony of Stone's subordinates who spoke in his favor. The committee urged Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton to cause Stone's arrest, which occurred around midnight on February 8, 1862. He was confined in Fort Lafayette, in the New York City harbor, and subsequently at Fort Hamilton, without charges being filed. On August 16, he was released. He testified to the committee again on February 27, 1862, by which time he had read and was able refute the testimony of the witnesses against him. The committee listened to Stone and then took no action.²¹⁶

In May of 1863, Stone was ordered to report to Maj. Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks, commanding the Department of the Gulf in Louisiana. Stone served as Banks's chief of staff until he was relieved in April 1864. Although Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, who had been at West Point with Stone, tried to have him transferred to his command, the enmity of Radical Republican senator Charles Sumner toward Stone precluded it. Stone resigned from the army in September 1864. After the war ended, he left the country and served as chief of staff to the Khedive of Egypt from 1871 to 1883, when he returned to the United States. He became the engineer for construction of the foundation for the Statue of Liberty and was grand marshal of the statue's dedication parade in October 1886. Stone died in New York City on January 27, 1887.²¹⁷

Ball's Bluff National Cemetery and Battlefield Preservation

The Federal soldiers who died at the Battle of Ball's Bluff were, for the most part, temporarily interred near where they fell. Approximately seventy bodies were buried in the immediate aftermath of the battle, some by a Union detail under a flag of truce on October 22, and others by Confederate soldiers over the next few days.

Following the approval of legislation establishing the future National Cemetery System, in July of 1862 the first fourteen national cemeteries were created for burial of Union dead. This number continued to increase throughout the war. After the war ended, Federal burial details throughout the South attempted to retrieve bodies from their temporary graves and rebury them in the newly established national cemeteries. At Ball's Bluff, because the fallen had been interred quickly and in shallow graves, skeletal remains were found to have been scattered by animals. In December of 1865 the U. S. Army Quartermaster's Office visited Ball's Bluff and the remains were again reburied and placed in a formal cemetery on the battlefield near the bluff. Twenty five marble headstones were placed in a circle in the cemetery and a picket fence was erected surrounding the 48-square foot burial ground. In 1871 the picket fence was replaced with a more formal stone wall. Only one individual is known to have been identified: Pvt. James Allen, Company H, 15th Massachusetts Infantry. The other remains, estimated to be those of fifty-three individuals, are unidentified.²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Pierson, "Committee," 564–565.

²¹⁶ Morgan, *Boats*, 198–202; Howard C. Westwood, "The Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War—A Look at the Record," *Lincoln Herald* 80 (1978): 5.

²¹⁷ Morgan, *Boats*, 202–204.

²¹⁸ Therese T. Sammartino, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, "Civil War Era National Cemeteries," October 14, 1994; Morgan, *Boats*, 232–239.

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Immediately following the Civil War, veterans began to arrange reunions to celebrate their actions, to memorialize and commemorate the fallen, and to facilitate reconciliation and old friendships. In addition to broader nationally organized Union and Confederate reunions, many veterans sought to meet in smaller groups at excursions to former battlefields. The first reunion at Ball's Bluff took place in June of 1886 when veterans from the 15th Massachusetts visited the battlefield and cemetery to memorialize and remember their dead colleagues. Veterans from the 15th Massachusetts again visited the Ball's Bluff cemetery in September of 1900. Upon finding the cemetery in a decrepit nature, they petitioned the Army to secure its improvement.²¹⁹ The U.S. Government ultimately gained title to the property in 1904 and three years later a contractor was hired to construct an access road to the cemetery.²²⁰

In the early decades of the twentieth century, the first monuments surrounding the Ball's Bluff National Cemetery were erected. The Hatcher monument, a granite marker to Clinton Hatcher, 8th Virginia Infantry, is located west of the current cemetery and was most likely commissioned by the 15th Massachusetts after their 1900 reunion. The Baker monument, a marble memorial to Col. Edward D. Baker, 71st Pennsylvania Infantry, purportedly marking the location where he fell, was likely placed at the Ball's Bluff Battlefield after the late 1910s replacing "a bushelful of loose stones hold[ing] up a wretched, worm-eaten fence rail."²²¹

Historic Themes and Contexts**Shaping the Political Landscape: The Union War Effort in 1861 and the Battle of Ball's Bluff: 'A Most Melancholy Disaster'**

In order to understand the significance of the Battle of Ball's Bluff for the Union side, it is necessary to situate the outcome within the larger contexts of Northern wartime expectations and the Union war effort prior to October 1861.

Following the assault upon and surrender of Fort Sumter in April of 1861, Abraham Lincoln ordered the organization of 75,000 volunteer troops to quell the Southern insurrection. The long-term undertaking of Federal military preparations, the desire of Northerners to put down the 'rebellion,' and the public expectation of a relatively short conflict led to the recruitment of tens of thousands of young men to the Union ranks, many of whom had little to no military experience.²²²

Bruce Tap has noted that Union attitudes towards and perception of the impending war in 1861 were based in both fact and naiveté. Federal military leaders, Northern newspapers, and the public in general recognized the several advantages that the Union possessed. In terms of personnel, the North could call upon greater numbers of able bodied young men to serve, by some estimates as many as four times the number as in the South. Technologically the North also possessed more manufactories capable of producing greater quantities of artillery and munitions. What was not fully understood, Tap argues, was that the Northern advantages were offset by the practical tactics of capturing the South. To take and hold strategic resources in enemy territory required a significantly greater number of troops than were needed to defend it. Likewise strong defensive positions required fewer personnel in repelling attacks. Combined with the confidence that their moral position on the causes of the war provided them, elected officials, military leaders and the Northern public at large saw the outcome of the war as preordained.²²³

²¹⁹ James A. Morgan, III, "'No Fitter Resting Place:' The Ball's Bluff National Cemetery," *Blue & Gray Magazine* 19, no. 2 (December 2001): 27–28; Morgan, *Boats*, 236.

²²⁰ Morgan, "No Fitter Resting Place," 26–27; Morgan, *Boats*, 232–235.

²²¹ Morgan, *Boats*, 235–239.

²²² Tap, "Inevitability, Masculinity, and the American Military Tradition," 21–23.

²²³ Bruce Tap, *Over Lincoln's Shoulder*, 14; Tap, "Inevitability, Masculinity, and the American Military Tradition," 22.

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The three important military defeats at Big Bethel, First Manassas, and Wilson's Creek occurred during the course of the summer of 1861, immediately following months of Federal preparation and planning. Although none of the three Federal defeats was significant for its impact on a larger campaign, the cumulative nature of these successive military losses clearly had a negative effect on Northern expectations and perception of the war leading up to the Battle of Ball's Bluff.

The consecutive Federal defeats also began to raise doubt, in some minds, about President Lincoln's ability to guide a successful war that would deliver the swift victory desired. Given the distinct advantages in manpower and technology that they possessed, and the unquestionable bravery of the common soldier on the battlefield, elected officials began to wonder out loud about the qualifications and competence of the North's military leaders. Particularly when popular officers were mortally wounded on the battlefield, such as Gen. Nathaniel Lyon at Wilson's Creek, scapegoats behind the front lines were accused and their actions or inactions publicly vilified.²²⁴

Described as a "most melancholy disaster" by the Joint Committee,²²⁵ the Battle of Ball's Bluff was perceived as a significant loss by the Northern general public, national newspapers, and elected officials in Washington, D.C., because it fit into an all too familiar pattern. Because of poor leadership and strategic mistakes on the battlefield, Federal forces were unable to use their perceived superiority to defeat an outnumbered Confederate foe. The specifics of the defeat at Ball's Bluff: the death of Col. Edward D. Baker, the disgraceful and panicked retreat from the cliffs, the significant loss of Union lives, the significant number of captured prisoners, the fact that bodies of Union dead washed up in the nation's capital for weeks following the battle, and the fact that defeat at Ball's Bluff and First Manassas occurred in the backyard of Washington, D.C., led to a strong and persistent public outcry for accountability.²²⁶ The outcome of the Battle of Ball's Bluff then was symptomatic of the Union war effort in 1861 and is considered to be the catalyst that led Congress to establish the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War.

Shaping the Political Landscape: The Influence of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War

Shortly after the 37th Congress convened in December of 1861, radical members of the Republican party including Senators Zachariah Chandler, Benjamin Wade, James Lane and James Grimes, established the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War. Fed up with the Lincoln administration and Union military leaders, believing that the public outcry over the Ball's Bluff disaster had provided them with a mandate, and believing that they could positively influence the outcome of an underwhelming initial war effort, the Joint Committee endowed itself with the power of subpoena and authorized itself to examine and investigate recent military losses and to delve more broadly into military affairs.²²⁷

Although established as a wing of the Republican Party before the Civil War, Radical Republicans were quite influential in Congress during the war and ultimately assumed power after the 1866 elections. Led by Senators Zachariah Chandler from Michigan and Benjamin F. Wade from Ohio, the Radical Republicans were a loose organization of antislavery proponents whose primary goal was to suppress the rebellion and restore the Union. Radical Republicans held an uncompromising abolitionist ideology that drove their political and military agenda during the conflict. Wishing to directly influence the scope and direction of the war, Radical Republicans used the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War as an effective bully pulpit and a means to

²²⁴ Tap, *Over Lincoln's Shoulder*, 14-16. Simon Cameron, Lincoln's Secretary of War, likely was a political appointee. Cameron, a former presidential candidate in 1860, ultimately withdrew and supported Lincoln. The appointment of Cameron to Secretary of War therefore may have been the result of an election campaign agreement.

²²⁵ JCCW, part 2, 17.

²²⁶ Tap, *Over Lincoln's Shoulder*, 56; 'Military Matters – The Drowned,' *National Republican* (Washington, D.C.), November 4, 1861.

²²⁷ Tap, "Inevitability, Masculinity, and the American Military Tradition," 20.

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push their political agenda. Following the war, Radical Republicans initiated and directed the Federal policy of Reconstruction, and pushed for civil rights for newly emancipated Freedmen.

The goal of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War was purposefully broad: to “inquire into the conduct of the present war . . . [and to] have power to send for persons and papers.”²²⁸ The investigations were composed of hundreds of secret hearings held over the course of the Civil War during the 37th and 38th Congresses. The Joint Committee called predominantly military but also citizen witnesses to testify on subjects.²²⁹ The Joint Committee’s first series of hearings targeted the Army of the Potomac as well as the military losses at First Manassas, Wilson’s Creek, and Ball’s Bluff. Subjects covered in subsequent hearings included Confederate mistreatment of U.S. Colored troops and Union war prisoners, the disaster of Mine Crater at Petersburg, the Fort Pillow massacre, the siege of Fort Fisher, the Red River campaign, as well as other more mundane issues such as fraud in military contracts.

Underlying and directing the investigative strategy of the Joint Committee, Bruce Tap has identified several important beliefs held by most of the members. These core values were threefold: 1) that the Union’s superior troop numbers would yield a quick and relatively painless victory; 2) that professionally-trained officers and West Point graduates in particular did not make the best soldiers and were directly responsible for recent military defeats; and 3) that many Union military leaders lacked the initiative and courage to take the battle aggressively to the South.

First and foremost many of the members of the Joint Committee believed that a Union victory was inevitable, and expected that the Confederate rebellion would be suppressed quickly and without significant losses. The superior numbers of Union fighting men, combined with the North’s disproportionate advantage in materials and resources, led the members and much of the general public to believe in a swift and decisive end to the war. Even after a string of consecutive defeats by the end of 1861, and as the war carried on into a second and third year, belief in an inevitable victory prevailed.²³⁰ Perception of a quick victory was also reinforced by the moral position of fighting for the abolition of slavery and a restoration of the Union.

In the decades leading up to the Civil War, the notion of a standing army of professional soldiers as un-Republican was a common perception. For years, predominantly volunteer armies had saved the country during the Revolutionary War and later the Battle of New Orleans, circa 1814–1815. A professional army with regular officers was perceived by members to be un-democratic and, if perpetuated, could potentially lead to a hierarchical elite caste. This was seen as a threat to the American republic. Members of the Joint Committee also politicized their critique of the professional soldier. Because many Confederate officers were West Point graduates as well as members of the Democratic Party, Northern military officers with West Point credentials were frequently questioned about their loyalty. Republican civic values then, and in particular the belief in a virtuous citizen-soldier and a volunteer army, were positive attributes to the Union war effort in the minds of the members. Citizen soldiers were seen as saviors of the country.²³¹

The U.S. Military Academy at West Point in particular came under withering criticism from the Joint Committee. In addition to the fact that West Pointers were professionally trained officers and that many West Point officers were fighting for the Confederate cause, several Union officers with West Point credentials were blamed for recent military defeats. Brig. Gen. Charles P. Stone, among other Union officers, was attacked for his perceived incompetence and the decisions made on the battlefield at Ball’s Bluff. Joint Committee members

²²⁸ U.S. Congress, *The Congressional Globe*, 28–32, 40.

²²⁹ Tap, *Over Lincoln’s Shoulder*, 35.

²³⁰ Tap, “Inevitability, Masculinity, and the American Military Tradition,” 21–22.

²³¹ Tap, “Amateurs at War,” 5–6; Tap, “Inevitability, Masculinity, and the American Military Tradition,” 33–35.

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also questioned his loyalty to the Union cause, accusing him of communicating with the enemy. His arrest and six-month imprisonment in early 1862, as well as the assassination of his character by the Joint Committee, essentially destroyed his military career. Although he was reassigned in the Union army in 1863 Stone ultimately resigned in late 1864. Likewise Gen. George McClellan and the Army of the Potomac were also singled out for criticism. Impatient members were critical of McClellan's cautious approach to the war, complaining that he accomplished nothing, as they advocated for more aggressive action.²³²

Lastly, Tap has noted that in their critique of overall Union military strategy, members possessed a naïve view of modern warfare and the overall importance of tactics and strategy in an age where more effective killing technologies were being deployed. In particular rifled muskets and more lethal artillery were being used in the Civil War by both sides, making aggressive frontal attacks on a well-defended position more deadly. As a result, well-fortified defensive positions were more difficult to dislodge and provided invaders with a more difficult task. Successful military leaders on both sides then were required to plan an effective strategy that took into account complex scenarios beyond a full frontal assault. However Joint Committee members routinely criticized the cautious approach to warfare undertaken by the Union military leaders, claiming that warfare required brave and courageous aggressive techniques that took the battle to the enemy quickly and with overwhelming force until they were subdued. The perceived inactivity of the Union army and the delaying and postponing of an urgent military offensive was perceived by members as cowardly and playing into the strategy of the enemy.²³³

The power and influence of the Joint Committee and its members were not misunderstood by the U.S. military. The anti-Democratic and anti-West Point motives of the members, the secret hearings and aggressive questioning of witnesses, and the adversarial relationship with the Lincoln administration and individual officers clearly placed the Joint Committee in a position of power. No wartime military strategy or battlefield decision was above scrutiny. In the case of Brig. Gen. Charles P. Stone, the repeated interrogations, and the subsequent arrest and destruction of his military career clearly demonstrated the far-reaching and nearly unlimited clout of the Joint Committee.

Tap has also concluded that the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War had a profound impact on the Union war effort, although he concedes that the nature of this impact was indeed mixed.

Some of its investigations did marked harm. In particular, committee members, largely ignorant of military science, attempted constantly to direct and influence military decisions. The result of their interference spawned distrust and jealousies among the top Union military commanders, helped undermine bipartisan support for the war, increased popular misconceptions about the nature of warfare, and contributed to the politicization of military appointments.

Conversely, some of the committee's activities contributed positively to the war effort. Certain investigations uncovered financial mismanagement among military contractors; others may have reinvigorated northern morale at important junctions during the war. The examinations of the Fort Pillow massacre and the treatment of northern prisoners by Confederates exemplify committee activities that aided the Union cause.²³⁴

The establishment of the Joint Committee was not without precedent. As Tap has noted, although the Constitution did not specifically provide Congress with the power to form committees of investigation, this

²³² Tap, "Amateurs at War," 6–8; Tap, "Inevitability, Masculinity, and the American Military Tradition," 23–24, 33.

²³³ Tap, "Amateurs at War," 9–11; Tap, "Inevitability, Masculinity, and the American Military Tradition," 27–30.

²³⁴ Tap, *Over Lincoln's Shoulder*, 8.

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power was derived by Congress from the precedent of Parliamentary Investigations. In addition, specific Congressional investigations in 1792 and 1818 laid the precedent for the 1861 Joint Committee investigations.²³⁵ The important distinction between these earlier investigations and the Joint Committee investigations, however, was one of scope and influence.

The consequences of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War have continued to echo through the decades. When a similar investigative committee was proposed during World War I, President Woodrow Wilson, recalling the Joint Committee's "ominous precedent," emphatically opposed it. He remarked that the Joint Committee had been "the cause of constant and distressing harassment and rendered Mr. Lincoln's task all but impossible." That a president with knowledge of historical precedent would have qualms about a similar committee is understandable.²³⁶

The House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), established by the House of Representatives as a temporary committee in 1938 and a standing committee in 1944, had similar goals and objectives, and a similar outcome as the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War. The HUAC had the power of subpoena and organized broad-ranging investigations into alleged communist activity in America and government institutions during the Cold War. The HUAC attacked President Roosevelt prior to America's involvement in World War II. Likewise individuals who appeared before the committee were subjected to harsh questioning and interrogation, and faced the wrath of the committee if they did not comply. Towards the end of the HUAC, their activities and methods were broadly characterized as a witch hunt.

It may be more significant that in 1941, when Senator Harry S. Truman launched his Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program, he "studied the Civil War Committee's record and determined to avoid the same error." Truman was acutely aware of the damage a runaway investigation could do to a nation's war effort. He read, for example, that Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee had remarked that the Joint Committee was worth two divisions to him. Truman took special pains to ensure that his committee avoided scapegoating and treated witnesses with courtesy. He also gave witnesses every opportunity to present evidence on their behalf. As a World War I veteran and a reserve army colonel, he was determined to base any findings on facts, not political considerations. Truman reacted angrily when a fellow senator, in the course of asking a question, made a casual suggestion that the committee was on a fishing expedition. "This committee does not go on fishing expeditions," Truman replied tartly. When the senator remarked that Truman seemed to resent his question, Truman snapped, "I do not like it. I resent it. We are not on a fishing expedition." Truman won high praise for his service as committee chairman, the committee's reports were considered fair and reasonable, and Truman's conduct enhanced his national reputation.²³⁷

The Truman Committee, however, has perhaps been the exception to the rule. Between 1861 and the present day, several Congressional investigative committees have been criticized as existing primarily to harass the Executive Branch or enhance members' reputations by means of fishing expeditions, witch hunts, or other politically motivated reasons. Other examples of Congressional investigative committees include the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, especially during Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's chairmanship (1953–1954), the Ervin Committee investigating the break in and burglary at the Watergate Hotel (1973), the Congressional committees investigating the Iran Contra Affair (1987), the U. S. Senate Whitewater Committee (1994), and the House of Representatives Select Committee on Benghazi (2014–2015).

²³⁵ Tap, *Over Lincoln's Shoulder*, 33–34.

²³⁶ Ray S. Baker, *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters*, vol. 7 (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1939), 185–186, 202–203, 251–252.

²³⁷ Harry S. Truman, *Memoirs: Years of Decision*, vol. 1 (New York: Doubleday, 1955), 168; David McCullough, *Truman* (New York, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), 258, 260.

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Conclusion

Fought between October 20 and 24, 1861, the Battle of Ball's Bluff was an engagement that never should have occurred. What began only as a 'slight demonstration' was, through error and miscommunication, transformed into a cascading series of conflicts at both Ball's Bluff and Edwards Ferry, Virginia. After the battle ended, neither side could claim a strategic gain for their effort, and both Confederate and Union forces resumed their former positions across the Potomac River from one another. Although it only lasted five days, the Battle of Ball's Bluff had an important impact on the perception of the Union war effort. The last in a string of military defeats for the Union forces in 1861, the death of Col. Edward D. Baker, a senator and personal friend of President Lincoln, the humiliating retreat over the cliff, the significant loss of life, and the large number of captured Federal troops had a direct and lasting impact on the Northern general public and elected officials alike. Many began to seek explanations as to why events and decisions made on the battlefield unfolded the way they did and perhaps most importantly who would be held responsible for the disaster.

Once they resumed their session in early December of 1861, the first order of business for leading Republican members of the 37th Congress was to establish the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, a committee whose purpose was to investigate recent U.S. military defeats. The Battle of Ball's Bluff was one of three significant military defeats of 1861 initially investigated by the Joint Committee in 1862. Arguably because it was the most recent defeat, and because of the very public arrest and imprisonment of Brig. Gen. Charles P. Stone, Ball's Bluff was the most prominent of the three battles in the eyes of the Joint Committee.

While neither the first nor the only investigative committee appointed by Congress, the broad-based powers possessed by the Joint Committee, combined with the personal and political motivations of its members, made it one of the most powerful and influential investigative committees ever assembled in the United States. The anti-Democratic and anti-West Point values held by Radical Republicans politicized the Joint Committee's investigations. Joint Committee members peddled their influence, promoting a more aggressive tack to the war, meeting with both administration leaders including President Lincoln as well as with U.S. military officers. The results of the Joint Committee's investigations, and the methods under which they were conducted, have had an impact well beyond the Civil War. President Harry F. Truman, as well as other elected officials and congressionally appointed committees, have used the Joint Committee's investigations as either a model to be emulated or avoided.

Through the course of their detailed and lengthy investigations, the Joint Committee ultimately concluded that flawed military strategy, poor battlefield decisions and the general incompetence of certain officers were primary causes of the early Union defeats. This searing critique of the Union military effort, and by association the Lincoln administration, had a direct influence on the appointment of future military commanders and strategic operations over the course of the Civil War. The events associated with the Battle of Ball's Bluff, and the influence and oversight of the Joint Committee, thus had a lasting influence on military practice.

Because the Federal loss at the Battle of Ball's Bluff was a catalyst for the creation of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, and due to the significance of the Joint Committee and its impact on the Lincoln administration, the conduct of the Union military during the remainder of the Civil War, and the role Congressionally appointed committees played throughout the twentieth-century, the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District is a nationally significant property. The expanded 3,266-acre Battlefield Historic District property incorporates all of the remaining undeveloped core battlefield as defined by the 2009 ABPP restudy,²³⁸

²³⁸ American Battlefield Protection Program, "Ball's Bluff (VA006)." *Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields, Commonwealth of Virginia*, Final Draft (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, July 2009), 52–54.

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as well as much of the ABPP-defined Potential National Register (PotNR) lands in Virginia and the important Chesapeake & Ohio Canal lands between Edwards Ferry and White's Ferry in Maryland. Because the battlefield as a whole retains a high level of integrity to the October 20th–24th, 1861 period, and retains a high degree of integrity of location, feeling, setting and association, the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District is uniquely placed to provide an increased understanding of the importance of the engagement and its military and political impact, as well as provide enhanced interpretive, educational and research value.

Comparison with Other Properties

Four battles that occurred during the early part of the Civil War during spring, summer, and fall 1861, suggested the greater resolve of the Confederate States of America in remaining an independent nation and mobilizing their forces against the Union army. The Confederate success in the Battles of Big Bethel, First Manassas, Wilson's Creek, and Ball's Bluff shocked a complacent North, certain of their superiority and rapid success in defeating the threat to the nation's unity. The Union losses on these battlefields led members of Congress to interfere with the military conduct of the war. In order to intervene in subsequent events, Congress formed the Joint Commission of the Conduct of War, which influenced tactics over the remainder of the Civil War, and established a precedent that was considered by later Congressional bodies as well as presidents of the United States. Of these four battles, Ball's Bluff was the most influential in leading to Congressional action. As such, the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District merits National Historic Landmark designation as the best place to learn about this significant national event.

Considered by many to be the first land-based military engagement of some size in the Civil War, the June 10, 1861, Battle of Big Bethel was significant for the way in which the Confederate army passed this initial major test of the war, successfully repelling the attack of numerically superior Federal forces. The Union loss at Big Bethel served to discourage other land advances on the Virginia Peninsula until the following year. The Big Bethel Battlefield is not currently listed in the National Register of Historic Places or the Virginia Landmarks Register. Large portions of the battlefield have been commercially or residentially developed and a prominent reservoir now occupies the flooded Marsh Creek area, diminishing the integrity of the battlefield. The 2009 ABPP restudy of the nation's Civil War Battlefields concluded that no part of the Big Bethel Battlefield is eligible for National Register listing.²³⁹ To date, only a single archaeological site within the Big Bethel Battlefield containing Civil War era remains and earthworks has been determined potentially eligible for individual National Register listing, however the integrity of this property has not been evaluated fully.²⁴⁰

The July 21, 1861, First Battle of Manassas (also known as First Bull Run) is nationally significant as the first major land battle of the Civil War. Considered in conjunction with their earlier success at Big Bethel, the victory at First Manassas strengthened Confederate resolve and confidence in the South, while suggesting to the Union that the war would be more protracted than first anticipated. First Manassas was administratively listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1966, following passage of the National Historic Preservation Act. The official documentation (1981) was amended in 2006 to include a boundary expansion. The 2006 National Register of Historic Places amendment also expanded the significance of the battlefield to include Criterion D in response to the results of recent research. In addition to containing well-preserved nineteenth-century landscapes, roadways, and diverse buildings, extensive archaeological research incorporating systematic metal detection at Manassas conducted by the University of Maryland and the National Park Service between 1998 and 2000 documented the presence of a Civil War era archaeological record characterized by a high level of

²³⁹ American Battlefield Protection Program, "Big Bethel (VA003)," *Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields, Commonwealth of Virginia*, Final Draft (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, July 2009), 59–60.

²⁴⁰ Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Big Bethel Battlefield (44HT0103), Virginia Cultural Resource Information System, site form generated July 18, 2016.

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integrity. For example, systematic archaeological and metal detection survey of the Matthews Hill area of the First Manassas Battlefield recovered patterned deposits of dropped and fired small arms munitions that allowed for the reconstruction of regimental positions and movements during First Manassas.²⁴¹ Much of the 6,469.54-acre property is protected as part of Manassas National Battlefield Park. The nomination for the First Battle of Manassas Battlefield, however, does not discuss the influence of the outcome of the battle on the formation of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War.

Wilson's Creek Battlefield is significant as the site of the first major battle west of the Mississippi River on August 10, 1861. Wilson's Creek is also the site of the death of Nathaniel Lyon, the first Union General killed in the Civil War. Lyon's death focused national attention on the potential loss of Missouri to the Confederacy. Wilson's Creek Battlefield was also administratively listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1966. A National Register nomination was prepared in 1976 that formally documented a 1,749.91-acre property consistent with the Wilson's Creek National Battlefield unit of the National Park System. Wilson's Creek retains unusually high integrity relative to other Civil War battlefields. However while Wilson's Creek Battlefield is nationally significant for its critical role within the larger strategic context of the Western Theater during the early part of the war, the influence of the Union loss on the establishment of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of War is not considered in detail in the battlefield nomination. Since federal acquisition of land at Wilson's Creek began in the mid-1960s, the battlefield has been the focus of extensive archaeological study. Archaeological research at Wilson's Creek has included excavation, systematic metal detection, and geophysical survey. As of 2008, a total of 50 archaeological sites had been identified within the battlefield. While roughly half of all known sites date to the prehistoric period and consist predominantly of lithic scatters, approximately one-third of identified sites within the battlefield reflect historic occupations, most present at the time of the battle, and include rural residences, farmstead complexes, mills, dams, and cemeteries. The recovery through archaeological methods of physical remains of the Battle of Wilson's Creek has been sufficient to demonstrate that the battlefield record, as well as several burial locations, possess good integrity. Despite significant looting of the battlefield beginning in 1862 and lasting through the mid-twentieth century, as well as the presence of dense vegetation in many areas, archaeological investigations have verified and reinterpreted the location of troop positions, battle lines, and movements, as well as identified the type of arms and munitions used, and precisely located historic farmsteads and individual structures significant in the battlefield landscape.²⁴²

Due to the unique temporal relationship between the October of 1861 Battle of Ball's Bluff and the December of 1861 decision by Congress to make formal inquiries into the "conduct of the present war," as well as the extended examination of the leaders and decisions and actions of this engagement of relatively minor strategic importance, and the integrity and preservation of large and important portions of the battlefield, the Ball's Bluff Battlefield is considered to be the most directly tied to this context and the most appropriate place to tell this story. As such it merits designation as a National Historic Landmark.

²⁴¹ Matthew B. Reeves, *Dropped and Fired: Archeological Patterns of Militaria From Two Civil War Battles, Manassas National Battlefield Park, Manassas, Virginia*, Occasional Report 15, Regional Archeology Program, National Capital Region (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2001), 1–112; Matthew B. Reeves, "Civil War Battlefield Archaeology: Examining and Interpreting the Debris of Battle," in Clarence B. Geier et al. (eds), *Historical Archaeology of Military Sites: Method and Topic* (College Station, Texas: Texas A & M University Press, 2011), 87–98.

²⁴² John Milner Associates, Inc., *Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, Republic, Missouri. Cultural Landscape Report, Part 1*, 3-101–3-123. Prepared for National Park Service, Midwest Regional Office, Omaha, Nebraska. (Charlottesville, Virginia: John Milner Associates, Inc., 2004); Douglas D. Scott, Harold Roeker and Carl G. Carlson-Drexler, *'The Fire Upon Us Was Terrific: Battlefield Archeology of Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, Missouri*, 89-93. Midwest Archeological Center, Technical Report No. 109. (Lincoln, Nebraska: Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, 2008).

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- ☒ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- ☒ Previously Listed in the National Register. NR#84003880; Listed April 27, 1984
- ☒ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
- ☒ Designated a National Historic Landmark. NR#84003880; Designated April 27, 1984
- ☐ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #
- ☐ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

- ☒ State Historic Preservation Office
- ☐ Other State Agency
- ☒ Federal Agency
- ☐ Local Government
- ☐ University
- ☐ Other (Specify Repository):

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10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA**Acreage of Property:** 3,266 total acres

Parcel 1 - Core Battlefield Tract: 3,256 acres

Parcel 2 - Fort Evans Tract: 10 acres

Latitude/Longitude References:

Datum = NAD83

Core battlefield tract

ID	Latitude	Longitude
A	39.147607	-77.547502
B	39.145742	-77.530438
C	39.157226	-77.526213
D	39.159781	-77.52198
E	39.160225	-77.514877
F	39.124471	-77.51161
G	39.120289	-77.491002
H	39.117069	-77.483357
I	39.107939	-77.470658
J	39.105831	-77.468553
K	39.097173	-77.466477
L	39.095624	-77.468764
M	39.095574	-77.474283
N	39.100886	-77.477909
O	39.098188	-77.497159
P	39.099294	-77.498255
Q	39.101075	-77.492548
R	39.102606	-77.48225
S	39.110583	-77.4906
T	39.114536	-77.504499
U	39.111046	-77.506065
V	39.113364	-77.51383
W	39.109849	-77.515383
X	39.11211	-77.530272
Y	39.113825	-77.529959
Z	39.119209	-77.524403
AA	39.130627	-77.536809
BB	39.130282	-77.543115
CC	39.134028	-77.543659
DD	39.139347	-77.54162
EE	39.14284	-77.550056

Fort Evans tract (center point)

ID	Latitude	Longitude
FF	39.110442	-77.531437

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Verbal Boundary Description

The Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District encompasses 3,266 acres and is comprised of two discontinuous parcels. The following boundary descriptions are illustrated further on the series of accompanying maps.

Parcel 1, measuring 3,256 acres, spans the Potomac River in eastern Loudoun County, Virginia and western Montgomery County, Maryland. Commencing in Loudoun County, Virginia at Point A, the northwestern-most corner of Loudoun County Tax Parcel (LCTP) 185-27-3670-000 containing the North Spring Behavioral Hospital Complex, the boundary of Parcel 1 runs in an easterly direction along the northern boundary of said LCTP 185-27-3670-000 for a distance of 870 feet to the northeastern corner of the parcel and the limits of the Route 15 (James Monroe Highway) right-of-way (**Inset Map 1**). The boundary then continues in an easterly direction across the Route 15 right-of-way and passing through LCTPs 185-28-8093-000, 185-29-5569-000, 185-19-8698-000, 185-20-4323-000, 144-25-5001-000, 185-20-8271-000, and 144-16-3781-000 for a distance of 4,100 feet to Point B located approximately 510 feet west of the main residence within LCTP 144-26-0999-000. From Point B, the boundary runs northeast 2,000 feet, passing through LCTP 144-46-7113-000 to Whites Ferry Road (Route 655). The boundary crosses Whites Ferry Road and continues north through LCTP 143-17-1618-000 and northeast through LCTP 143-36-5724-000 for a total distance of 3,800 feet to Point D located on the west bank of the Potomac River 1,570 feet north of the terminus of Whites Ferry Road (**Inset Map 2**). From Point D, the boundary extends east 2,013 feet across the Potomac River and into Montgomery County, Maryland to Point E located where the eastern boundary of the C & O Canal National Historical Park crosses Whites Ferry Road. From Point E, the boundary of Parcel 1 runs south-southeast following the eastern boundary of the C & O Canal National Historical Park for approximately 22,080 feet (4.18 miles) to Point H where the Park boundary crosses Broad Run (**Inset Map 3, 4, 5, 6**). At Broad Run, the Parcel 1 boundary leaves the Park boundary and turns southward down the east bank of the stream for a distance of approximately 225 feet to the berm (east) side of the C & O Canal. The Parcel 1 boundary then continues along the berm side of the canal towards the east-southeast for 3,675 feet where it turns eastward, crossing outside of the C & O Canal National Historical Park at Point I located 1,000 feet north of Edwards Ferry Road (**Inset Map 7**). From Point I, the Parcel 1 boundary runs south-southeast 975 feet through Montgomery County Tax Parcel (MCTP) P015 to Point J on the south side of Edwards Ferry Road. At Point J, the Parcel 1 boundary runs west along the south side of the road for 325 feet to the eastern boundary of the C & O Canal National Historical Park, and then continues south-southeast following the Park's eastern boundary 3,225 feet to Point K. From Point K, the Parcel 1 boundary runs west-southwest 1,130 feet crossing the Park to the north bank of the Potomac River, and then continues west across the river another 1,237 feet to Point M on the river's south (Virginia) bank 2,000 feet downstream of the mouth of Goose Creek (**Inset Map 8**). The Parcel 1 boundary follows the bank of the Potomac River north to the mouth of Goose Creek, and then turns west and continues for 1.13 mile following the south bank of Goose Creek to Point O located approximately 350 feet east of the confluence of Cattail Branch with Goose Creek. At Point O, the Parcel 1 boundary turns north, crossing Goose Creek and continuing for a total distance of 520 feet to Point P located 300 feet southwest of the primary residence in LCTP 111-29-2721-000 near the eastern margin of the private extension of Riverlook Court. From Point P, the boundary runs east 1,750 feet along the top of the steep northern side of Goose Creek taking in portions of LCTPs 111-29-2721-000, 111-29-3851-000, 111-29-4960-000, and 111-20-2744-000 to Point Q located along the boundary of LCTP 111-20-6025-000 owned by the Landsdowne on the Potomac Home Owners Association. From Point Q, the boundary continues east along the northern limits of LCTP 111-20-6025-000 to the southwestern corner of LCTP 079-15-6879-000, the River Creek Country Club golf course tract. The Parcel 1 boundary continues east 725 feet, crossing the golf course, to the meet the northern boundary of LCTP 079-15-6879-000, which it follows eastward for another 875 feet before turning northeast and running 320 feet to Point R located at the base of the wooded river bluffs on the western margin of the golf course parcel LCTP 079-15-6879-000. From

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Point R, the Parcel 1 boundary runs north-northwest along the base of the wooded bluff and the western margin of the golf course parcel LCTP 079-15-6879-000 for a distance of 7,180 feet taking in the eighth, ninth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth holes of the course and then continuing the westerly line of the golf course parcel boundary another 1,160 feet through the Edwards Ferry Road Substation property to Point T located 280 feet south of the Potomac River along the eastern margin of Red Rock Wilderness Overlook Park (LCTP 110-36-4280-000) (**Inset Map 9**). The Parcel 1 boundary continues south 1,355 feet along the eastern boundary of the Park and crosses Edwards Ferry Road to Point U. At Point U, the boundary of Parcel 1 turns west and follows the south side of the road's right-of-way 2,375 feet to Point V located at the northeastern corner of LCTP 147-20-4696-000. The Parcel 1 boundary follows the property line 1,355 feet south to Point W located along the eastern margin of LCTP 147-19-1857-000 (**Inset Map 10**). At Point W, the boundary turns westward and runs 4,425 feet through a series of privately owned properties, crossing Battlefield Parkway to the southeastern corner of LCTP 147-27-1333-000. The boundary turns north, following the property line 400 feet to Point Y at Edwards Ferry Road, and then runs east along the south side of the road for 285 feet. Here, the Parcel 1 boundary turns north, crosses Edwards Ferry Road and follows along the eastern margin of the developed land on Battery, Tecumseh, and Artillery Terraces. At the south side of Artillery Terrace, the boundary turns northeastward, crossing Battlefield Parkway and following along the eastern developed margin on the Edwards Landing subdivision. At 1,275 feet northwest of Battlefield Parkway, the boundary turns northwestward and continues along the eastern margin of the Edwards Landing and Potomac Crossing subdivisions for approximately 1 mile to Balls Bluff Road (**Inset Map 11**). Parcel 1 turns west at Balls Bluff Road, following the road for 2,600 feet to Point BB (**Inset Map 12**). Here, the boundary turns north and runs 2,815 feet along the boundary of the ABPP core battlefield boundary to the southeastern corner of LCTP 186-48-1030-000. The boundary follows the property line north and then west for 810 feet to Point DD. From Point DD, the boundary of Parcel 1 of the battlefield historic district turns northwestward and continues for 2,780 feet across LCTP 186-48-4176-000 and 185-17-9119-000, crossing Route 15 (James Monroe Highway, and paralleling the south side of Tutt Lane at a distance of 150 feet through LCTP 228-17-9141-000 to Point EE (**Inset Map 1**). From Point EE, the boundary of battlefield Parcel 1 runs northeast, crossing Tutt Lane and continuing along the western boundary of LCTP 185-27-3670-000 containing North Spring Behavioral Health Complex to the beginning at Point A.

Parcel 2, containing the Fort Evans earthwork, measures 10 acres and corresponds to Loudoun County Tax Map Parcel 49-16A (parcel ID 147257832) (**Inset Map 10**).

Boundary Justification

The Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District increases the acreage of the existing National Historic Landmark from an approximately 76-acre parcel encompassing the National Cemetery and core area of fighting that took place on October 21, 1861, and west of Ball's Bluff as well as the adjacent, narrow Potomac River floodplain, to a total of 3,266 acres²⁴³ in Loudoun County, Virginia, and Montgomery County, Maryland, including Harrison's Island and encompassing the events that transpired between the night of October 20 and the early morning hours of October 24, 1861.

The 3,266-acre Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District is composed of two discontinuous parcels: Parcel 1 is the core 3,256-acre Battlefield tract spanning Virginia and Maryland and including the Potomac River and Harrison's Island; and Parcel 2, which is a discontinuous 10-acre tract encompassing the entirety of the Confederate earthwork known as Fort Evans (44LD0870, VDHR #253-5138) in Leesburg, Virginia. The boundaries of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District reflect the inclusion of nationally significant cultural

²⁴³ Included in this figure are approximately 786 acres comprised by the waters of the Potomac River. Ten of the total 3,266 acres make up the Fort Evans discontinuous parcel.

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resources and landscape elements containing a high degree of historic integrity to the October 20-24, 1861, military engagement at Ball's Bluff.

Parcel 1 - Core Battlefield Tract*Eastern Boundary*

The 3,256-acre Core Battlefield Tract is an irregularly-shaped polygon that incorporates land in Loudoun County, Virginia, and Montgomery County, Maryland, including Harrison's Island and the Potomac River. East of the Potomac River, the eastern boundary of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District incorporates an approximately 6.5-mile long segment of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park (MHT #M: 12-46) located between Edwards Ferry on the south and White's Ferry on the north.

The eastern boundary of the Core Battlefield Tract begins at Edwards Ferry, Maryland, and follows the eastern boundary of this Federally owned land northward to White's Ferry, Maryland. In the late afternoon of October 20, 1861, following orders from General Stone and under the cover of artillery firing from the bluffs above, Brig. Gen. Willis Gorman crossed a small infantry force from Edwards Ferry, Maryland, to Virginia as part of a feint towards Leesburg and to assess the time required for a river crossing, anticipating Capt. Chase Philbrick's crossing at Harrison's Island later in the evening. The Maryland side of Edwards Ferry was also the launching point to Virginia for subsequent Union crossings on October 21 and 22 as well as the site of the eventual return of Union forces in the pre-dawn hours of October 24.²⁴⁴

In addition to the ferry landing area, the Core Battlefield Tract also includes adjacent high ground to the east overlooking Edwards Ferry and outside of the Chesapeake & Ohio National Historical Park. The bluffs directly above Edwards Ferry, Maryland provided an observation point with an unequalled view to Virginia. This was also the location, during the Battle of Ball's Bluff, of the 1st U. S. artillery whose rifled cannons bombarded Confederate positions at Fort Evans, along the Leesburg Turnpike, and at Edwards Ferry, Virginia on October 20, 1861, in addition to supporting and covering subsequent Union river crossings and forward positions in Virginia throughout the term of the five-day engagement. Lastly, the bluffs above Edwards Ferry, Maryland served as a location where thousands of Federal troops gathered and bivouacked in advance of crossing the Potomac on October 20 and 21, 1861, and a point to which they returned after retreating back to Maryland late on October 23 and early on October 24, 1861.²⁴⁵ On the bluffs north of Edwards Ferry Road in Maryland, the Core Battlefield Field tract follows the boundary of the Ball's Bluff core battlefield as defined by the 2009 ABPP restudy,²⁴⁶ taking in a portion of privately owned Montgomery County Tax Parcel P015 at 15400 Edwards Ferry Road. South of Edwards Ferry Road however, in response to an objection to inclusion by a private property owner, the boundary of the Core Battlefield Tract diverges from that of the ABPP-defined core battlefield, following instead the eastern boundary of the C & O Canal National Historical Park. Although initially recommended for inclusion in the expanded Ball's Bluff Battlefield NHL and approved by the National Historic Landmarks Committee at their October 19, 2016 meeting, portions of two privately owned parcels (P613 and P573) at 15215 Edwards Ferry Road contained within the ABPP-defined core battlefield area and comprising approximately 30 acres subsequently were removed from the expanded NHL in accordance with the recommendation of the National Park System Advisory Board made at the Board's November 19, 2016 meeting. This exclusion of these 30 acres from the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District National Historic Landmark however does not alter the historical significance of this terrain to the battle.

²⁴⁴ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 293–294, 330–334.

²⁴⁵ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 568; Testimony of Capt. John H. Richardson, 7th Michigan, January 18, 1862, *JCCW*, part 1, 339.

²⁴⁶ American Battlefield Protection Program, "Ball's Bluff (VA006)," *Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields, Commonwealth of Virginia*, Final Draft (Washington, DC: National Park Service, July 2009), 54.

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Although part of the C & O Canal between Edwards Ferry and Whites Ferry were excluded from the ABPP-defined core battlefield, the entire 6.5-mile linear segment of canal property was included in the Core Battlefield Tract because of the integral role played by the canal and towpath as a mobility corridor that functioned as an avenue of approach and withdrawal through which Union troops, artillery, and couriers moved throughout the battle, carrying supplies, battlefield information, and orders. The canal corridor was also the point of access to Harrison's Island from which the initial Federal incursion into Virginia was launched. The canal also supplied numerous boats, via the Goose Creek River Lock, which aided the Federal crossing and re-crossing of several thousand troops over the course of more than four days.

Although no major crossings of the Potomac River relevant to the Battle of Ball's Bluff occurred at White's Ferry (MHT #M: 16-6), this historic and important ferry crossing was a location through which Federal troops arrived from Poolesville, Maryland, and also a temporary encampment where Col. Baker's California regiment bivouacked before crossing to Harrison's Island at a point further south. White's Ferry was also the location of Capt. Thomas Bunting's New York battery and Capt. Thomas Vaughn's Rhode Island battery each of which participated in the Battle of Ball's Bluff.²⁴⁷

Lands within the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park corridor immediately north of White's Ferry and south of Edwards Ferry have also been included within the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District due to their role in facilitating the arrival of Federal troops and supplies in support of the Battle of Ball's Bluff in addition to the fact that they follow the ABPP-defined core area in these locations. The Goose Creek River Lock, approximately 0.25 miles south of Edwards Ferry, is included for its role in facilitating the removal of boats from the canal to the Potomac River in support of Union troop crossings.

Northern Boundary

The Core Battlefield Tract's northern boundary crosses the Potomac River approximately 1,850 feet north of White's Ferry, Maryland (MHT #M: 16-6), landing in Virginia and continues south-southwest to incorporate the Virginia side (VDHR #053-0104) of the same ferry crossing as well as a 2,500-foot section of historic White's Ferry Road, Virginia (Route 655). South of White's Ferry, Virginia, the northern boundary cuts across several large parcels ranging in size from 35 – 50 acres (LCTPs 143-17-1618-000, 144-46-7113-000, and 144-26-0999-000), and maintains an approximately 500–600-foot-wide strip west of the Potomac River as it follows the ABPP-defined core battlefield boundary until reaching the historic location of Smart's Mill (VDHR #053-0420) at the intersection of Big Spring Branch and the Potomac River. Near Smart's Mill, pickets belonging to the 17th Mississippi first observed the Union crossing from Harrison's Island into Virginia on the morning of October 21, 1861. Some Federal troops escaping from the ensuing battle also managed to make their way to Smart's Mill on the evening of October 21 to search for boats to re-cross the Potomac River to Harrison's Island.²⁴⁸

In the area of Big Spring Branch, the Battlefield Historic District boundary diverges from the ABPP-defined core battlefield boundary, extending westward along the stream to take in the area of Big Spring (VDHR #053-0255) and its associated drainages, the Big Spring–Smart's Mill Road trace, and crossing Route 15 to incorporate the historic Springwood Mansion (VDHR #053-0298), home of George W. Ball during the Civil War. Encamped in the vicinity of Big Spring, a portion of the 17th Mississippi commanded by Capt. William L. Duff responded to his pickets' notification of the Federal crossing at Harrison's Island, proceeding along the Big Spring–Smart's Mill Road in an eastward direction towards the Potomac River. After reconnecting with his pickets, Duff marched his small contingent "up a steep hollow" toward the Jackson House, possibly the dry

²⁴⁷ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 293–295, 302.

²⁴⁸ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 363; Morgan, *Boats*, 160.

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intermittent southern fork of Big Spring Branch.²⁴⁹ As Duff's movements from his Big Spring encampment were in direct response to the presence of the enemy, the location and the route traveled is included within the battlefield core area.²⁵⁰ At Big Spring proper, the northern boundary takes in the historic Springwood estate currently housing the North Spring Behavioral Hospital, and follows its existing parcel boundaries (Loudoun County Parcel 185-27-3670-000) to its southern boundary on Tutt Lane.

Western Boundary

The western boundary of the Core Battlefield Tract crosses Route 15 at its intersection with Tutt Lane proceeding in a southeast direction until connecting with the ABPP-defined core battlefield boundary at the southwestern corner of LCTP 186-49-1720-000. From this point, the western boundary of the Core Battlefield Tract turns south and follows the ABPP-defined core area boundary until it meets Ball's Bluff Road and the northern edge of the Potomac Crossing residential development. The western boundary then continues east along Ball's Bluff Road to encounter Veteran's Park at Ball's Bluff. The boundary then turns south, following property lines between the public park land and the heavily developed Potomac Crossing and Edwards Landing subdivisions to the west. In doing so, the Core Battlefield Tract boundary follows that of the APBB-defined Potential National Register (PotNR) land southward, in the process incorporating the historic Jackson House (VDHR #053-0012-0004) and the fields to the west where Col. Devens's 15th Massachusetts and Capt. Duff's 17th Mississippi first skirmished on the morning of October 21, 1861, and where supporting Confederate troops attacked Union forces before forcing a Federal retreat to Ball's Bluff.²⁵¹ The Jackson House was a prominent battlefield defining feature in this first prolonged engagement of the Battle of Ball's Bluff. The public park lands preserve the integrity of the wooded, dissected bluffs and escarpments that were obstacles to the movement of Union forces and assisted the concealed advancement of Confederate forces throughout the afternoon and evening of October 21, 1861.

At the southernmost boundary of Edwards Landing Park, the Core Battlefield Tract's western boundary extends southwestward to cross Battlefield Parkway and historic Edwards Ferry Road (VDHR #053-6078) extending to the Rehau, Inc. office entrance drive and then proceeding east again, re-crossing Battlefield Parkway and dividing several large, undeveloped parcels (Loudoun County Parcels 147-37-7210-000, 147-28-8093-000, and 147-19-1857-000) until reaching the western border of the Northlake residential subdivision and returning to the south side of Edwards Ferry Road across from the Murray Hill property. In this area, the Core Battlefield Tract incorporates significant rural acreage north and south of the Edwards Ferry Road corridor, including a 0.7-mile-long section of Edwards Ferry Road that retains a high degree of integrity, [REDACTED] and the wooded slopes east of Fort Evans used as a concealment and staging area for Confederate forces during the battle. Edwards Ferry Road was traveled repeatedly by both Union and Confederate forces during the Battle of Ball's Bluff, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] was an important battlefield defining feature commonly cited as a deterrent to any Federal force advancing from Edwards Ferry, Virginia, in support of the besieged troops at Ball's Bluff.²⁵²

Southern Boundary

From the northwestern corner of the Northlake subdivision, the Core Battlefield Tract's southern boundary continues eastward along the south side of Edwards Ferry Road paralleling the southern boundary of Red Rock Wilderness Overlook Park. At the western boundary of the Edwards Ferry Road Substation, the boundary proceeds north to connect with the floodplain of the Potomac River, at this point a narrow band only 200 feet

²⁴⁹ O.R. ser. 1, vol. 5, 359, 363–365.

²⁵⁰ Andrus, *Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating and Registering America's Historic Battlefields*, 13.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 309.

²⁵² Ibid., 294.

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wide. Proceeding south, and following the boundary between the intensely developed high ground to the west and the open floodplain to the east, the Core Battlefield Tract boundary parallels the Potomac River downstream to its intersection with Goose Creek at Edwards Ferry, Virginia (44LD0008, VDHR #053-0613). At Edwards Ferry, the boundary turns westward and follows the northern high ground overlooking Goose Creek to the historic site of Kephart's Bridge (44LD0628) just upstream of Kephart's Mill (44LD0295, VDHR #053-5058), which was located on the south bank of the stream. The site of Kephart's Bridge, which is marked by extant stone abutments, was not included within the ABPP-defined core battlefield area, but is included in the Landmark boundary as it marked the southwestern limits of the military engagement of October 20–24, 1861. From the southern bridge abutment, the boundary returns to the Potomac River along the southern margin of Goose Creek. Here, the boundary excludes an ABPP-defined core battlefield area south of Goose Creek as this area was excluded from fighting and the creek itself formed a natural boundary to the engagement. At the Potomac River, the Core Battlefield Tract boundary turns south along the river's western edge for approximately 2,000 feet, where it then crosses the Potomac and returns to Maryland.

The Potomac River and Goose Creek floodplain at Edwards Ferry, Virginia (44LD0008, VDHR #053-5058), incorporates a portion of the River Creek Country Club's golf course, the location of an important pre-war commercial site that included a warehouse for the transshipment of grain and flour and other bulk goods. The Potomac River and Goose Creek floodplain was also the site of Confederate pickets who were scattered by the Federal bombardment and landing on October 20, as well as the landing site and temporary encampment for Brig. Gen. Gorman's Federal troops between October 20 and 23, 1861. On October 21 and again on October 22, Confederate forces engaged the Union troops entrenched on the bluffs and high ground west of Edwards Ferry, Virginia, terrain now heavily developed by River Creek and surrounding subdivisions. The Federal forces made their final withdrawal from Edwards Ferry, Virginia, on the night of October 23–24 1861. Kephart's bridge was the site of Federal pickets on October 22–23, 1861.²⁵³

Potomac River and Harrison's Island

Contained within the core battlefield tract, and dividing it on a northwest to southeast axis, is the Potomac River. An important navigation corridor, this natural boundary served as a significant obstacle to both Federal and Confederate forces limiting crossing opportunities, and at least until early 1862 was a significant boundary between northern and southern troops. At Ball's Bluff, the Potomac River provided several logistical problems to Federal forces wishing to cross via boat and most importantly became a significant choke point during the retreat of Federal forces from Virginia. Due to its width and dangerous current at Ball's Bluff, the presence of the Potomac River directly resulted in the surrender, death via enemy fire, and drowning of significant numbers of Federal troops attempting to flee Confederate pursuit on the night of October 21, 1861.

Contained within the core battlefield tract in the northern portion of the Potomac River is Harrison's Island, a 400-acre elongated slip of land that played an important role during the Battle of Ball's Bluff. Harrison's Island was the location of pickets from the 15th and 20th Massachusetts before the Battle of Ball's Bluff, and was the primary crossing point for Capt. Philbrick's ill-fated reconnaissance on the evening of October 20, 1861, as well as subsequent Federal support forces under the command of Col. Charles Devens and Col. William Lee, and Col. Edward Baker. During the Federal retreat from Virginia on the evening of October 21, 1861, those troops who made it back to Harrison's Island had a greater chance of survival. One of the Harrison's Island structures, most likely the residential house, also served as a hospital for wounded Federal troops. Primary sources document that wounded Federal troops were initially buried somewhere on this island.²⁵⁴ Developed as productive agricultural land since the early 1800s, extant structures present during the 1861 battle include the brick plantation house as well as the ruins of two agricultural buildings (MHT #M: 16-32).

²⁵³ Ibid., 337; Morgan, *Boats*, 188–193.

²⁵⁴ Hamilton, "Ball's Bluff," 15–16.

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Parcel 2 - Fort Evans Tract

The 10-acre discontinuous Fort Evans tract is located approximately 1.75 miles east of the intersection of King and Market Streets in Leesburg, Virginia, and approximately 950 feet (0.18 miles) south of Edwards Ferry Road. The Fort Evans tract was drawn to follow the boundaries of Loudoun County tax parcel 147257832, which contains the four-sided Confederate earthwork in addition to a mid-twentieth-century residential complex adjacent to the fort's southern embankment. Fort Evans is an integral component of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield. However, due to significant commercial and residential development along the south side of Edwards Ferry Road and the west side of Battlefield Parkway a localized loss of integrity has developed that effectively separates the well-preserved earthwork from the remainder of the battlefield.

Fort Evans is significant because it served as the headquarters for Col. Nathan G. Evans, the commander who was responsible for the defense of Leesburg, Virginia, and who directed the Confederate forces during the Battle of Ball's Bluff. With its strategic and panoptic views, Evans was able to observe Federal troop movements and crossings of the Potomac from the earthwork.²⁵⁵ Fort Evans also received bombardment from the Federal high ground positions at Edwards Ferry, Maryland, before and during the Battle of Ball's Bluff.²⁵⁶ In addition, significant numbers of Confederate infantry and cavalry were stationed temporarily on the wooded slopes below earthwork to the east. These troops played a vital role in supporting Confederate forces engaged at Ball's Bluff and Edwards Ferry, Virginia. Although separated from the core battlefield tract by areas of diminished integrity, the Fort Evans earthwork retains sufficient integrity to be included as a discontinuous parcel.

²⁵⁵ *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 349.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 348.

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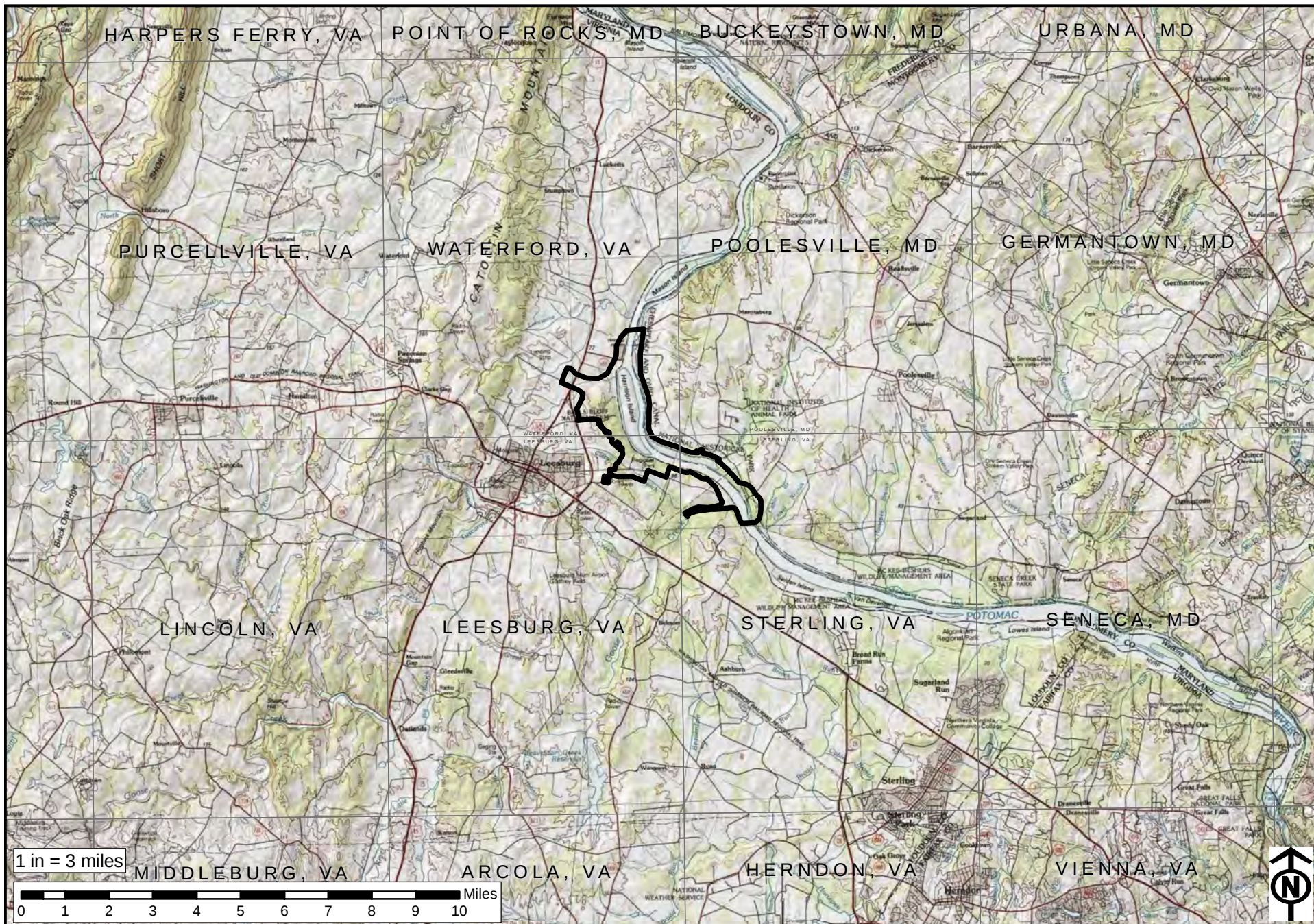
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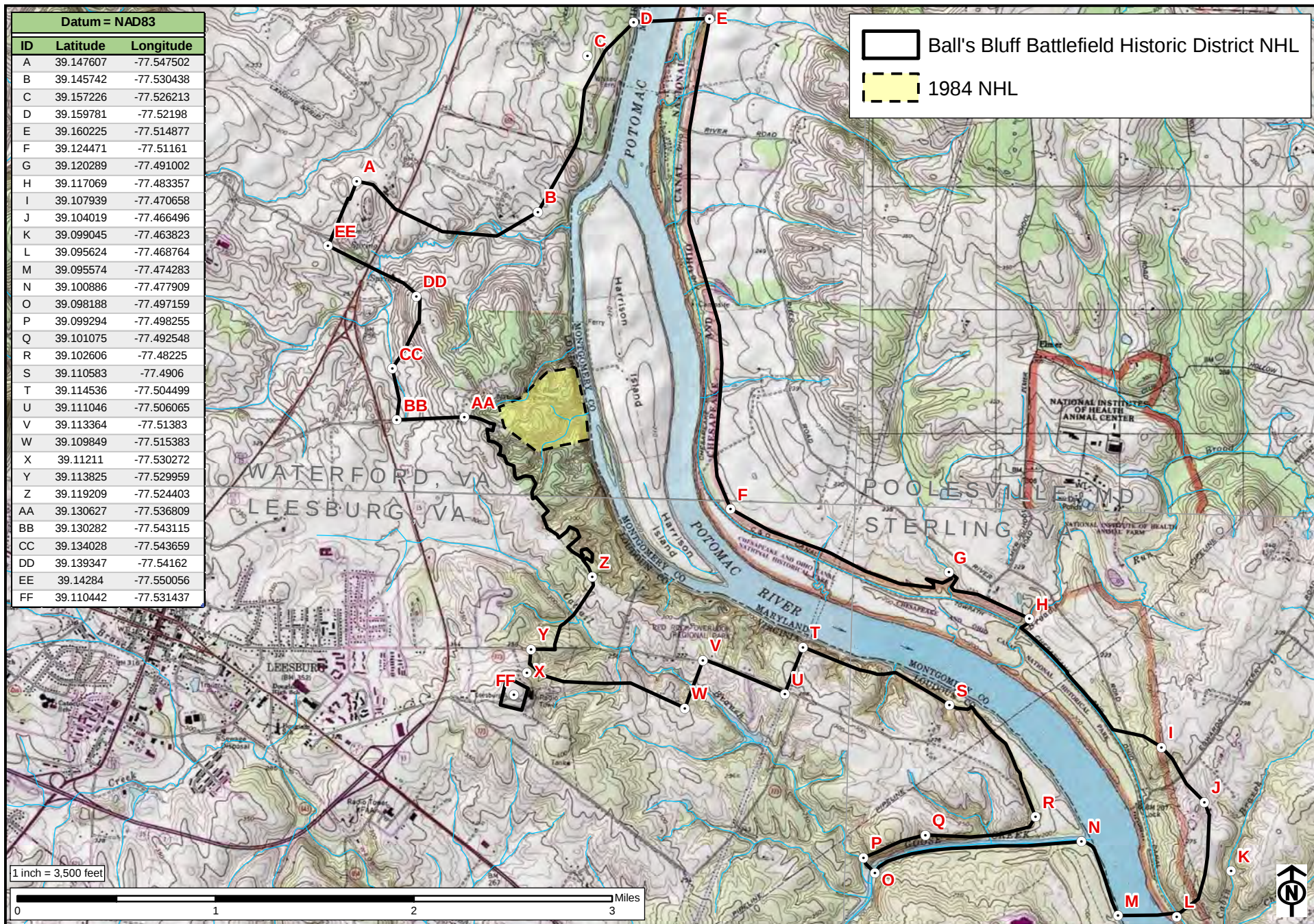
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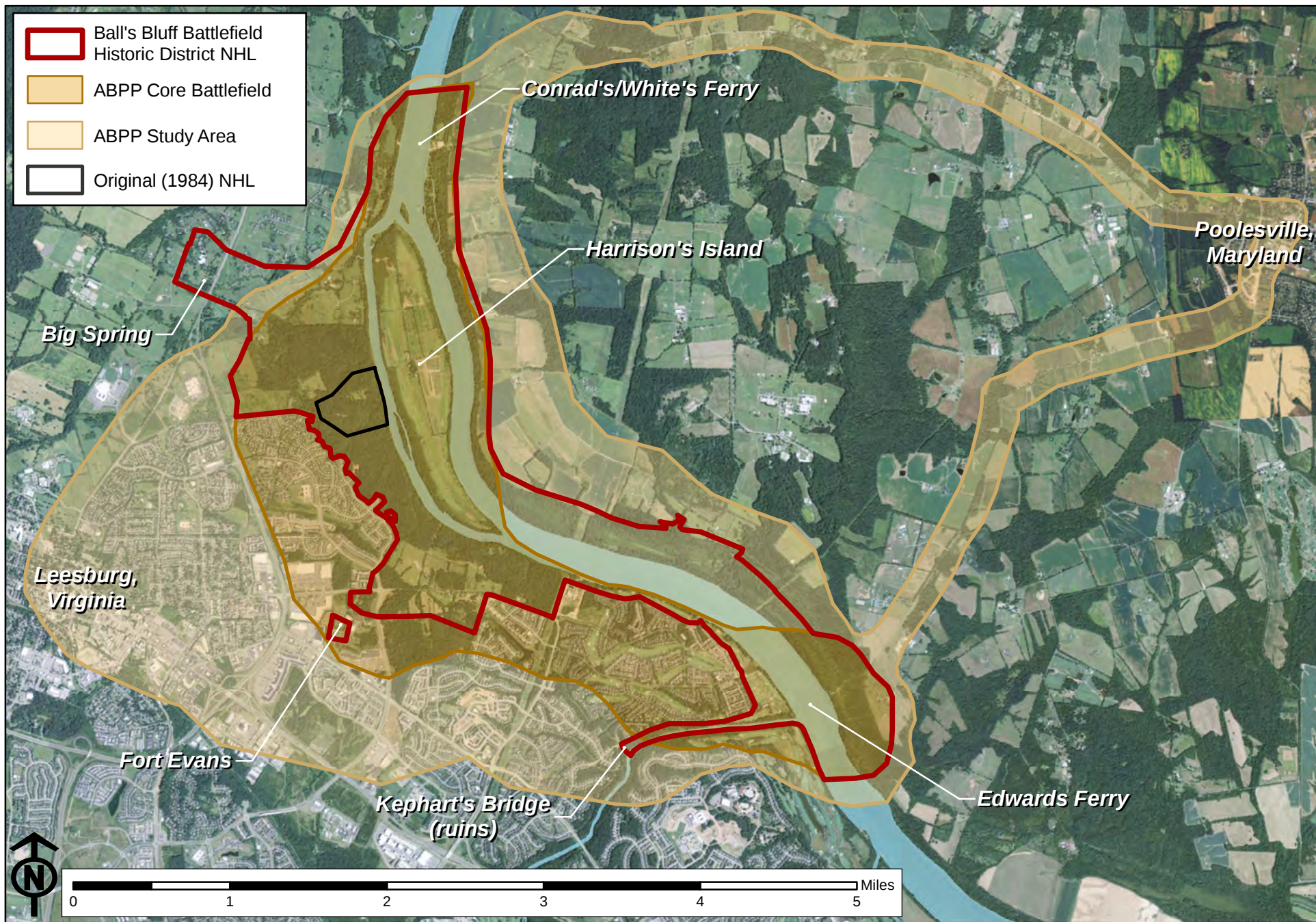
NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM
April 29, 2024



Location of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District National Historic Landmark
(USGS 1:100,000 scale Frederick, Maryland and Washington, D.C West quadrangles, with labeled 7.5-minute series quadrangles outined).



Location of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District National Historic Landmark (USGS 7.5-minute series Waterford, Leesburg, Sterling, Virginia; and Poolesville, Maryland quadrangles).



Map showing the relationship between the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Historic District National Historic Landmark, the original 1984 NHL, and the battlefield Core and Study Areas as defined by the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) 2009 Restudy