

THE CIVIL WAR BATTLE AT MONROE'S CROSSROADS

Fort Bragg, North Carolina

A Historical Archeological Perspective

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Crossroads

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Foreword

This report on archeological work at the Civil War Battle at Monroe's Crossroads was produced as part of the Southeast Archeological Center's interagency assistance program, established in 1975 to better meet the U.S. Secretary of the Interior's increased responsibilities, delegated to the National Park Service, to assist other federal agencies in historical preservation and archeological protection. The work was funded by the U.S. Army, Fort Bragg, in fulfillment of its Archeological and Historical Preservation Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-291) compliance responsibilities.

The authors of this report are at the leading edge of the newly emerging subfield of "battlefield archeology." Many of the same investigation techniques used to unravel the mysteries of the **Battle of the Little Bighorn** have been adapted and applied at the Monroe's Crossroads Civil War site. Archeology provides many of the missing or unknown details of the battle; indeed, archeology provides an opportunity to blend documentary research with the scientific method and therefore to infuse a more objective perspective to historical interpretations.

As pointed out in the Introduction, this report is an assessment and review of the historical record supplemented by significant archeological inventory and excavations. As a contribution to history, our objective has been to build a more comprehensive understanding of the events and movements of Confederate and Union forces. From these studies has emerged a new and more complete account of the battle enhanced by heretofore unknown details as revealed through historical archeology.

Through the years following the battle, the local citizens and property owners have realized the significance of preserving the battlefield. Since 1917, the U.S. Army at Fort Bragg has protected the battlefield. In recent years, the staff at Fort Bragg, in particular Bill Kern of the Environmental Projects Office, has worked tirelessly to promote the educational and training values of the Monroe's Crossroads site. They deserve the heartfelt thanks of everyone who values the historical significance of these unique and irreplaceable historical resources.

John H. Jameson, Jr.
Southeast Archeological Center



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Acknowledgements

The Monroe's Crossroads battlefield investigations were undertaken under the auspices of the Technical Assistance and Partnerships Section of the Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service (NPS). William H. Kern of Fort Bragg's Directorate of Public Works and Environment recognized the potential of the Monroe's Crossroads site for development of a staff ride, which would provide information to military personnel on the battlefield for gaining insight into tactics. The Department of Defense Legacy Resource Management Program provided the opportunity for historical and archeological investigations. The NPS Technical Assistance and Partnerships Section implemented the project. John Jameson was kind enough to think of Midwest Archeological Center to conduct the field investigations.

The project was successful only because of the support and encouragement provided by Bill Kern, John Jameson, and the many helpful people at Fort Bragg. The Directorate of Plans and Training's Range Control staff did everything in their power to assist the fieldwork.

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Stanley Dahl, who has studied the site for many years, was most generous in sharing his knowledge of the site. Stan also allowed us to borrow his collections for documentation, providing a baseline set of data on artifact types to be found on the field. James Legg, who has also researched the site for many years, provided some much needed insight and valuable information.

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The project could not have been completed without the help of the Midwest Archeological Center staff. Denny Danielson, Scott Stadler, and Stacy Stupka-Burda worked diligently in the field and in the lab to bring the project to a successful conclusion. Carol Moxham's skills in illustration, mapping, and figure layout materially assisted our endeavor. Irwin and Riva Lee, once again, volunteered their time and assistance to the NPS. They ably coordinated and directed the metal detecting volunteers.

It is, however, to the many volunteers, including Irwin and Riva, who worked in the heat and humidity, swinging their detectors and digging up each find, that we owe a true debt of gratitude. To Roy Beaver, Carolyn Bernaski, Larry Dunnagan, Martin Douglas, Joe Henderson, Dan Joyce, Mike Kloberdanz, Waverly McLeod, Sr., Waverly McLeod, Jr., Bruce Mayer, and Ken Robinson, thanks for a job well done.

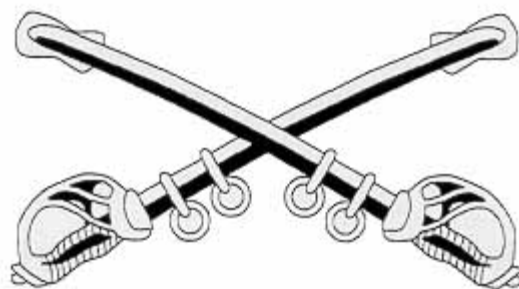




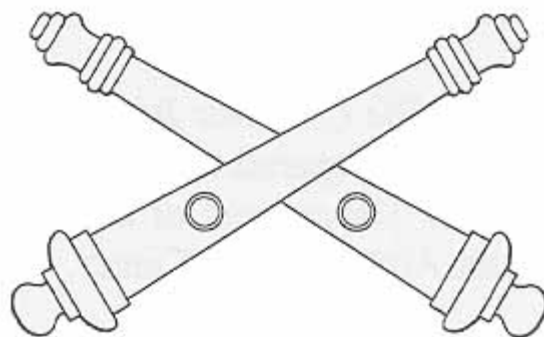
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Dedication



Dedicated to the American Soldier



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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Throughout history incidents occurred that have gone unnoticed or received only the most cursory mention in the documentary sources. Often these unheralded incidents are now of interest to researchers attempting to refine our understanding of the significance of historical events. This is the case with the March 10, 1865, Battle of Monroe's Crossroads.

The Civil War, as an epic event, looms large in the history of America, and a large body of myth has grown around historical truth. With the current popularity of the Civil War, the wide range of print and visual media are being generated on the subject often glosses over details of events. To many, the specific event is of interest for a variety of reasons. Yet, too often the details of a small battle, like Monroe's Crossroads, are obscure in the historical documents because the confrontation was not a significant battle or turning point of the war. No researcher interviewed veterans when the battle was still fresh in their memories, nor have masses of archival data survived, again because the battle was not considered significant.

The battle at Monroe's Crossroads ([Figure 1](#)), fought on March 10, 1865, interests historians because of the role it played in the march through the Carolinas by General William T. Sherman, U.S.A. (USMA 1840), Commanding, Army of the West. (Names of Confederate combatants and units are italicized in this report). It was a minor battle and a near Federal disaster, but in the taking of Fayetteville and the overall campaign it has become only a footnote to the events played out at Appomattox Courthouse in early April.



The battle is of interest in history because it was a cavalry clash between two flamboyant and highly regarded cavalry officers, *Lieutenant General Wade Hampton, C.S.A.* (SC College 1836), Commanding, Cavalry, *Army of Tennessee* (Figure 2 at left); and Brevet Major General Hugh J. (Judson) Kilpatrick, U.S.A. (USMA 1861), Commanding, 3rd Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the West (Figure 3 at right).



Kilpatrick was totally surprised, almost captured, and nearly lost his command. *Hampton* executed a daring dawn cavalry charge, overran the Federal camp, but failed to capture his objective.

Today the battle site and its history have a renewed value and a new meaning to the XVIII Airborne Corps and 82nd Airborne Division soldiers who use Fort Bragg as a training ground for modern warfare. The historic battle site provides an opportunity for training small unit leaders.

A STAFF RIDE

The Monroe's Crossroads site, in the midst of active training areas of Fort Bragg, North

Carolina, provides an outstanding opportunity for development of a small unit situational leadership staff ride.

The staff ride concept was pioneered at the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas in the 1890s. By 1906 the first staff ride had taken place at the Chattanooga battlefield, Tennessee. The concept continues to evolve today.

The staff ride concept is meant to expand and supplement FM 100-5, *Operations* (June 1993), by placing personnel, well grounded in the theory of battle, on actual battle sites to study and critique the tactics and strategy of that engagement. The staff ride concept is one that takes the study of war and warfare from the theoretical to the practical by using historical examples set on the actual terrain where the battle occurred. A staff ride, then, is a systematic study of a selected campaign, an extensive visit to the actual campaign sites, and an opportunity to integrate the lessons derived from each experience ([Robertson 1987: 5](#)).

The staff ride is designed to expose students to the dynamics of battle. It provides case studies in the application of the principles of war, the relationship between technology and doctrine, unit cohesion, and the effects of terrain on operations. The staff ride also provides case studies in leadership at any level desired ([Robertson 1987:5-6](#)). The Battle of Monroe's Crossroads offers many lessons in tactics and doctrine for today's small unit leaders, non-commissioned officers, and junior officers.

The recorded history of the Monroe's Crossroads battle is good but not exhaustive. The official records provide basic sources on the course of the battle.

These are supplemented by several eyewitness and participant recollections and the analyses of the accounts and official records by several historians. The site location is well known and retains integrity because it has not been subject to development or extensive modification. The site is reasonably well protected as part of the Fort Bragg military reservation and is readily accessible for on-site visits and field exercises that are not intrusive.

While many details of the battle were known before this study, the precise locations of most of the battle's constituent cultural features (e.g., the Monroe farmhouse and outbuilding), as well as locations of the various elements of the Federal camp (e.g., siting of the fieldgun battery), were unknown. These elements need to be determined and understood to develop an effective staff ride. Over the years, relic collecting and metal detecting have revealed tantalizing clues about the battle with the discovery of bullets, belt buckles, equipment, and cannon projectiles. Bill Kern, recognizing the value of the physical evidence, proposed an archeological inventory and study of the site to gather both interpretive information and data that would assist in the development of a staff ride plan.

With Department of Defense Legacy Resource Management Program monies, the study was implemented through the Technical Assistance and Partnerships Section of the Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service. The project goals were to assess the historical record, conduct an archeological inventory, and undertake limited block excavations. The objective was to reassess all data sources to build a comprehensive understanding of the battle's events and movements.

A NEW KIND OF STORY

This product of that effort is a new kind of story about the battle at Monroe's Crossroads. It is about history, but it is not a history. The focus is the battle, but the tool of study is historical archeology, a unique science that shares a common goal with history - understanding the past.

If history turns pages, then archeology turns the ground. Historical archeology, as the name implies, does both. Records and documents are essential ingredients in historical archeology but no more so than the knowledge gleaned from artifacts left behind by participants in the event. Thus, historical archeologists weave the strands of history with clues painstakingly sifted from the earth to form a fabric unlike that attainable through history or archeology alone.

The premise is that the modern study of a battlefield requires a combination of historical sources and archeological data. How is this achieved? An analogy may suffice as the answer. In solving a crime, police rely upon two very different types of evidence. Detectives interview witnesses, while other investigators gather fingerprints, blood samples, and other physical evidence. These investigators address different types of evidence using unique methods. Evaluated together, the results of their partnership enhance the likelihood of solving the crime.

The records and documents that historical archeologists use, especially firsthand accounts of historical events, are tantamount to eyewitness testimony. They provide the material for generating hypotheses that can be tested in the archeological record. They also furnish the basis upon which patterns observed archeologically can be assigned historically meaningful identities. The archeological record contains historical clues in the form of physical and their contextual relationships. These relationships, including distributions and spatial associations of various types of artifacts, can reveal a great deal about the activities carried out at a site.

The historical archeologist continually compares both sets of data as work progresses in order eventually to explain better the events under scrutiny. Historical archeology provides important checks and balances between two data sets and allows more complete approaches to the understanding of historical events and the cultural milieu within which they transpired.

A Pattern of Behavior

The basic tenet upon which anthropology and archeology rest is straightforward. Human behavior is patterned. The residue of that behavior should also be patterned and reflect, in varying degrees, details of that behavior. Battlefields represent the most violent expressions of human behavior. The premise is that physical signs of violent behavioral patterns are likely to be evident (Fox and Scott 1991).

Warfare is conducted according to special rules. Within the Euro-American culture, this is evidenced in the preparation and training given members of the military. This training is given, and this was true in 1865, to insure that those engaged in battle will perform their duties and respond to orders without dwelling on the consequences (Dyer 1985). That is patterned behavior.

The American Civil War pitted two armies from the same culture and essentially trained for combat in the same manner. For all practical purposes, the same doctrine and tactics were used by both the Union and Confederate forces. From a cultural perspective, this is a classic definition of civil war - a single people fighting one another with the opposing forces utilizing similar combat techniques.

Beyond its ability to provide additional details about historical events, historical archeology can "identify specific relationships between certain kinds of behavior under the stress of war and the characteristic material by-products of that behavior in their final [archaeological] context of discard" (Gould 1983:134). The means to understanding behavioral relationships in the archeological record is pattern analysis.

Artifacts and Patterns

This archeological tenet argues that artifacts, the leavings of behavioral acts, will occur in patterns that are recognizable and interpretable.

Battlefields provide a unique opportunity to study the material by-products of human conflict. Gould (1983:105-107) argues that artifacts are signatures of particular kinds of behavior and that behavior can be identified if the relationships between the signatures are studied. Gould (1983:105) makes a significant point that artifacts or physical evidence should be viewed as another form of documentation. Just as the written word or oral testimony can be assessed and analyzed, the meaning of artifacts and their context can be understood and interpreted.

A Deductive Theory

Pattern analysis is as old as professional archeology. Patterns are the way in which artifacts are found in the ground and the relationship an artifact or a group of artifacts has with other items - context and provenience. South (1978) and Lewis (1984) were among the first historical archeologists to develop a clear deductive theoretical perspective based on pattern analysis.

By way of example: A group of square cut nails recovered in association with a structural foundation can provide the archeologist and historic architect with an idea of what kind of structure once stood on the site. Certain sizes of nails were used by carpenters to erect framing, others for siding, lathing, and finish work. The spatial distribution or clustering of the nails is one element of the pattern.

Another element is the groups of different nails present. That carpenters were trained to use certain nail sizes for specific construction sequences is an example of culturally induced behavior. Analysis of the patterns reveals where the structure was placed, how it was built, and suggests what it may have looked like.

In addition, other artifacts provide clues to the location of doors and windows and even to what type of doors and windows were used. Even more important are the artifacts of daily life. Food refuse, food service, lighting, clothing, and personal items all reveal something of the personal habits of those who inhabited the structure, the structure's function, the social and economic status of the inhabitants, and how they viewed their own roles and importance within their society.

The analysis of the artifacts recovered in an archeological investigation can take many forms. The analysis may be simple inductive reasoning or it can be hypothetical and deductive. The process followed here is the deductive approach based on the development of research questions that guide the recovery of information and the analysis of the data.

STUDY OF MILITARY SITES

There is a plethora of scientific reports detailing the results of investigations at American military sites. These investigations have often been conducted as ancillary studies to the preservation, restoration, reconstruction, or interpretation of some military-related site.

For many years, the study of military patterns has tended to focus on the excavation of the structural evidence of forts (Scott 1989; Carlson 1979; Smith 1972). Some investigators have dealt with artifact patterns and their relationship to site function and past lifeways (Lewis 1980). Recent investigations have focused attention on the definition of patterns. Lees et al. (1983) and Lewis (1984) using South's (1978) frontier pattern have identified a military site pattern that has a regimented and uniform construction layout. Architectural artifacts dominate the assemblage, with personal artifacts being predominantly male and military oriented.

This pattern is demonstrable in the archaeological record, but it focuses on the more stable or permanent military site types. Clearly the military pattern is more complex than this.

The Union and Confederate armies of the Civil War mirror the rest of the society which they represented. The material culture of the armies is that of its society with a few specialized tools that demarcate it from the rest of that society. An army, in effect, becomes a subcultural unit, even more recognizable than most ethnic units. The military, because of its material culture, is an archeologically recognizable unit.

The military is a rigidly structured and stratified sub-cultural unit by its very nature. The military's job is war or war-prevention, and this job requires a rigidly stratified structure to carry out its goals (Dyer 1985). The officers assume the higher authority and status, in effect becoming the various levels of staff and line managers. The enlisted personnel, because they bear the brunt of waiting for or participating in combat, are lower on the class scale. They are easily equated to working class in the greater society.

This very real and necessary dichotomy provides an excellent point for study. The trappings of the military uniform - from buttons to rank insignia - are indicative of class stratification on all levels of the military. This status differentiation essentially mirrors the whole of Victorian society in a slightly exaggerated form.

The study of military sites, because of the military's structured and ranked nature, provides a well-defined view of the broader Victorian-American society, a way to examine that society's behavioral patterns and cultural expressions of economic and social status. Military sites are easily defined archeologically and are usually relatively compact social, cultural, and physical units, which makes them ideal study sites.

Military sites also have unique aspects related to their function - the prevention or

making of war. In that regard, the military site offers a unique perspective on the behavioral aspects of a culture or cultures in conflict.

A battlefield may appear to be a simple type of archeological site. Like any other level of archaeological endeavor, the site is always more complex below the surface. [Noel Hume \(1968\)](#) once considered battlefield sites to be poor places for archeological investigations. He considered them good places to find cannon positions and good places to find war relics for museum displays, but not sites worthy of serious archaeological investigation.

Recent battlefield archaeology at Saratoga ([Snow 1981](#)) and at Little Big Horn Battlefield ([Scott and Connor 1986](#); [Scott and Fox 1987](#); [Scott et al. 1989](#)) has shed an entirely different light on the subject. A battlefield might be expected to be the least likely place to find archeologically definable behavioral patterns. However, those who engage in combat fight in established manners. They fight in the patterns in which they have been trained ([Dyer 1985](#)). It is precisely this training in proper battlefield behavior that results in the deposition of artifacts, which can be recovered by archaeological means and interpreted in an anthropological perspective.

Clearly battlefield studies can yield information on combatant positions during the course of the battle. They can also provide details about dress, equipage, and in some cases individual movements.

Archeological investigations can retrieve information on troop deployment, firing positions, fields of fire, and weapon types. Studies of artifact patterning can also reveal unit or individual movement during the battle, weapon trajectory, and range of firing by determining forces of impact. Battlefields viewed in an anthropological context should be seen as the physical and violent expression of a culture or cultures in conflict.

A RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

Concern with behavioral dynamics is not new in historical archeology, although battlefield archeology is a relatively new area of study ([Fox and Scott 1991](#)). The battlefield model states that individual and unit movements can be reconstructed using pattern recognition techniques. The model also predicts certain types of behavior will be present depending on the culture, training, and organization of the combatant groups.

The ability to translate artifact patterning into behavioral dynamics, particularly through the use of modern firearms identification procedures, constitutes an important contribution in this regard. Accordingly, research into the Monroe Crossroads battle provides, in addition to new data bearing on the fight, a framework within which the behavioral aspects of many other battles can be studied.

History and Historical Archaeology

The accumulation of historical literature pertaining to the Battle of Monroe's Crossroads is not large. To many, the battle is just a footnote in a larger campaign that helped to end America's bloodiest conflict.

Most of the uncertainties in perspectives about the fight stem from limitations in the primary historical record. This primary record consists mostly of eyewitness accounts. There is, unfortunately, a real dearth of testimony available regarding events during the

battle. Nevertheless, regardless of the number of accounts, they must be critically examined, and historians have long recognized this.

The Union and Confederate accounts are fairly consistent. However, there are contradictions and ambiguities in the different participant accounts. The major contribution to ambiguity in the testimony seems to lie in the nature of warfare. Whatever their training or cultural affiliations, individuals rarely witness more than a few incidents in a fight. It is thus difficult to piece together various individual testimonies to form a coherent and complete account of the fight's process.

Inconsistencies among accounts are examples of confusion in the historical record. Contributing to this is the tendency, in some instances, for testimonies to change over time as memories dimmed.

Some accounts were not written down until 40 or more years after the fight. Finally, eyewitnesses, who could not have anticipated the future, generally failed to comment on or were less than specific about details that are of interest today.

Contradictions punctuating the historical record cannot be resolved through studies of the historical record alone. The physical evidence and spatial patterning in the archeological record should help to resolve some of these issues.

It is equally recognized that historical archeology does not represent the "last word" in the study of the battle. On the contrary, the work is complementary to history and is a vehicle by which new data can be brought to bear on historical problems. The archeological record is only a new set of data contributing to the study of the battle.



Chapter 2 - Archeological Project Methods

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Chapter 2

ARCHEOLOGICAL PROJECT METHODS

In archeology it is not enough to know where artifacts were found, but also where artifacts were not found. A primary research goal of the Monroe's Crossroads Battlefield Archeological Project was to define the limits of the battlefield. The first requirement, then, was to develop field procedures capable of examining the entire battlefield. Faced with examining a large area, and assuming that most artifacts of war would either be metallic or associated with metal, metal detectors were employed as inventory tools based on the success of the technique at Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument ([Scott and Fox 1987](#); [Scott et al. 1989](#)).

The use of metal detectors operated by knowledgeable people has overwhelmingly proven its value, not only in locating metallic objects, but also nonmetallic remains. Nonmetallic items such as bone and leather were found when metal detectors sensed nearby metal objects. The recovery methods, which meticulously uncovered artifacts with minimal disturbance, were an integral part of the field procedures at the Monroe's Crossroads site.

The metal detector survey and excavations located more than one thousand artifacts, most of which are battle-related. Precise locational control was accomplished through the use of a total station transit and electronic data collector. The instrument was a Lietz SET3C total station transit with a SDR33 data recorder.

Each transit shot was recorded on the data recorder and given a previously established identification code. The specific artifact number was provided by the SDR33 used in auto-generate point mode. At the completion of a given day's work the recorded data was down-loaded onto a laptop computer containing the SOKKIA software program MAP.

The raw file was processed by the computer and a map of that day's finds was then displayed. The MAP files were then transferred to AutoCad, a software package used to refine and complete the basic illustrations created with MAP. The completed series of maps provides a clear picture of the nature of artifact distributions and associations. In turn, this precise locational information allows us to ask how and why these contextual relationships between artifacts came about. The how and why questions represent inquiry into the behavioral aspects of the fight.

The fieldwork was conducted in June 1993 and focused on metal detecting and block excavation. A second field investigation took place in April 1994 and focused on testing Ground Penetrating Radar anomaly locations.

FIELD METHODS

The fieldwork consisted of two phases: (1) the inventory phase and (2) the testing phase. The inventory phase employed electronic metal detectors, visual survey methods, and piece-plot recording techniques. The testing phase consisted of test units excavated at specific locations. Details of each phase are explained below. Procedures generally relevant to all phases follow.

Inventory Phase

The inventory phase included three sequential operations - survey, recovery, and recording. During the survey, artifact finds were located and marked. The recovery crew then carefully uncovered subsurface finds, leaving them in place. The recording team then plotted individual artifact locations, assigned field specimen numbers, and collected the specimens.

Survey

Survey operations were designed primarily to locate subsurface metallic items with the use of electronic metal detectors. Visual inspection of the surface was carried out concurrently with the metal detector survey. The survey crew consisted of a crew chief, metal-detector operators, and visual inspectors. We maintained a survey continuity by using the same volunteer crew chiefs, Irwin and Riva Lee, for the project's duration.

We used various metal detector brands during the survey, which covered about 5,000 square meters. Volunteer operators furnished their own machines, and this contributed to the variety of equipment. The standardization of machines (i.e., all one brand), though perhaps methodologically desirable, was highly impractical. Like models operate on the same frequency, causing interference at close intervals. We therefore needed to alternate different brands of machines on the line to ensure adequate survey coverage. Metal-detector operators were aligned at approximately 3 to 5 meter intervals. The operators walked transacts oriented to cardinal directions or, upon occasion, followed orientations dictated by topographic features. Orientation and interval spacing were maintained by direction from the crew chief. Because of the rough terrain, deviations in spacing were unavoidable. The daily composition of the detector crew ranged from five to eight operators.

Detector operators proceeded in line, using a sweeping motion to examine the ground. We estimate that each operator covered a sweep of 1.5 to 2 meters depending on individual height and technique. A pin flag was placed at each target located by an operator. As soon as the location was pinned, the operator continued along the transect. In some instances, the location was excavated immediately to provide the operator with a check on machine performance. This was occasionally necessary because of the sophisticated nuances of interpreting machine functions such as depth readings, metallic and object type-differentiation functions, object size interpretation, and pin pointing of subsurface objects. The usual procedure was to mark the location and leave it intact for the recovery crew.

Recovery

The recovery crew excavated artifact locations marked by pin flags and left the artifacts in place for recording. This team consisted of excavators and metal-detector operators. The number of operators and excavators varied from day to day depending on the workload.

Excavation procedure was based on the concept of artifact patterning, a central tenet in the research strategy. Provenience data - the location in space and the position in the

ground of every artifact - were considered of primary importance. Excavation therefore proceeded with great care to expose artifacts without disturbance.

Hand tools, such as spades, trowels, and dental picks, were used to expose subsurface artifacts. Excavators were assisted by metal detector operators to ensure in-place exposure. Detector operators provided pinpointing and depth information to the excavator, thereby allowing a careful and accurate approach to the artifact. In some instances, accidental disturbance of the artifact occurred. Information to that effect was left at the artifact location to alert the recording crew. Artifacts were rarely found at depths exceeding six inches. After exposure, the pin flag was left upright at the location to signal the recording crew.

Recording

The recording crew assigned field-specimen numbers, recorded artifact proveniences, and collected the specimens. Recorders backfilled artifact-location holes upon completion. The crew consisted of an instrument operator, a rod person, and one or two recorders. Artifacts were assigned sequential field-specimen numbers beginning at 1000. Records were coded in the SDR33 data collector (System Data Recorder Model 33), and a hand written field-specimen catalog was also kept as a backup. The locational and catalog information was transferred from the SDR33 to a laptop computer daily.

Each artifact marked by a pin flag was piece-plotted as follows. The instrument was set up at an established datum point. Distance, azimuth, and coordinate point readings for each artifact location were recorded electronically. Distance was read to the nearest millimeter, as well as the north and east coordinate to the nearest second of a degree. The instrument operator transmitted this information to the recorders by portable two-way radio or by unaided voice. Recorders identified the artifact to the instrument operator who entered the appropriate artifact code in the SDR33. The recorders also entered the information in the catalog.

Testing Phase

Approximately 1,806 square meters of Monroe's Crossroads battlefield and the Monroe House site were tested using various methods ([Table 1](#)). Each test area was labeled alphabetically from "A to H." Exploration of every area was undertaken in several ways depending upon the specific nature of the study locale and the information sought in each area. Selection of test areas was based upon the data recovery goals of the project. These goals were to determine the presence or absence of Civil War-era burials and structures extant at the site during the battle. Exploratory methodology was quite varied, the method chosen for implementation depending upon the objectives of the investigation in each test area and the period available for work in that area. Six investigative techniques were implemented. These used various degrees of machine excavation and/or manual excavation and included machine scraping, machine trenching, manual shovel shaving, manual shovel probing, manual test excavation, and small-scale manual block excavation.

Machine Excavation Techniques

Machines offer the archeologist tools which can remove large amounts of fill quickly. Machines are the grossest tools the archeologists can apply to an investigation. Misapplied, they can do considerable irretrievable harm to an archeological resource. Applied correctly, however, machine excavation can allow the archeologist to assess and explore large portions of a site within a very short period and with minimum damage to the site's contents. Crucial factors in its implementation are a relatively short time frame for fieldwork in conjunction with a relatively large area to be investigated.

At Monroe Crossroads, all machine excavation at the site was conducted using a blade and backhoe mounted on a tractor. These tools were used in two ways. The blade was used in Test Area C to scrape quickly the upper 3 to 5 cm of soil from relatively large portions of a cemetery area. The resulting expanses open to view were then examined for soil stains in an attempt to locate Civil War-era grave sites or other cultural features. The backhoe was used to explore quickly a number of large cultural features. These trenches provided the archeologist with a view of the stratigraphy in each location. The stratigraphy provided clues to the origin of each feature. Backhoe trenching was carried out in Test Area H, a relatively large depression identified as a possible Confederate cemetery. The backhoe was also used to dig trenches across large linear depressions interpreted as possible historic traces of Blue's Road and Morganton Road.

Manual Excavation Techniques

- ***Shovel Shaving***

This is a technique where thin horizontal layers of the ground are removed. In effect, the shovel is used to peel back layer after thin layer of soil. Often the area exposed to such treatment is more extensive than a small test or excavation unit, although shovel shaving can be used to remove fill from such units if their size, artifact density, and fill conditions warrant. The technique is implemented for a variety of purposes in archeological investigations. At Monroe's Crossroads battlefield, the method was directed toward exposing, identifying, and delineating soil stains or potential cultural features (in this case, graves) at cemeteries in Test Areas C, D, E, and F. Once these were identified, test excavations were usually implemented to provide more detailed information within a smaller unit of space.

- ***Shovel Probe Testing.***

The exploratory tool of shovel probe testing allows the investigator a "quick and dirty" review of a relatively large area's overall contents. It provides less detail about horizontal distributions than shovel shaving, but much greater information is gleaned with regard to the vertical distributions of a site's artifacts and cultural-temporal components. The method is extremely useful because it can provide a considerable amount of information about site composition with little time and effort.

Data derived through shovel probing can include evidence for artifact concentrations, feature locations, cultural/temporal composition, as well as the horizontal distribution of such elements across the site. This is the most exploratory of the manual investigative methods utilized in that it provides generalized information relating to "where" and "what" rather than specific information of intersite relationships that detailed archeological analyses require.

As such, shovel probing is often the first procedure implemented where the ground

is obscured by vegetation, the area of investigation is relatively large, and where the archeologist desires quickly to narrow the investigation spatially to maximize data retrieval.

As befits the "quick and dirty" appellation, the method of shovel probing is quite simple. The excavator digs a vertical hole which is about the width of a shovel, 30-40 cm diameter. Fill from the hole is either troweled or screened through 1/4-inch hardware cloth to identify and recover any possible artifacts. Changes in fill texture and color and, where possible, the vertical levels of artifact recovery, are noted. The hole is excavated to a culturally sterile level (where no artifacts occur and/or where the fill ceases to be modified through human action). It is then backfilled.

At Monroe's Crossroads, shovel probing was used to explore Test Areas A and G. The general goal in Test Area A was to clarify the distribution of historic artifacts in the vicinity of the Monroe House and, if possible, identify the locations of structures associated with the Monroe House. The purpose of shovel probing in Test Area G was to recover locational information related to a line of sandstone interpreted as a possible structure foundation. In both areas, shovel probing was implemented in a non-random grid pattern.

- ***Test Unit Excavation.***

Test units were excavated by hand in all investigative locations except Test Area G. This method of exploring a site is usually implemented where more detailed information than that afforded by shovel probing is sought but where time, funding, or investigative limitations preclude larger scale investigative methods.

Excavation units are invariably rectangular in horizontal plan and excavated in levels. This allows better horizontal and vertical control of information during the excavation by improving the level of mapping accuracy. It also provides the excavator with a somewhat larger spatial area from which to make inferences about human activity.

At Monroe's Crossroads, test units were generally used where soil stains suggested that a burial feature might exist. An exception was in Test Area A where test units were used as a kind of large-scale shovel test in an attempt to locate structure edges.

Each unit in an investigative area was labeled numerically from one to n. Although test units varied in size, they were invariably rectangular in outline and metric in scale. Excavation of these units used 20 cm levels with all fill from each level screened. The southwest corner of these units served as the mapping reference point (0N-0E). A string datum was established at this location and used as a 0.00 cm vertical reference point or datum. All depths were recorded in centimeters below that datum, e.g., -20 to -40 cm below datum (B.D.).

Features encountered during testing were excavated separately from the surrounding fill wherever possible. Feature outlines were usually rather vague, however, a probable by-product of the sandy quality of the soils which exacerbated leaching of soil stains. Nevertheless, features were largely explored with trowels rather than by shoveling. Each artifact discovery was piece-plotted as it was encountered. That is, the position of each object within the test unit was mapped with regard to its horizontal and vertical distances from the unit's mapping

reference point. In many instances, metal-detecting equipment was used to determine the locations of objects within the test unit prior to their excavation.

- ***Small-scale Block Excavation***

This excavation technique was implemented only in Test Area A. This was the most intensive method utilized at Monroe's Crossroads. Block excavations provide the greatest detail of information with regard to intra-site associations of objects and stratigraphic units created through human cultural behaviors and natural processes. Although methodology can vary considerably depending upon the nature of the site and the investigative aims of the archeologist, it generally follows the methods employed with test unit excavations. The investigation differs only with regard to its larger scale, utilizing a number of contiguous rectangular reference units to explore a site. This greater scale makes it the most labor and time intensive procedure and returns a similarly greater mass of data.

At Monroe's Crossroads, a small-scale block excavation was utilized to explore and examine a mound of bricks believed to be the ruins of one of the Monroe House's hearths. Because the specific location of the house and its orientation were uncertain, the goal was to ascertain the orientation of the hearth. In this portion of North Carolina, houses of the antebellum era often had hearths at opposite ends rather than in the interiors of the structures. Therefore, the orientation of the hearth would identify the orientation and location of one end of the Monroe House.

Excavation proceeded using an arbitrary string datum similar to the method described for measuring depths from the surface. Removal of fill was accomplished largely by trowel due to the large amount of bricks and stone and the desire to leave them in place for mapping purposes.

Analytical Procedures

The methods employed in cleaning and analyzing the artifacts are the standard laboratory procedures of the Midwest Archeological Center. Essentially they consist of dry brushing or washing the accumulated dirt and mud from each artifact and then determining the condition of the artifact to see whether it requires further cleaning or conservation. For analysis and identification purposes, some metallic items required a treatment in dilute glycolic acid to remove oxides that had built up on them during the years they were in the ground. After cleaning, each artifact was placed in a self-sealing, clear plastic bag with its appropriate Field Specimen (FS) number and other relevant information on the bag. The artifacts were then identified, sorted, and analyzed.

The identification, sorting, and analysis consisted of dividing the artifacts into classes of like objects and then subsorting the artifacts into further identifiable discrete types. Sorting and identifying the artifacts were undertaken by personnel experienced with artifacts of this period. They compared the artifacts with type collections and with standard reference materials.

Presently the artifacts and original supporting notes, records, and other documentation are held at the National Park Service's Midwest Archeological Center. Upon completion of the project, the artifacts will be returned to Fort Bragg for collection, display, and for use in further scientific research.

Firearms Identification Procedures

A primary analytical tool of the project is Firearms Identification. The comparative study of ammunition components is known as firearms identification analysis. Firearms, in their discharge, leave behind distinctive metallic fingerprints or signatures on the ammunition components. These signatures, called class characteristics, allow the determination of the type of firearm (i.e., model or brand) in which a given cartridge case or bullet was fired. This then allows determination of the number of different types of guns used in a given situation.

Furthermore, the class characteristics allow the identification of individual weapons by comparing the unique qualities of firearm signatures (individual characteristics). This capability is important because, coupled with the precise artifact locations, identical signatures can be used to identify specific combat areas. This can be done with cartridge cases and bullets even though the actual weapons are not in hand. With this information, patterns of movement can be established and sequences of activity can be more precisely interpreted.

Law enforcement agencies have long used the investigative technique of firearms' identification as an aid in solving crimes. Two methods commonly used by the police include comparisons of bullets and cartridge cases ([Harris 1980](#); [Hatcher, Jury, and Weller 1977](#)) to identify weapon types from which they were fired.

Police are routinely successful in matching bullets and/or cartridge case individual characteristics to the crime weapon simply by demonstrating that the firing pin, extractor marks, or the land and groove marks could have been made only by a certain weapon. In the event that weapons used in a crime are not recovered, police can say with certainty, on the basis of the individual characteristics of recovered bullets and cases, that specific types and numbers of weapons were used.

The comparison microscope is critical to the analysis of ammunition. Simply, the microscope is constructed so that two separate microscope tubes are joined by a bridge with prisms mounted over the tubes. Two separate images are transmitted to the center of the bridge where another set of prisms transmit the images to central eyepieces. The eyepieces are divided so that each image appears on one-half of each eyepiece. Movable stages allow the objects under scrutiny to be manipulated so that they can be directly compared for class and individual characteristics.

All cartridges, cartridge cases, bullets, and other ammunition components were analyzed utilizing these firearms' identification procedures. The specific results of the analyses are discussed in the artifact analysis and interpretation chapters.



Chapter 3 - The Battle and Land Use of Monroe's Crossroads

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Chapter 3

THE BATTLE AND LAND USE OF MONROE'S CROSSROADS

Monroe's Crossroads Battlefield is situated in the Sandhills subprovince of the Atlantic Coastal Plain province ([Loftfield 1979](#)). This environmental context influences the weather patterns and vegetation that exist or have existed at the site. The land form is rolling hills consisting of sandy loam deposits. The sandy soils of the site support longleaf pine and turkey oak with the under story dominated by wiregrass.

The rolling nature of the land form allows a few small rises to appear, but there is no significant relief. The change in elevation on the battlefield is less than 100 feet. There is some outcropping of underlying bedrock, usually appearing as small knolls, on the west edge of the site. Oak has become a dominant tree species in modern times as a result of fire suppression measures. The oak is being eradicated through mechanical and chemical means to restore the setting to the pre-fire suppression era.

Waterways - the creeks - are shallow and not deeply entrenched. Nicholson Creek runs in a north to south direction on the western edge of the site. It is an intermittent creek that played an important role in the battle. The creek bank is currently heavily covered with turkey oaks and shrubs, such as huckleberry and blueberry, and switch cane.

Historically, or at least during the years of the Civil War, the battle site was farmed. The vegetation would have consisted of most of the same species, although their density and distribution would have been radically different due to the agrarian activities.

The earliest, 18th-century, Euro-American settlers were predominately of Scottish heritage and grazed cattle and sheep. They also grew some crops, including oats and corn. During the early 19th century, the turpentine industry dominated in the cash economy. This was followed by timber cutting. By the early 20th century, there was a return to corn production and the introduction of cotton as a crop ([Loftfield 1979:22-24](#)).

The turpentine industry appears to have been a mainstay of the rural economy in the area up to the time of the Civil War. It continued for many years afterward, although in reduced circumstances, into the early years of the 20th century ([Robinson 1991](#)).

There is no precise data on what the Monroe farm produced, but the presence of open fields and outbuildings are known from the reports of the engagement. It is reasonable to assume that the inhabitants of the Monroe farmstead raised a few crops, perhaps grazed some livestock, and may have dabbled in logging or the production of turpentine. The stumps of turpentine trees noted throughout the project area attest to the fact that turpentine production was a part of agrarian activities at the site at some point during its occupancy.

According to research by [Loftfield \(1979:28-29\)](#), Charles Monroe, owner of the site during the Civil War, acquired the 500-acre farm in 1832 from his father. Charles Monroe added to his property, through a grant from the state, a tract of four and one-

half acres on the east side of Nicholson Creek. He continued to hold title to the land until he died in 1866. The family sold the property in 1881 to Neill S. Blue.

The land entered the public domain in 1917 with its acquisition by the U.S. Government as part of the new Camp Bragg. [Mrs. J.W. McLauchlin \(n.d.\)](#) states in her memoirs that the property was owned by three sisters and a brother, a Mr. Monroe, at the time of the battle. She further recalls that Mr. Monroe was living in the house alone in March 1865. The only other person on the property was a black woman known as Aunt Hannah who lived in a log house in the yard adjacent to the main house.

[Lofield \(1979:28\)](#) noted that the deed transferring the property to the Blues recorded the land as lying on both sides of Morganton Road on the east side of Nicholson Creek at the confluence of White Marsh and Nicholson Creek. The tract was noted to contain the Monroe dwelling house. The house is reported to have stood close to the road ([Oates 1972:405](#)).

The Charles Monroe house site is designated 31HK248 in the trinomial site system, and the Monroe's Crossroads Battlefield is 31HK249.

THE BATTLE

By March 1865, the Confederacy had been split asunder. Union troops had driven wedges of men and destruction through the deep south. General William T. Sherman had marched north from Savannah, Georgia through the Carolinas toward Virginia where he was eventually to join General U.S. Grant. U.S.A. (USMA 1843) in the siege of Petersburg.

During Sherman's march through the Carolinas, he burned Columbia, South Carolina ([Crewdson 1981](#)), pushed on into North Carolina and, by early March, was nearing Fayetteville. Sherman divided his veteran army of 70,000 men into two wings. Cavalry was used to screen the infantry's march as the army moved relentlessly north.

Brevet Major General Hugh Judson Kilpatrick ([Figure 3 - 46 KB](#)) commanded Sherman's left flank cavalry division which acted in a screening role during the campaign. Kilpatrick's primary mission was to protect the left flank of Sherman's army. Sherman had directed Kilpatrick to avoid, if possible, engaging the Confederate cavalry because he was to save his division for an expected major battle near the Virginia border.

The Battle of Monroe's Crossroads was not a planned engagement, but one of happenstance for both combatant groups. Although not well documented in the historical literature, the battle is the source of several articles and unpublished papers. Many of the articles are recollections published in the *Confederate Veteran* as a result of a call by John Dubose. Dubose apparently was attempting to gather information for a book, subsequently published, about Confederate *Lieutenant General Joseph Wheeler*, C.S.A. (USMA 1859). The following summary of the battle is derived from a variety of sources, particularly [Dubose \(1912a; 1912b; 1921\)](#), [Northrop \(1912; 1913\)](#), [Hamilton \(1921\)](#), [Nye \(n.d.\)](#), [Daly \(n.d.\)](#), [Miller \(1991\)](#), [The Official Records of the War of the Rebellion \(1895\)](#), [Oates \(1981\)](#), [Barrett \(1956\)](#), [Brooks \(1909; 1911\)](#), and [Bowman and Irwin \(1865\)](#). Other specific citations are also referenced in the following summary where appropriate.

As Sherman's army marched by parallel roads toward Fayetteville, Kilpatrick arrived at Rockingham, North Carolina on March 7 where he skirmished with *Wheeler's* Confederate cavalry. The weather was cold, wet and rainy during early March 1865 in North Carolina, making campaigning miserable at best.

On March 8, Kilpatrick marched along muddy roads and crossed rain-swollen creeks and streams ([Figure 5](#) - 149 KB). He moved to the head of Drowning Creek where he encamped. The 9th of March saw the column moving again in a torrential downpour. Kilpatrick learned from his scouts that *Lieutenant General William Joseph Hardee's*, C.S.A. (USMA 1838) infantry had recently moved to the north. He also learned that *General Wade Hampton's* ([Figure 2](#)) Confederate Cavalry was to the west moving to join *Hardee's* command. Kilpatrick ordered his Second Brigade to march along the Morganton Road, the First Brigade to deploy along the Chicken Road, and the Third Brigade, along with the Fourth Provisional Brigade (dismounted), to follow the Yadkin Road on the move toward Fayetteville. The latter was to halt at Green Springs (Monroe's Crossroads) for the night. The Yadkin and Morganton roads intersected west of Green Springs. Kilpatrick, with his staff and an escort of 15 men and one officer, moved to join the Third Brigade.

The Union order of battle ([Figure 6](#)) for the Third Brigade, taken from the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* (Hereafter cited as [OR 1895](#); [Morris 1912](#)), was Brevet Major General Judson Kilpatrick, commander of the 3rd Cavalry Division; 3rd Brigade Colonel George E. Spencer and Colonel Michael Kerwin; 1st Alabama Cavalry (U.S.) Major Francis L. Cramer (wounded and captured March 10), Captain Jerome Hinds, and Major Sanford Tramel; 5th Kentucky Cavalry (U.S.), Colonel Oliver L. Baldwin and Major Christopher T. Cheek; 5th Ohio Cavalry, Major George H. Rader. The 4th Provisional Brigade (dismounted) was commanded by

Lieutenant Colonel William B. Way and consisted of 1st Regiment, Major Charles A. Appel (captured March 10); 2nd Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel William Stough; and 3rd Regiment, Captain John B. Riggs. The 4th Provisional Brigade was made up of dismounted men from each of the other brigades.

According to [Starr \(1985:579\)](#), the dismounted regiments were composed of 1st Regiment men from the 3rd Indiana Cavalry, 8th Indiana Cavalry, 2nd and 3rd Kentucky Cavalry (U.S.), and 9th Pennsylvania; 2nd Regiment men from the 92nd Illinois Mounted Infantry, 9th Michigan Cavalry, 9th and 10th Ohio Cavalry, and McLaughlin's Ohio Squadron of Cavalry; and the 3rd Regiment of men from the 1st Alabama Cavalry (U.S.), 5th Kentucky Cavalry (U.S.), 5th Ohio Cavalry, and 13th Pennsylvania Cavalry. The commands' armaments are not well documented, but Kilpatrick ([OR Volume 47, Part 1, Page 855-857](#)) notes that portions of his command were armed with Sharps carbines and that the 9th Pennsylvania troops were armed with Joslyn carbines. [Cox \(1882:180\)](#) states that the dismounted brigade, composed of about 400 men, had been armed with rifled muskets and bayonets at Savannah.

The various units of the command arrived at Charles Monroe's farm located near the crossroads during the evening hours of March 9. According to [Nye \(n.d.:5-6\)](#):

Lieutenant-Colonel [William B.] Way's [U.S.A.] brigade of about four hundred dismounted men, having in charge the ordnance wagons and the division headquarters train, arrived at Monroe's Cross-Roads at nine o'clock that stormy night, and camped in line along the road in front of the Monroe farm house. Colonel Spencer's Third Brigade filed on past the house and turned off into a

large open field lying on the ridge about a hundred yards north of Green Springs. Shelter tents were thrown over fence rails and saplings. Picket lines were quickly stretched between pine trees; the artillery was parked about fifty yards or less from the house, on a slight rise at the top of the ridge, probably near the point where the two principal grave plots are now located. The wagons were also near the farm yard. Colonel [George E.] Spencer [U.S.A.] states that he picketed the country carefully in the direction of Fayetteville, leaving Colonel Way to picket the rear.... Colonel Spencer and his staff soon made themselves comfortable in the little farm house, from which the inhabitants had fled; he was joined here by Kilpatrick and his staff and the private mounts belonging to these gentlemen were tied to the railing of the front porch, and the garden fence. There were also in the building two ladies, said to be refugees from Savannah, who were following Kilpatrick's column in a buggy.

Captain T. (Theo) F. Northrop, U.S.A., was in charge of Kilpatrick's scouts. He ([Northrop 1912; 1913](#)) indicated his command was not satisfied with the open Monroe farm as a camping ground and moved across the swamp some distance to camp for the night.



The Confederate movement prior to the March 10 engagement was equally difficult in the rainy weather. *General Wheeler's* (Figure 8 at left) column was marching toward Fayetteville and on the evening of March 9 was also closing on Green Springs as a campsite. Kilpatrick's Third Brigade arrived ahead of the Confederate column.

According to *Major General Matthew C. Butler*, C.S.A. (SC College), (Figure 9 at right) ([1909a:443-447](#)), in his personal account of the battle, *Captain John Humphrey's*, C.S.A., squadron of the 6th South Carolina Cavalry was in the advance, with *Wheeler's Division* bringing up the rear. About dusk *Humphrey* halted at a road intersection where he observed signs of a heavy mounted column that preceded *Butler's* movement along the same road. While *Butler* and *Humphrey* were discussing the situation, a squad of about 30 cavalrymen was discovered moving up the road. *Humphrey* stated he had no men out, and *Butler* moved down the road to meet the unit. It was too dark to recognize who they were, but *Butler* hailed them. They identified themselves as the 5th Kentucky (U.S.), which *Butler* knew to be one of Kilpatrick's units.



Butler ordered the officer in charge to ride forward. When the Union officer was in the midst of the Confederates, *General Butler* identified himself and demanded the Union officer's surrender. The officer surrendered himself and his men, as well as a stand of regimental colors. *Butler* was unaware that he had captured Union General Kilpatrick's personal escort and had just missed an opportunity to capture the general himself and his staff.

Butler reported to *General Hampton* who began plans to attack Kilpatrick's camp at daylight the next morning. *Butler* and his men moved on about four miles and bivouacked without unsaddling their horses or making fires. *Butler* threw out videttes and skirmishers and laid down to rest. About that time, another Union officer stumbled into the Confederate lines and was captured. He provided *Butler* with some information on Kilpatrick's position, at least enough to allow *Butler* to capture Kilpatrick's pickets and reconnoiter the camp.

Confederate *Lieutenant Colonel Barrington S. King* was in command of the *Cobb Legion* while *Colonel Gilbert (Gid) J. Wright*, C.S.A., was in charge of the brigade. According to [Howard \(1901:12\)](#), it was at 2:30 a.m. that *Lieutenant Tom Donahoo* of the *Cobb Legion*,

accompanied personally by *General Butler*, captured the Federal vidette and pickets on the road without disturbance.

According to [Brooks \(1909:55\)](#), *Butler's* biographer, one of the coolest acts of the war was accomplished by *General Butler* when on the evening of March 9 he personally rode up to Kilpatrick's picket about dark and demanded their surrender. He identified himself and said if a shot was fired he would have them all shot. The pickets surrendered without a shot and, according to the account, identified themselves as members of the 5th Kentucky Cavalry (U.S.).

Butler observed that Union General Kilpatrick had moved around the head of a swamp and pitched his camp in front of it. Kilpatrick had his rear and right protected by the swamp, but his left was entirely exposed. Confederate scouts were sent into the camp. At least two actually entered the camp, and, unchallenged, made their way back to the Confederate lines with two captured Union horses each.

Confederate *Generals Hampton, Wheeler, and Butler* agreed to a daylight attack. [Butler \(1909a:444-445\)](#) recalled the order of battle was:

... inasmuch as Wheeler's command was stretched back for some miles in column of fours, I should close up my division in column of regiments and be prepared to move when the head of wheeler's column appeared in my rear; that I should follow up the road taken by Kilpatrick, move around the head of the swamp, as he had done, and fall suddenly on his camp from that [the west] side, while wheeler was to move through the woods to the right and attack from the rear. Young's brigade, commanded by Colonel Gid Wright, of the Cobb Legion, was moved to the front, having occupied the rear in the day's march.

The Confederate order of battle ([Figure 7](#)) is somewhat of a mystery, due either to the inadequacy of record keeping at the time or to the loss of the records in the waning days of the war. However, *Colonel E.E. Portlock's* inspection report for March 1865 (reproduced in [Dodson n.d.: 21](#)) indicates *Wheeler's Cavalry Corps* consisted of *Humes' Division* (*Brigadier General William Y. C. Humes*, C.S.A., VMI 1851) with at least portions of 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 8th, 9th, 13th, and *Shaw's Battalion Tennessee Cavalry*; 3rd Arkansas Cavalry; 8th and 11th Texas; 2nd and 9th Kentucky Cavalry present in late March or early April. In addition, the Corps was made up of *Allen's Division* (*Brigadier General William W Allen*, C.S.A., Princeton 1854) which had some elements of the following units present in late March: the 3rd, 8th, and 10th Confederate Cavalry; 1st, 3rd, 12th, and 51st Alabama Cavalry; and 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 5th, and 12th Georgia Cavalry. Apparently *Iverson's Division*, a battalion of Artillery, several regiments of *Humes' and Allen's Divisions*, as well as the equivalent of 32 companies from the units identified above, were absent on special details to other locations.

Various recollections by battle participants also support the presence of some units identified above. [Inzer \(1904\)](#), [Hood \(1906\)](#), and [Jones \(1911\)](#) identify the 51st Alabama as present. [McDowell et al. \(1906\)](#) discuss the role of the 3rd Alabama Cavalry in the fight, and [Allen \(1911\)](#) mentions the 5th Tennessee Cavalry, while [Bennett \(1911\)](#) recalls the role of the 4th Tennessee Cavalry. [Holman \(1911a\)](#), of the 8th Texas Cavalry, recalled their role in the fight, and ([Holman 1911b](#)) provides a roster of the 8th Texas Cavalry as well. [Watkins \(1912\)](#) reports the role of the 6th Georgia Cavalry.

Butler's Brigade (*Brigadier General Evander M. Law*, C.S.A., SCMA The Citadel 1856) was formed May 28, 1864 and was composed of the 4th, 5th, and 6th South Carolina Regiments of Cavalry. The 4th South Carolina Cavalry was armed with Enfield rifles in

April 1864. They usually fought as dismounted cavalry in infantry formation. Apparently this approach was adopted by *Butler's Brigade* for the remainder of the war ([Brooks 1909](#)).

As the Confederate units moved in the night to position themselves for the attack, the rain halted. Heavy mists and fog obscured the Union camp. The attackers were positioned with *Butler's Georgians* of the *Cobb Legion* as the assault unit on that northerly line. [Howard \(1901:12\)](#) indicates the Confederate forces waited in column until early dawn before commencing the attack, with the *Fulton Dragoons* of the *Cobb Legion* in the lead. Howard notes that the Federal camp was mostly asleep, but some were preparing coffee and breakfast. The *Cobb Legion* charged along the road in front of the house where *Jim Jack*, a member of the command, was killed.

Butler also instructed *Colonel Wright* to send in a squadron under a bold captain as the attack commenced. They were to take and hold Kilpatrick's headquarters, with an eye toward capturing the Union general. A *Captain Bostick* was selected to lead the capture team. *Butler* held *Law's Brigade* in reserve.

Wheeler organized his command in five, attacking regimental columns. *Humes' Texans* were on the Confederate extreme right, with *Harrison's Texas Brigade* in the center (*Brigadier General Thomas Harrison*, C.S.A.). Just south of the Morganton Road was *Allen's Division*, with *Hagan's Alabama Brigade* (*Colonel James Hagan*, C.S.A.) in the lead and on the left, apparently above the swamp. *Wheeler* also intended to capture Kilpatrick and had placed *Shannon's* scouts in front of *Hagan* for a dash into the camp (*Captain Alexander M. Shannon*, C.S.A.). *Dibrell's Tennessee Brigade* was held in reserve (*Brigadier General George G. Dibrell*, C.S.A.).

As Kilpatrick's buglers were about to sound reveille, the Confederates charged the camp. The Union camp was quickly overrun by the pistol bearing and saber wielding Confederates. [Private Wiley C. Howard \(1901:12\)](#) thought that some of the command chased Kilpatrick for more than a half mile before Kilpatrick made his escape. *Howard* misidentifies the Federals as troops from Michigan, but he notes that there were hand-to-hand combats on numerous occasions during the battle.

As the Confederates made their charge through the camp, many Federal troops were caught unaware, but many also rolled over in their blankets to grab their weapons and returned fire. Others were hacked by sabers before they could rise from their slumber. The Union soldiers near the front of the assault were caught totally by surprise, and many surrendered. The *Cobb Legion* reportedly ([Howard 1901:13](#)) captured numerous prisoners and partially routed the Federals.

Many other Federals seized their weapons and fell back to the swamp. Others apparently stayed their ground because wild hand-to-hand combat ensued. [Howard \(1901:13\)](#) describes one incident where a Confederate trooper named *Shed*, wounded in the ear, was engaged in combat with a Federal trooper. *Howard* struck the Yankee in the back of the head with a right parry blow from a saber, thus saving *Shed* who was later killed at the battle of Bentonville. Some Union troops fled to the south and southwest into swampy areas where they reformed and directed fire toward the Confederates in the camp. [Howard \(1901:12\)](#) indicates when the Federals reorganized they formed dismounted, four ranks deep in a phalanx, and were armed with Spencer rifles (carbines?).

Humes' Texans, in their attempt to cross Nicholson Creek, found the ground too swampy to cross with mounted troops, and they apparently encountered heavy fire from the 1st Alabama Cavalry (U.S.). The Texans withdrew and moved to the north where they entered the camp by way of *Wheeler's* route.

[Chapter 3 \(continued\)](#)

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Chapter 4

TEST EXCAVATIONS: ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The traditional archeological investigations at the Monroe's Crossroads house site and adjacent areas yielded a wide variety of data. Some specimens can definitely be attributed to the battle, while many are primarily related to the pre- and post-battle site occupation. Most artifacts represent items lost or discarded by occupants of the site or are construction related. This chapter details the test excavations and ground penetrating radar investigations. It also describes the artifacts and features located and interprets the results of the project testing phase.

SELECTION OF TESTING LOCALITIES

Areas were chosen for investigation according to several factors. Primary among these was that test locations fall within the area proposed by the Army as a situational leadership training site for small combat units. Based on this requirement, a cemetery located on the southern edge of the battlefield was excluded from investigation. Also excluded were segments of the battlefield related to the withdrawal of Confederate troops after the main engagement.

Finally, a small portion of the battlefield in an active artillery impact area east of Blue's Road was not investigated for safety reasons.

An equally important factor in selecting test areas was the Army's desire to identify cultural features which played prominent roles during the evolution of the battle at Monroe's Crossroads. The proposed training area will incorporate signage identifying the locations of Civil War-era roads, buildings, and troop encampment locations. Therefore, features which appeared to be of cultural origin were targeted for investigation

Test Area A was selected because it contained a mound of bricks believed to be the ruins of the Monroe House chimney. As noted earlier, the Monroe House was occupied by General Kilpatrick who used the structure as his temporary headquarters. The goal of testing in this area was to identify the location of the Monroe House, a log barn, and other farmstead outbuilding sites.

During the crew's introductory walkover of the site at the initiation of fieldwork, bone fragments were noted immediately east of a swampy area which served as a refuge for Union troops during their retreat in the initial stages of the battle. The discovery raised the question of whether the bones represented an eroding battlefield grave. A small test unit was placed over the exposed bones to make that determination. This location was Test Area B.

Cemeteries within the battlefield were laid out, marked, and enclosed by the U.S. Army in 1921. These locations reportedly held the remains of 39 unknown Union soldiers.

At least some, if not all, of the Confederate soldiers killed



were exhumed after the battle. Some were apparently reburied at Long Street Presbyterian Church (Figure 11 at left) a few miles away, while others were reclaimed by family members and buried elsewhere.

Questions arose whether the marked areas were indeed the actual burial locations and whether the dead represented Union forces exclusively. This led to one

large and four small cemeteries being selected as Test Areas C-G.

A large deep depression, which had been identified by some as the former site of the Confederate burial area, was selected for investigation as Test Area H.

During the introduction of the MWAC crew to the site, Bill Kern noted that the actual locations of the historic Blue's and Morganton Roads remained unknown. A number of new roads had been created since the battle, most after the military reservation was established.

The walkover on the first day of fieldwork led to the identification of several deep linear features which were proposed as possible remnants of the historic roads. These two traces were therefore targeted for investigation.

TEST AREA A: THE HOUSE SITE

Test Area A is an 30 m x 50 m rectangular block which has its long axis oriented northeast-southwest, more or less paralleling Blue's Road. Datum 1 (arbitrarily established as site mapping coordinate 1000N/1000E) is situated at its extreme easterly corner. This is the site recorded for the Monroe House, the headquarters of the Union troops on the eve of the battle and an element of the battlefield.

Architectural History

Despite a deed search reported by [Thomas Loftfield \(1979:28\)](#), the structural history of the Monroe House site remains quite vague. Loftfield has stated that the house and 500-acre Rocky Mount Plantation were "well established" prior to the farm's 1832 transfer from Malco[l]m Munroe [Monroe] to his son Charles M. Monroe. Charles died in 1866, a fact that led Loftfield to assume that the house remained in his possession until then. When sold to Neill S. Blue in 1881, the tract was described as containing Charles Monroe's dwelling house.

Loftfield further states that the house stood close to the road (the road is not identified by Loftfield) and that a test excavation by Loftfield's firm sometime in 1977 or 1978 identified a brick chimney base at the edge of the present road. The brief site description in Loftfield's report identifies the site as "approximately 200 meters south of the intersection of Blue's Road and Longstreet Road" ([Loftfield 1979:G-97](#)). The chimney base identified by Loftfield's team is at the same approximate location as that tested by the MWAC team in 1993 and is probably the same entity.

Little is known about the structure's physical characteristics. Its only known depiction ([Figure 13 - 57 KB](#)) is an illustration in *Harpers Weekly* published three weeks after the

battle (April 1, 1865). Four structures appear in the picture's center. The Monroe House is shown as a two story, "dogtrot" style house. It is gabled, has a large porch covered by an extension of the roof, and has brick chimneys at the center of each end. A smaller structure, perhaps an outhouse, is depicted immediately to the right of the house. Two log structures, perhaps storage buildings or slave quarters, are shown some distance to the left of the house.

Interpretation of this illustration is very difficult. There is no way to determine whether *Harpers Weekly* obtained the view from a war correspondent or artist who witnessed the battle or whether it is simply the product of some publisher's or editor's caprice. It is certain that baffle details are incorrectly portrayed. This leads one to doubt the veracity of the Monroe structures' depiction. One must conclude that the accuracy of the illustration is uncertain at best.



A structure probably contemporaneous with the Monroe House and which may have been similar is a residence owned by one of the Blue families (Figure 14 at left). This structure was once located in the general vicinity of the Monroe House. An 1891 *Leslie's Weekly* photograph of that structure, now in the National Railroad Museum collection, shows a building similar to the one in the 1865 *Harpers Weekly* illustration of the battle. This appears to be a central-hall or Georgian-style house, a category which includes "dogtrot" houses. This vernacular style was widely built in the southeastern United States during the first half of the 19th century and continued to be built well into the 1880s in some locations ([Marshall 1981:52](#)).

If the Monroe House was of the vernacular style portrayed in these two images, one would have a number of expectations regarding orientation and form. With regard to orientation, the dwelling may have faced Blue's Road. In form, the building would have had large brick chimneys, one at each end of the structure and, most likely, a spacious veranda-style porch on its front side. It may also have had an addition on the back which served as a kitchen or had a separate summer kitchen building.

Archeological Investigation

Small-scale Block Excavation

This focused on a concentration of brick believed to represent a chimney base. Of some relevance to this investigation was determining the nature of this brick concentration. Did it consist solely of a jumbled pile of bricks or was there some pattern in the brick deposition? If there was a patterned deposit, what information would it provide about the location of the hearth and the direction the hearth faced? The first step in implementing the block excavation was to lay out a horizontal reference grid containing excavation blocks of uniform 2 m square size oriented with the cardinal directions. Because no locational references relative to the site datum were available when the grid was established, an arbitrary reference system was used. Each excavation unit was named according to its relative location in the grid; i.e., numbered from north to south and lettered from east to west ([Figure 15 - 55 KB](#)). Units C2, C3, D2, and D3 lay over the hump of bricks and were chosen as the primary investigative units. An attempt was made

to leave bricks in place as encountered to provide excavators with a visual reference for patterning, if patterning actually occurred.

At the initiation of excavations, it was obvious that the brick concentration had been disturbed sometime in the past. A large, ovate depression in the southeast corner of excavation unit C3 and a somewhat smaller depression in the southwest corner of excavation unit D3 marked the disturbance ([Figure 15](#) - 55 KB). These may be locations of treasure hunters' holes or perhaps test pits excavated by Loftfield's 1977-1978 survey crews.

As fill was removed, it became apparent a patterned deposit (or feature) of brick did exist in the eastern portion of the mound ([Figure 16](#) and [Figure 17](#)). This consisted of at least five north-south alternating rows of brick laid on edge. Above, between, and for about 50 cm to the west of the patterned bricks was an area of desiccated, burned brick. This was interpreted as a hearth area.

Although the hearth's orientation could not be determined for certain, all of the patterned bricks lay on the east side of the burned area. This was tentatively assumed to mark the interior edge of the brick hearth, based on the pattern of the bricks and a knowledge of mid-nineteenth century construction techniques. The house would therefore be expected to lie on the east side of this feature.

Scattered among the bricks on the west-central and northern margins of the mound were sandstone chunks. One large, sandstone block was also noted at the northeastern margin of excavation unit D3. These may be the remnants of sandstone footer stones used to raise the Monroe House above the ground surface, similar to the sandstone pedestals supporting Long Street Church located a few miles to the east.

Almost no brick or sandstone was encountered in the center of the brick mound. This was apparently a result of past excavations, whether authorized tests of Loftfield's crew or unauthorized digging by vandals. In association with the general brick hearth area, however, is a somewhat jumbled alignment of bricks. The general orientation of this alignment is northwest to southeast, and it appears to represent a chimney which collapsed toward the southeast from the hearth area.

Shovel Probe Testing

The general goal in Test Area A was to clarify the distribution of historic artifacts in the vicinity of the Monroe family homestead and to identify the locations of additional structures associated with the house.

In Test Area A, probe holes were excavated 5 m apart within a 150 m² area. The grid was aligned with and bounded by the current Blue's Road and an unnamed firebreak road. The long axis of the grid included 11 holes in a somewhat northeast to southwest alignment (aligned with Blue's Road) and were numbered from 1N to 11N, respectively. The short axis consisted of six holes aligned more or less with the firebreak road and labeled 1W to 5W. When this grid was completed, two additional lines of shovel probes were excavated, one on each side of Blue's Road.

These were labeled 0W (on the northerly side of the road) and 1E, respectively. Altogether 75 shovel probes were dug.

There were no shovel probes within the block excavation or at survey Datum 1 (which lay in the junction of modern Blue's Road and an unidentified historic road). Shovel probes were excavated to a compact, yellow, gray clayey sand, a level interpreted to be unmodified by human activity. Depths of these holes varied to 36 cm from the surface.

Shovel probe testing was hampered to a considerable degree by modern disturbances and intrusions. Shovel probes were not excavated at 7N/1W, 10N/0W, 11N/0W, and 11N/1E. 10N/0W and 11N/0W lay within the disturbed margins of the firebreak road and Blue's Road junction. 7N/1W was within the boundaries of excavation unit C3. The location 11N/1E was not investigated because it was situated within the linear depression believed to be a historic road or trail, a depression which was being mechanically tested (see below).

Although shovel probe holes were dug at 4N/2W, 4N/3W, 9N/0W, and 11N/4W, all were marked by modern disturbances. The hole initiated at 4N/2W lay within a large circular depression initially believed to represent a possible historic feature. Excavation was quickly abandoned, however, because buried plastic spoons, cellophane, and other modern debris was unearthed. This material appeared to represent the remains of an Army food kit, and the depression was interpreted to be one of many modern "foxholes" scattered across the site. Modern disturbances were also indicated by the recovery of a M1 or M14 rifle cleaning rod, a M1 rifle ammunition clip, and mixed soil fill at 4N/3W, 9N/0W and 11N/4W, respectively. Modern objects were not collected.

Excavation of the other 69 shovel probes resulted in recovery of 176 objects (excluding six fragments of modern bottle glass) from 50 of the tests. Most objects were located within the first few centimeters of surface fill, which was distinguished by a dark organic humus, or with the layer below consisting of a brownish gray, loamy sand. None were encountered below 20 cm or from within the upper layers of yellowish tan or grayish yellow, compact, clayey sand underlying the two darker layers.

Despite clear evidence for considerable modern disturbance to the site, it is clear that the historic component of the Monroe House site is quite extensive and continues beyond the shovel tested location. A prehistoric component is reflected through the recovery of quartzite flakes. This component is very sparse, has no apparent concentration of materials, and occurs throughout the site.

The locations of historic artifact concentrations were quite restricted and can be illustrated using SURFER computer software. This program can plot the number of objects recovered from each shovel probe to generate an artifact density contour map (Figure 18). A steep-sided peak immediately north of the mound of bricks marks the location of the major artifact concentration (Midden 1) at the Monroe House site. Shovel testing in this area indicated a sheet midden which is relatively dense and, at the same time, very restricted both horizontally as well as vertically. Other details about this midden cannot be determined without further testing. Nevertheless, its contents (the large number of nails recovered combined with the largest concentration of domestic debris), as well as its limited distribution suggests that this may be near a rear door and/or represent a portion of the collapsed Monroe House.

A smaller concentration of artifacts represented by a linear ridge running from 4N/1W to 5N/2W about 10 m (33 ft) west of the brick mound is labeled Midden 2. It is not clear what this concentration represents. Its linear character may simply reflect the fact that

only two points with somewhat higher concentrations of artifacts are involved. If this line were represented by three or more points, it would be more convincing as a feature.

Chapter 4 (continued)

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Chapter 5

METAL-DETECTED ARTIFACTS: DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

The metal detector investigations at Monroe's Crossroads yielded a wide variety of artifacts. Some specimens can definitely be attributed to the battle, while many are related to the post-battle era and some to structures that occupied the site (Figure 33). These latter artifacts represent items lost or discarded by occupants of the site or by visitors to the field, as well as many items relating to the U.S. Army use of the site for training. Post-battle artifacts that were definitively identified as such during metal-detecting efforts were not collected.

THE ARTIFACTS

This chapter primarily consists of a description and analysis of the artifacts from the metal detector inventory. There is also discussion of artifacts found in the excavations. The emphasis of these descriptions focuses on the battle-related artifacts, but the artifacts from the post-battle era are also described. General artifact locations are noted in the individual descriptive sections. Interpretation of the relationship of these artifacts will be found in the following chapter.

The majority of artifacts recovered are bullets, and the majority of these are battle-related. Because of the large quantity of firearms-related artifacts, the description and analysis emphasize that artifact type. See the section on Firearms Identification procedures for the analytical process.

Percussion Caps

Thirty-six percussion caps were recovered during the field work (Figure 34). They can be divided into three sizes—a large (Figure 39 a, b at right) musket cap, small musket cap, and a smaller cap with no skirt flare. The large cap is approximately .247 inches in diameter at the top and .248 inches long. The cap skirt has a long flare at the base. There are 16 such caps in the collection (FS1454, 1455, 1456, 1596, 1662, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, and 2036). All but FS2036 were recovered in presumed Union positions (Figure 34). FS2036 was recovered northwest of the current Morganton Road and near the Longstreet Road along the presumed line of the Confederate withdrawal.



The smaller, flared rim musket cap is .2455 inches in diameter and .239 inches long with a short flare at the skirt base. Nine caps were found (FS1458, 1459, 1466, 1468, 1469, 1471, 1473, 1478, 1479, 1480, 1481, 1485, 1586, 1587, 1615, 1648, and 1652). With the exception of FS1615, 1648, and 1652, all were found in presumed Union positions. FS1615 was found north of the firebreak road and west of Nicholson Creek, and FS1648

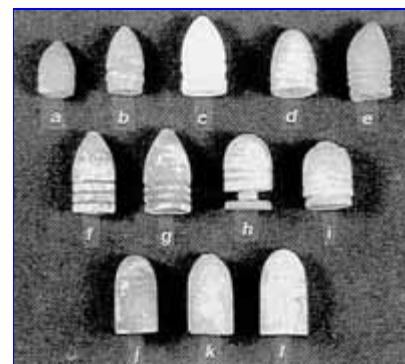
and 1652 were found in the presumed Confederate position west of Nicholson Creek.

Only three caps fall in the smallest size category. Both FS1457, 1459 and 94 (found in one of the grave test units) are .217 inches in diameter and have a skirt .242 inches long.

All cap diameters and lengths fall within the range of musket caps (Hunt 1989:334-349), including the smallest cap, although the smallest cap is at the upper diameter and length limit for pistol caps. It seems likely that the flared rim caps were used for muskets, carbines, and shoulder-fired weapons, and the smaller caps for pistols and revolvers.

.44-Caliber Bullets

Nine .44-caliber bullets were found during the investigations. Four bullets (FS1647, 1517, 1590, and 1701) carry the distinctive, five groove, left-hand twist marks of being fired in a Model 1858 Remington Army revolver. Two others (FS1530 and 1601) appear to be Colt-type bullets (Figure 35a at right). One (FS1590) has a right-hand twist, seven land and groove mark. The final three (FS1325, 1632, and 1666) are Bartholow-type bullets (Figure 35b at right). This type was patented by Robert Bartholow as a purportedly waterproof powder cartridge (Thomas 1981:26). One (FS1325) bears no evidence of being fired and is probably a dropped bullet. The others bear the seven land and groove and right-hand twist marks. These four bullets' land groove marks are identical to the Colt revolver, except for the righthand twist to the rifling. The weapon type is unidentified at this time. However, the bullets may represent the Confederate copy of the Colt revolver.



Colt revolvers were the most widely known and used revolvers during the Civil War. Colt held a well-recognized prominence prior to the war that carried through well past the end of the war. The U.S. Army continued to use the Model 1860 Army revolver predominantly until the advent of the Colt Army Model 1873 (Coates and Thomas 1990:54).

The Remington revolver was less well known, but accounted for 35 percent of all revolvers purchased by the Union during the war (Coates and Thomas 1990:61). The Remingtons were generally well liked by the soldiers who carried them and were technically stronger guns due to the enclosed frame design.

The .44-caliber bullets were found scattered over all parts of the battlefield (Figure 36). Another .44-caliber bullet, not discussed here, was found in the excavation of the presumed Confederate grave. The bullets fired from Colt and Remington weapons exhibit no distinctive pattern in their distribution. They are intermingled in Union and Confederate positions, befitting weapons common and popular with both combatants.

.51-Caliber Bullets

Two .51-caliber bullets (FS1655 and 1682) were found (Figure 37). FS1655 is a hollow-base, conical bullet that appears to be a dropped bullet. It was found in the presumed

Confederate position west of Nicholson Creek. FS1682 is a solid-base, conical bullet which was fired and found on the east side of the old Blue's Road alignment and east of the house site. It is possible, although positive identification is uncertain, that the bullet was fired in a Hall carbine which was a .52-caliber weapon. The Hall predated the Mexican War, but continued in use throughout the Civil War in both Union and Confederate cavalry units ([Coates and Thomas 1990:42](#)).

Smith .50-Caliber Bullets

Five Smith .50-caliber bullets (FS1617, 1627 [unfired], 1679 [unfired], 2002, and 2028) were recovered. The Smith carbine employed a breechloading system with external priming via a percussion cap. The cartridge case was originally hard rubber, although this type was generally later replaced by a wrapped cartridge. The Smith was purchased by the U.S. Army in early 1862, and many of the 31,000 carbines fell into Confederate hands during the course of the war ([Coates and Thomas 1990:47](#)).

One dropped or unfired bullet and two fired bullets were found in the presumed Confederate position west of Nicholson Creek ([Figure 37](#)). The unfired bullet (FS1627) was cast oversized (.5365 inches) and may have been too large to fit the chamber or bore of the Smith carbine. It may have been intentionally discarded because it did not chamber properly. FS2002 was found embedded in a fragment of pine wood along Nicholson Creek immediately south of the firebreak road. An unfired or dropped bullet was found north of the house site and east of Blue's Road. The final Smith bullet (FS2028) was found immediately north of the current Morganton Road and about 200 meters west of the current Blue's Road along the line of the presumed Confederate retreat.

Sharps .52-Caliber Bullets

The Sharps firearm was patented in 1852 and was a very popular military and commercial firearm for the next 50 years. It was produced in percussion, and, after the Civil War, in cartridge styles. Its popularity was due to its accuracy and reputation for effective stopping power. Particularly in the larger calibers, it was the favored gun of big-game hunters on the plains and in the West in the years after the Civil War ([Gluckman 1965:230-268](#); [Barnes 1989:139](#)).

The Sharps was favored by both Union and Confederate cavalry. In fact, the Confederates made a rather poor copy of the Sharps for issue to some of their cavalry. The weapon used a paper or linen cartridge, firing a .52-caliber bullet ([Coates and Thomas 1990:45-46](#)).

Thirteen Sharps .52-caliber bullets were found at Monroe's Crossroads ([Figure 35c](#) [42 KB] and [Figure 38](#)). Two bullet configurations were noted, and all but two are impressed with Sharps land and groove marks. The first bullet type has a hole in the base (FS1432 [unfired], 1553, 1675, and 1728 [unfired]), and the second is a solid-base type (FS1514, 1678, 1681, 1704, 1722, 1707, 1717, 2034, and 2039).

The two unfired or dropped bullets were found in the vicinity of the cannon-related artifacts, one on either side of Blue's Road. One fired bullet was also discovered in this area. A single bullet was also found north of the current Morganton Road along the line

of the presumed Confederate withdrawal. The remaining Sharps bullets were found north of the house site primarily on the east side of Blue's Road.

.54-Caliber Bullets

Three .54-caliber conical bullets (FS1593, 1620, and 1628) were recovered in the positions along Nicholson Creek ([Figure 37](#)). All are hollow-based, conical bullets, and all are fired. One was found in the Union position on the east bank of Nicholson Creek. The other two were recovered in the presumed Confederate position on the west bank.

The lands and groove marks on the bullets are indistinct, but appear to be right-hand twist, three wide, land and groove rifling. There are several possible weapons for these bullets. The most common would be the Model 1841 "Mississippi" Rifle or the Model 1841 South Carolina "Palmetto" Rifle. Also to be considered is the Merrill carbine, used primarily in the western theater of the war. However, Merrill carbines were captured and used by the *Confederate Army of Northern Virginia* ([Coates and Thomas 1990:44](#)).

Burnside .54-Caliber Bullets

Burnside cartridge cases ([Figure 39d, e](#) [42 KB] and [Figure 40](#)) and bullets ([Figure 35](#) [42 KB] and [Figure 41](#)) were found in the presumed Union positions. The Burnside was an externally primed, brass cartridge in .54-caliber. There were 50,000 carbines purchased and issued by the Union during the war ([Coates and Thomas 1990:38](#)).

The Burnside carbine was a lever action, single-shot carbine that used a tapered brass cartridge ignited by a percussion cap. When loaded, the cartridge was placed in the breechblock and the hand lever thrown up to lock the block with its cartridge in the chamber. A percussion cap was placed on the nipple and fired by the hammer falling on the cap. The cap's fulminate of mercury compound fire was transmitted to the cartridge's powder charge by a small hole in the cartridge base.

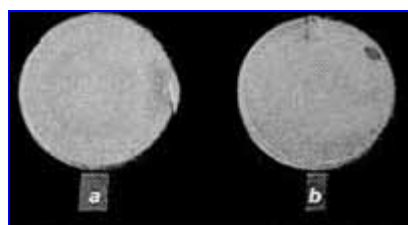
The archeological investigations recovered four cartridge fragments (FS1584, 1669, 1671, and 2025 [with bullet]), 10 cartridge cases (1463, 1452, 1509, 1513, 1588, 1594, 1657, 1658, 1670, and 1730), and 28 bullets (1317, 1340, 1522, 1524, 1533, 1539, 1550, 1589, 1597, 1603, 1610, 1616, 1618, 1621, 1626, 1635, 1636, 1638, 1640, 1641, 1711, 2001, 2003 [in wood], 2005, 2006, 2008, 2027, and 2031). Firearms' identification determined that the bullets ([Figure 35d](#) [42 KB] and [Figure 41](#)) were fired in weapons consistent with the Burnside carbine. Unfortunately, the externally primed cases preclude identification of individual characteristics.

The cases and cartridges are in two general clusters. The first is centered around the cannon-related parts and the presumed cannon battery position. Five cases were found down slope and to the west of the battery position. Numerous percussion caps were also found in these positions. The second cluster is north and east of the house site.

The bullets were found primarily in the presumed Confederate position west of Nicholson Creek. The others are down slope and below the battery position, north of the battery position, and north of the house site.

Spencer .56-Caliber Bullets

The Spencer was a military firearm used during the Civil War and the early Indian Wars. Also produced in civilian models, the Spencer was a popular weapon and widely available. There were several calibers made for both the military and the commercial market during its production years (Barnes 1989:281; Gluckman 1965:388). The Spencer carbine was introduced in 1863 for use in the Union cavalry. The earlier rifled musket had proven very popular with Michigan cavalry units, although the length was unwieldy for cavalymen. Nearly 95,000 Spencer carbines were purchased by the U.S. government prior to the end of the war, and they proved very popular and reliable with mounted troops (Coates and Thomas 1990:48). Several other Civil War firearms were also chambered for the reliable Spencer .56-56-caliber, rimfire cartridge.



Twenty-two cartridges or cartridge cases (Figure 39c [42 KB], Figure 42, and Figure 43a at left) were recovered, as well as ten bullets (Figure 35e [42 KB] and Figure 44). Six of the group are unfired cartridges (FS1649, 1712, 1713, 1714, 1715, and 2038). The fired cases include 15 fired in Spencers (1178, 1370, 1444, 1503, 1506, 1688, 1698, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2049, and 2050), and one fired in a Joslyn carbine (FS1677). This case has the typical Joslyn block firing pin imprint on the head (Figure 43b at left).

The fired cases are distributed along the ridge containing the Monroe House site and east of the junction of the current Morganton Road and Blue's Road. They were found near the presumed cannon position and north along Blue's Road, to well north of the house site, and to the east into the current artillery impact area buffer zone.

Those in the impact area overlook the probable alignment of the old Morganton Road that may have been used during the Confederate withdrawal. Among the most northerly group are four unfired cartridges. A single unfired case head was found in the presumed Confederate position west of Nicholson Creek. The bullets (FS1089, 1348, 1496, 1531, 1566, 1606, 1624, 1650, 2044, and 2048) are scattered along the ridge and north of the house Site. Three were also found imbedded in the presumed Confederate position west of Nicholson Creek.

All the bullets bear evidence of rifling marks on the bullet bodies. All appear to have standard U.S. government, right-hand twist wide, three land and groove marks. Differentiation between carbine types is not possible based on the bullet data.

The firearms' identification indicates that at least two firearm types are represented by the cases. One is the Joslyn, and the other is the Spencer. At least one Joslyn carbine and at least seven Spencers were used in the battle.

Two Spencer cases were too corroded to identify individual characteristics, but the remainder were suitable for microscopic examination. Although corrosion did obscure some details, probable matches were noted with ten cases (Figure 45). One Spencer is represented by cartridge cases FS1506, FS1688 and FS2042, a second by FS1178, FS1698 and FS2047, a third by FS1503, a fourth by FS2041 and FS2045, a fifth by FS2043 and FS2046, and the sixth and seventh by one case each, FS2049 and FS2050 respectively. The Joslyn is denoted by the single specimen FS1677

The four Spencers represented by the multiple matched cases indicate some individual

movement. Case FS1688 was found southwest of Blue's Road and near the southeast-northwest trending road alignment. A probable match to that case is FS1506 found north of the house site and north of the firebreak road and FS2042, found in the artillery impact buffer area below the junction of the current Morganton Road and Blue's Road.

Another Spencer movement is also represented by three cases-FS1178 found south of the house site along the ridge, FS51698 found north of the firebreak road, and the third matching case, FS52042, found below the junction of the current Morganton Road and Blue's Road. The last group of matched firing pin marks, FS52043 and 2046, were also found below the junction of the current Morganton Road and Blue's Road.

Enfield-Pritchett Bullets, Calibers .50, .51, .54, and .577

A large variety of smooth-bodied, Enfield-type bullets ([Figure 35j, k, l](#) [42 KB] and [Figure 46](#)) were found scattered over the battlefield. Four calibers are represented, although the .50 and .51 calibers may represent only variations of a single type. A single, .50-caliber Enfield bullet (FS1633) was found along Nicholson Creek.

The largest group of Enfield-Pritchett-type bullets is the .51-caliber (FS1521, 1532, 1538, 1556, 1592 [hollow base], and 1623). These are distributed primarily north of the house site and north of the firebreak road. Two were found in the area of Nicholson Creek. Three Enfield-Pritchett-type bullets in .54-caliber (FS1559, 1561, and 1696) were all found north of the house site and east of Blue's Road.

The .577-caliber Enfield bullets (FS1544 [hollow base], 1555, 1607, 1637, 1731, 2004 [hollow base], and 2032 [hollow base, unfired]) were found (two) north of the firebreak road, (three) west of Nicholson Creek, (one) along Blue's Road near the cannon-related artifacts, and (one) north of the current Morganton Road about 200 meters west of Blue's Road.

Both the Union and Confederate forces imported large quantities of Enfield weapons during the war. The Confederates also produced Enfield-type bullets for their troops throughout the war ([Coates and Thomas 1990:19](#)). The caliber variation is typical of Enfield ammunition, and ranges from .498 to .703 inches are known ([McKee and Mason 1980:41](#)). All could be fired in either the British Pattern 1853 Enfield or the .58-caliber U.S. and C.S.A. muskets, although the smaller calibers (.50, .51, and .54) were likely used in .54-caliber weapons such as carbines or Austrian rifles.

.58-Caliber Bullets

Twelve .58-caliber bullets ([Figures 35g, h, i](#) [42 KB] and [Figure 47](#)) were recovered over all portions of the battlefield. The .58-caliber Minie ball is known in many variations with all intended to be fired in a number of different types and models of rifled muskets. The Monroe's Crossroads bullets (FS1461, 1528, 1529, 1546, 1604, 1609, 1645, 1716, 1651, 1656, 1697, and 2033) demonstrate that variability. Two (FS1461 and 1716) are Williams-type Cleaner bullets. FS 1716 appears to have been fired. Most Williams Cleaners were discarded because they were difficult to load in combat conditions. With their distinctive, blue paper cartridge, they were easily identifiable under combat conditions ([McKee and Mason 1980:64](#)). FS1609 is a standard .58-caliber that appears to be an unfired or dropped bullet. The bullet was found on the west side of Nicholson Creek in the

presumed Confederate position.

Round Balls and Shot

The battlefield investigations yielded 33 round balls, pieces of shot, or canister balls (Figure 48). Lead shot was found in three sizes - .118 inches or BBB size (FS1474, 1511, and 1516); .2 inches or #four shot (FS1582, 1653, 1659, 1664, 1683, and 1708); and .33 inches or 000 Buck (FS1488, 1489, 1661, 1684, 1709, 2010, and 2018). These shot may be pre- or post-battle deposition, as well as battle-related. The shot distribution is the same as the definitely battle-related bullets and cartridges, suggesting a possible battle association. It is well known that some Confederate cavalry units, especially Texans, carried shotguns. The 000 buckshot may well have been components in buck and ball loads, often associated with .69-caliber muskets.

Several larger caliber lead balls were also recovered. Four calibers were noted - a .40-caliber ball (FS1490), four .50-caliber balls (FS1564, 1672, 1690, and 1706), a .58-caliber ball (FS1660), and three .62-caliber balls (FS1061, 1571, and 2037). The single .40-caliber ball was found south of the house site and in the area of possible outbuildings. It may very well represent a pre- or post-battle deposition.

The three .62-caliber balls may be for .69-caliber muskets or as shrapnel in a 3-inch Hotchkiss shell. Two were found north of the firebreak road and in the vicinity of iron shrapnel and a Hotchkiss fuze adapter. The third was found north of the current Morganton Road and about 200 meters west of Blue's Road.

In addition to the lead shot, there are four iron shot in .75 inch diameters. Two (FS1505 and 1515) were recovered in the vicinity of the iron shrapnel and Hotchkiss fuze adapter. Another ball was found associated with C.S.A. buttons and other artifacts during the test excavations at the 27-man grave site (Test Area C). The fourth (FS2030) was found north of the current Morganton Road and about 200 meters west of Blue's Road. These iron balls most likely represent canister balls fired from a three-inch ordnance rifled cannon of the 10th Wisconsin Battery.

Cannon-Related Artifacts

Three definite and one possible cannon-related artifacts (Figures 49a, b, c, d, e at right and Figure 51) were recovered. FS1486 is the pull-ring and a fragment of a brass primer tube of a cannon friction primer. This friction primer was found in the same area where Stanley Dahl had found numerous cannon friction primers while metal detecting in the 1970s and 1980s south of the 27-man grave site (Test Area C). Another pull-ring was found during the ground penetrating radar truthing survey. It was found in the area of the house site in Test Area A.



The other two definite items are brass fuze adapters or plugs (FS1545 and 2029) from 3-inch Hotchkiss shells or case shot (Figure 50 at left) (Bartleson 1972:73-83; Dickey and George 1993:158-180, 450). The adapter held the paper timing fuze used to detonate the shell. The shell



broke up into iron shrapnel and spread lead balls contained in the shell housing. The first fuze adapter was found north of the firebreak road and north of the house site. The second, comprising only the upper two-thirds of the adapter, was found south of the current Morganton Road and about 200 meters west of Blue's Road.

Stanley Dahl found a complete shell with fuze adapter intact west of Nicholson Creek and north of the firebreak road. He also found base fragments of at least two other rounds east of Blue's Road and east of the 27-man grave (Test Area C)

The other item (FS1475) is of only probable cannon association. It is a 3/8-inch diameter, bolt shank with a flattened countersunk head. It appears to be a modified, handmade carriage bolt. The bolt may be from a cannon carriage, caisson, or limber tire. Bolts of this type were used to hold the iron tire rim in place on the felloe. The size is definitely consistent with the identification, and the bolt was found in the area traditionally assumed to be the artillery position.

Deformed Bullets and Lead Scrap

Forty-six bullets were so deformed on impact that they were unrecognizable by caliber, with one exception. The single recognizable bullet is an Enfield (FS1629) found embedded in a fragment of wood. It is too distorted to determine the precise caliber. Two other bullets, too distorted to determine caliber, FS201 1 and 2026, were also found embedded in wood on the west side of Nicholson Creek near the presumed Confederate position. The remaining bullets (FS1126, 1142, 1322, 1342, 1372, 1374, 1380, 1386, 1453, 1465, 1495, 1500, 1507, 1508, 1518, 1537, 1541, 1551, 1557, 1558, 1570, 1585, 1591, 1595, 1599, 1605, 1608, 1614, 1619, 1631, 1634, 1639, 1642, 1643, 1644, 1654, 1665, 1702, 1705, 1710, 1718, 2009, and 2019) were found scattered over the entire battlefield. They undoubtedly represent bullets of various calibers fired during combat that, upon impact, became distorted and unrecognizable.

Two pieces of large flat lead (FS1602 and 1721) may be fragments of cannon shell bands. The 3-inch Hotchkiss shell used a lead band to grip the Ordnance Rifle's bore when fired. The flat lead pieces may also be from later projectiles, as is FS1519, which is associated with modern Army training exercises. Both lead pieces, however, were recovered in the vicinity of Civil War artifacts. One was found in the presumed Confederate position west of Nicholson Creek and the other east of Blue's Road and east of the probable cannon battery site.

Large Iron Fragments (Possible Shrapnel)

The investigations yielded 49 thick iron fragments that may be shrapnel from exploded artillery shells. Some fragments are probably from more modern artillery, although most do not have the ragged-edge appearance of modern steel shrapnel. However, the finding of unexploded, modern rifle grenades and artillery rounds and obviously modern, ragged

iron fragments during field work certainly suggests modern fragments may well be present in this group. Some of the iron is so oxidized that no surface features are present for further classification.

The field specimens' numbers are FS1032, 1033?, 1059, 1080, 1334?, 1375, 1412?, 1418?, 1426?, 1431?, 1447?, 1450, 1467?, 1483, 1491 (m?), 1497?, 1499 (m?), 1502 (m?), 1504 (m?), 1520 (nose threads), 1523 (m?), 1525, 1526, 1527, 1534 (m?), 1535 (m?), 1536 (m?), 1540?, 1542 (m?), 1547 (m?), 1548?, 1549 (m?), 1552 (m?), 1554 (m?) 1560, 1562 (m?), 1563 (m?), 1565 (m?), 1567, 1568 (m?), 1569 (m?), 1570 (m?), 1583?, 1680?, 1689?, 1700, 1732 (m?), and 2040 (m?). The m? denotes a possible modern shrapnel fragment and the? Denotes a questionable identification.

The majority of these fragments were recovered north of the firebreak road and northeast of the house site (Test Area A). A few, about five, were found in or immediately adjacent to the house, and eight were found north of the presumed site of the cannon battery. Three were found west of Blue's Road and west of the 27-man grave (Test Area C), and one was found east of the battery site but west of Nicholson Creek.

Non-Battle Bullets and Cartridges

The site yielded thousands of expended, military blank cartridges in various calibers. These were not collected or recorded. Several cartridges and bullets were collected that could not be readily identified in the field. Laboratory analysis determined these to post-date the battle period. FS1346 is a .22-caliber bullet; FS1600 is a 12-gauge rifled shotgun slug; and FS1318 is a .30-caliber bullet. FS1487 and FS1693 are .25-caliber rimfire cartridge cases probably fired in Smith and Wesson pistols. FS1482 is a .25-caliber rimfire cartridge case head. FS1411 and FS1492 are modern primer cups, and FS1417 is a modern rifle primer.

Battle-Related Equipment, Personnel Items, and Harness Items

The investigations yielded relatively few, definitively battle-related artifacts. The items that can be clearly associated are pieces of equipment and fragments of horse furniture. A single coin dating to the battle era was recovered. It is an 1854 half-dime (FS1373) with arrows on either side of the date. The closing stud to a cartridge box or cap pouch (FS1646) was found west of Nicholson Creek. The stud is lead and typical of Confederate equipment. A brass spur fragment (FS1464) was recovered east of Blue's Road and southeast of the 27-man grave (Test Area C). A single General Service cuff button (FS1686) and a button back (FS1612) are the only uniform parts found.

The remaining battle-related items are associated with horse trappings. These include a 1-inch brass ring (FS1719), a 2 ½ -inch (FS2007) harness ring, six copper rivets (FS1336, 1419, 1434, 1449, 1685, and 1694) which are of the type and sizes used on halter, bridles, and saddles. Buckles were a ubiquitous part of horse gear, and several were recovered: FS 1388, a 1-inch D-buckle; FS1622, a brass buckle frame fragment; and FS1012 and 1723, brass, center bar, bridle-type buckles. A 3/4-inch halter square (FS1445) and a McCellan saddle plate (FS1724) comprise the remainder of the battle-related horse furniture.

Other Horse and Wagon Artifacts

A few other horse and wagon items were recovered during the investigations. They are ubiquitous enough that they cannot be directly associated with the battle. They were found in a variety of places around the battlefield and were often associated with battle-related artifacts. However, the context is not enough to state they are from the battle era given the long usage of horses and wagons for conveyance.

Horseshoe nails are represented by FS1460 and FS1345. Horseshoe fragments FS1329 and 1498 are hand-forged pieces with applied caulks and could be of the battle era.

FS1692 is a large draft horse size shoe, and FS 1202 is a mule shoe, either of which may be associated with any of many activities occurring on or around the site since before the war and through World War I.

FS1248, FS1611, and FS1727 are fragments of check rings assemblies associated with draft harness, and the latter also includes a horseshoe fragment. FS1290 is the end ring for a wagon end rod, and FS1687 is a box rod fragment.

Miscellaneous Artifacts

A wide variety of other materials were recovered, primarily near the house site and along the ridge believed to contain other Monroe farm outbuilding sites. For the sake of brevity, these artifacts are presented in tabular form ([Table 7](#)).

Nails

A large number of cut nails were located along the ridge containing the Monroe House site and the suspected farm outbuildings ([Figure 33](#)). There are ten 3d, nine 4d, 22 6d, 59 8d, one 9d, 76 10d, 14 12d, six 16d, 14 20d, seven 30d, four 40d, and 84 unclassifiable fragments.

The distribution includes roofing, framing, and lathing-sized nails that undoubtedly reflect the remains of a series of frame buildings once located on the ridge.

Six wire nails and one staple were also recovered. These may reflect box or later construction episodes. They may be related to the Army use of the site in later years.



Chapter 6 - Interpreting the Evidence

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Chapter 6

INTERPRETING THE EVIDENCE

Combined here are the historical documentary evidence and the data derived from the archeological artifact analysis.

In reading these interpretations, it is appropriate to keep in mind the crime scene analogy presented in chapter one. The historical documentation is analogous to the witnesses' testimony, and the archeological data is the event's physical evidence. The artifact evidence gathered over the years has been used some in earlier interpretations. The Monroe's Crossroads archeological project added significant new data. Combining the new archeological data with earlier artifact finds and interweaving the historical data provide a rich new tapestry for interpretation.

Interpreting the battle through archeological evidence is subject to several biases. Uncontrolled relic collecting over the years has reduced the total artifact quantity and has undoubtedly disrupted some artifact distribution patterns. However, the data provided by Fred Raber and Stanley Dahl have provided important documentation on some past collection efforts. Another bias considered is that the battle is not the only cultural event that occurred at this location. Construction of fences, buildings, and roads and even trash disposal have added to the battlefield's archeological record. The pre- and post-battle activities were generally easily recognizable by datable artifact types. These biases were kept in mind as the interpretations were developed.

The Battle of Monroe's Crossroads is only moderately well documented in the records and remembrances of the Civil War participants. Most recollections and official reports generally agree. There are, however, gaps and conflicts in that record, which is one reason the archeological project was undertaken. The archeological evidence does fill some gaps in the story and, in some cases, clarifies conflicting historical accounts. It also raises new questions.

The interpretations offered here are based on the analysis of the archeological evidence—the artifacts. Artifacts are the physical evidence of human behavior. They are the material culture remains of past activities. As such, the artifacts offer information regarding the nature of those activities. This information is available not only through the individual artifact, but also in the spatial and contextual relationships between artifacts. Whether the artifact is a bullet from the battle, a piece of equipment used by a soldier, or a nail used in fence construction, each helps the archeologist piece together the history of human use of the battlefield.

EVIDENCE OF CLOTHING AND EQUIPMENT

The number of artifacts representing clothing and equipment used by the combatants is relatively small. This is not unexpected given the brief nature of the battle. Clothing itself is not likely to survive the ravages of time, but metal buttons and fasteners, as well as decorative devices, do provide some information about the clothing worn or not worn on March 10, 1865.

Clothing

Attire during the war has been the subject of exhaustive research by many others. Contemporary records and surviving uniforms have been used by numerous researchers to develop a comprehensive view of Civil War uniforms on both sides of the conflict (Todd 1974, 1977, 1978). It is generally assumed the Union troops were relatively well clothed and accoutered, while the Confederates were dressed in ragged uniforms by war's end.

A Confederate report of inspection for January and February 1865 by *Colonel Charles C. Jones* gives just such an impression of the status and condition of *Wheeler's Cavalry Corps* (reproduced in Dodson n.d.:408-420). Clothing was in short supply, particularly jackets and overcoats. Apparently, many men needed overcoats. The overcoats the Confederates had were mostly captured from Union troops.

The same apparently was true for horse equipment. Accouterments were also in short supply, and most men carried their ammunition in their pockets, haversacks, or saddlebags.

Archeological evidence for clothing consists of buttons, hooks, a trouser or vest buckle, and suspender grips. Five types of buttons were found distributed on the field and in the grave sites.

The first type is a single, Federal, general service, brass button. The second type includes trouser fly and suspender buttons. The third type comprises C.S.A. buttons. The fourth type is a hard rubber button, and the fifth is the Prosser molded button.

The brass, general service buttons were found in two sizes-the small cuff or forage cap strap size and the larger blouse or overcoat size. The smaller buttons are plain, eagle-style, general service buttons. The larger, general service type has an "I" in the eagle's shield. The "I" is for infantry. Some light blue cloth and some very dark, almost black cloth, was found adhering to some of the buttons.

These two cloth-type remnants may be bits of uniform and may indicate some repair or refitting occurred. This is consistent with the impression that some Confederate units were poorly clothed and had salvaged as much as possible from other sources by the end of the war.

One iron trouser button was found in the presumed Confederate grave (Test Area C). Buttons of this type were used to close the fly and attach suspenders on trousers. This button type is common on 19th century civilian trousers and was the regulation button for army-issue trousers. The Prosser molded buttons were found primarily in Test Area C. They are probably from shirts or under garments.

The C.S.A. buttons are all large blouse or overcoat size and were all recovered in the presumed Confederate grave, along with a variety of Union buttons. These findings further reinforce the view of the poorly clad Confederate soldier. Most of these buttons retain evidence of a cloth covering of a coarse weave.

The nonmilitary button- a hard rubber, domed button made by Novelty Rubber Company- was also found in the presumed Confederate grave and may have been associated with a rain slicker.

A few other clothing-related artifacts either corroborate the association of other finds or suggest additional items of clothing were present. A trouser or vest-adjustment buckle adds to the trouser button data base or suggests a vest was present. The presence of a suspender grip in the grave site also supports the trouser data. A single, S-hook assembly was found in the grave site, although its function is not yet identified.

The archeological clothing specimens, except two buttons, were found associated with grave sites. A single, half-dime coin was found south of the house site in the area of a large nail concentration. The nails indicate a substantial outbuilding once stood there. Neill Blue noted that after the battle he saw many dead and wounded soldiers in and around the log barn, the site of which may be indicated by the nail concentration.

Soldiers' Equipment

The average soldier carried a variety of equipment during a campaign. He, of course, carried weapons, but he also had a belt with a buckle, a cartridge pouch, and a cap pouch. He would have also had a canteen, mess gear, and a haversack. The archeological evidence for equipment is limited in number, but diverse. Besides the firearms evidence, to be discussed later, perhaps the most significant equipment artifact is a closing stud for a cartridge box or cap pouch. It is cast of lead and is probably Confederate in origin

Other equipment found include an army issue, brass, 1859 pattern spur fragment. Stanley Dahl, in his earlier collecting efforts, found barrel bands from Springfield muskets, a forend cap from an Enfield musket, a probable Enfield bayonet scabbard stud, knapsack adjustment hooks, a saber strap hook, belt plates (both Union and Confederate), spur buckles, possible guidon pole bases, and shelter half or tent grommets and reenforcing rings. Also, a brass, escutcheon saddle plate was recovered, as were rivets and various saddle and bridle buckles. Stanley Dahl found similar buckles and a fragment of an army bit.

A few mess items were recovered. An iron spoon was recovered in the Confederate grave, as were fragments of a possible cup or small camp boiler.

WEAPONS AT THE BATTLE OF MONROE'S CROSSROADS

Bullets, cartridges, cartridge cases, friction primers, and shell fragments are the direct evidence of the weapons used during the battle. Combining the direct physical evidence with the available historical documentation allows, in expanded detail, examination of the role of weaponry in the battle.

Only one Confederate account ([Dodson n.d.:408-420](#)) provides any specificity to the armament at Monroe's Crossroads. *Colonel Charles C. Jones'* report of inspection for January and February 1865 notes ammunition itself was in short supply. The men were noted to be carrying an average of 35 to 40 rounds per man. The report noted *Wheeler's* ordnance train carried an ammunition reserve of only slightly more than 40 rounds per man.

The armament of the men was identified as mixed. Most men carried the Colt Navy or

Army revolver, but the shoulder arms were a mixed lot.

As a general rule, there is a great want of uniformity in the armament of this command. The principal weapons in the hands of the men are the long and short Enfield rifle, the Springfield musket, the Austrian rifle, a variety of breechloading rifles, viz.: the Spencer, the Burnside, Sharp, Maynard, & c., and various kinds of pistols.

Many, if not all, of the breechloading rifles and pistols are captured arms; for some of them, as the Spencer, there is great difficulty in procuring the requisite amount of ammunition, the supply now in the cartridge boxes of the men, and in the ordnance train, having been obtained exclusively by capture. With such a variety of calibers, and in view of the fact that the supply is at best but limited and uncertain, for at least some of the guns mentioned, it becomes almost a matter of impossibility to secure at all times the proper amount of ammunition. There should be a greater uniformity in the armament of the regiments, and if possible brigades.

Jones further noted that most of the men who had captured weapons regarded them as their private property. Jones wanted all arms, regardless of origin, to be considered government property and to be reissued in a consistent and uniform manner among regiments and brigades. Apparently, this recommendation was never carried out.

Chapter 6 (continued)

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Appendix 1

HISTORIC ARTIFACTS FROM TEST AREA A

List of Artifact Types (Click to view each one)

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- [Medical and Health](#)
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- [Domestic Furnishings](#)
- [Food and Drink](#)
- [Culinary Objects](#)
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Prehistoric Materials from Test Area A					
<i>Provenience</i>	<i>Level or Stratum</i>	<i>Cat. Number</i>	<i>Identification</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Description</i>
E.U. C3, N 1/2	30-40 cm	41	Flakes	?	5; 4 white quartz, 1 clear
E.U. D3, N 1/2	30-40 cm	35	Flake	?	1 white quartz
E.U. D3, N 1/2	30-40 cm	88	Flake	?	1 white quartz, retouched
E.U. D3, SW 1/2	12-40 cm	85	Flakes	?	2 white quartz
E.U. D4, N 1/4	0-40 cm	101	Flakes	?	5 white quartz
E.U. D5, N 1/4	0-40 cm	117	Flakes	?	7 white quartz
E.U. D5, N 1/4	40-50 cm	122	Flakes	?	3 white quartz
Trench 1	0-20 cm	109	Flakes	?	2 white quartz
Trench 1	20-40 cm	115	Flake	?	1 white quartz
S.P. 1N/1E	---	164	Flake	?	1 white quartz
S.P. 3N/1E	---	145	Biface	?	1 fragment of limestone cortex (?)
S.P. 6N/3W	---	139	Flake	?	1 white quartz
S.P. 6N/5W	---	5	Flake	?	1 clear quartz
S.P. 8N/1E	---	183	Flake	?	1 white quartz
S.P. 10N/1W	---	133	Flake	?	1 white quartz

Appendix 3

INFORMATION ABOUT BATTLE CASUALTIES

The following miscellaneous information was abstracted from various Regimental and Company Returns held in the National Archives, other regimental muster rolls, deceased soldier rolls, and records of movements also in the National Archives, as well as from [Reid](#) (1868), [State of Ohio](#) (1868), and participant recollections as cited in [Chapter 3](#):

U.S. LOSSES:

1st Alabama Cavalry (U.S.)

The Regimental returns for March state that the camp was surprised on the morning of March 10 by an overwhelming force of the enemy. They fought most desperately and held possession of the camp sustaining a loss of 4 killed and 27 wounded and 41 prisoners taken.

The Company K returns specifically state they lost one sergeant killed in action (KIA) and one lieutenant and six men wounded in action (WIA). Five were captured.

RG 94 AGO Box 4 Company K returns for March 1865 identify Sgt. William Boling as KIA at Monroe's Crossroads.

The Quarterly returns of deceased soldiers also list Company C Sgt. Robert Vanhouse, Pvt. John Vines; Company D Pvt. Archie Bowen; and Company E Pvt. James Elize or Eliza as killed March 10, 1865.

5th Kentucky Cavalry (U.S.)

RG 92 Office of the Adjutant General box 1371 - The Regimental return for March 1865 shows the loss of three men and one officer killed at Monroe's Crossroads - Adjutant and 1st Lt. William Mitchell, three privates of Company C, John Laittsall, Nathan Wilkerson, and Henry Michaels. The returns also note the loss of 106 prisoners. Two officers are listed as prisoner of war (POW) - 2nd Lt. John Right and Capt. John D. Smith.

5th Ohio Cavalry

The returns are very incomplete. The Company H return states that the Brigade was surrounded in camp by *Hampton's Legion* and completely surprised, but they held the camp with the loss of 15 men killed and 200 prisoners taken and the loss of many equipment and arms. They also counted 60 Confederate dead.

1st Quarter 1865 Quarterly returns of Deceased Soldiers for Company D show Pvt. John Hulse fell at Monroe's Crossroads bravely defending camp.

1st Quarter 1865 Quarterly returns of Deceased Soldiers for Company E show Pvt.

George Troue died of a gunshot wound to the heart at Monroe Crossroads.

Field and Staff Returns for March 1865 show Surgeon David Rannells and Adjutant Lee Haldesman as POW.

Company A returns for March 1865 show six missing in action (MIA) including Pvts. John Schaffner, Thomas Mullen, Gustave Froelich or Fraolich, John Honneck [sic Co. B], John Leonard, and William Lumley.

Company C returns for March 1865 show 2nd Lt. Martin Peters as MIA after Monroe's Crossroads.

Company H return for March 1865 states a loss of one KIA, four POW, four WIA, and four horses WIA. No names are identified.

Company K Return for March 1865 notes Lt. E. H. Shaw as MIA on March 9. (This may be one of the officers captured by Hampton and Butler on the 9th.)

Company L Return for March 1865 notes four POW but does not provide names.

Company M return for March 1865 notes three WIA but does not provide names.

Additional Data About The 5th Ohio Cavalry

The state of Ohio compiled lists of their servicemen and records of service. Included are: Referring to the Monroe's Crossroads battle, Reid (1868:787) states, "The loss of the Fifth in this affair alone, in killed, wounded, and missing was seventy-three, including Adjutant Haldeman, Lieutenant Peters and Snyder, and Surgeon Rannells captured."

The Official Roster of Soldiers (1868) lists the following individuals at Monroe's Crossroads:

Killed In Action

Company D

Hoy, John, Private

Company E

Troue, George, Private

Company F

Otto, William, Private

Company G

Thomas, William, Private

Wounded In Action

Company B

Walls, David H., Quartermaster Sergeant

Missing In Action

Company B

Honneck, John, Private

Schaffner, John, Private

Company C
Johnson, Paschal, Private
Wilson, John W., Private

Company D
Harrell, Martin D., 1st Lieutenant
Lagush, Marquis, Saddler
Gallagher, Thomas, Private
Luckin, George B., Private
Rudicil, Michael, Private

Company E
Hinchey, Patrick, Private

Company H
McBride, Francis, Saddler
Harper, John, Private

Company K
Shaw, Edwin, 2nd Lieutenant, March 9, 1865

Company L
Kittering, Lewis, Private
Meatney, Frederick, Private
Taylor, Henry, Private
Walsh, John, Private

10th Wisconsin Battery

The regimental return for March 1865 states the battery marched 40 miles to Monroe's Crossroads and on March 10 were stormed by *General Hampton* at daylight. The battery lost in this action ten men taken prisoner, 30 horses killed and captured, and one gun disabled.

RG 94 AGO box 4854 - This contains an inspection report for the battery dated August 1864 (the latest one found) which states the battery had four officers and 113 men. The battery also had 800 rounds of ammunition, four guns, 104 horses, 36 mules, six wagons, one ambulance, and 11 sabers. No other small arms were noted.

Summary data:

Known Killed In Action (reported total is 23 but 24 are named in returns)
1st Alabama Cavalry (U.S.) = five but reported as four
Boling, William, Sergeant
Vanhouse, Robert, Sergeant
Vines, John, Private
Bowen, Archie, Private
Elize or Eliza, James, Private

5th Kentucky Cavalry (U.S.) = four and reported as four
Mitchell, William, Adjutant and 1st Lieutenant
Laittsall, John, Private

Wilkerson, Nathan, Private
Michaels, Henry, Private

5th Ohio Cavalry = four but reported 15 (Although this number may refer to the whole brigade depending on the way the note is interpreted.)
Hoy, John, Private
Troue, George, Private
Otto, William, Private
Thomas, William, Private

Reported Prisoner of War

1st Alabama Cavalry (U.S.)
41

5th Kentucky Cavalry (U.S.)
106

5th Ohio Cavalry
200 (see note above on KIA) (but only 18 reported in returns)

10th Wisconsin Artillery Battery
10

4th Provisional Brigade (dismounted)
Unknown

Reported Wounded In Action

1st Alabama Cavalry (U.S.)
27

5th Kentucky Cavalry (U.S.)
not stated

5th Ohio Cavalry
not stated

10th Wisconsin Artillery Battery
not stated

4th Provisional Brigade (dismounted)
Unknown

CONFEDERATE LOSSES:

Data on Confederate losses at Monroe Crossroads is derived principally from participant recollections. *General Butler* reported killed and wounded as between 60 and 65 with an unknown number captured. Official Confederate records are woefully incomplete for this period or are nonexistent.

Killed In Action

Jack, Jim, Cobb Legion
King, Lt. Colonel, Cobb Legion
Adams, Mat, 6th South Carolina Cavalry
Cogburn, Fayette, 6th South Carolina Cavalry
Cothran, Samuel G., Sergeant, 6th South Carolina Cavalry
Sego, Tom, 6th South Carolina Cavalry

Wounded In Action

Butler, Nat (serving on *General Butler's* staff)
DeVaux, John, Lieutenant
Farish, Major, unit unknown
Ferguson, Tom, Major, 6th South Carolina Cavalry
Hagen, Colonel, unit unknown
Hodges, G. H., Sergeant, 6th South Carolina Cavalry
Humphrey, John, Lieutenant, (later died of wounds and complications of a delayed arm amputation)
Roberts, Colonel, unit unknown
? Shed, unit unknown



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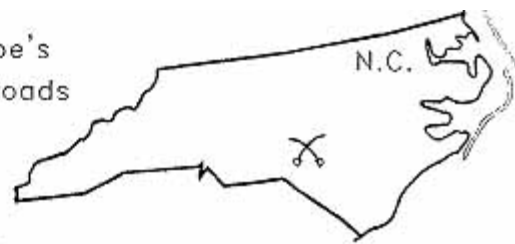
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Ft. Bragg and Monroe's
Crossroads



N.C.

Contour Interval: 20 feet

MORGANTON ROAD

360 feet

400 feet

ROAD

Monroe's
Crossroads
Battle Site

NICHOLSON CREEK

BLUE'S

340 feet

Figure 1 - This map shows the location of the study area within Fort Bragg Military Reservation near Fayetteville, North Carolina.



Figure 2 - Lieutenant General Wade Hampton, C.S.A.



Figure 3 - Brevet Major General Hugh J. Kilpatrick,
U.S.A.

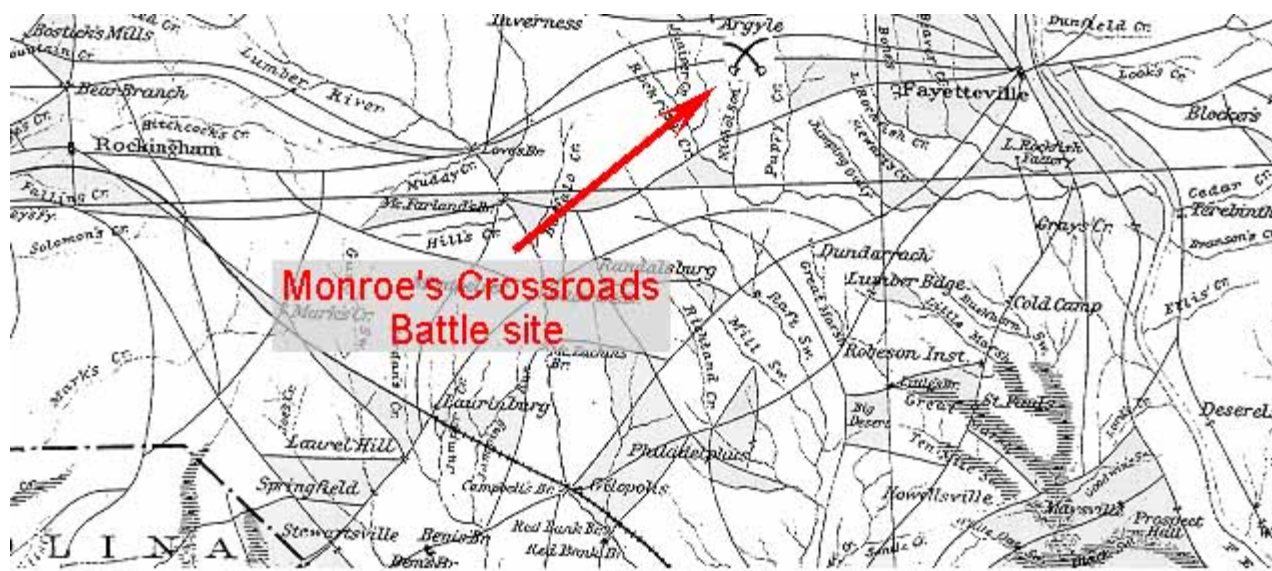


Figure 5 - Crossed sabers indicate the Monroe's Crossroads Battle site on contemporary maps of the Fayetteville, North Carolina area. Top: 1865 road networks. Bottom: Fayetteville and Averyborough battle areas. Note the differences in the road locations near the Monroe's Crossroads Battlefield (Source: Official Military Atlas of the Civil War, 1983 reprint).

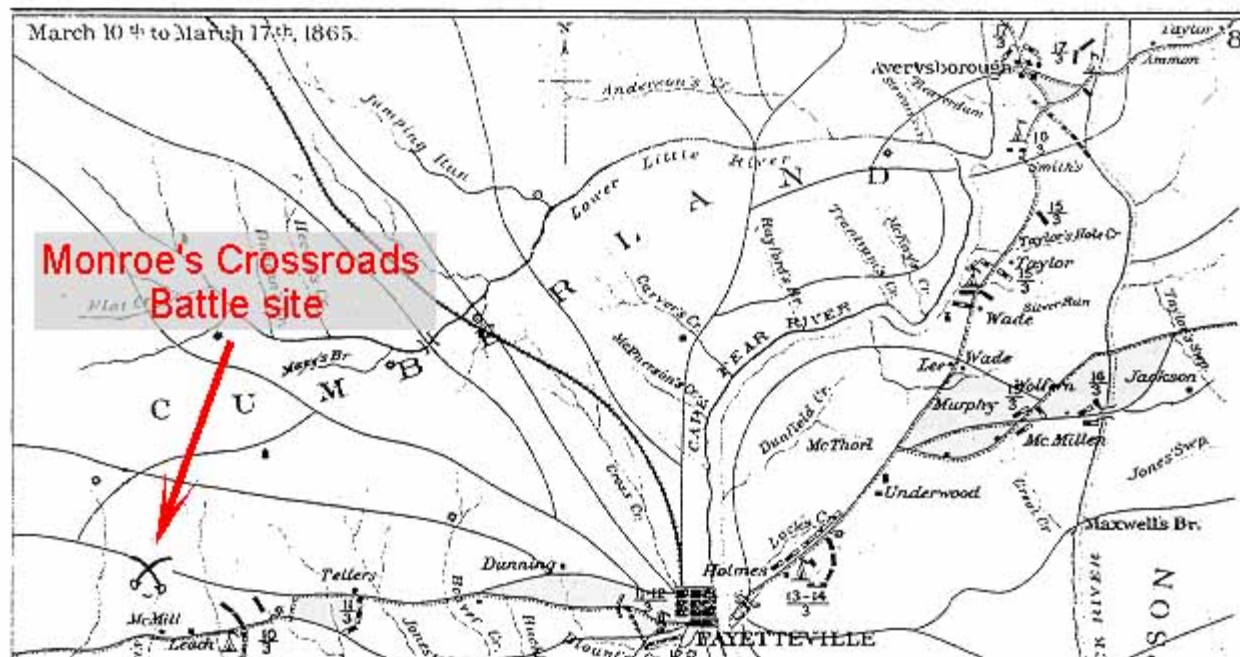


Figure 6 - The Union order of battle at Monroe's Crossroads.

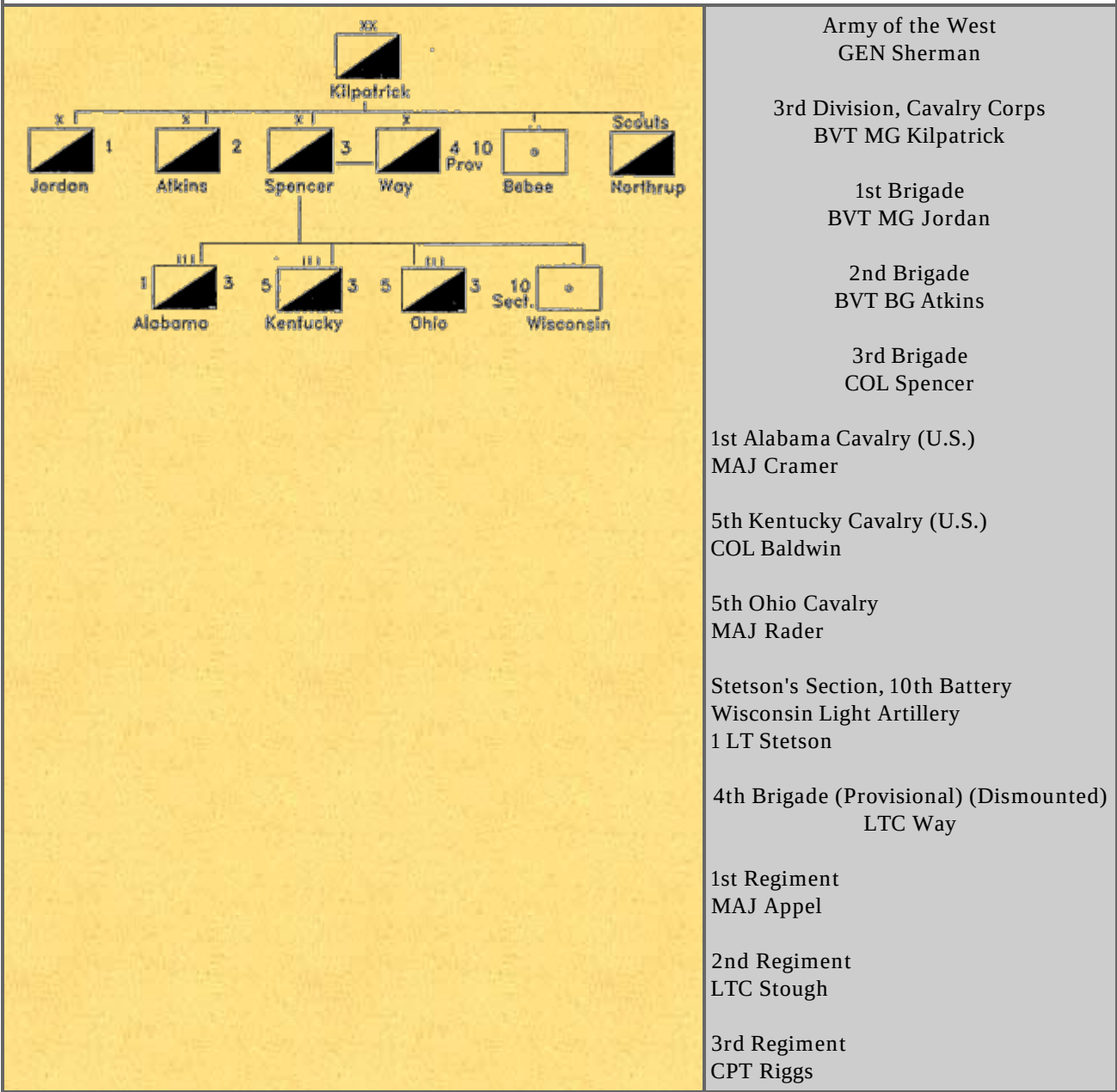


Figure 7 - The Confederate order of battle at Monroe's Crossroads

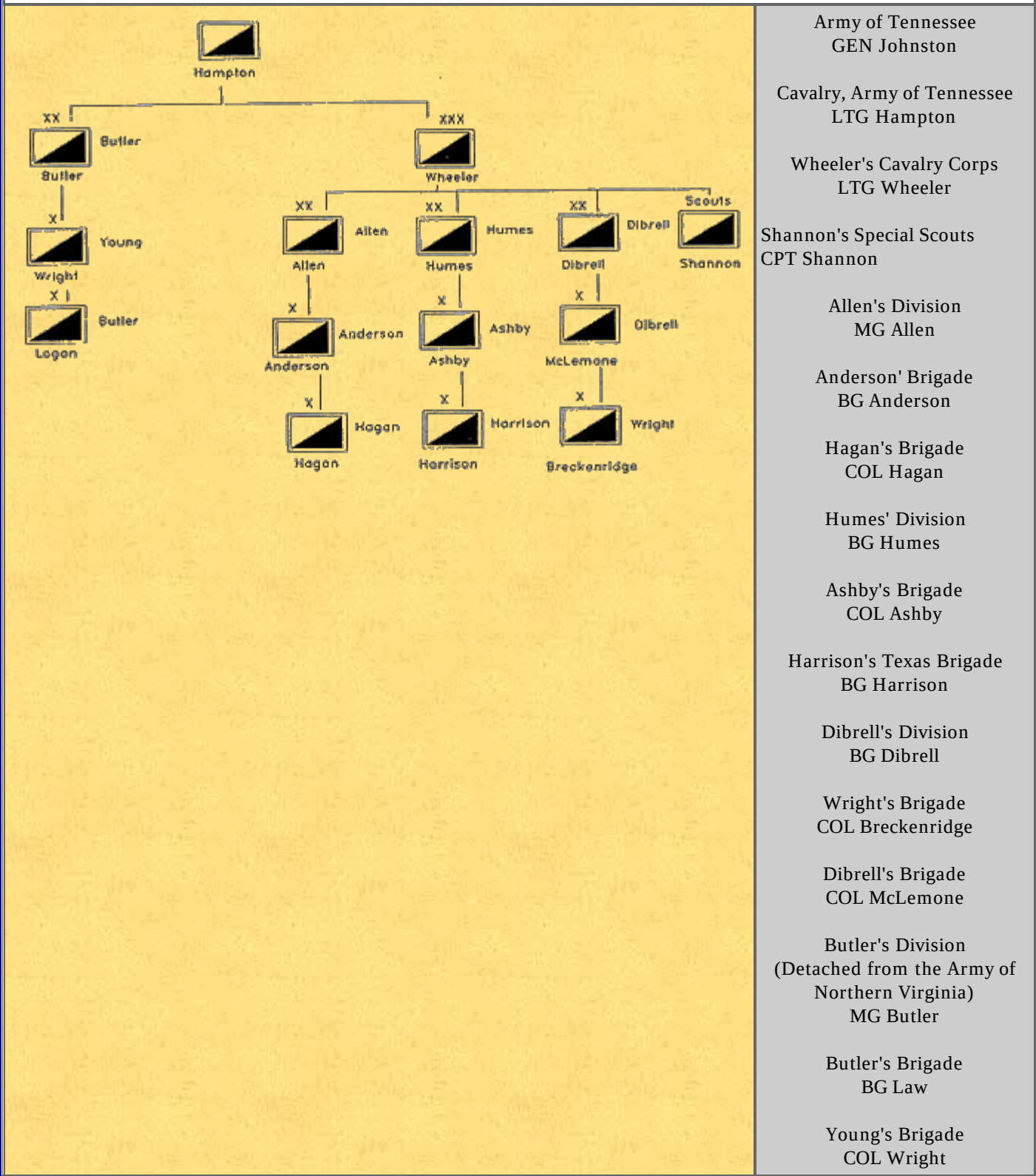




Figure 8 - Lieutenant General Joseph Wheeler,
C.S.A.



Figure 9 - Major General Matthew
C. Butler, C.S.A.



Figure 11 - A grave for Confederate soldiers is marked at Long Street Presbyterian Church.

Figure 13 - "General Kilpatrick recapturing his head-quarters, March 10, 1865." (Harpers Weekly, April 1, 1865)



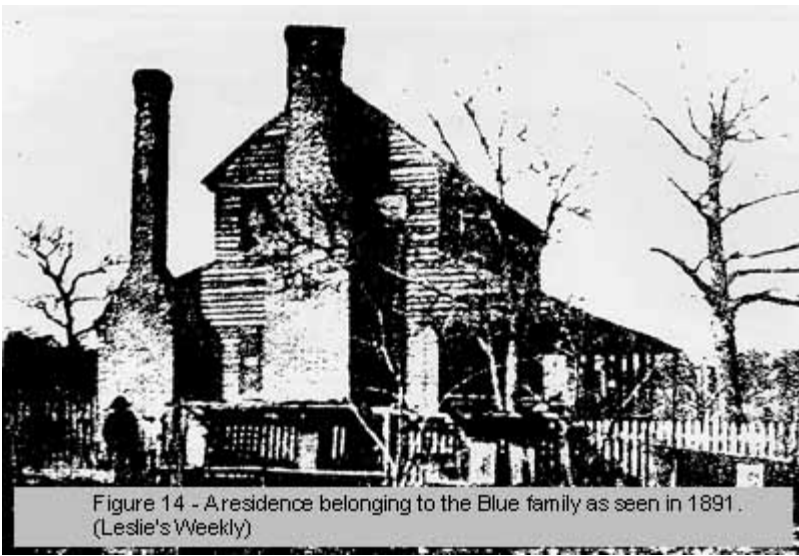
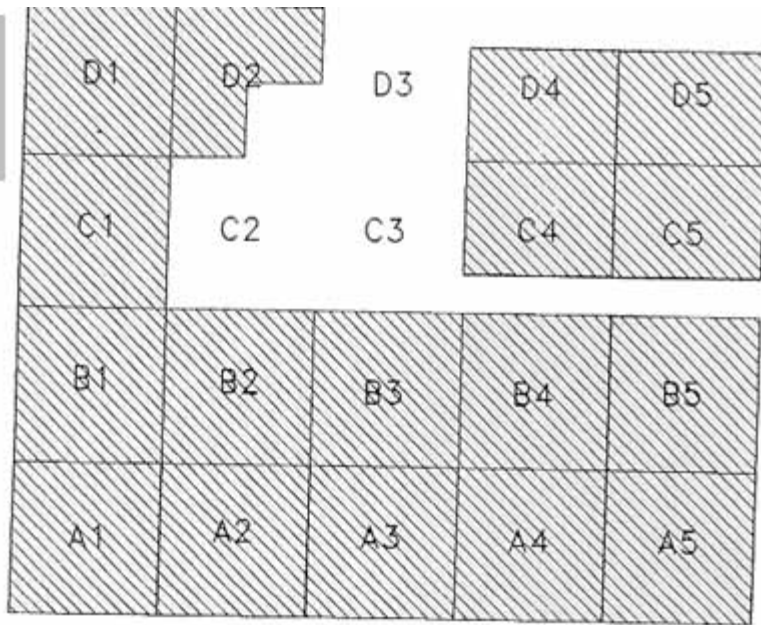


Figure 14 - A residence belonging to the Blue family as seen in 1891.
(Leslie's Weekly)

Figure 15 -
Block
excavation
in
Test Area A



0 5
METERS



UNEXCAVATED UNITS



EXCAVATED UNITS

MONROE HOUSE
SITE (31HK248)

TEST AREA A -
CHIMNEY FALL AREA

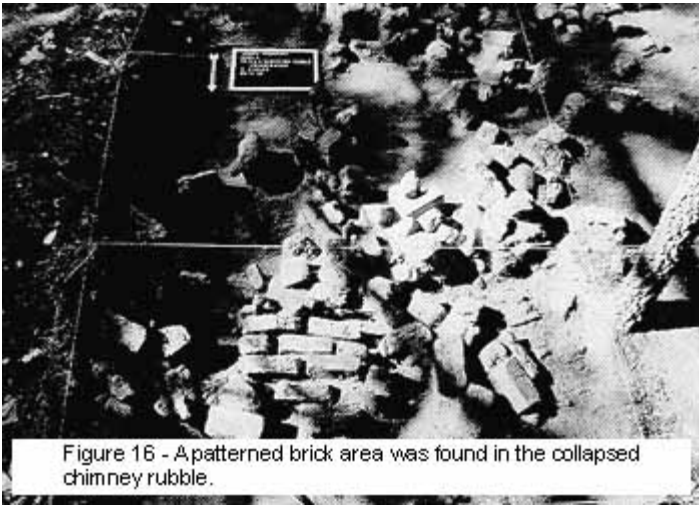


Figure 16 - A patterned brick area was found in the collapsed chimney rubble.

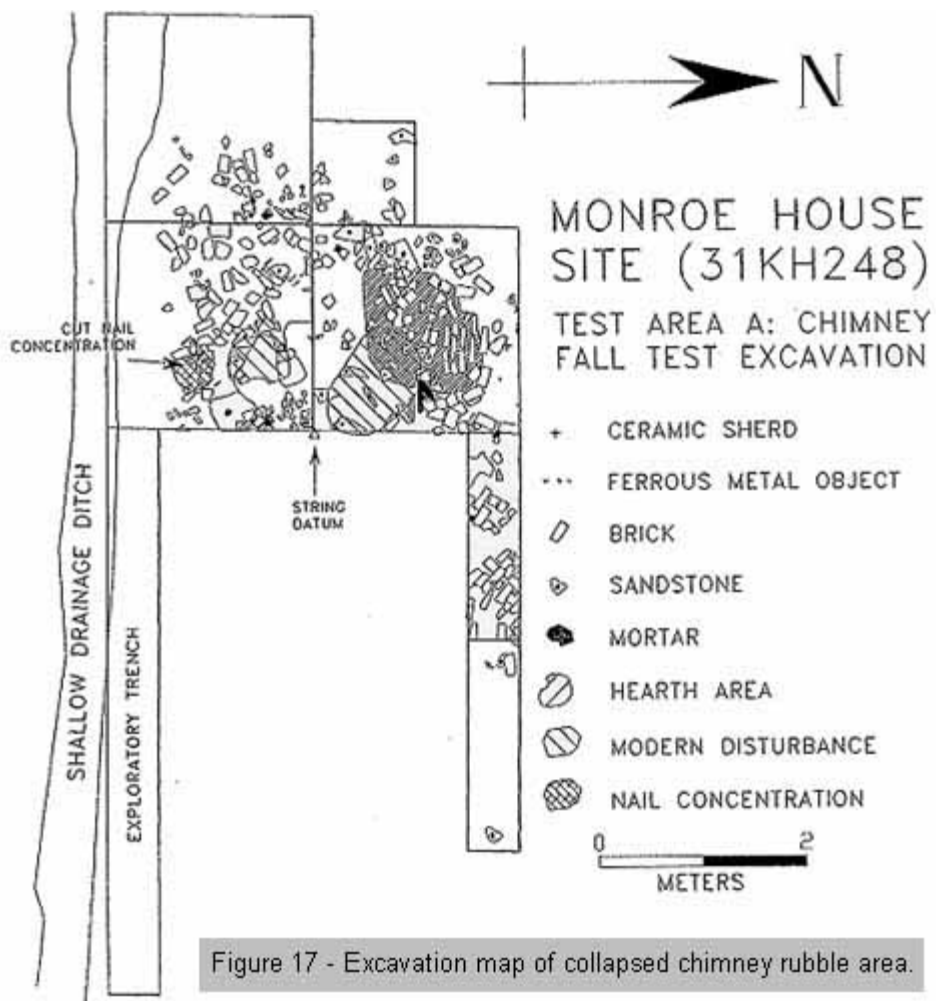


Figure 17 - Excavation map of collapsed chimney rubble area.

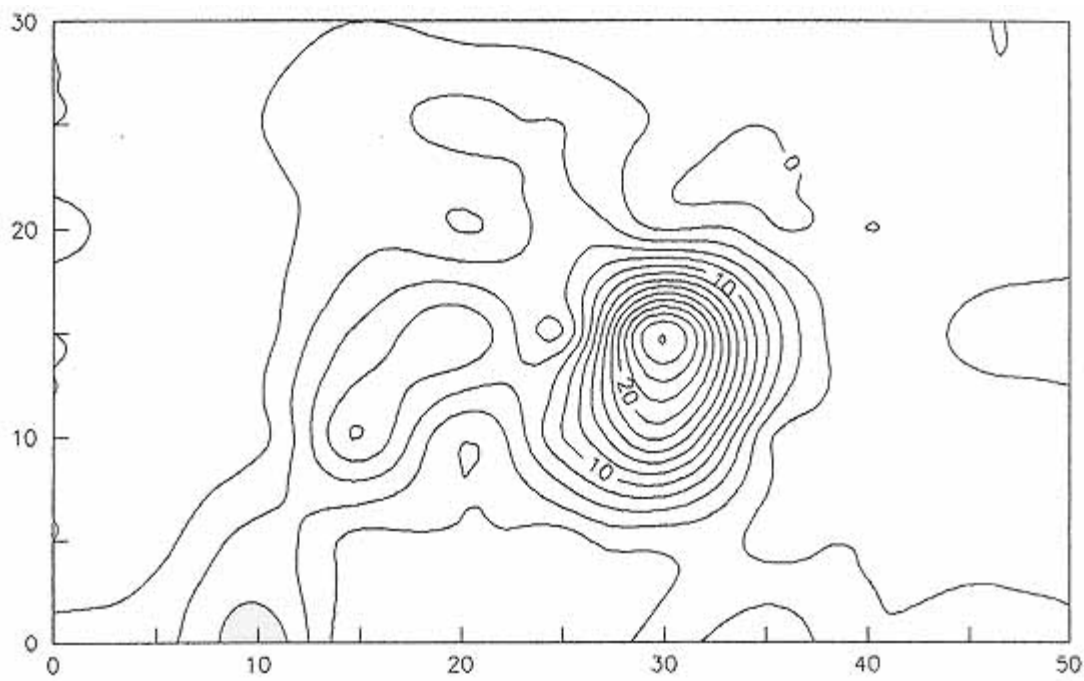


Figure 18 - Artifact concentration in Test Area A as shown through shovel probe testing.

Figure 19 - Artifacts recovered in Test Area A include: a, antebellum stoneware jug spout and handle; b, pressed glass; c, utilitarian domestic container handle.

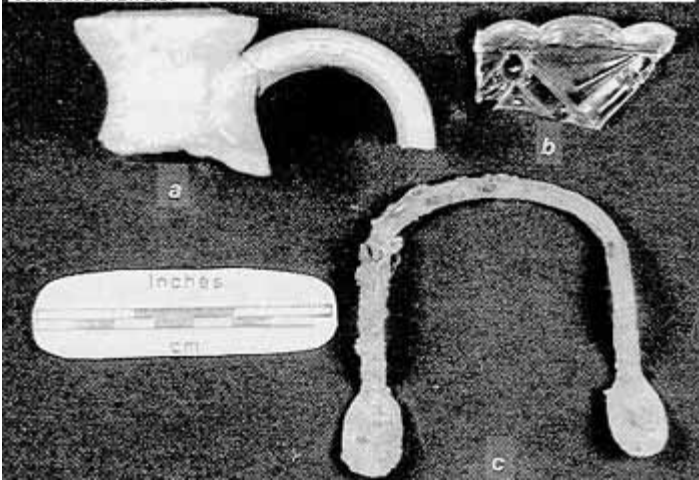


Figure 20 - Frequency distribution of flat glass thickness.

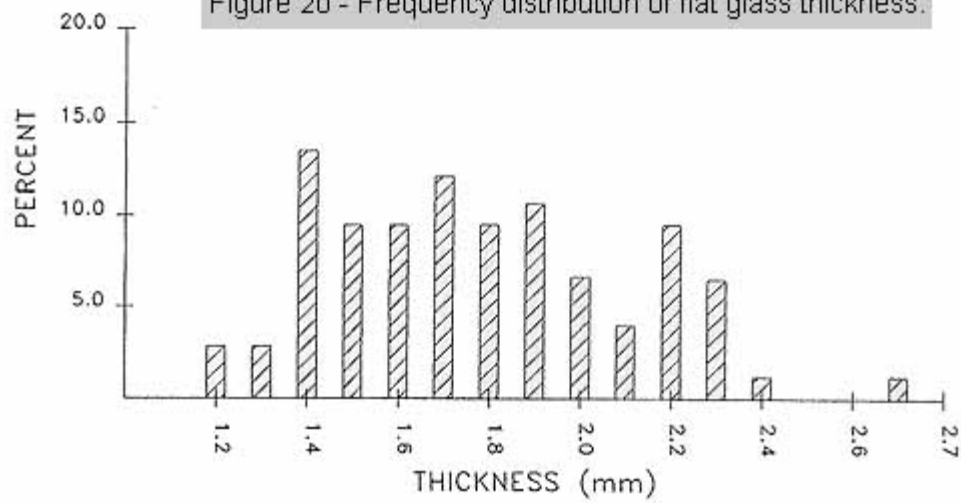
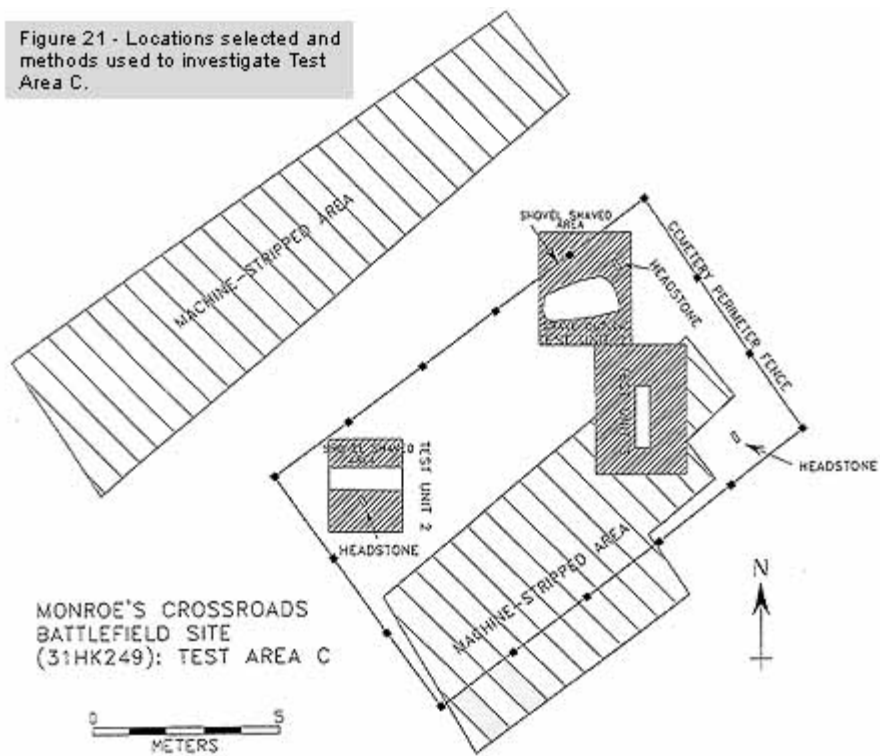


Figure 21 - Locations selected and methods used to investigate Test Area C.



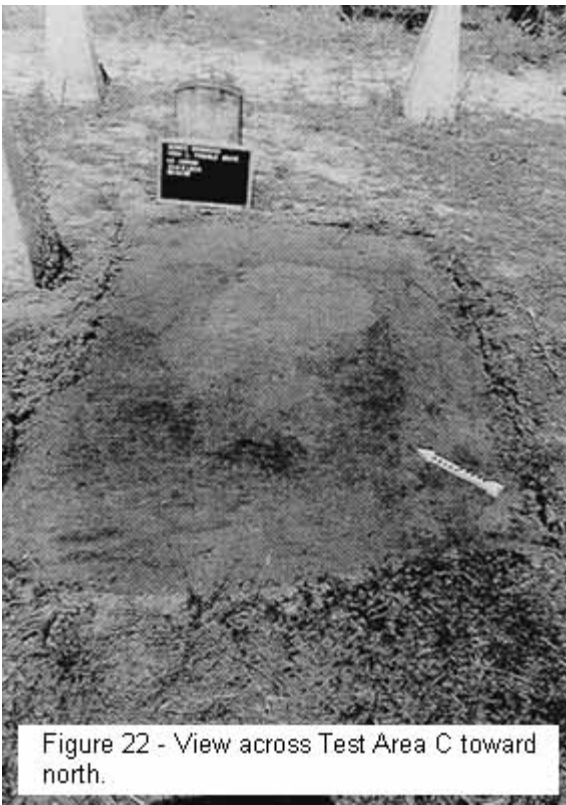


Figure 22 - View across Test Area C toward north.

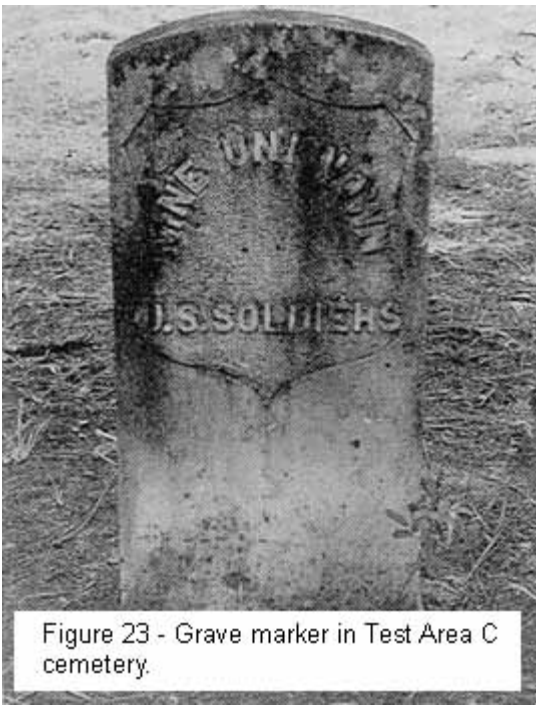
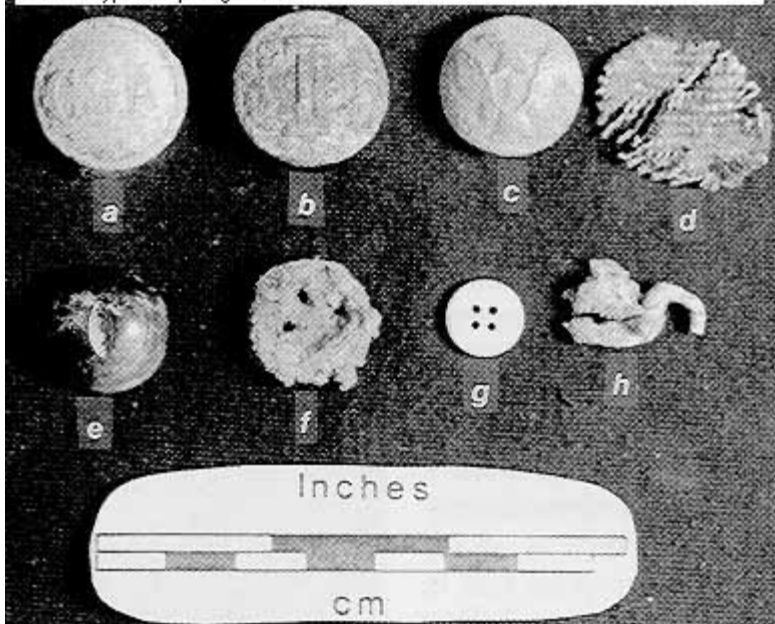
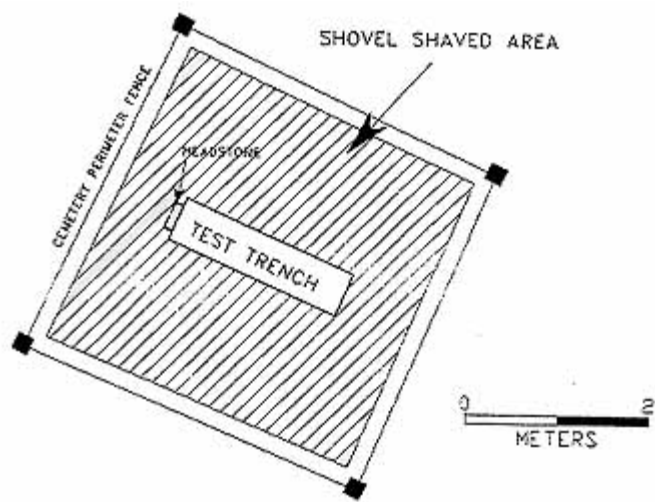


Figure 23 - Grave marker in Test Area C cemetery.

Figure 24 - Artifacts recovered in Test Area C include: a, C.S.A. general service uniform button; b, C.S.A. infantry button; c, U.S. infantry uniform button; d, cloth covering found on U.S. infantry button; e, hard rubber buttons; f, ferrous 4-hole button; g, Prosser molded button from Monroe House site excavations; h, small brass S-type clasp fragment.

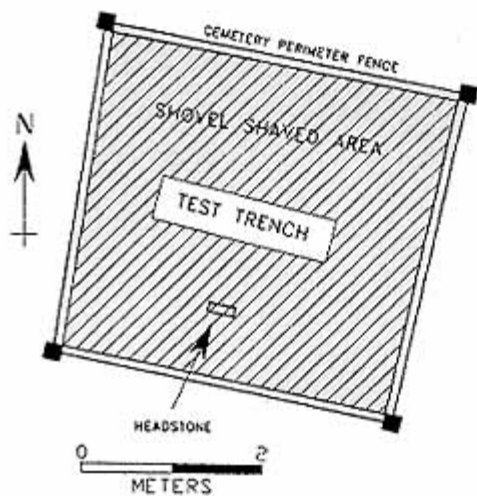




MONROE'S CROSSROADS
BATTLEFIELD SITE
(31HK249)
TEST AREA D

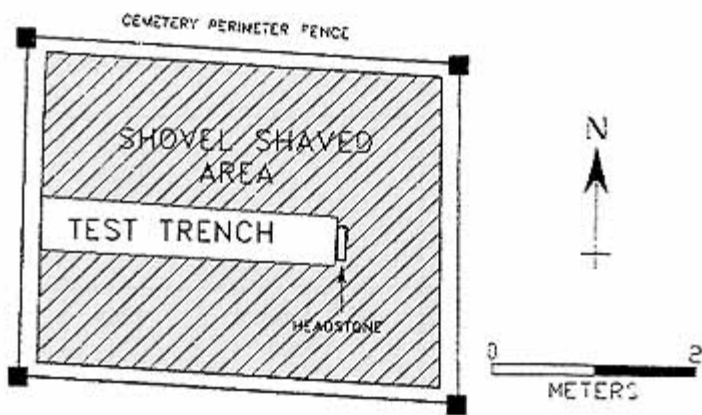


Figure 25 - Investigation map of Test Area D.



MONROE'S CROSSROADS
BATTLEFIELD SITE
(31HK249)
TEST AREA E

Figure 26 - Investigation map of Test Area E.



MONROE'S CROSSROADS
BATTLEFIELD SITE
(31HK249)
TEST AREA F

Figure 27 - Investigation map of Test Area F.

MONROE'S CROSSROADS
BATTLEFIELD SITE
(31HK249)
TEST AREA H



CEMETERY PERIMETER FENCE

EDGE OF LARGE
DEPRESSION

BACKHOF TRENCH



Figure 28 - Investigation map of Test Area H.

View of linear depression.

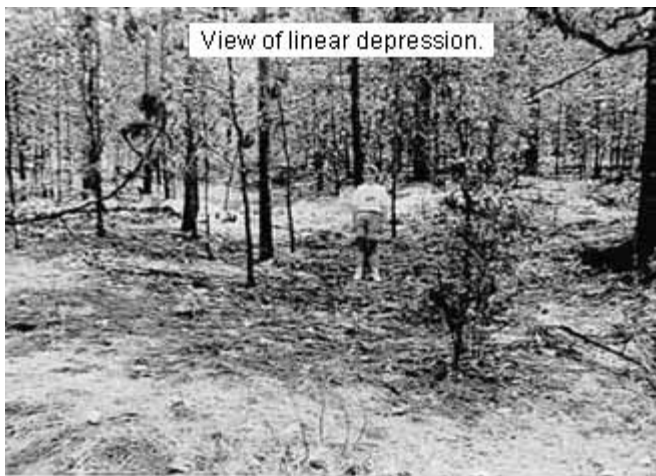


Figure 29 - Old road alignment.

Backhoe trench through depression and soil profile.



View of linear depression.

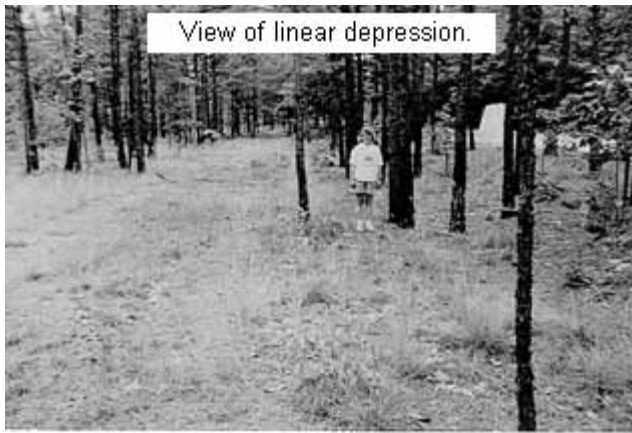


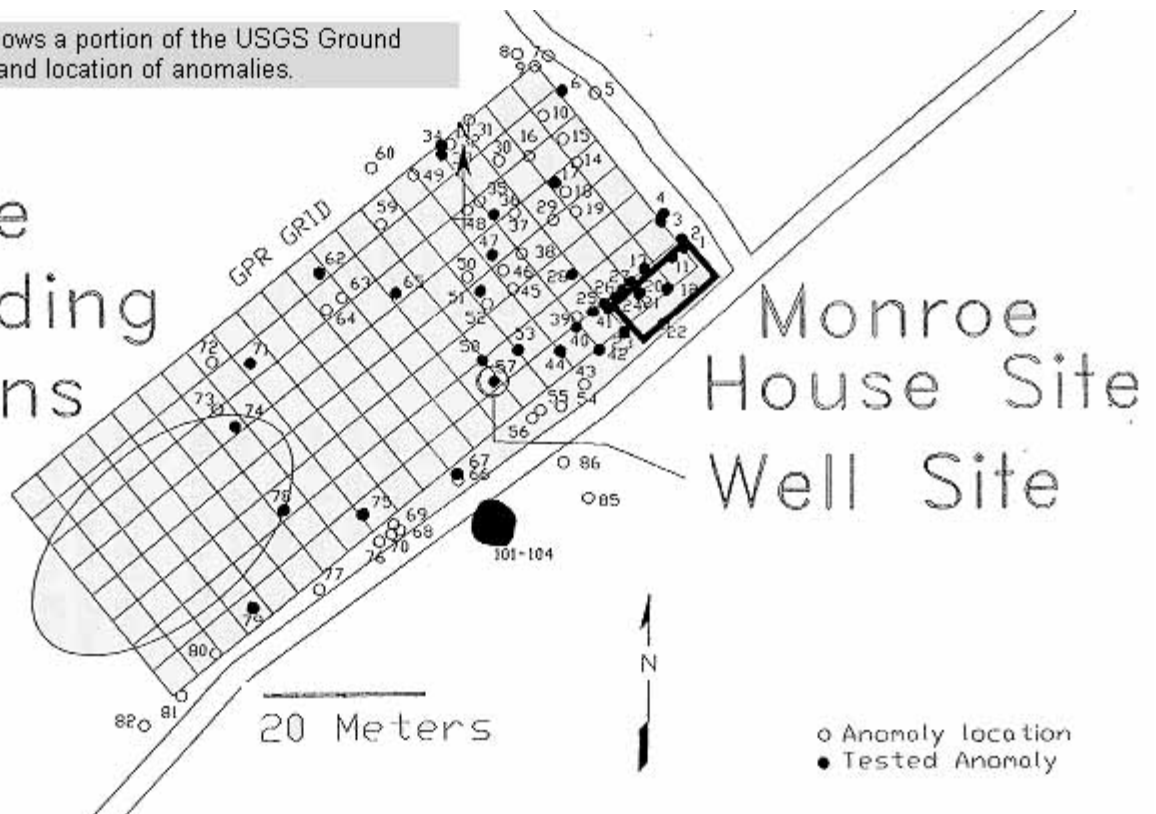
Figure 30 - Old Blue's Road.

Backhoe trench through depression and soil profile.



Figure 31 - This map shows a portion of the USGS Ground Penetrating Radar grid and location of anomalies.

Possible
Outbuilding
Locations



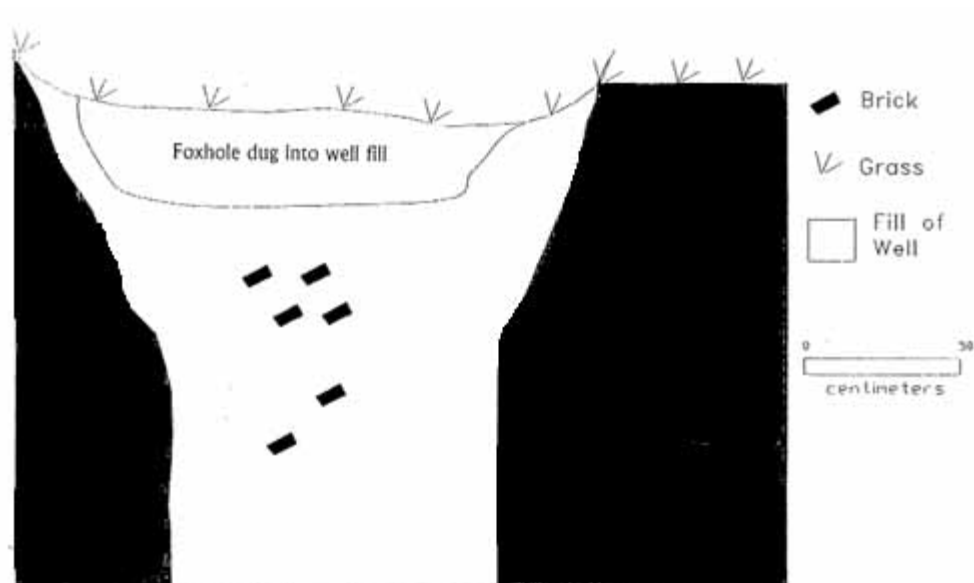


Figure 32 - Profile of Blue's well location as cut by a backhoe.

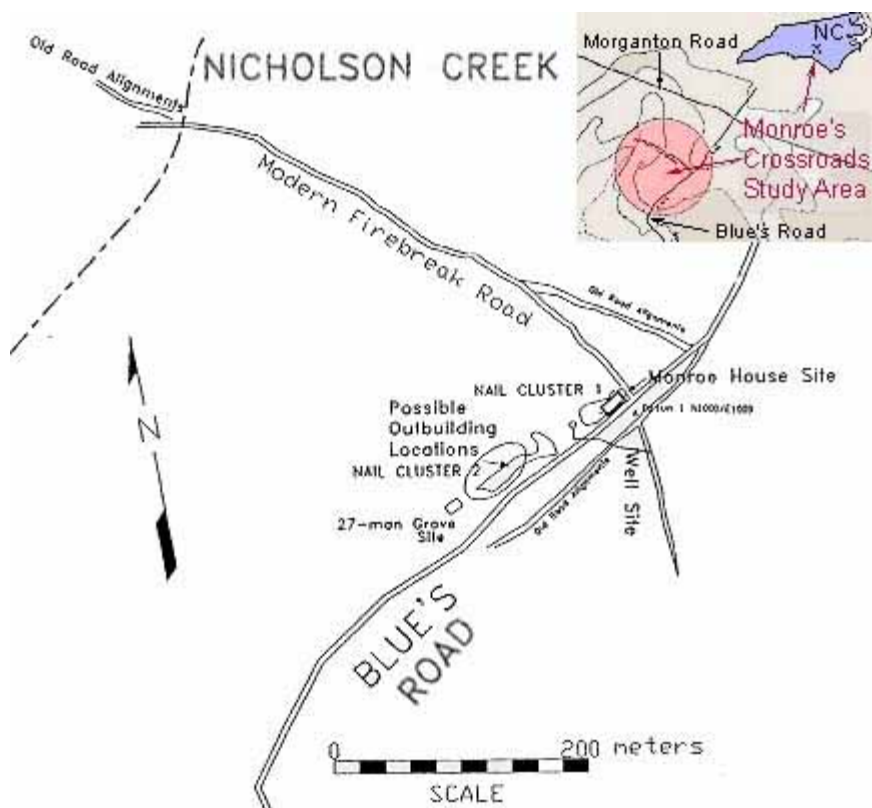


Figure 33 - Distribution of metal-detected nails.

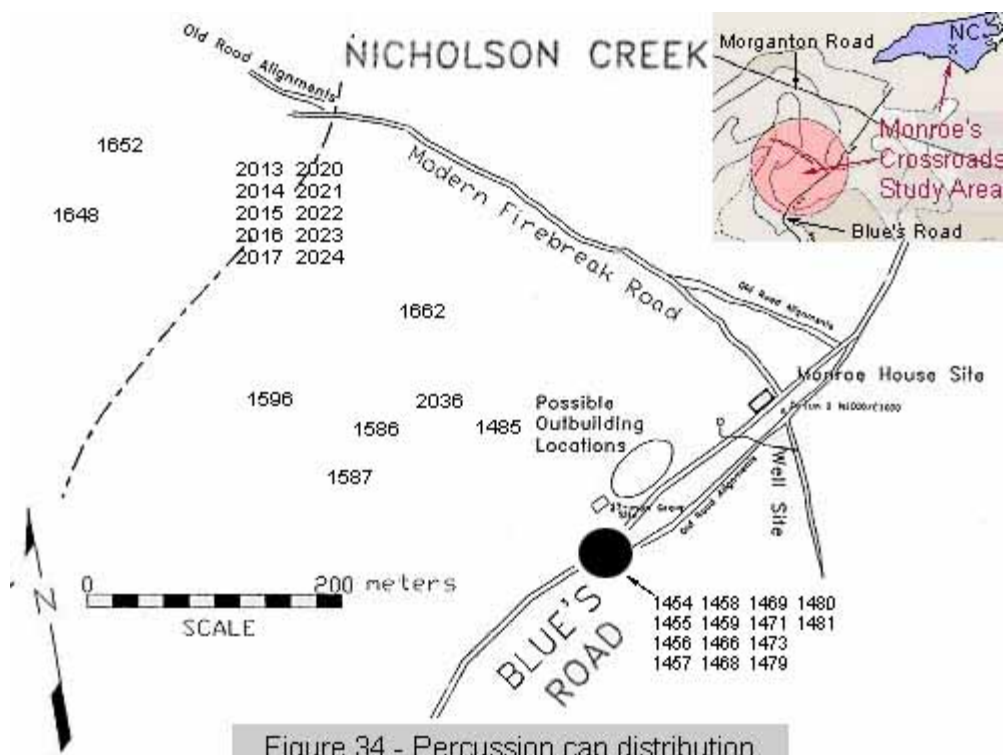


Figure 34 - Percussion cap distribution.

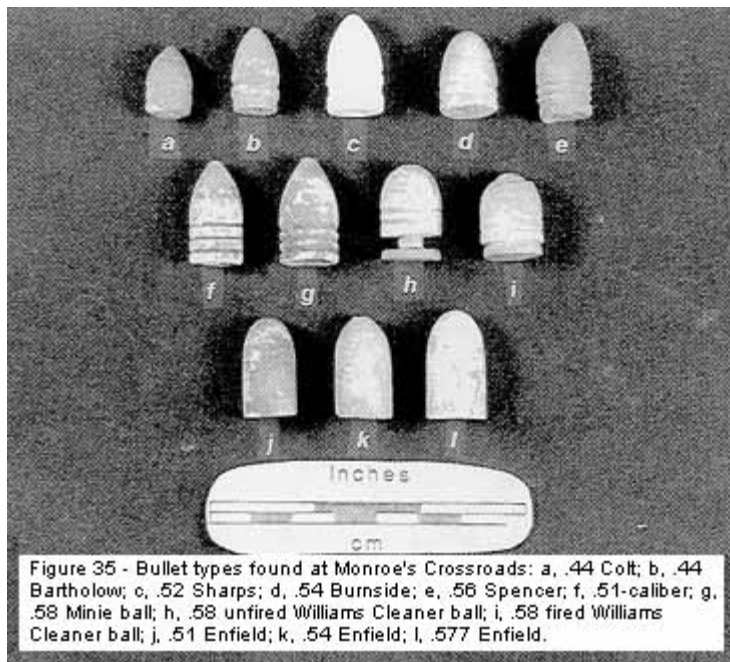


Figure 35 - Bullet types found at Monroe's Crossroads: a, .44 Colt; b, .44 Bartholow; c, .52 Sharps; d, .54 Burnside; e, .56 Spencer; f, .51-caliber; g, .58 Minie ball; h, .58 unfired Williams Cleaner ball; i, .58 fired Williams Cleaner ball; j, .51 Enfield; k, .54 Enfield; l, .577 Enfield.

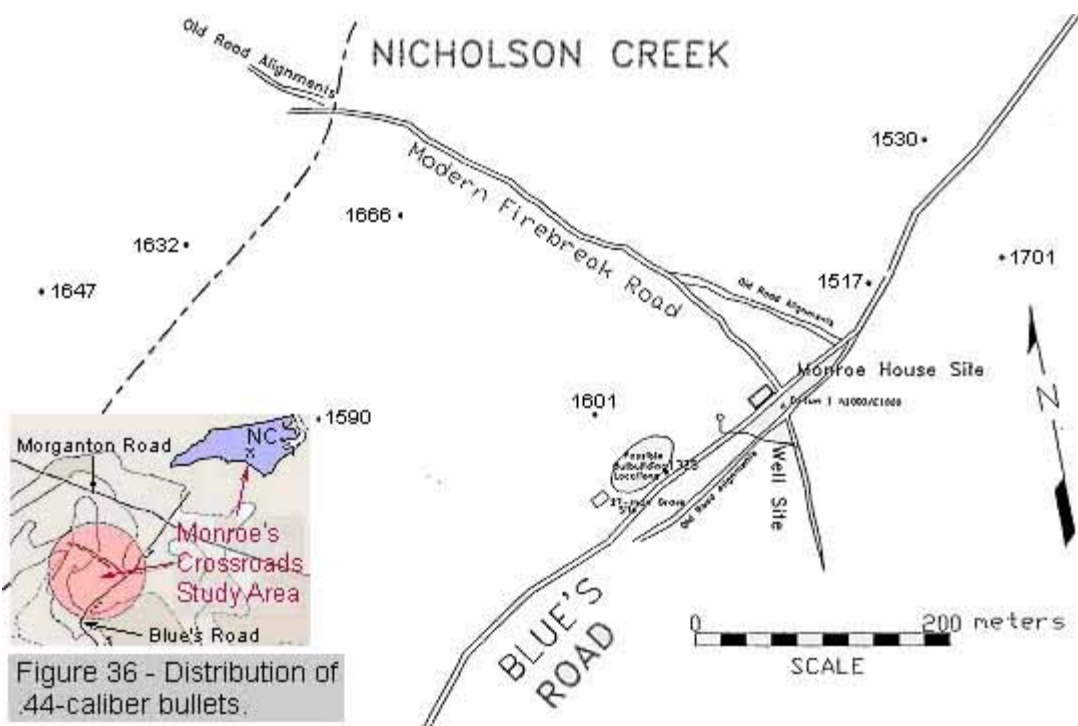


Figure 36 - Distribution of .44-caliber bullets.

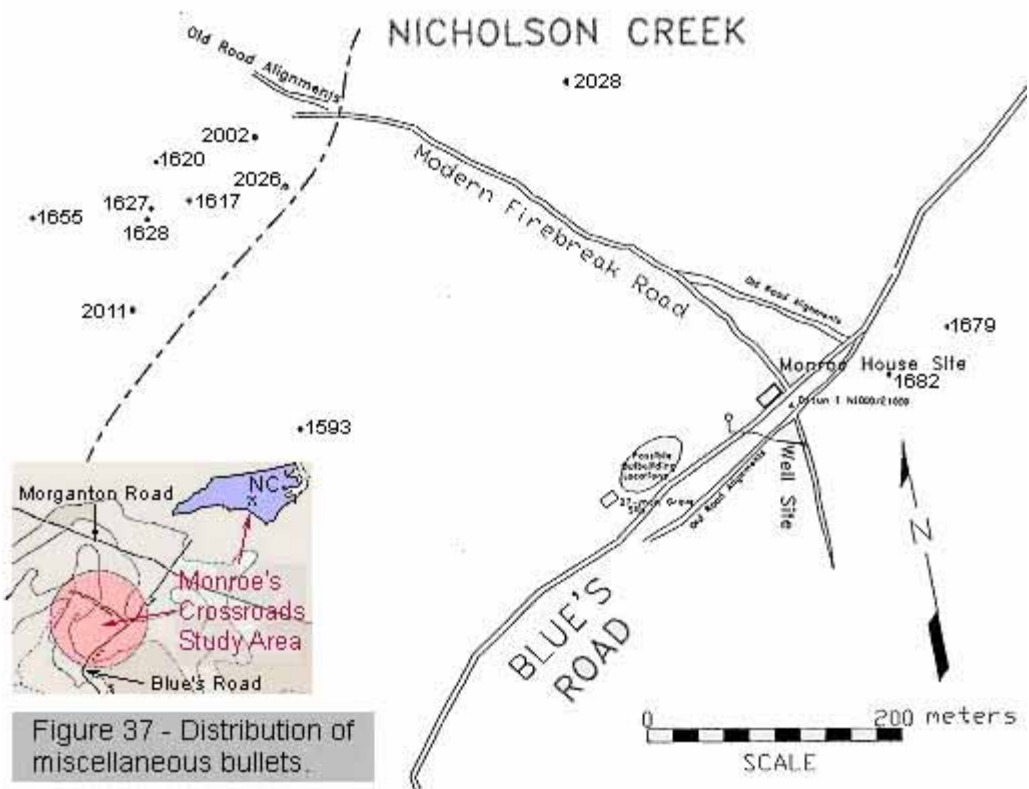


Figure 37 - Distribution of miscellaneous bullets.

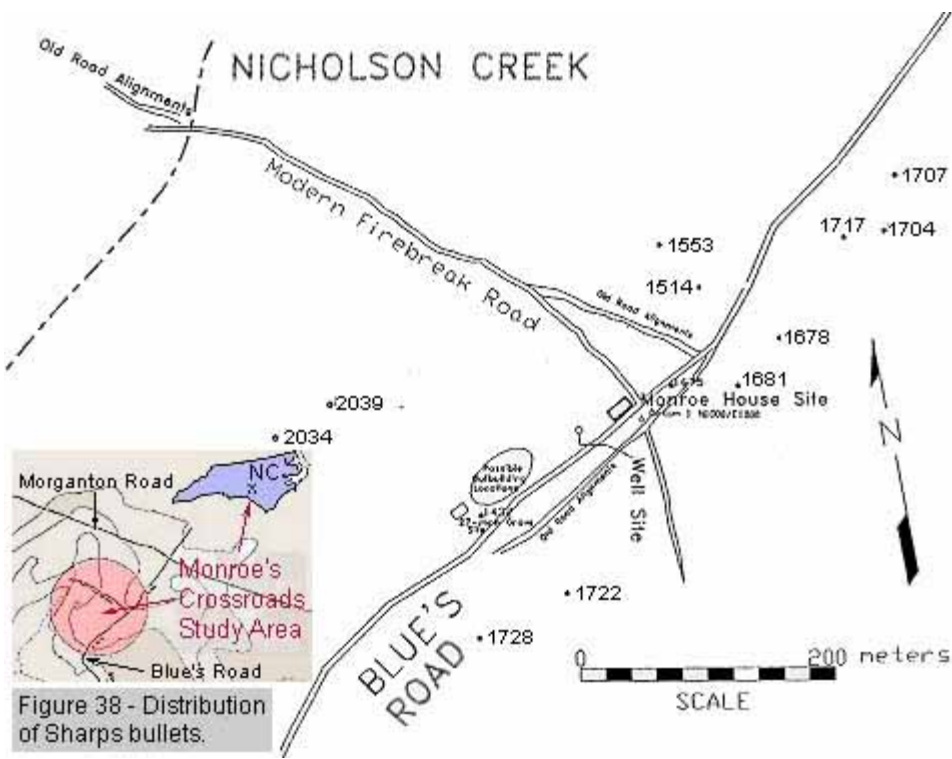


Figure 38 - Distribution of Sharps bullets.

Figure 39 - Cartridge case types found at Monroe's Crossroads: a and b, musket percussion caps; c, .56-56 Spencer cartridge case fired in a Joslyn carbine; d, Burnside cartridge; e, fired and crushed Burnside cartridge case; f, .56-56 Spencer carbine cartridge case; g, unfired .56-56 Spencer cartridge.



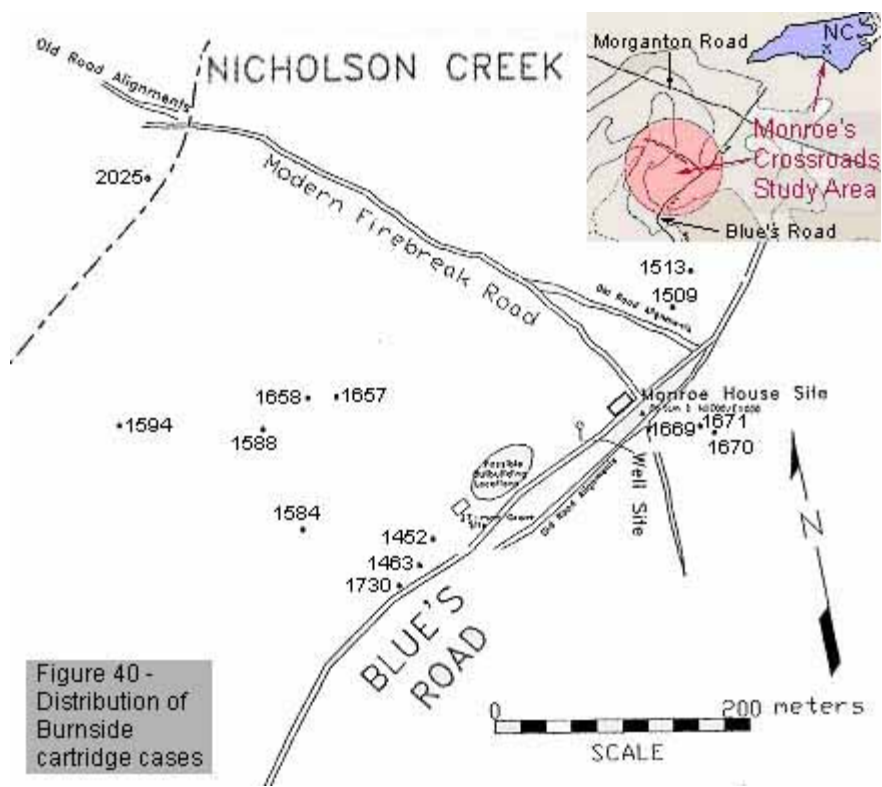


Figure 40 - Distribution of Burnside cartridge cases

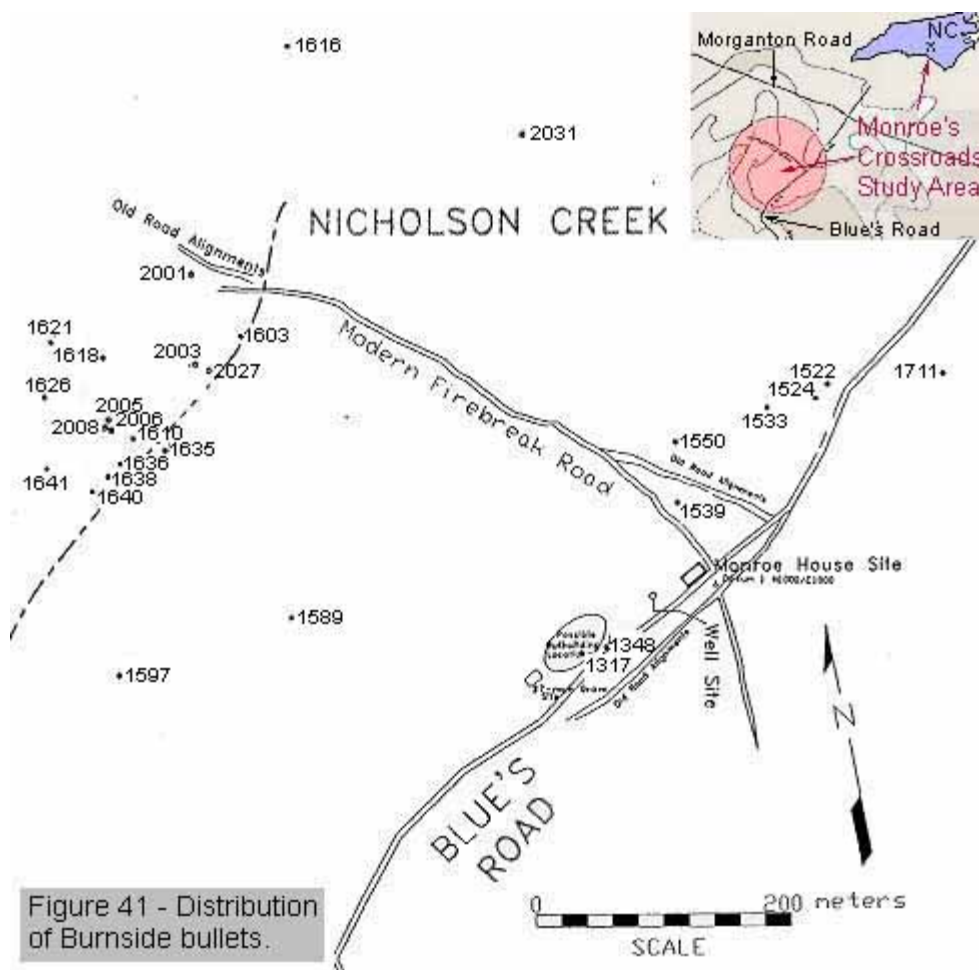


Figure 41 - Distribution of Burnside bullets.

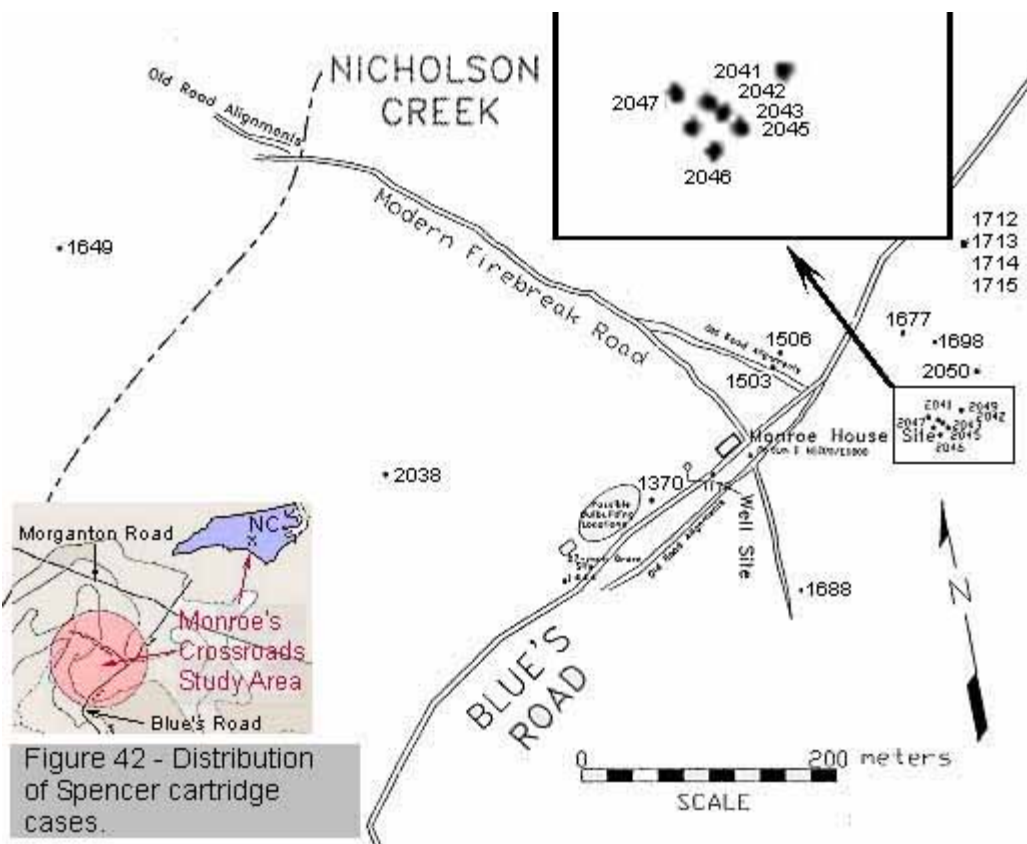
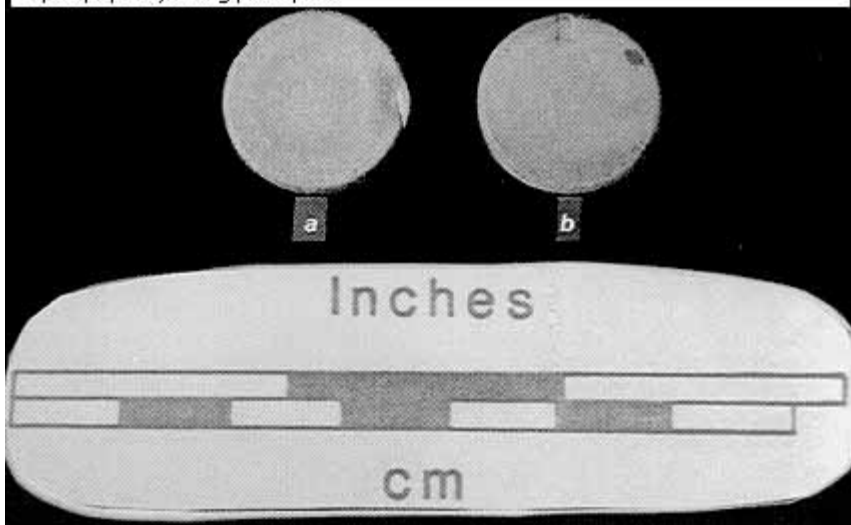


Figure 43 - Detail of firing pin imprints on Spencer cartridge cases: a, Spencer firing pin imprint; b, Joslyn firing pin imprint.



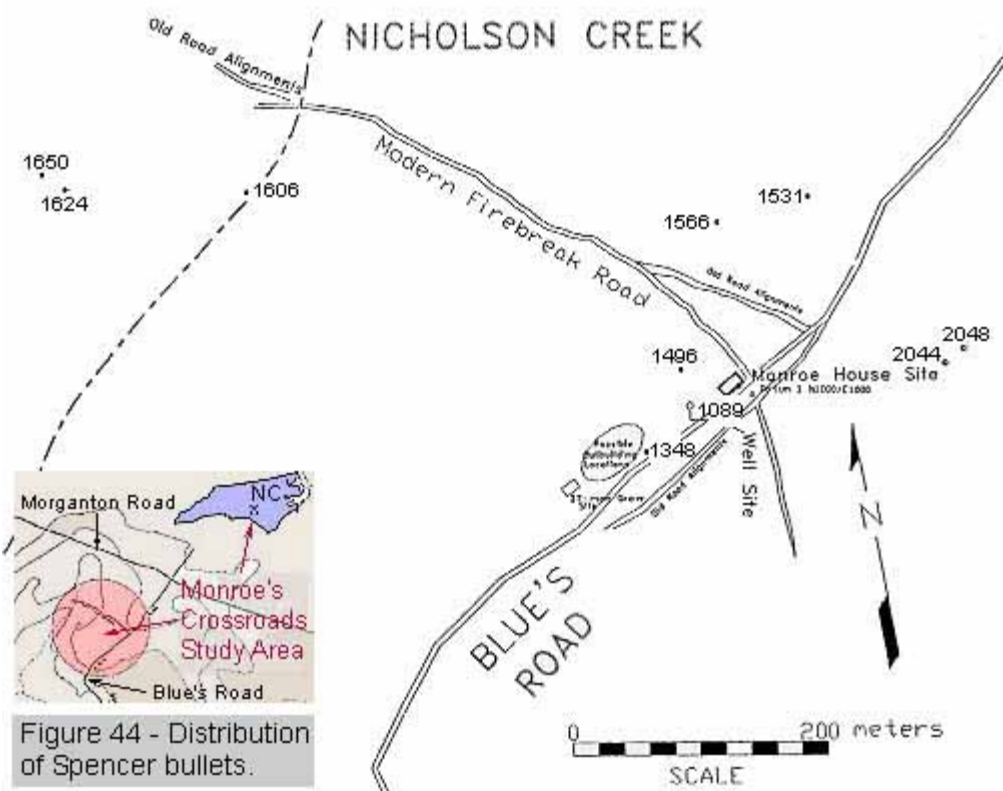
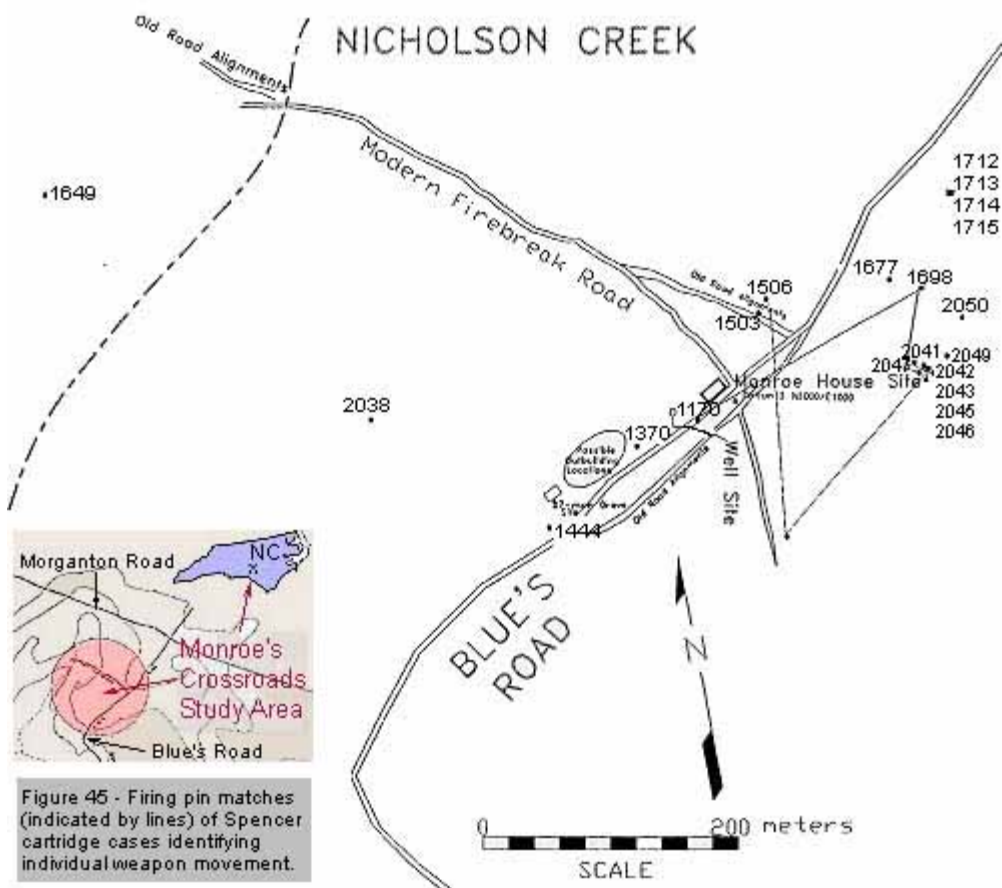


Figure 44 - Distribution of Spencer bullets.



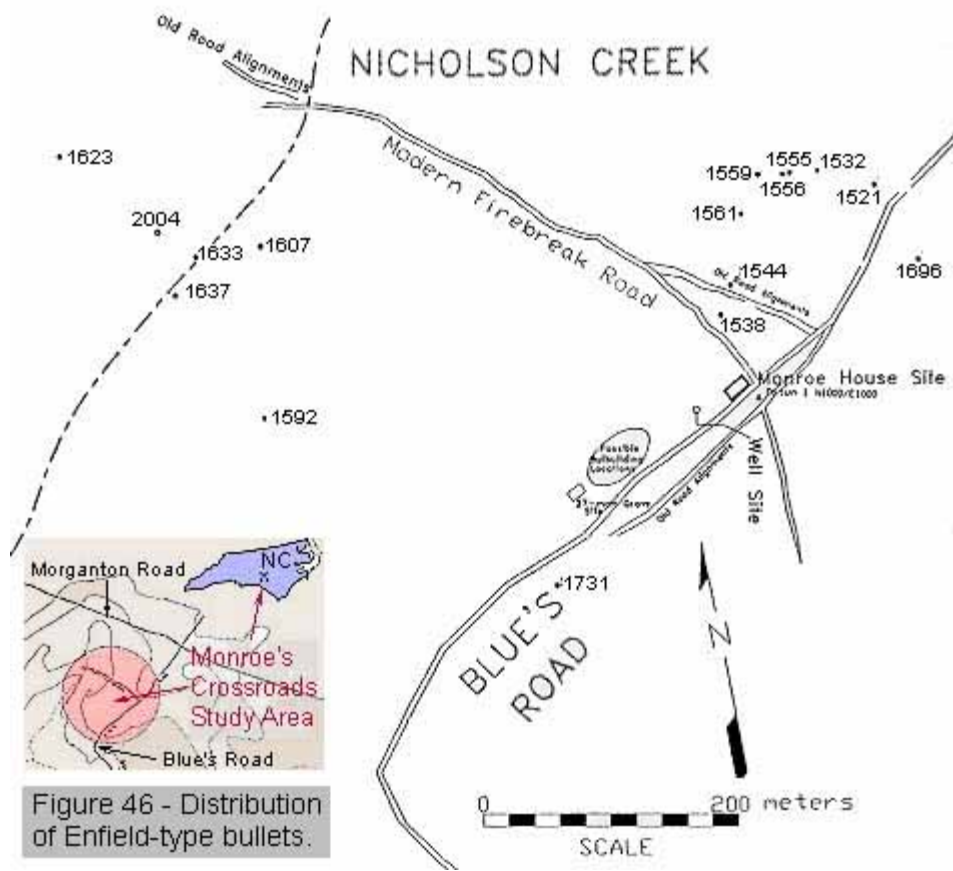


Figure 46 - Distribution of Enfield-type bullets.

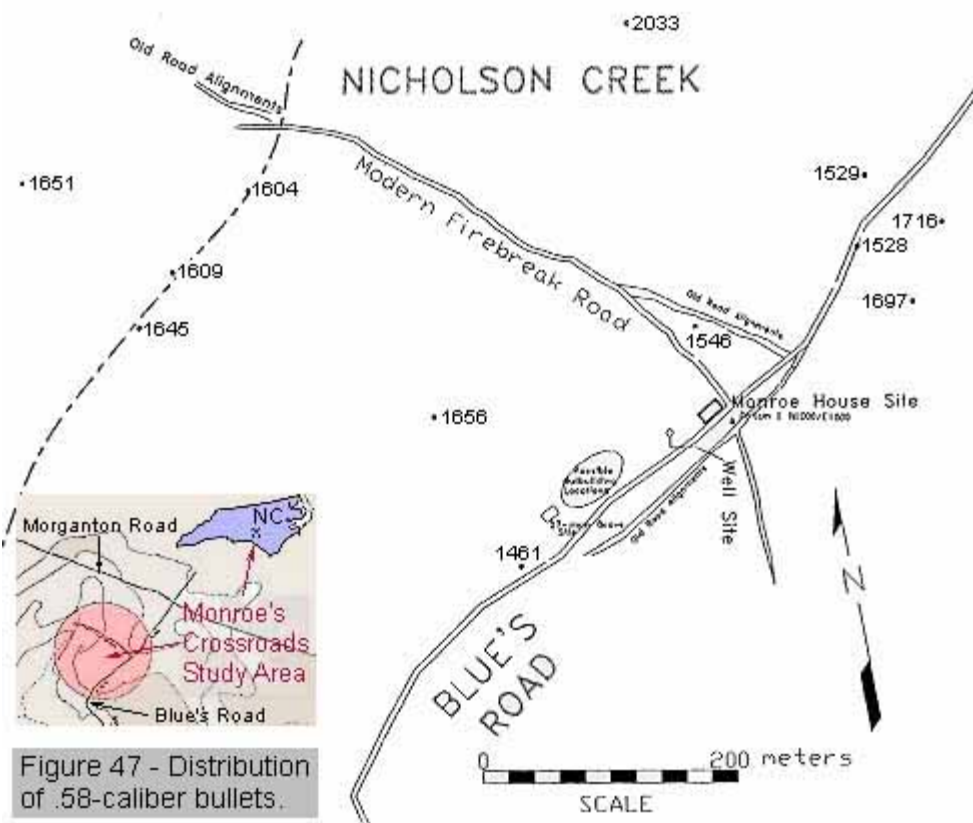


Figure 47 - Distribution of .58-caliber bullets.

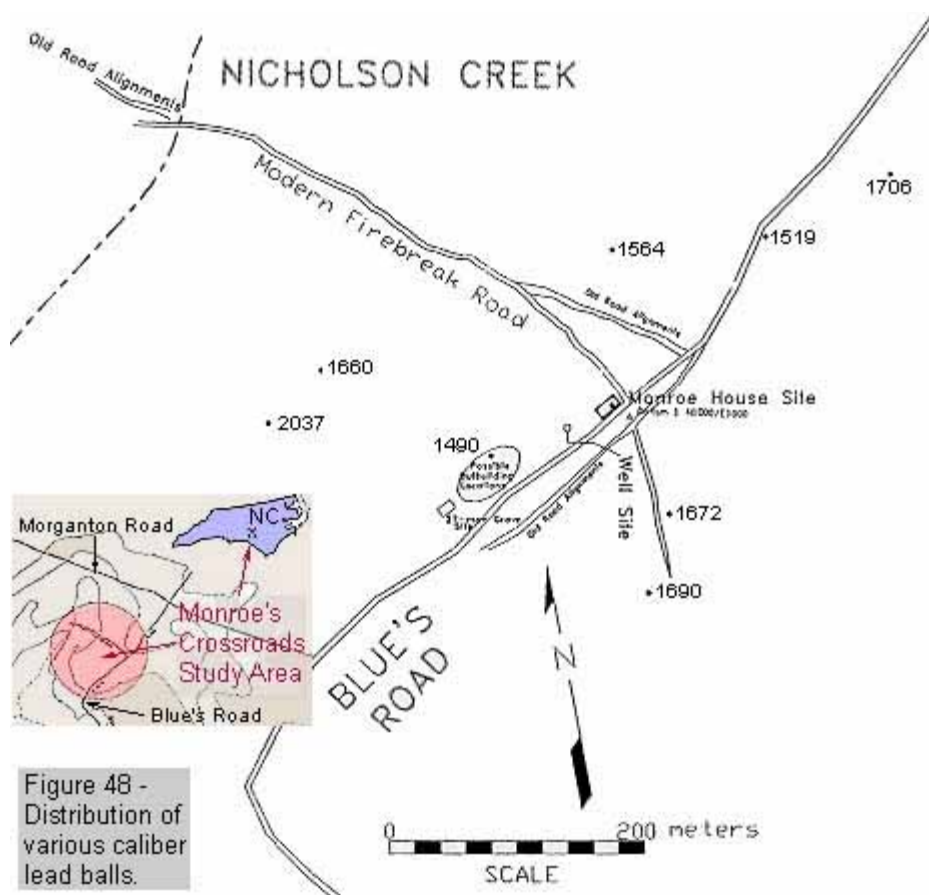
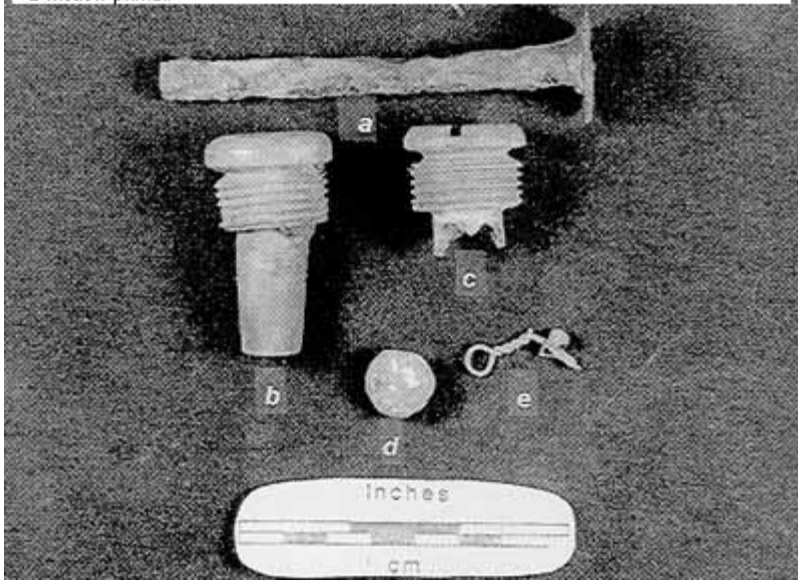


Figure 48 - Distribution of various caliber lead balls.

Figure 49 - Cannon-related artifacts: a, possible wheel bolt; b, Hotchkiss fuze holder; c, damaged Hotchkiss fuze holder; d, lead case shot ball; e, fragment of a friction primer.



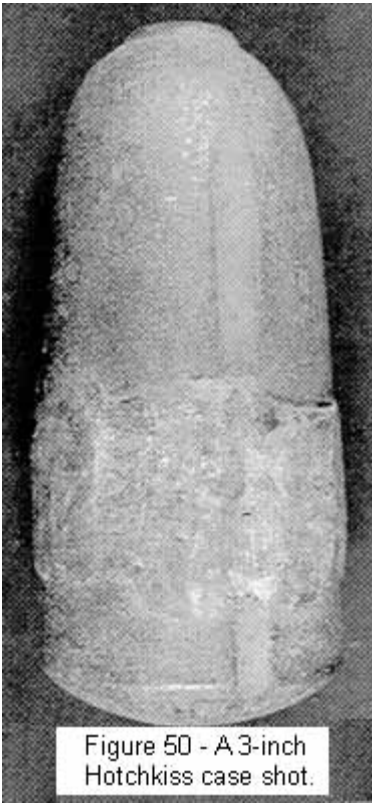


Figure 50 - A 3-inch
Hotchkiss case shot.

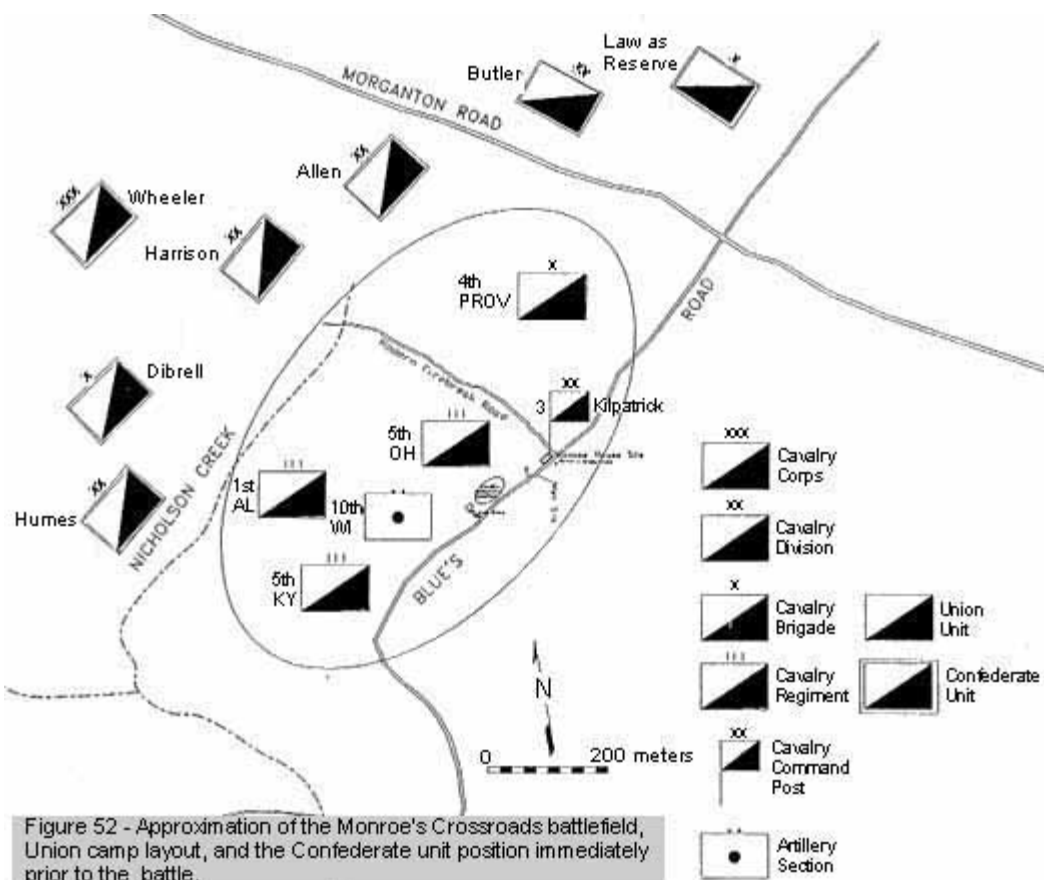


Figure 53 - Approximation of the unit deployments during the initial attack.

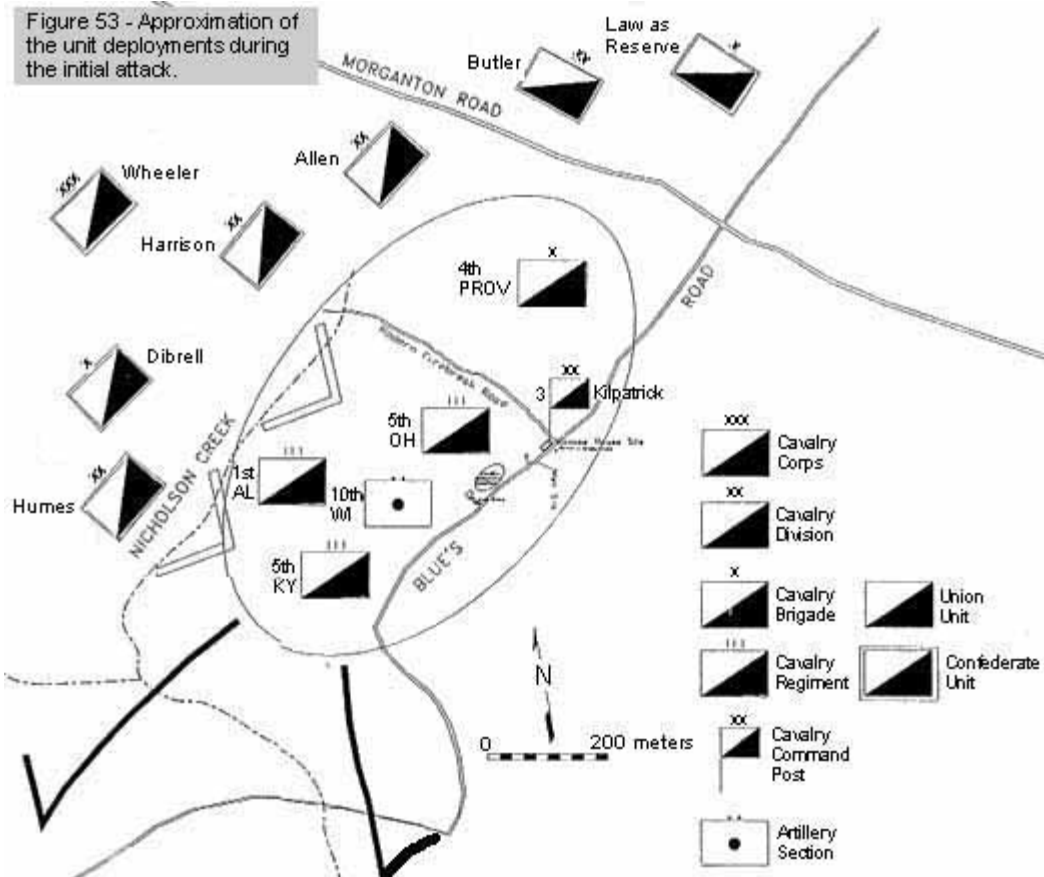


Figure 54 - Approximation of unit deployment during the Union counterattack.

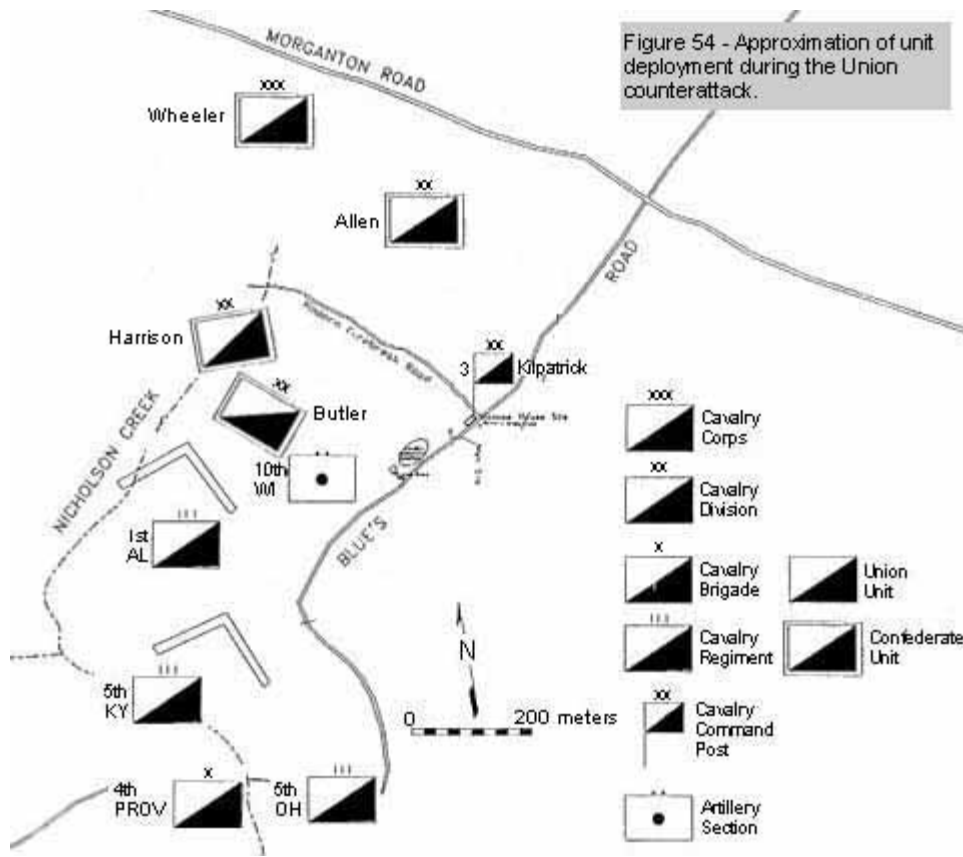




Figure 55 - Union officers of the Second U.S. Artillery were photographed circa 1863 with a 3-inch Ordnance Rifle. The weapon weighed about 850 pounds, with a bore 3.67 inches in diameter. The Ordnance Rifle, mounted on an oak carriage, had an effective range of about 3,500 yards and required a standard crew of 11 men. Each gun, drawn by four horses, was attached to a limber with one limber chest. The gun was supported by a caisson drawn by the limber or occasionally by four horses. The caisson had two additional limber chests. The artillery section at Monroe's Crossroads was two 3-inch Ordnance Rifles. A Section could be supported by one battery wagon and/or a forge wagon, each drawn by four horses. The limber chest contained rounds of 25 fixed shot, 20 case shot, and five canister.

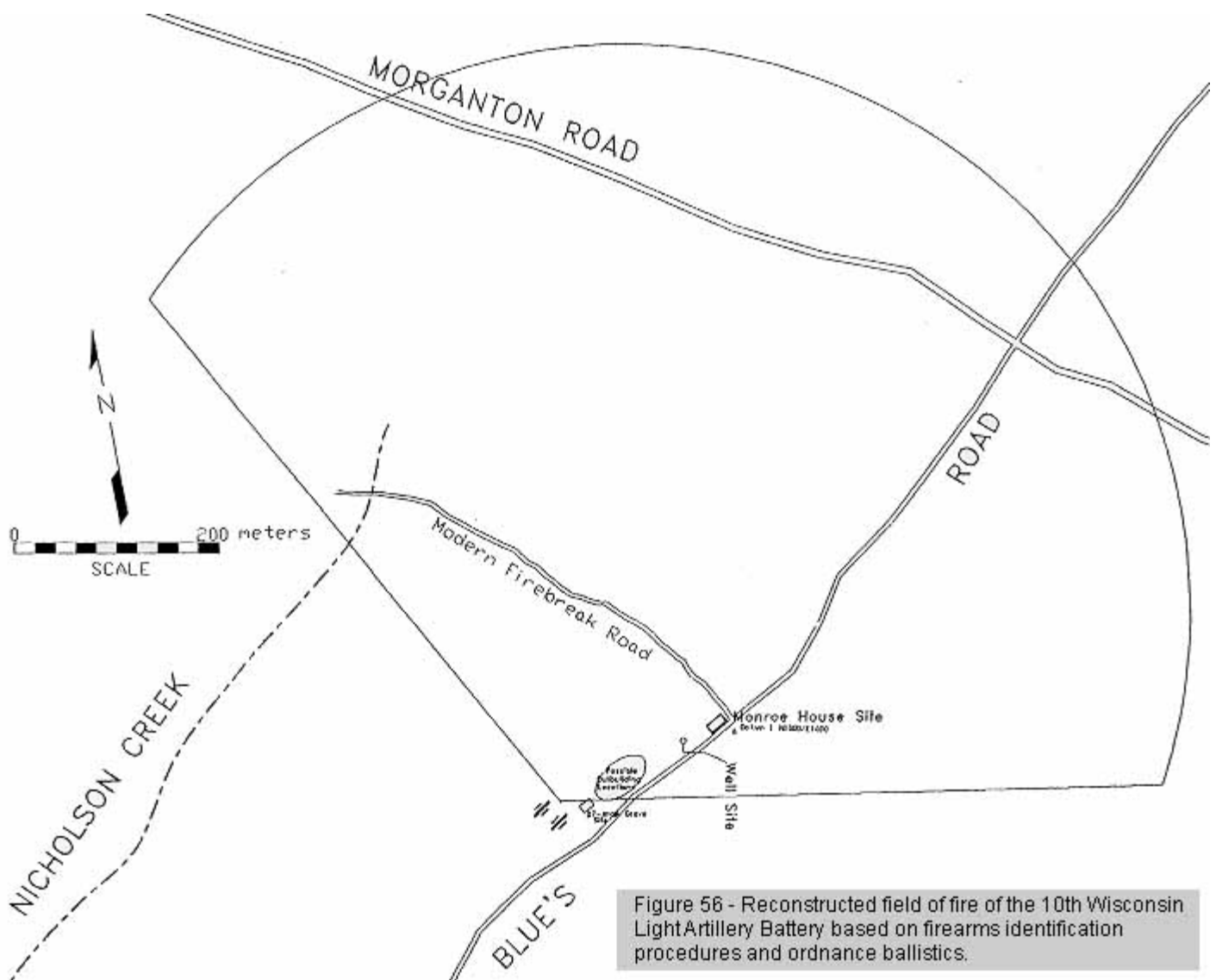


Figure 56 - Reconstructed field of fire of the 10th Wisconsin Light Artillery Battery based on firearms identification procedures and ordnance ballistics.

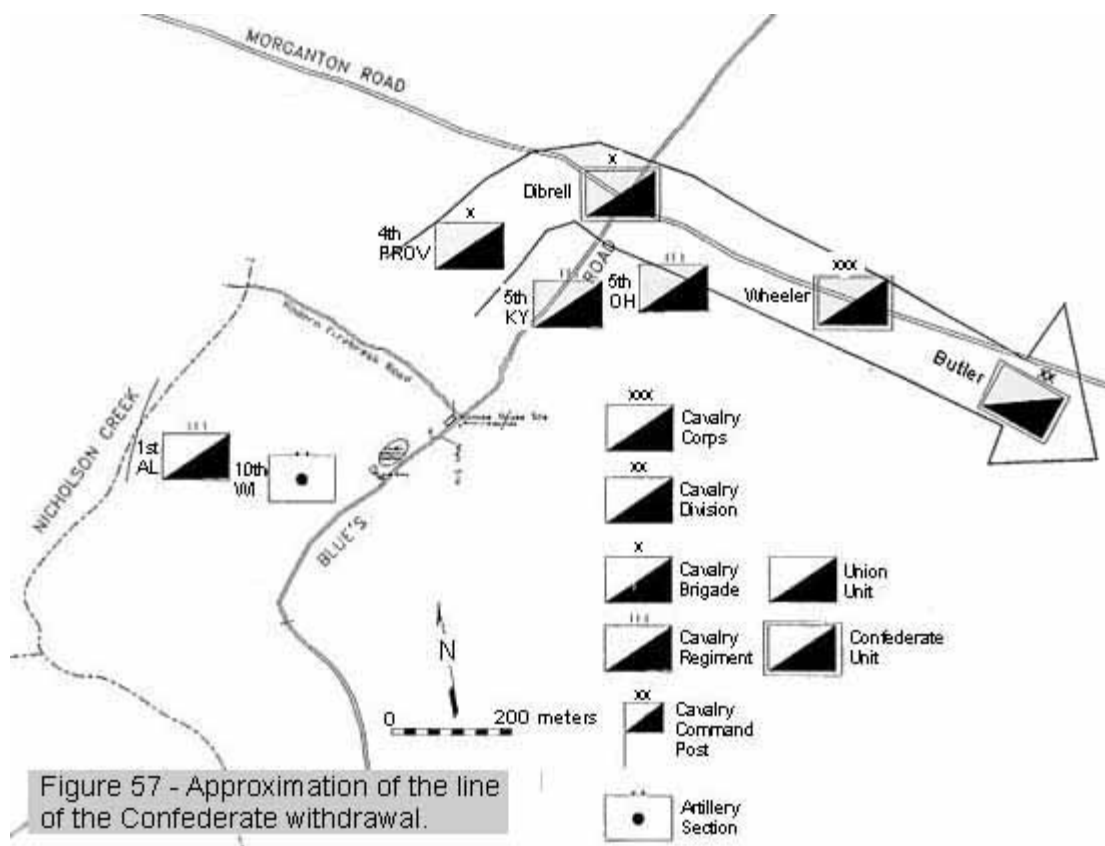


Figure 57 - Approximation of the line of the Confederate withdrawal.

Table 1 - Exploration methods used and extent of testing by each method in square meters.

Area (sq. meters) investigated							
<i>Test Location</i>	<i>Machine Scraped</i>	<i>Machine Trenched</i>	<i>Shovel Shaved</i>	<i>Shovel Probed</i>	<i>Test Excavation</i>	<i>Block Excavation</i>	<i>Total Area</i>
Area A	---	---	---	1471.4	1.5	21.3	1471.4*
Area B	---	---	---	---	1.0	---	1.0
Area C	107.2	---	21.2	---	3.8	---	115.9*
Area D	---	---	12.1	---	1.0	---	12.1*
Area E	---	---	13.7	---	---	---	13.7
Area F	---	---	11.8	---	1.5	---	11.8*
Area G	---	---	---	100.0	---	---	100.0
Area H	---	8.7	---	---	---	---	8.7
Blue's Rd.	---	36.0	---	---	---	---	36.0
Old road alignment	---	36.0	---	---	---	---	36.0
Column Total	107.2	80.7	58.8	1571.4	7.8	21.3	1806.6*

*Totals are less than sum of row values because they reflect overlapping unit areas. For example, in Test Area C, portions of machine-stripped areas were shovel shaved and then test excavated.

Table 2 - Stanley Dahl's artifact collection from Monroe's Crossroads.

Quantity	Artifact Identification
2	musket percussion caps
3	000 buckshot
1	.44-caliber Henry case (no headstamp)
1	.44-caliber Henry case (raised H headstamp)
1	12mm-caliber pinfire cartridge (.450-caliber)
8	Spencer cartridge
6	Spencer cartridge case with block firing pin mark
37	Spencer cartridge cases
15	Spencer bullets
5	Burnside cartridges (fragments with bullets)
18	Burnside cartridge cases
1	Burnside bullet
29	Deformed bullets (unrecognizable due to impact)
1	.30-caliber ball
3	.36-caliber bullets
6	.44-caliber Colt bullets
4	.44-caliber Bartholow bullet
3	.50-caliber Smith carbine bullet
3	.52-caliber Sharps bullet
1	.52-caliber Sharps and Hankins bullet
5	.54-caliber bullet
1	.54-caliber Enfield bullet
16	.577-caliber Enfield bullet
6	.577-caliber Enfield-Pritchett bullets
1	.58-caliber minie balls
1	.58-caliber minie ball with hollow point
1	.58-caliber ball
11	.58-caliber Williams Cleaner bullets
6	.69-caliber balls
2	.69-caliber Belgian bullets
1	.69-caliber Italian bullet

Table 2 - Stanley Dahl's artifact collection from Monroe's Crossroads

1	.69-caliber Gardner explosive type bullet
2	.69-caliber Gardner Confederate type bullet
1	Springfield musket hammer
1	Springfield Model 1863 musket middle barrel band
2	Springfield Model 1863 musket lower barrel bands
1	Enfield Pattern 1853 musket forend tip
1	bayonet scabbard stud fragment, Enfield type
1	forend tip, brass from unidentified civilian rifle
1	friction primer fragment (unfired)
4	D-rings for knapsack?
1	knapsack adjustment hook
2	knapsack strap hooks
1	saber strap snap hook
1	belt plate catch, brass
2	spur buckles, iron
1	guidon pole base, brass (possible identification)
1	guidon pole base, iron (possible identification)
1	button back, brass
2	domed button faces, brass
1	trouser button, 4-hole, iron
1	trouser button, 2-hole, iron
1	suspender or trouser adjustment buckle
2	table knife fragments
1	spoon handle fragment, brass
4	pocket knives
2	shoe heel plates
1	tag, brass (unidentified)
1	buckle (unidentified) fastener fragments
1	finger ring, brass, handmade
1	railroad spike
1	brooch
26	grommets, brass
1	grommet stiffener, iron ring
2	mouth harp frames, brass
1	mouth harp
1	oval ring, brass

Table 2 - Stanley Dahl's artifact collection from Monroe's Crossroads

	1	horse bit fragment	
	1	bridle chain	
	2	center bar buckle, brass	
	3	center bar buckle, iron	
	1	buckle frame, iron (1.5 inch)	
	7	harness buckles	
	2	harness buckles (probably post-battle)	
	7	harness rivets	
	1	D-ring, iron, large size	
	1	decorative device, brass, unidentified	

Table 3 - Historic artifacts recovered from Test Area C.

Provenience	Level or Stratum	Cat. Number	Identification	Period	Description
Adornment					
T. U. 2	39 cm	29	U.S.A. General Service button	1865	Severely corroded, brass, 2-piece button, .55 inch (22 lignes) eagle device with barred shield
T. U. 2	42 cm	30	C.S.A. infantry button	1865	Corroded, brass, 3-piece, lined Roman "I" on face; identical pattern CS 172 (Albert 1969:364); 0.90 inch (36 lignes) diameter; rubberized fabric adhering to face and dark fabric to back removed to identify button
T. U. 2	45 cm	32	USA General Service button	1865	Severely corroded, brass, 2-piece button, 0.56 inch (22 lignes) diameter, eagle device with barred shield similar to Cat. #29 ; fabric adhering to back
T. U. 2	46 cm	43	Pants button	ca. 1827-1870	Severely corroded, ferrous metal, 4 sew-thrus, .73 inch (29 lignes) diameter
T. U. 2	51.5 cm	49	Button	ca. 1855-1870	White Prosser, four sew-thrus in central well, .42 inch (18 lignes) diameter (Luscomb 1967:183-184 ; McLeod 1983:225 ; South 1964:122)
T. U. 2	52 cm	50	Button	ca. 1855-1870	White Prosser, four sew-thrus in central well, .44 inch (18 lignes) diameter
T. U. 2	54 cm	45	Button	1855-1870	Black, hard rubber, plain, dome-shaped face, "eye-shaped" well with two sew-thrus; .72 inch (29 lignes) diameter; "N.R. Co/GOODYEAR'S P=T 1851." around back margin. Novelty Rubber Co. (McGuinn and Bazelon 1988:74)
T. U. 2	56 cm	46	Button	ca. 1855-1870	Light blue Prosser, four sew-thrus in central well, .43 inch (18 lignes) diameter
T. U. 2	56 cm	47	Button	ca. 1855-1870	White Prosser, four sew-thrus in central well, .40 inch (16 lignes) diameter
T. U. 2	56 cm	48	Button	ca. 1855-1870	White Prosser, four sew-thrus in central well, .41 inch (16 lignes) diameter
T. U. 2	59 cm	31	C.S.A. General Service button	1861-1865	Brass, 3-piece, .91 inch (36 lignes) diameter; fabric on front and back; 8 mm high raised "C.S.A." in barred letters on face; back has "S. BUCK[LEY&Co]/BIRMING[HAM]" stamped around margin; equates with Albert's (1969:357) type CS 81A Made in England (McQuinn and Bazelon 1988:25)
T. U. 2	60 cm	60	Button	ca. 1855-1870	White Prosser, four sew-thrus in central well, .45 inch (18 lignes) diameter

Table 3 - Historic artifacts recovered from Test Area C

T. U. 2	61.5 cm	69	C.S.A. General Service button	1865	Brass, 3-piece; .88 inch (35 lignes) diameter; fabric on back; same as "C.S.A." button (Cat. # 31) above
T. U. 2	62 cm	57	Button	ca. 1855-1870	White Prosser, four sew-thrus in central well, .44 inch (18 lignes) diameter
T. U. 2	63 cm	68	Suspender buckle	1865	Light weight, cuprous fragment
T. U. 2	64 cm	56	USA General Service button	1865	Severely corroded, brass, 2-piece button, .55 inch (22 lignes) diameter, eagle device; shield with vertical bars
T. U. 2	64 cm	64	C.S.A. General Service button	1865	Brass, 3-piece; .87 inch (35 lignes) diameter; fabric on back; same as "C.S.A." button (Cat. #31) above
T. U. 2	65 cm	61	Button	ca. 1855-1870	White Prosser, four sew-thrus in central well, .44 inch (18 lignes) diameter
T. U. 2	65 cm	62	Button	ca. 1855-1870	White Prosser, four sew-thrus in central well, .43 inch (18 lignes) diameter
T. U. 2	65 cm	65	Button	ca. 1855-1870	White Prosser, four sew-thrus in central well, .44 inch (18 lignes) diameter
Clothing					
T. U. 2	65 cm	66	Button	ca. 1855-1870	Black Prosser, four sew-thrus in central well, .42 inch (18 lignes) diameter
T. U. 2	65 cm	70	Button	ca. 1855-1870	White Prosser, four sew-thrus in central well, .43 inch (18 lignes) diameter
T. U. 2	65 cm	71	Button	ca. 1855-1870	White Prosser, four sew-thrus in central well, .42 inch (18 lignes) diameter
T. U. 2	66 cm	68	Suspender buckle	1865	Lightweight, cuprous buckle element; like that for Cat. #68 except more complete
T. U. 2	66 cm	73	Unidentified military	1865	Poorly preserved, brass, 3-piece button; face absent; .87 inch (35 button lignes) diameter
T. U. 2	67 cm	74	Suspender buckle	1865	Lightweight, cuprous buckle element; appears to be the remaining element of buckle represented by Cat. #68
T. U. 2	67 cm	75	USA General Service button	1865	Badly fragmented, brass, 2-piece button face, similar to Cat. #29 , eagle device with barred shield; fabric adhering to face
T. U. 2	S. wall	71	Button	ca. 1855-1870	White Prosser, four sew-thrus in central well, .39 inch (16 lignes) diameter
T. U. 2	Backdirt	44	U.S. Infantry button	1865	Corroded, brass, 2-piece button; eagle device on face with eagle facing right, 3 mm high "I" in recessed shield on chest, 0.81 inch (32 lignes) diameter; similar to GI 85A (Albert 1969:37); no back mark; fabric attached to

Table 3 - Historic artifacts recovered from Test Area C

					front and back
Gustatory					
T. U. 2	62-70 cm	77	Spoon	1865	Tinned
T. U. 2	65 cm	78	Tinned container?	1865	180.8 gm, tinned vessel fragment; 4 fragments bearing leaded seam; length of seam suggests vessel at least 7 1/2 inches long; most fragments are flat, although 5 are curved; small fabric patches adhering to one surface of some pieces
Grave Furniture					
T. U. 1	61 cm	51	Unidentified	?	1 specimen
T. U. 1	62 cm	34	Unidentified	?	1 specimen
T. U. 1	70 cm	34	Unidentified	?	2 specimens
T. U. 1	54-86 cm	34	Cut nail	?	1 30d specimen
T. U. 1	86 cm	34	Unidentified	?	1 specimen
T. U. 1	?	34	Cut nail	?	1 12d specimen
T. U. 1	Backdirt	34	Cut nail	?	1 10d specimen
T. U. 2	30 cm	33	Cut nail	?	1 10d specimen
T. U. 2	30 cm	34	Cut nail	?	1 6d specimen
T. U. 2	61 cm	58	Cut nail	?	1 8d specimen
Arms and Armament					
T. U. 2	66 cm	64	.44 bullet	1865	Severely corroded, subconical, grease ring
T. U. 2	South wall	98	Canister	1865	Ferrous, badly corroded, .785 inch diameter
Organic Objects, Unidentified Function					
T. U. 2	65 cm	55	Purse edging?	1865	Cuprous metal edging for leather object
T. U. 2	67 cm	76	?	?	Wood fragment with cuprous stained exterior
Metal Objects, Unidentified Function					
T. U. 2	64 cm	67	?	?	1 corroded, ferrous fragment
T. U. 2	South wall	97	Wire	?	4 ferrous fragments

Table 4- Historic artifacts recovered from Test Area F.					
Provenience	Level or Stratum	Cat. Number	Identification	Period	Description
Adornment					
Trench 1	32 cm	93	Buttons	circa 1827-1870	2 specimens; severely corroded, 1-piece, ferrous metal, 4 sew-thrus, .70 inches diameter
Trench 1	33 cm	96	U.S. Infantry button	1865	Corroded, brass, 2-piece button; eagle device on face with eagle facing right, 3 mm high "I" in recessed shield on chest, 0.82 inches diameter; fabric attached to portion of back
Trench 1	39 cm	95	Unidentified military button	1865	Severely corroded, 2-piece, brass, .60 inches (24 lignes)
Trench 1	Backdirt	99	Button	circa 1855-1870	White Prosser, four sew-thrus in central well, corrugated face, .44 inches inches diameter
Grave Furniture					
Trench 1	---	92	Grave marker?	?	2 fragments of wood bearing white paint
Firearms Material					
Trench 1	35 cm	84	Percussion cap	1865	Cuprous top-hat style, badly fragmented

Table 5 - Frequency of GPR anomalies tested archeologically.			
<i>GPR Grid Section or Area</i>	<i>Number of GPR Anomalies</i>	<i>Anomaly Numbers</i>	<i>Percent Tested</i>
Northeast Grid 1/4	31	24	77.4
Northwest Grid 1/4	25	10	38.5
Southeast Grid 1/4	4	3	75
Southwest Grid 1/4	4	2	50
E. Side Blue's Rd.	7	5	71.4
Total	71	44	62

Table 6 - Synopsis of GPR anomaly testing results.				
<i>Anomaly Number</i>	<i>Test Unit Size (cm)</i>	<i>Excavation Depth (cm)</i>	<i>Possible Anomaly Source</i>	<i>Comments and Artifacts Recovered</i>
AN1-2	75 N-S X 160 E-W	28	Metallic mass (?)	Proximity of anomalies enabled their simultaneous excavation using one excavation unit. AN1 area revealed a mass of chicken wire, 5 unidentified nail fragments, 1 wire nail, 2 wire twists, 1 pale aqua medicine bottle fragment, 3 sun-colored, curved glass fragments, 1 repousse whiteware fragment, and modern military telephone wire. AN2 area contained 1 whiteware ceramic fragment, 1 saltglaze stoneware fragment, 1 flat glass fragment.
AN3	69 NS X 78 E-W	32	Undetermined	1 curved glass fragment, 3 cut nails
AN4	75 NS X 46 E-W	23	Undetermined	No artifacts or features
AN6	65 NS X 80 E-W	35	Undetermined	3 flat glass fragments, 1 threaded metal fragment
AN11	87 N-S X 55 E-W	24	Extremely dense. Root in SE corner of unit (?)	1 cut nail head, 1 quartzite flake, 1 fragment chimney glass, 1 curved glass fragment
AN12	95 NS X 43 E-W	26	Undetermined	1 cut nail, 2 cut nail fragments, 2 fragments chimney glass, 1 curved glass fragment, 1 handpainted whiteware ceramic fragment, 1 burned transfer print ceramic fragment, 1 quartzite flake
AN13	Not excavated	NA	Bedspring on surface	NA
AN17	40 N-S X 80 E-W	11	Sharp vertical boundary between culturally sterile soil layers (?). Whitish clay on the west side and pale greenish gray sandy clay on the east	1 tin can fragment and 1 flat glass fragment on surface
AN20	45 NS X 60 E-W	18	Post-hole (?) --- Monroe House support?	Circular (20 cm diameter) post mold in east edge of test unit. Artifacts recovered include 1 tin can lid, 1 curved glass fragment, 2 cut nail fragments, 2 cut nails, and 3 whiteware ceramic fragments.
AN21	80 NS X 60 E-W	27	MRE cans on surface at edge of test unit or mass of large roots below surface	1 fragment sun-colored, pressed glass, 4 curved glass fragments, 3 whiteware ceramic fragments, 1 porcelain fragment, 1 cut nail fragment, 2 PCs. of plastic (from MRE?)
AN23	Area excavated 1993	---	Hearth and chimney fall	Pin-flagged anomaly near center of feature explored previous year

Table 6 - Synopsis of GPR anomaly testing results

AN24-25	53 NS X 85 E-W	20	Burned root (?)	2 cut nail fragments, 1 whiteware ceramic fragment
AN26	75 NS X 45 E-W	18	Post hole (?) --- Monroe House support?	Square (20 cm NS X 19 cm E-W) post mold in east edge of test unit; 5 flat glass fragments, 2 whiteware ceramic fragments, 8 cut nail fragments, 2 cut nails, 4 fragments ferrous metal, and 1 modern bullet
AN27	75 NS X 50 E-W	5	MRE cans (?)	2 MRE cans, 1 plastic MRE eating utensil, telephone wire, 1 quartz flake
AN28	55 NS X 100 E-W	23	Undetermined	2 cut nails, 1 flat glass fragment, 2 whiteware ceramic fragments, 1 saltglazed stoneware fragment
AN33	60 NS X 100 E-W	15	Compact clay layer (?)	These anomalies were very close to one another and probably represent the same reflected surface or object. 1 screw, 1 flatglass fragment.
AN36	50 NS X 30 E-W	10	Undetermined	1 flat glass fragment, 1 salt glaze stoneware fragment
AN40	50 NS X 50 E-W	18	Burned root and large mass of dense tree roots (?)	2 whiteware ceramic fragments
AN41	90 NS X 65 E-W	20	Large circular feature intruding into west side of test unit (possible pit?)	Visible portion of feature is 60 cm NS (probably larger) and extended into the test unit 30 cm from west wall. Feature continued below 20 cm. Artifacts recovered include 1 quartz flake, 3 flat glass fragments, 1 curved glass fragment, 1 whiteware ceramic fragment, 9 cut nails, and 2 cut nail fragments.
AN42	98 NS X 35 E-W	40	Undetermined	M16 blank cartridge, 20 cut nails, 11 cut nail fragments, 1 handpainted whiteware ceramic fragment, 2 whiteware ceramic fragments, 2 quartz flakes, 1 clear glass tumbler rim, 4 curved glass fragments, 2 flat glass fragments
AN44	50 NS X 50 E-W	25	Tree roots (?)	Flat glass fragment and stoneware fragment on surface
AN47	93 NS X 55 E-W	19	Undetermined	2 flat glass fragments, 3 ferrous metal fragments
AN51	80 NS X 50 E-W	30	Undetermined	3 whiteware ceramic fragments, 1 flat glass fragment, 3 ferrous metal fragments, 1 cut nail
AN53	Backhoe excavation	---	Military foxhole	NA
AN57	Backhoe excavation	---	Historic well	Funnel-shaped outline of organic fill 2 m in diameter at top. At 2 m B.S., the feature was 1.15 cm NS X 0.80 m E-W. Upper fill contained charcoal, clay nodules and brick fragments. Other objects include 1 whiteware ceramic fragment, 1 blue, shell-edged ceramic fragment, 1 curved glass, 1 pre-1850 stoneware jug base, 1 cylindrical

Table 6 - Synopsis of GPR anomaly testing results

				stoneware bottle base, wine bottle kickup, stoneware sherd, horseshoe fragment, 2 ferrous metal strap fragments, 1 cast iron fragment.
AN58	50 NS X 30 E-W	23	Undetermined	1 flat glass fragment, 1 curved glass fragment, 1 porcelain fragment
AN62a	80 NE-SW X 55 NW- SE	70	Undetermined	Soft sandy fill throughout; 1 quartz flake and 1 whiteware ceramic sherd in upper 20 cm
AN62b	70 NS X 44 E-W	54	Undetermined	Soft sandy fill throughout; 1 M16 cartridge, 2 whiteware ceramic fragments, 2 flat glass fragments, 1 piece of rubber
AN62	Backhoe excavation	200	Large, very dense tree root (?)	NA
AN65	80 NS X 48 E-W	35	Undetermined	1 whiteware ceramic fragment, 1 curved glass fragment
AN67	95 NS X 65 E-W	20	Undetermined	4 cut nails, 4 curved glass fragments, 2 flat glass fragments, and a wire pull from a friction fuse
AN71	60 NS X 90 E-W	29	Large burned stump (?)	Anomaly in surface depression; no artifacts or features
AN74	70 NS X 55 E-W	10	Undetermined	1 cut nail fragment, 4 curved glass fragments
AN75	50 NS X 70 E-W	17	Extremely compact layer of sandy clay soil immediately below surface (?)	No artifacts or features
AN78	50 NS X 80 E-W	20	Large root (?)	No artifacts or features
AN79	70 NS X 55 E-W	10	Hard pan, sandy clay layer (?)	No artifacts or features
AN86	65 NS X 80 E-W	30	Undetermined	1 quartz flake, 3 cut nail fragments, 2 ferrous metal fragments, 6 curved glass fragments, 1 handpainted whiteware fragment, 1 porcelain fragment
AN101	Backhoe excavated	270	Clay lense about 2.5 m below surface (?)	NA
AN102	70 NS X 47 E-W	41	5 1/4-inch cut spike (?)	Spike and 3 fragments flat glass in upper 24 cm
AN104	42 NS X 80 E-W	23	Undetermined	1 cut nail fragment

Table 7 - Miscellaneous artifacts from Monroe's Crossroads.

<i>FS Number</i>	<i>Identification</i>	<i>Comment</i>
1033	ironstone dish fragment	also 1045, 1187, 1242, 1246, 1296, and 1493
1043	unidentified cast iron	
1046	unidentified cast iron	
1073	unidentified cast iron	
1088	clear flat glass fragment	
1097	iron hook and chain	possible fish stringer
1099	cast iron pot fragment	other pot fragments: 1132, 1162, 1218, 1275, and 1367
1121	unidentified iron lump	also 1144, 1263, 1267, and 1327
1123	1-inch wide iron strap	also 1198
1133	thin braided wire	
1146	1/2-inch wide brass strap	
1150	flat head wood screw	
1171	iron hook fragment	probably harness related
1172	thin flat cast iron	possibly a stove door
1176	threaded iron collar	possibly a pump fitting
1180	unidentified flat iron	
1188	possible wagon running gear fragment	
1199	cast iron plate fragment	
1200	3/4-inch iron strap	also 1384
1221	8-inch strap hinge	also 1312
1239	porcelain fragment	also 1240
1239b	light amber bottle glass	
1243	small clear glass bottle thread	1 ounce size, continuous finish - contents white precipitate and yellowish liquid - base marked TCWCO/USA [T.C. Wheaton Company mark in use since 1888]
1244	iron spoon handle fragment	
1247	iron conical washer	2-inch diameter
1262	1 1/2-inch iron strap	
1277	hand forged iron hook	also 1613
1278	tin can hole-in-top fragment	
1285	stoneware lead glaze fragments	
1291	tin can fragments	also 1326
1299	possible plow iron fragments	
1301	draft harness strap slide fragment	
1302	bit shank for drill brace	

Table 7 - Miscellaneous artifacts from Monroe's Crossroads

1309	iron chopping hoe fragment	
1313	ironstone plate footing	
1314	iron 1 1/4-inch wide strap	
1315	1/4-inch square nut	
1319	iron drift pin	1/4 x 1 1/4-inch
1335	unidentified iron	
1343	unidentified brass fragment	also 1462, 1472, and 1674
1366	clear bottle glass fragment	
1391	1/8-inch washer	
1423	plow shear fragment	also 1441
1437	small gauge wire fragment	also 1440
1442	iron re-enforcing plate and rivet	
1457	M-14 magazine spring clip	also 1484
1470	twisted iron chain links	possible lead chain
1493	stoneware crock base	
1494	M1914 cartridge belt adjustment slide	
1501	melted aluminum alloy	also 1543 - parachute flare droplets
1630	overall button	
1668	aluminum strap	
1673	4-inch butt hinge	
1676	1900 Indian Head penny	
1691	large iron hook	
1703	unidentified brass tube	1/4-inch diameter
1726	brass flat spring	
1729	iron plate	possibly neck yoke reinforcement plate
2035	brass grommet	probably modern army tent or field equipment

Table 8 - Archeological evidence of firearms types.		
<i>Firearm Type</i>	<i>Represented in Archeological Collection</i>	<i>Represented in Private Collections</i>
.30-caliber (unknown)	---	Yes
.36-caliber (unknown)	---	Yes
.40-caliber (unknown)	Yes	---
Colt .44 revolver	Yes	---
Remington .44 revolver	Yes	---
.44 Henry rifle	---	Yes
12 mm revolver ?	---	Yes
.50 Smith carbine	Yes	Yes
.51 Hall ? carbine	Yes	Yes
.52 Sharps	Yes	Yes
.54 Starr carbine	---	Yes
.54 1841 rifle ?	Yes	Yes
.45 Enfield/Austrian ?	Yes	Yes
.54 Burnside	Yes	Yes
.56-56 Spencer	Yes	Yes
.56-56 Joslyn	Yes	Yes
.577 Enfield	Yes (bullets)	Yes (musket parts)
.58 Springfield	Yes (bullets)	Yes (musket parts)
.69 muskets	Yes	Yes
Shotguns	Yes	Yes
3-inch ordnance rifle	Yes (case & canister)	Yes (complete shell)
Total	20 firearms types	

Table 9 - Small arms capabilities.					
<i>Weapon type</i>	<i>Caliber</i>	<i>Bayonet</i>	<i>Magazine capacity</i>	<i>Rounds carried</i>	<i>Rate of fire/min.</i>
Revolver, Colt	.44 ball	no	6	24	6
Revolver, Remington	.44 ball	no	6	24	6
Henry rifle	.44 rimfire	no	16	50	16
Smith carbine	.50 linen cartridge	no	1	40	8
Hall carbine	.51 paper cartridge	no	1	40	8
Sharps carbine	.52 paper cartridge	no	1	40	8
Starr carbine	.54 paper cartridge	no	1	40	8
841 rifle	.54 paper cartridge	saber-type	1	40	3
Austrian rifle	.54 paper cartridge	no	1	40	3
Burnside carbine	.54 brass cartridge	no	1	40	10
Spencer carbine	.56-56 rimfire	no	7	40	14
Joslyn carbine	.56-56 rimfire	no	1	40	8
Enfield musket	.577 paper cartridge	angular	1	40	3
Springfield musket	.58 paper cartridge	angular	1	40	3
Altered muskets	.69 paper cartridge	angular	1	40	3
Shotguns	various M.L.	no	1 or 2	unknown	3

Table 10 - Summary of officially reported U.S. casualties			
<i>Unit</i>	<i>KIA</i>	<i>WIA</i>	<i>POW/MIA</i>
1ST AL CAV	5	27	41
5TH KY CAV	4	not reported	106
5TH OH CAV	4	not reported	200*/18
10TH WI BATRY	0	not reported	10
4TH PROV. BDE	not reported	not reported	not reported
Total	13	27	357/174
*200 may refer to the total battle POW/MIA losses. The 5th Ohio reported only 18 in their individual company returns.			

Table 11 - Summary of reported Confederate casualties.		
UNIT	KIA	WIA
FIELD AND STAFF	not reported	1
COBB LEGION	2	1
6th SC CAV	4	2
UNKNOWN UNITS	not reported	5*
*Lieutenant Humphrey later died of wounds and complications arising from an arm amputation. General Butler recalled a total of 60 or 65 killed or wounded in the battle.		

Prisoner Revolt

As the surprised Union troops were driven from camp, the attacking Confederate forces discovered more than 100 other Confederates leaving the camp area. *Butler* thought they were *Wright's* troops falling back, but he learned they were Confederate prisoners of war who had overpowered their Union guards when the attack began. *Butler* (1909a:445) sent the ex-prisoners to the rear and advanced "passed [sic] Kilpatrick's headquarters, through his artillery, wagon and ambulance train."

Brooks (1909:434-435) recalled a fellow soldier, *Flinn* or *Glenn Davis* (depending on the source), was taken prisoner by Kilpatrick's Cavalry while on picket duty March 7. *Davis* was among the men liberated during the battle. Those captured were bitter toward the Federals for not providing them with adequate rations and because of maltreatment by several guards.

When *Davis* was freed March 10, the first thing he did was to seize a camp kettle of food boiling over a fire and begin to eat the contents. He continued to do so until a bullet pierced the kettle bottom. *General Butler* purportedly rode by and asked *Davis* what he was doing. *Davis* reportedly replied, "I am getting a little bite, General, the first in three days; will be with the boys in a minute."

When *Davis* finished with the kettle of food, he picked up an abandoned Winchester rifle, found a Federal horse, and with two pistols handed to him by one of his brothers (also serving in the Regiment) joined the fight. *Davis* purportedly spent some time looking for an especially cruel guard who enjoyed kicking the prisoners and using the flat of his saber on their backsides, but found "Dutchey" already dead behind a tree. The dead Federal guard was supposed to have been full of lead, a special treatment from the freed Confederates as a payback for his abuse.

Butler (1909b:475) notes that *Wheeler* was unable to carry out his part in the battle due to "an unforeseen obstacle in a boggy swamp, and the severe losses we suffered by reason of the same." *Butler* also notes that among the losses that day were *Lieutenant Colonel King* of the *Cobb Legion* and *Sergeant Sam Cothran* of the *6th South Carolina Cavalry* who was shot down and instantly killed near *Butler*. He states 60 others were also lost.

Dodson (n.d. 331-345) refers to a certain rivalry between *Hampton* and *Wheeler*. *Dodson* devotes a fair portion of two chapters of his biography of *Wheeler* refuting claims against the general, particularly that *Wheeler* did not support the attack at Monroe's Crossroads. He (Dodson n.d.:344) has *Wheeler* scouting the Federal camp with his advance guard under *Captain Shannon* who is claimed to have captured Kilpatrick's pickets. *Dodson* (n.d.:344) identifies *Wheeler's* order of battle. He has *Allen's* and *Humes'* commands, delayed by rain, arriving near daylight when *Wheeler* ordered them into five columns for the attack. *Dibrell's* command was held in reserve, and *Captain Shannon* and his scouts were ordered to capture Kilpatrick.

Apparently to blunt criticism of *Wheeler*, *Dodson* deftly points out that *Wheeler* was extensively engaged at Monroe's Crossroads, with *Generals Humes* and *Harrison*, *Colonels Hagen* and *Roberts*, and *Major Farish*, who were severely wounded. He also notes *Colonel King* was killed and that *General Allen* and *Colonel Ashby* (*Colonel Henry*

M. Ashby, C.S.A.) had their horses shot from under them during the battle.

[Dodson \(n.d.:345\)](#) suggests the loss of these officers was the cause of *Wheeler's* inability to mount a successful charge. Dodson also blames the boggy stream that threw the troops into disorder as another reason for the lack of success on the Confederate right.

Although Dodson alludes to fighting and the loss of the many officers, at no time does he mention the Federal response to the attempted charge across Nicholson Creek.

[Dodson \(n.d.:345\)](#) implies that *Wheeler* led the charge into the camp, and that is where his losses occurred. He also points out that the Federal artillery and wagons were in Confederate hands and had been attacked by *Wheeler's* orders, implying that *Wheeler* was in general charge of the assault.

[Dodson \(n.d.:346\)](#) does state that *Wheeler's* command, specifically excluding *Butler*, consisted of 1,189 men who went into action at Monroe's Crossroads. Their losses were a dozen killed, 60 wounded, and 10 missing.

[Calhoun \(1912:82-83\)](#) provides an alternative view to the *Wheeler/Hampton* controversy. He states that after *Butler* and *Hampton* died *Wheeler* unduly claimed credit for command when it was *Hampton* and *Butler* who were in command and issued the orders for the attack on Kilpatrick's camp.

It was definitely established that *Wright* had charged through the camp, and his command became scattered. *Butler* expected to use *Law's* reserves to take up positions after the initial charge, but to his dismay *Hampton* had ordered *Law* to another position. When *Wheeler's* command joined *Butler*, precious time was lost in their movement around the swampy Nicholson Creek. The Union troops, unaware of these movements, used the time to regroup and fight.

During the fight, several incidents occurred which were recorded years afterward by various participants. *J. C. Covin* was a scout with *Hampton* and *Butler*. He recalled ([Brooks 1909:488](#)) that on a scouting expedition for Hampton near Columbia, South Carolina, *Sergeant Hogan* and another man were captured, although both were liberated in the Monroe's Crossroads fight. *Covin* also recalled that he personally saw *Hampton* fire his pistol and down a Federal soldier. *Covin* himself emptied both his pistols and struck a Federal soldier with one as he rode past.

[Brooks \(1909:426-427\)](#), citing a history of the *Citadel (South Carolina Military Academy)* by *Lieutenant Alfred Aldrich*, describes incidents of the Monroe's Crossroads battle. The Cadet Company of the *Sixth South Carolina* consisted of *Citadel* cadets. *Cadet J. H. Moses*, known to his comrades as "*Shaftsbury*," had his horse shot from under him and was attacked by a large Federal soldier. In hand-to-hand combat, the two were biting and wrestling when Confederate *Private Bill Martin*, who was also separated from his horse, came along and "lifted the Yank off of '*Shaftsbury*' with his revolver."

[Brooks \(1909\)](#) also relates a story of a duel between *Captain James Butler* and an unidentified Federal officer. *Captain Butler* saw his brother *Nat Butler* wounded in the right elbow and came to his aid. *Nat* lost his arm because of the wound. At that point, *Captain Butler* engaged the officer in a fire fight with at least three shots exchanged. The Federal officer was either wounded or killed. [General Butler \(1909a:446\)](#) elaborates on this account. He states that while futilely waiting near the Union artillery for *Wheeler* to

push through the camp from the Confederate right and waiting for *Law's Brigade* to join the fight, he observed a mounted duel between a Union officer and a Confederate officer. When the two men were about 10 paces apart, the Federal officer fired, and his shot was returned by the Confederate. Two additional shots were fired with the third tumbling the Union officer from his horse. *General Butler* was later surprised to learn that the Confederate officer engaged in the duel was his own brother, *Captain James Butler*, who was serving on *General Butler's* staff.

In another incident, *Lieutenant H. C. Reynolds*, C. S.A., *Wheeler's* scout, also engaged in a duel with a Federal officer ([Dubose 1912b:450](#)). Both nearly exhausted their revolver rounds before *Reynolds* wounded and forced his adversary from his horse. The horse and pistol were captured. [Dubose \(1912b:450\)](#) indicated the pistol was in an Alabama archive in 1912.

Taking the Artillery

The Confederates attempted to harness teams of horses to make away with the supply wagons and the artillery. [Butler \(1909:445-446\)](#) recalled that after *Wheeler* joined him the Federals regrouped and "gathered themselves behind pine trees, and with their rapid-firing Spencer carbines attacked us savagely and finally drove us out. I managed to gather up fragments of *Wright's Brigade* and charged the rallying Federals, but they had got to their artillery and, with their carbines, made it so hot for the handful of us that we had to retire."

During this charge, *Lieutenant Colonel King* was killed, and *Butler* reports he lost 62 men in five minutes. The *Cobb Legion* is reported to have charged within 15 or 20 paces of Kilpatrick's regrouped men when it was raked by artillery fire. There, *Lieutenant Colonel King* was mortally wounded by shrapnel from the artillery. The missile severed his femoral artery and spattered blood on the nearby [Private Howard \(1901:13\)](#). [Howard \(1901:13\)](#) stated that his brother and *Bugler Jackson* retrieved *King's* body and buried him along the Confederate withdrawal line. The location of the burial was communicated to *King's* brother, who later had the body removed to his home at Roswell, Georgia.

The Federal artillery was under the command of First Lieutenant Ebenezer Stetson, U.S.A., 10th Wisconsin Battery of Light Artillery. Stetson ran to his guns and got them into action after the Union troops had reorganized and counterattacked. Major Cheek, 5th Kentucky (U.S.), ([OR 1895:899](#)) states that "after a most bloody conflict of one hour and a half, a few of my men, with Lieutenant Stetson, 10th Wisconsin Battery, charged and retook two pieces of artillery, which had been in possession of the rebels some half an hour. Lieutenant Stetson quickly fired a round of grape and canister into the rebel ranks, which greatly encouraged my men, and demoralized and discouraged the rebels to an equal extent. The men were easily rallied to the support of the artillery...." Stetson purportedly singlehandedly unlimbered, loaded, and fired one gun before the crew could reform and join him. Stetson apparently fired into the Confederates attempting to harness the wagon teams, causing great confusion.

Hampton and *Wheeler* were seen on an elevation near the *Cobb Legion* during the battle encouraging the men, but they were pushed back by better armed Federals who effectively used their artillery. [Howard \(1901:12-13\)](#) suggests the Confederates should have taken more care with the artillery earlier in the battle.

Nye (n.d. :9) quotes Brooks (1909:433) on the role of the artillery:

During the hot hand-to-hand fight in Kilpatrick's camp a section of artillery on a slight hill, a little distance from where we were engaged, was playing havoc with our men, discharging double loads of shrapnel into us. Some of Butler's command commenced to concentrate their fire upon the men who were working these guns, and soon killed or knocked out all who were serving the guns except one Lieutenant. He seemed to bear a charmed life, and bravely loaded and fired the one gun left. [L.t. John] DeVaux called for some men to charge this battery with him; there was so much noise and confusion incident to such close fighting that he and Captain John Humphries of the Sixth Regiment, and Glenn Davis were the only ones to charge towards this battery. The Yankee Lieutenant serving the gun pulled his lanyard and discharged the load of shrapnel when they were a short distance from the muzzle of the cannon. Lieutenant DeVaux was shot five places; fortunately no bones were shattered. Captain Humphries was shot in the arm and later died from delayed amputation. Both their horses were killed. When he saw DeVaux and Humphries shot down some of our men charged up to this battery, served so gallantly by this brave and cool Yankee, and while he was in the act of reloading, killed him with a pistol shot. General Butler, when he saw it, said that it was a pity to kill so brave a man.

This report notwithstanding, Stetson was not killed, nor any of the men with the 10th Wisconsin Battery (Quiner 1866:961). The battery suffered a number wounded, 10 prisoners taken, one gun disabled, and the loss of 30 horses, but none killed. Sergeant John Swartz, purportedly the Chief of Section, was killed, but the 10th Wisconsin records do not list anyone by this name.

During the time Stetson began to fire his artillery, at least some Union troops rallied and advanced their line back through the camp forcing the Confederate cavalry to withdraw. Northrop (1912:423; 1913:477), who was with Kilpatrick's Scouts, indicates he had camped away from the farm during the night.

On hearing the sounds of battle in the early morning, he mounted his men and rode back to the farm. There he found Kilpatrick and some of the men in the swamp. The men in the swamp thought Northrop's troops to be members of the First Brigade, and as Northrop rode through the Federal troops into the camp the remainder rallied, formed lines, and retook the camp. Butler states "but now a solid line which the enemy had formed in the distance approached slowly with so deadly a fire as to compel us to retire." It may have been at this time that members of the Fourth Provisional Brigade also formed "making a line to which the rest rallied, and advanced. When the gleaming of bayonets were seen in the gray light, the cry was raised that the infantry were upon them" (Cox 1882:180).

Confederates Withdraw

With no help from the Confederate rear forthcoming and assuming that Union infantry support was drawing near, the Confederates disengaged. With perhaps as many as 400 Union prisoners in tow, the Confederate column began to move toward Fayetteville. Dibrell's command covered the withdrawal and exchanged shots with Union troops, following their movements for a short distance.

The battle was over about nine o'clock, leaving perhaps 100 dead and an unknown number of wounded, as well as prisoners. Kilpatrick, in his underwear, apparently joined his men in the fight. He had escaped capture by fooling Captain Bostick into thinking a mounted trooper was Kilpatrick (Inzer 1904:177; Hood 1906:176; McDowell et al. 1906:309). Kilpatrick lost his spotted horse or horses, accounts vary, to the attacking

Confederates at Monroe's Crossroads. A short time after Appomattox, Kilpatrick sent a note with a flag of truce to *General Hampton* requesting the return of his mount. *Hampton* complied and returned the horse.

Kilpatrick's staff and that of Colonel Spencer were unable to leave the Monroe House during the fight, although in the melee the Confederates apparently did not try to enter the house either. An interesting story relating to the women accompanying Kilpatrick's 5 headquarters revolves around the headquarters flag. Lieutenant James Miller, 5th Ohio Cavalry (U.S.), reported that he held the headquarters flag during the battle, then returned it to the color bearer. However, Kilpatrick gives a woman named Alice credit for saving the flag by concealing it under her garments ([Lowry 1994:144](#)).

The women accompanying Kilpatrick were variously reported as stranded school teachers, women of disreputable character, and women dressed as men ([Lowry 1994:143-145](#)). It is also reported that one of the women, possibly Marie Boozer, rushed from the house wearing a scanty nightdress in an attempt to get to her buggy. She was escorted, apparently by *Captain Samuel Pegues* of the 3rd Alabama Cavalry (C.S.), to a deep drainage ditch and cover east of the house ([Dubose 1912b:449](#)).

Kilpatrick ([OR 1895:862](#)) reports 80 Confederate dead and 30 taken prisoner, with the Union loss of four officers killed, seven wounded, 15 enlisted men killed, 61 wounded, and 103 taken prisoner. Colonel Spencer ([OR 1895:895](#)) reported 18 killed, 70 wounded, and 105 missing. Among those killed were Adjutant Mitchell of the 5th Kentucky (U.S.) and eight officers of the 1st Alabama (U.S.). Major Tramel, 1st Alabama (U.S.), ([OR 1895:897](#)) reported he was captured, but escaped four days later. He reported that his regiment lost four killed, 27 wounded, and 41 missing. Major Cheek, 5th Kentucky (U.S.) ([OR 1895:899](#)), found 33 Confederate dead in his lines after the battle.

[Brooks \(1909:417\)](#) recalled several Confederate casualties besides those already mentioned. Among them was *Major Tom Ferguson*, 6th South Carolina Cavalry, who was wounded. Another was *Sergeant G.H. Hodges* who was separated from his horse and wounded in the side near where he had also been wounded at Trevillian Station in 1864. [Brooks \(1909:428\)](#) also identifies four men from *Company B*, 6th South Carolina Cavalry as killed in action at Monroe's Crossroads—*Sergeant Sam Cothran*, *Tom Sego*, *Mat Adams*, and *Fayette Cogburn*. He notes this reduced the company to just a handful of men.

Kilpatrick and his command stayed on the field of battle until mid-afternoon caring for the wounded, burying the dead, and reassembling their kits. The dead were apparently buried in shallow pits dug into the sandy soil. Neill S. Blue, a boy of 15 at the time of the battle and a local resident, informed [Nye \(n.d.:10\)](#) that he set a few pieces of sandstone over the graves after the battle. Blue also stated he went to the field the day following the battle and found many dead and wounded around a log barn where the fighting had been particularly heavy ([Daly n.d.:4](#)). Blue reported he counted 320 dead horses some days after the battle. ([McLauchlin n.d.](#)).

Within a month of the battle, a defeated *South Carolina soldier*, returning home, passed the battle site and reported seeing the house still deserted, draft animal carcasses rotting in the yard, and some human dead partially exhumed by the elements or wild animals ([Nye n.d.:10](#)).

Possibly the same individual or another South Carolina ex-soldier, *S. W Kennedy*,

Company C, 6th Carolina Cavalry, was looking for his brother's grave in 1881. According to an undated 1881 Columbia newspaper clipping (on file at Fort Bragg, Monroe's Crossroads collection) he discovered the grave of *Sergeant Samuel G. Cothran, Company B, 6th Carolina Cavalry*.

The graves were not formally marked until 1921 when Fort Bragg authorities placed markers over 39 Union unknown dead at sites identified by Neill Blue. Blue claimed that the Confederate dead were buried on Battlefield Farm (Daly n.d.:4). Some or all the Confederate dead were exhumed soon after the battle and reinterred in the Long Street Presbyterian Church cemetery by *Captain John McKellar* and *John Currie* (McCleod 1923:16). The remains buried at the church cemetery are under a marker inscribed, "Confederate Soldiers." Others were reburied in Fayetteville, and some may have been reclaimed by their families. McLaughlin (n.d.) also noted that some Northern families traveled to the battle site after the war to reclaim some of their dead relatives as well.

In 1993, the Army placed a memorial marker for Confederate soldiers on the battlefield.

PREVIOUS COLLECTING EFFORTS

The Monroe's Crossroads Battlefield was affected by many post-battle activities. In the years immediately following the war, the most predominate activity and probably the least damaging was agriculture. The acquisition of the site during World War I as an artillery post began a sequence of impacts, which continue today. Use of the site as an army training ground has left behind gun pits, rifle pits, foxholes, various pieces of equipment, and thousands upon thousands of cartridge cases. These bits of training paraphernalia are scattered throughout the battlefield. Except for entrenchments, most have not affected the subsurface deposits, and, in a manner, have protected the site by adding thousands of metal pieces to the site. This metallic shield, in a way, frustrates the casual metal detector because the modern debris is the predominant find and not the artifacts of the battle.

However, the site is well known to serious metal detecting enthusiasts and appears to have been heavily collected during the last 30 years. Most of the resulting collections are unrecorded and apparently have been dispersed. Thankfully, Stanley Dahl (First Sergeant, U.S.A., retired), kept most of his collection intact. Mr. Dahl's keen interest in the site was an important factor in the success of this archeological project. Mr. Dahl kindly lent his artifact collection for examination and freely gave his time and knowledge. His recollections on find locations, previously productive artifact areas, and his understanding of the terrain were of inestimable assistance to the archeological team.

Mr. Dahl's collection includes a tremendous variety of materials, many of which were not duplicated in the archeological investigations. His data provides substantial supportive and additional information about the armament and accouterments of the battle participants. The items actually examined are summarized in Table 2.

In addition to the listed items, Mr. Dahl donated some material to the Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry Company Armory. These include eight Spencer cases, three Burnside cases, one Hotchkiss shell, several .58 bullets, knapsack hooks, US oval belt plate, CS belt plate, NC belt plate, and a large US oval cartridge box plate. Mr. Dahl also has the base portion of at least two other Hotchkiss shells in his possession.

Mr. Fred Raber worked with Stan Dahl at Monroe's Crossroads. He indicated that he collected a "trunk load of artifacts," but gave most of them away. He donated several items to the Museum of the Cape Fear in Fayetteville.

The donated items are a .58-caliber Williams Cleaner bullet, a Starr .54-caliber bullet, several .58-caliber minie bullets, and a pocket knife.

The Museum of the Cape Fear in Fayetteville also has a Henry rifle purported to have been captured at Monroe's Crossroads by J. C. *Ellington*. The name Joshua Sowash is engraved on the sideplate.

Sowash's Civil War Service records in Record Group 95, held in the National Archives, indicate he enlisted in the 58th Indiana Infantry on October 1, 1861. He served in Company C until he was mustered out on January 24, 1864 when he reenlisted in the Veteran Volunteer Reserves.

He served in that unit until July 3, 1865 when he mustered out of service. During his service in the Veteran Volunteer Reserves, he was assigned as a pontoon rigger. It is possible this is the same rifle that *Flinn* or *Glenn Davis* is purported to have found on the field, as mentioned earlier.

Despite the historical documentation and collection of relics, the Monroe's Crossroads story is incomplete. This is especially true in light of the need to develop the staff ride to support leadership training at the battlefield site.

Without additional research in the historical records and recovery of archeological evidence, the battle's boundaries, locations of the troops at various points in the battle, and the deployment of the camp would remain uncertain.

The remainder of this report is devoted to archeological investigation methods, descriptions of recovered artifacts, features, and excavations, and the interpretation of these data to support the development of the staff ride plans.



[Chapter 4 - Test Excavations: Analysis and Results](#)

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Historic Artifacts

Test Area A enclosed the approximate area of the Monroe House and its associated structures. Of some importance to our understanding of this area were the artifacts recovered from the shovel testing and small block excavation. These artifacts provide clues to the occupants' activities, as well as the temporal position of the deposits. The following discussion presents a brief description of artifacts according to a functional classification system proposed by [Sprague \(1980-1981\)](#). All objects recovered in Test Area A are listed in the [Appendix 1 \(Historic Artifacts\)](#) and [Appendix 2 \(Prehistoric Artifacts\)](#).

Personal Items (n=14 specimens; MNI=7).

Adornment (n=4 specimens). Three, white, Prosser buttons (Cat. 20, 84, and 91) and a ferrous metal clothing snap (Cat. 26) are included in this functional category. Prosser buttons, a type manufactured from highly compressed, heated beads of glass, are sometimes mistakenly referred to as "ceramic" buttons. All specimens are elliptical in cross-section and have four sew-thrus within a circular well in the center of the button face. The buttons from the Monroe House site are white and vary from 0.43-0.44 inches (10.92-11.18 mm) in diameter. This correlates with the commercial standard size of 18 lignes (1 inch = 40 lignes), a size commonly used with underwear and shirts. The ferrous snap is represented only by a fragment, and little additional information can be provided concerning its possible uses.

Medical and Health (n = 1 specimen).

This functional category is represented by a single, light aqua, patent, lip bottle finish fragment recovered from S. P. 6N/4W (Cat. 178). This finish probably had a cork closure and is possibly derived from a medicine bottle of unknown type.

Indulgences (n =9 fragments; minimum number of vessels =2).

Glass fragments representing alcoholic beverage containers were recovered from three shovel tests. Three "black" (very dark olive green) fragments (Cat. 138 and 180a,b) are from one bottle which may have contained wine or ale. This very dark color suggests a time period contemporaneous with the Civil War or before ([Fike 1987:13](#)). The other six fragments (Cat. 168) are amber colored and are probably derived from a modern beer bottle.

Domestic Items (n =84 specimens; MNI=26).

Furnishings (n=5 specimens; MNI=3). Objects noted at the site in this category but not collected (and therefore not listed in the Appendix) were a set of partially buried bed springs and a cast iron skillet. Both were just north of Trench 1, located at grid 1W/10N.

The objects recovered during subsurface investigations at Test Area A include a cast iron handle and pressed glass



fragments. The handle (Cat. 103) is quite plain and functional (Figure 19c at left). Its form and orientation suggest that it may originally have been attached to some tinned domestic item such as toilet ware, a cake or dish pan, a coal hod, or some other similar object (Pyne Press 1971:64, 68, 114).

The pressed glass fragments appear to be derived from at least two vessels. One of these is probably a bowl of indeterminate size. This vessel (represented by Cat. 114 and 146) has large rectilinear elements, impressed stars in raised diamonds, and a plain everted rim (Figure 19b). Exposure to the sun's ultraviolet rays has turned the otherwise clear glass to a light violet color. This is a characteristic of glass objects clarified with manganese, a practice in the glass industry between circa 1880 and 1916 (Munsey 1970:55). The two remaining pressed glass specimens (Cat. 145 and 184) are clear in color and display a fine ribbed pattern. Their unaltered, clear color suggests that the objects are of modern derivation and, though placed in this category, it is possible they actually derived from a soft drink bottle.

Food and Drink (n =2 specimens).

Very little can be said about this category because only two objects were recovered which related directly to food consumption. A pig's molar (Cat. 83) may represent the raising of hogs and pork consumption. A corroded rim from a round tin can (Cat. 154) suggests the use of some form of storebought canned goods.

Housewares and Appliances (n = 77 specimens; MNI=21).

Food preparation and preservation are demonstrated to a small degree through the recovery of a variety of stoneware and table/teaware.

Stoneware (n=9 specimens; MNI =7 vessels) was most commonly used to prepare and store foods during the 19th century. Most specimens from the Monroe House site display a salt glazed exterior, though a few possess a dark brown glaze (probably an Albany slip). Interior surfaces are unglazed, haphazardly glazed with an Albany slip, or salt glazed. Interior and exterior glazing combinations suggest that at least seven different vessels are represented. Vessel forms include two jugs (Figure 19a), a large (mixing?) bowl, a crock, and three vessels of unknown shape.

Table/teaware is represented by 55 whiteware fragments and three porcelain fragments. The shape and decorative features suggest that at least twelve vessels are represented in the collection. These include:

- **Vessel 1-** undecorated porcelain flatware (plate or saucer)
- **Vessel 2-** undecorated whiteware saucer
- **Vessel 3-** undecorated whiteware handled cup
- **Vessel 4-** undecorated paneled whiteware, form unknown
- **Vessel 5-** handpainted (sprig) whiteware, form unknown
- **Vessel 6-** whiteware vessel, form unknown, decorated with an unidentified, green,

transfer-printed, dot-star pattern

- **Vessel 7-** whiteware hollowware vessel, with a paneled body decorated with an unidentified, light blue, transfer-printed pattern
- **Vessel 8-** whiteware flatware vessel, with an unpaneled body decorated with an unidentified, Romantic, light blue, printed pattern
- **Vessel 9-** blue-edge decorated, impressed rim (unscaloped), whiteware flatware
- **Vessel 10-** whiteware flatware with a dark brown band on its rim
- **Vessel 11-** porcelain hollowware decorated with unidentified, molded, Art Nouveau, floral pattern
- **Vessel 12-** undecorated whiteware cup (rim form different than that of vessel 3)

Portable Illumination (n = 10 fragments; minimum number of specimens =2).

At least two kerosene lamp chimneys are represented among the curved glass objects. Nine fragments are from a clear globe of uncertain shape. One of the fragments (Cat. 139) is a crenellated rim. A second globe may be represented by extremely thin, purple glass specimens. All objects of this category are probably related to the farmhouse occupied by the Monroe and Blue families rather than to the battlefield antagonists since they are consistent with typical permanent residential domestic activities.

Architectural Items (n = 700 specimens).

Construction Materials (n = 92 specimens). This subcategory includes all objects or materials used in the actual fabric of a construction. Objects of this category recovered from Test Area A include window glass, bricks, mortar, and plaster. Window glass (n = 76 fragments), all flat glass specimens under 3.20 mm in thickness, varies from clear to light green in color. Bricks (n = 5 specimens), as would be expected, occurred in relatively large numbers in the block excavation at the chimney ruins. Only five specimens were collected. One complete brick and three fragments are from test excavations at the collapsed chimney feature. The other collected specimen is derived from a shovel probe at 2N/1E. All remaining bricks encountered at the chimney feature were left at the site, and most of these remain in their original place of discovery. The only complete specimen collected (Cat. 5) is a handmade brick of poor construction. It appears to have been made in a mold, and the coarse, wet clay was allowed to slop over the edges to a considerable extent. There are no marks on any of the specimens to identify the manufacturer.

Mortar and Plaster (n =11 specimens). One mortar fragment and ten plaster fragments were encountered during the test excavations at the location of the collapsed chimney. These had no distinguishing characteristics.

Construction Hardware (n = 608 specimens) includes all objects used as fasteners or otherwise attached to construction materials.

Nails (n = 606 specimens) are the single largest artifact category recovered from Test Area A. The sample includes cut nails (n = 472), L-headed cut brads or finishing nails (n=7), wire nails (n=22), and unidentifiable nail fragments (n =105).

The pennyweight (d) is the standard means of referring to nail size, and the sample from Test Area A range in size from 3d (1 1/4 inch) to 40d (5 inches). William Lees, as a part

of his nail analysis of the Jotham Meeker Farmstead, examined two 19th-century, standing structures to ascertain the functions of various-sized nails used in their construction (Lees 1986:95-96). He notes the following correlations:

- **2d**- wall and ceiling lath
- **3d**- shingling, ceiling lath, thin tongue and groove paneling
- **4d**- clapboard siding and shingling
- **5d**- light framing of 1-inch to 1 ³/₄-inch boards
- **6d**- clapboard siding, 1-inch thick exterior trim, 1-inch flooring
- **8d**- flooring, sheathing, boarding, and exterior trim using 1- inch thick boards
- **10d**- sheathing and window trim using 1- inch thick boards
- **12d**- studding
- **16d+**- heavy framing

Lees also noted the relative absence ($\leq 0.4\%$ or less of the sample population) of nails 16d and larger at a log cabin site in Kansas. Finally, the relative proportion of smaller nail sizes in the sample was proposed by Lees to be directly related to the structure's roof size; e.g., the larger the roof area, the higher the percentage of number of 2d-4d nails commonly used in shingling. About 60% of the nails recovered from a structure dating to the 1830s and 1840s, with at least 978 square feet of ground space, were sizes 4d or less. Excavations at a smaller structure (exact dimensions uncertain) at the same site returned a nail sample in which only 23.7% were 4d or less in size.

The 479 cut nail population recovered from Test Area A includes 3d (n=49, 11.2%), 4d (n=60, 13.7%), 6d (n=35, 8.0%), 8d (n=155, 35.3%), 10d (86, 19.6%), 12d (34, 7.7%), 16d (n=10, 2.1%), 20d (n=6, 1.3%), 30d (n=4, 0.8%) and 40d (n=1, 0.2%). The relatively large number of nails 16d and greater in size (n=21, 4.4%) suggests the likelihood that the structure at 31HK248 was a frame building. The relatively small percentage of size 4d or less nails (24.8%) may suggest a structure smaller than 978 square feet. However, if the house were roofed with tin, as many houses in the United States were from the Colonial era on (telephone conversation, Hunt with Charles Maston, MWR Restoration Specialist, December 21, 1993), then one would expect a smaller number of nails for roofing. One would also expect the proportions of roofing nails to be reduced for multistory structures. For the moment, then, no conclusive evidence is available relating to the size of the structure tested at 31HK248.

Screw (n=1 specimen). A single no.18 (0.25 inch 1.064 mm diameter) wood screw was recovered in Trench 1. The shaft of the ferrous metal screw is broken, preventing its length from being determined.

Staple (n= 1 specimen). The only staple recovered in Test Area A is from S.P. 7N/1E and most likely derived from a fence.

Transportation Items (n = 7 specimens).

A variety of items related to transportation were recovered from various areas of Test Area A. Most of the objects are probably related to horse harness, among which are a cuprous rivet (Cat. 25), a cast brass buckle (Cat. 4), a possible trace chain (Cat. 157), a ferrous swivel (Cat. 147a), and possible ferrous metal buckle tongue (Cat. 147b). Two shoes were recovered, one for a horse (Cat. 28) and the other for a mule (Cat. 180). These objects may be related to the military engagement at Monroe's Crossroads,

although it is equally or more likely that they are associated with the agricultural activities of the Monroe/Blue farm.

Firearms/Martial Items (n =4 specimens).

Literally thousands of objects related to this category were noted at the site. Only four objects predating the military reservation were collected in the subsurface investigations, however. These include a .45 caliber bullet (Cat. 28), a decorative device for a gunstock cut from sheet copper (Cat. 11), a .22 short casing (Cat. 10), and a .54 caliber bullet (Cat. 127).

Unidentified Function Items (n =92).

Unidentified function items from Test Area A were classified solely by their raw material class (glass, plastic, metal, and stone).

Glass objects in this category (n=59 specimens) are all curved glass fragments and derived from bottles.

None could be assigned to a vessel shape or functional category due to their uniformly small size. The small fragment size is similar to that observed by one of the authors (Hunt) in public areas at Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site where glass sherds were broken and rebroken by human and animal traffic.

Some sherds were melted to various degrees. This may indicate that the Monroe House was burned after it was torn down.

Plastic (n =1 specimens). One piece of yellow celluloid recovered from Trench 1 is a fragment of an unidentified, round-edged object.

Metal (n=31 specimens). Thirty objects in this subcategory are of ferrous metal. The remaining specimen is the remnant of a mutilated, lead cylinder.

Stone (n =1 specimen). One small fragment of slate was recovered in the chimney ruins. This may be derived either from a slate roofing tile or a writing tablet.

Prehistoric Artifacts (n =33 specimens).

Human-modified, lithic objects recovered from Test Area A are related to an unidentified, prehistoric occupation (see [Appendix 2](#)). All but one are quartz flakes which vary in color from clear (n=1) to white (n=31). One of these (Cat. 88) appears to exhibit some retouching along one edge. Aside from the flakes, one crude, bifacially-worked tool was recovered which appears to be manufactured from a dense, buff-colored, limestone cortex. These objects were found to be widely distributed throughout Test Area A. No boundaries for this component can be defined given the present data base.

Chapter 4 (continued)

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Firearm Types

The different firearm types and their quantities are central to the study of the battle. From the firearm types, we can begin to appreciate the variety of arms used by the combatants. Both the historic documents and archeological record provide some insight into the range of weapons available and used in the battle.

Although the historic documentation is not extensive on the firearm types present at the battle, there are accounts of the Confederates using pistols, presumably revolvers, in their charge, and the Union troops beating them back by using Spencer carbines. And there is a reference to the Confederate attack collapsing when the Confederates mistook the rifled musket-bearing members of the Fourth Provisional Brigade as arriving infantry support.

The archeological firearms data is rich and varied and indicates there were significant varieties of firearms present during the engagement. [Table 8](#) summarizes the available archeological and collector data regarding firearms evidence.

[Table 8](#) indicates there were at least 20 small arms types represented in the archeological collection. In several cases, only a single bullet provides that evidence, but in most instances both the archeological and private collections have multiple examples of these arms' ammunition. [Table 9](#) provides some additional basic information on caliber, type of round, and rate of fire for most of these firearms.

The five most common ammunition components represented are Burnside, Spencer, Sharps, .58-caliber muskets, and Enfield-type muskets. Both the Confederate and Union historical record focus on the Spencer repeating carbine as a decisive element in turning the Confederate tide during the battle. It was the most commonly found cartridge case and third most commonly found bullet. The Spencer case and bullet distribution indicate it was used primarily along the ridge paralleling the old Blue's Road. The four Spencers represented by the multiple matched cases indicate some individual movement. Case FS1688 was found southwest of Blue's Road and near the southeast-northwest trending road alignment. A probable match to that case is FS1506, found north of the house site and north of the firebreak road and FS2042, found in the artillery impact buffer area below the junction of the current Morganton Road and Blue's Road. Another Spencer movement is also represented by three cases. FS1178 was found south of the house site along the ridge; FS1698 was found north of the firebreak road, and the third matching case, FS2042, was found below the junction of the current Morganton Road and Blue's Road. The last group of matched firing pin marks, FS2043 and 2046, was also found below the junction of the current Morganton Road and Blue's Road.

[Coates and Thomas \(1990\)](#) report that the 5th Ohio Cavalry was armed with Spencers at some point during the war. If this is accurate, then the Spencers may indicate some deployment and movement of that unit.

The second most common bullet is the .58-caliber minie ball, represented by a total of 44 specimens from both the archeological and private collections. This caliber is seen in many varieties. The .58-caliber was used only in muskets, thus their presence in the battle is identified. It is entirely possible some Confederate units were armed with muskets. It is also known that Kilpatrick's Fourth Provisional Brigade, a composite and

dismounted unit formed to guard the wagon train, was armed with muskets instead of carbines.

The .58-caliber minie balls were found scattered along the ridge near the old Blue's Road alignment. Several were also found west of Nicholson Creek in the Confederate position. At least one dropped or unfired bullet was found in that position, as well as one near the south end of the ridge. This distribution pattern suggests an intermixing of .58-caliber weapons and bolsters the supposition that both Union and Confederate units were armed with this caliber musket.

The Burnside cartridge and bullet (37 and 32 specimens respectively) are the third most common type. The cartridge cases, often in association with percussion cap concentrations, are primarily distributed at the south end of the ridge and to its immediate west. Stanley Dahl and Fred Raber report large numbers of Burnside cases were recovered in the immediate vicinity of the house site, primarily to its north side. The archeological data is consistent with that evidence.

The fired bullets were found scattered along the ridge and well to the north of the house site. A significant number were also found along Nicholson Creek and west of the creek in the presumed area of *Humes' Texas Brigade's* attempt to cross the creek. The 1st Alabama (U.S.) reported they engaged *Humes'* men in their attempt to cross the creek. Thus it would appear that the 1st Alabama (U.S.) was also armed with the Burnside carbine. [Coates and Thomas \(1990\)](#) note the 5th Kentucky (U.S.) was also armed with Burnside carbines at some point during the war.

The third most common bullet is the Enfield in various calibers, but primarily .577-caliber. The bullets concentrate in two areas, with a few strays in between. The first is along the east side of Nicholson Creek where *Humes* engaged the 1st Alabama (U.S.). If, as it appears, these are Confederate-fired bullets, then the *Texas Brigade* was likely armed with a mixture of .54-caliber carbines and .577-caliber or .58-caliber muskets. The presence of .58-caliber minie balls in these positions, as noted earlier, can be taken as additional evidence for this supposition. [Coates and Thomas \(1990\)](#) report the *8th Texas* as variously armed with .69-caliber muskets, Austrian muskets, Belgian or French muskets, 1841 Mississippi Rifles, Burnside carbines, and double-barrel shotguns. All of these are consistent with the archeological data.

The second concentration was found north of the firebreak road. Stanley Dahl reported finding a concentration of Enfield bullets in this area as well. Again they are a mixture of .54-caliber and .577-caliber Enfield bullets. This area may reflect a mixture of Union and Confederate weapons, but the concentration may more likely represent Confederate bullets fired in either the initial attack or perhaps during the Confederate withdrawal covered by *Dibrell's brigade*.

The .52-caliber Sharps is represented by only 15 bullets. Yet, the archeological distribution is definitely patterned. Two dropped bullets were found at the south end of the ridge, along the old Blue's Road alignment. The remainder were found in a linear pattern, along the old Blue's Road alignment, with the majority north of the house site.

Possibly, the bullets represent the charge of one of *Butler's* Confederate units into the camp. However, it is more likely that the bullets, since the dropped or unfired ones are near the gun position, represent reformed, Union units firing upon *Dibrell's Brigade* as it moved north covering the Confederate withdrawal.

The .44-caliber pistol bullets represent at least three different types of revolvers. There is no pattern to their distribution. They were found throughout the battlefield area. This is not unexpected because both combatant groups were undoubtedly armed with revolvers and used them extensively in combat. Both Union and Confederate sources report that Confederates, in their initial charge into the Union camp, fired pistols and wielded sabers.

Deformed bullets and lead balls were also ubiquitous across the battlefield. Undoubtedly, if some of the deformed bullets could have been identified, they would have further confirmed the identifiable bullet distribution. There are so few balls that their distribution is nearly meaningless. They are present on the field, and some may very well be battle-related. However, they could just as easily represent earlier or later hunting episodes.

The seven, Joslyn-fired .56-.56-caliber cartridges indicate some unit or company was armed with these carbines. Because only one was recovered *in situ* archeologically, no meaning can be inferred from the distribution of the cartridges.

Lead shot was found primarily east of the ridge near the 27-man grave (Test Area C) and north of the firebreak road. It may merely represent hunting episodes unassociated with the battle or it may represent shotguns used by the attacking Confederates, as well as elements of .69-caliber buck and ball loads. The shot distribution pattern suggests a battle association because the pieces were recovered with definite, battle-related bullets.

The other bullets, Smith carbine .54-caliber and .51-caliber, are so few that speculation about them is dubious at best. The few Smith carbine and .51-caliber bullets cluster in areas believed associated with Confederate areas, although the data is only suggestive, not definitive.

The final ammunition component category is artillery-related artifacts. The possible wheel bolt and all but one friction primer were recovered near the south end of the ridge about 50 meters south of the 27-man grave (Test Area C) along Blue's Road. In this case, the archeological evidence does not correlate with the historic facts. All historic documentation about the engagement identifies the gun section within 15 to 25 meters of the house site. (Twenty paces is interpreted to be about 15 to 25 meters). James Legg (personal communication October 30, 1995) identifies the gun position as being just east of the old Blue's Road and about 25 meters southeast of the house site. There he found two fired friction primers. During the recent investigations, we recovered a friction primer pull-ring from immediately south of the house and a friction primer 150 meters south of the house. This southern area is also where Stanley Dahl found several friction primers.

The archeological evidence strongly suggests that the section of 3-inch ordnance rifles was located at the southern or southwestern area of the camp and above the swamp. This position is also on some of the highest ground and commands the best field of fire available. Assuming the forest was more open and more fields were present than today's vegetation suggests, then the battery would have commanded Blue's Road, the house and outbuildings, Nicholson Creek, and the area to the northwest of the house. Examining the distribution of iron shrapnel, lead balls that may have been case shot shrapnel, the canister iron balls, and the fuze adapters, as well as Stanley Dahl's finds of shell bases, and the unexploded shell strongly supports the idea that the area about 50 meters south

of the 27-man grave where most of the friction primers were found was the place where the battery was located.

Schreier (1993:17) and Naisawald (1960:545-550) indicate the Hotchkiss case shot had its bursting charge below the lead balls and was designed to scatter the balls forward along the projectile flight line. The soft iron case also tended to fragment forward and to the sides. Thus the finds of balls and shrapnel should be either to the side or forward of the shell's bursting point. Knowing the bursting pattern provides a means for detecting the placement of the guns.

Some shrapnel was found west of the 27-man grave (Test Area C) and west of the old Blue's Road alignment, some to the east toward Nicholson Creek, but most was north of Test Area C. Some shrapnel was found along the ridge and near the house site, but the majority concentrated north of the firebreak road and west of the house site (Test Area A).

Not only did the shrapnel concentrate there, but the complete fuze adaptor, a canister ball, and some lead balls were also found in this area. The fragment of a fuze adapter and another lead ball were found south of the current Morganton Road and west of the previously mentioned concentration. Such a dispersal of cannon projectile fragments and parts suggests the battery fire was concentrated to the north. At least one round of canister and two case shot were fired in this direction. Stanley Dahl's finds also indicate one case shot that did not explode fired to the northwest and at least two others that did explode fired to the east. Thus it appears the battery fired a minimum of one canister and four case shot or shell to its right, left, and front. This projectile fragment distribution is consistent with the battery's point of origin south of the 27-man grave site (Test Area C). Assuming a consistent bursting pattern and using the known locations of case shot or case fragments, lines can be drawn along a projected shell flight path. All projectile flight paths converge in the area of the primary friction primers finds. The primers may have been lost from a limber or caisson that was behind the guns, but the artifact distribution certainly points to this area as the most likely locale for the gun position.

Table 10 - Summary of officially reported U.S. casualties

Unit	KIA	WIA	POW/MIA
1ST AL CAV	5	27	41
5TH KY CAV	4	not reported	106
5TH OH CAV	4	not reported	200*/18
10TH WI BATRY	0	not reported	10
4TH PROV. BDE	not reported	not reported	not reported
Total	13	27	357/174

*200 may refer to the total battle POW/MIA losses. The 5th Ohio reported only 18 in their individual company returns.

The canister and case shot fired to the front (or north) are consistent with the reports of the gun or guns firing into concentrated Confederate troops as they were attempting to cut down the wagons and capture supplies. *General Butler* and *General Wheeler* both reported that when Stetson's gun began firing it caused great confusion.

It seems likely that the Confederates, laboring over the wagons, were some distance away from the guns because they should have been able to repulse the Union movement to retake the guns. Evaluating the historical statements against the archeological evidence argues for a reassessment of the historical sources. A reanalysis indicates that the guns were in the vicinity of the southern or southwestern area of the camp and further away from the wagons than historical sources suggests.

During their initial attack, the Confederates were able to charge through camp and scatter the surprised Union troops. Some numbers of the Confederates halted near the house and the wagon park to destroy the wagons and capture supplies. *Wright's* Confederates in their charge through the camp may have taken the guns and perhaps begun to destroy one or both guns. They may have also tried to harness the animals and capture the guns.

Stetson, perhaps in the swamp with many other Union troops and seeing the Confederate activity around the guns, may have rounded up and reformed a Union unit, probably armed with Burnside carbines. They then rushed the Confederates around the guns and forced them to retreat. Stetson was then able to unlimber and load his guns, at some point with crew support, and fire point blank at the Confederates near the wagon train. Late in the battle, another and last Confederate charge came within 15 or 20 paces of the guns. The Confederates were halted by the combined fire of the cavalry carbines and a burst of case shot or canister, or both. The Confederates report sustaining losses of about 60 men ([Table 11](#)) in approximately five minutes during this last charge.

This period was undoubtedly a critical point for the Union troops because they were beginning to regain their organization and command structure. Whether Stetson's action was a galvanizing element or was a focal point of after-the-action remembrances is uncertain, but the tactical stability of the Union troops was regained at about the time of his efforts.

MOVEMENTS AND ACTIONS AT THE MONROE'S CROSSROADS BATTLE

To interpret events that occurred during the battle using the archeological evidence, it is necessary to break the battle into a series of discrete elements. These breaks are artificial, in a sense, because they are elements identified for discussion purposes only. The battle, while it lasted, was continuous and evolving. Only in retrospect does the conflict have discrete and definable elements. Certain things happened simultaneously, but for description and discussion purposes they are broken into a variety of specific actions or elements. The following interpretations combine the archeological evidence with historical documentation. Agreements and disagreements between the data sets are noted, and where disagreements are found a reinterpretation is offered based on both sets of evidence.

[Chapter 6 \(continued\)](#)

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Historic Artifacts Recovered from Test Area A

<i>Provenience</i>	<i>Level or Stratum</i>	<i>Cat. Number</i>	<i>Identification</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Description/Comment</i>
Adornment					
E.U. C3, S1/2	30-40 cm	20	Button	ca. 1855-1870	White "agate" (ceramic), four sew-thrus in central well, .44 inch (18 lignes) diameter (Luscomb 1967:183-184 ; McLeod 1983:225 ; South 1964:122)
E.U. C3, N1/2	30-40 cm	26	Snap	?	Ferrous metal, clothing snap fragment
E.U. D3, SW1/4	12-40 cm	84	Button	ca. 1855-1870	White "agate" (ceramic), four sew-thrus in central well, .43 inch (18 lignes) diameter
S.P. 1N/1E	---	91	Button	ca. 1855-1870	White "agate" (ceramic), four sew-thrus in central well, .43 inch (18 lignes) diameter
Medical and Health					
S.P. 6N/4W	---	178	Medicine bottle	?	1 light aqua, patent lip finish fragment; cork closure
Indulgences					
S.P. 3N/0W	---	180	Wine or ale bottle	?	2 fragments; black (olive green) curved glass
S.P. 5N/3W	---	138	Wine or ale bottle	?	1 black (olive green) curved glass fragment
S.P. 7N/2W	---	168	Beer bottle	modern	6 amber curved glass (shoulder) fragments; 1 with small raised "N[O?]"
Domestic Furnishings					
E.U. D4, N1/4	0-40 cm	103	Handle	?	Cast iron; spatulate ends pierced for attachment by rivets in such a way as to direct the handle vertically rather than horizontally; commonly used with tinned domestic items such as toilet ware, cake and dish pans, coal hods, etc. (Pyne Press 1971: 64,68,114). Maximum dimensions of handle (excluding ends) = 3 inches high x 2.75 inches wide
Trench 1	20-40 cm	114	Pressed glass	ca. 1880-1916	Clear glass rim which has been colored purple by exposure to the sun (Munsey 1970:55)
S.P. 3N/1E	---	145	Pressed glass	?	Clear glass
S.P. 5N/1E	---	184	Pressed glass	?	Clear glass similar to Cat. 145
S.P. 11N/5W	---	146	Pressed glass	ca. 1880-1916	Clear glass rim which has been colored purple by exposure to the sun
Food and Drink					
E.U. D3, SW1/4	0-40 cm	83	Pork	?	Pig molar

S.P. 3N/5W	---	154	Tin can	?	Corroded rim from round can
Culinary Objects					
E.U. D5, N1/4	40-50 cm	123	Vessel 1; Jug	?	Stoneware shoulder fragment, olive salt glazed exterior, reddish brown slip interior
Trench 1	20-40 cm	113	Vessel 7; Jug	pre-1850's	Mendable spout and rim fragment of jug pre-dating cylindrical forms common in second half of 19th century; mottled olive salt glaze on all surfaces (Ketchum 1970)
S.P. 1N/1E	---	163	Vessel 2; ?	?	Stoneware fragment, gray salt glaze exterior, interior surface absent
S.P. 2N/1E	---	185	Vessel 3; ?	?	2 stoneware fragments; mended specimen with gray, salt glazed exterior mottled with brown, buff-colored interior surface bearing no glaze; gray-brown, salt-glazed specimen with dark brown interior slip
S.P. 3N/4W	---	179	Vessel 4; ?	?	Stoneware fragment, brown slipped surface, opposite surface absent
S.P. 3N/1E	---	145	Vessel 5; Mixing bowl	?	Stoneware rim fragment, dark brown slip inside and out
S.P. 4N/4W	---	178	Vessel 6; ?	?	Stoneware body fragment, brown, salt glazed exterior, interior partially glazed with brown slip
S.P. 4N/5W	---	152	Vessel 6; Crock	?	Everted rim with surface treatments similar to Cat. 178 ; probably same vessel
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Historic Artifacts Recovered from Test Area A

<i>Provenience</i>	<i>Level or Stratum</i>	<i>Cat. Number</i>	<i>Identification</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Description/Comment</i>
Gustatory Objects					
E.U. C3, S1/2	30-40 cm	22	?	Post-1850 to modern	2 undercoated whiteware fragments (Miller 1980:4 ; Majewski and O'Brien 1984:23)
E.U. C3, N1/2	20-30 cm	15	Hollowware	Post-1850 to modern	1 undecorated whiteware fragment
E.U. C3, N1/2	20-30 cm	15	Vessel #1; flatware	?	1 mendable undecorated porcelain rim
E.U. D3, SW1/4	30-40 cm	80	?	Post-1850 to modern	1 undecorated whiteware fragment
E.U. D3, N1/2	30-40 cm	35	Hollowware	Post-1850 to modern	1 undecorated whiteware rim
E.U. D3, N1/2	30-40 cm	35	Vessel # 1; flatware	?	1 undecorated porcelain fragment
E.U. D5, N1/4	0-40 cm	119	Vessel # 2; saucer	Post-1850 to modern	11 undecorated whiteware fragments from one vessel
E.U. D5, N1/4	0-40 cm	119	?	Post-1850 to modern	5 undecorated whiteware fragments
E.U. D5, N1/4	0-40 cm	119	Vessel # 3; cup	Post-1850 to modern	1 cup/rim whiteware fragment with handle
E.U. D5, N1/4	0-40 cm	119	Vessel # 4; ?	Post-1850 to modern	3 paneled whiteware fragments; 1 rim
E.U. D5, N1/4	0-40 cm	119	Vessel # 5; ?	Post-1830 to 1860	1 hand painted (sprig) fragment; green floral motif on exterior and red band on interior (Majewski and O'Brien 1984:41-42)
E.U. D5, N1/4	0-40 cm	119	Vessel # 6; saucer?	ca. 1830-1860	2 whiteware fragments with footrings; decorated with unidentified, green transfer printed dot-star pattern (Majewski and O'Brien 1984:34)
E.U. D5, N1/4	0-40 cm	119	Vessel # 7; ?	ca. 1830-1860	1 whiteware fragment decorated with unidentified, light blue transfer fragment similar to Cat. 26 (Majewski and O'Brien 1984:34)
E.U. D5, N1/4	40-50 cm	123	?	Post-1850 to modern	2 undecorated whiteware fragments
Trench 1	0-20 cm	108	?	Post-	2 undecorated whiteware fragments; 1 is

				1850 to modern	rimsherd
Trench 1	0-20 cm	108	Flatware	Post-1850 to modern	1 undecorated whiteware fragment with footring
Trench 1	0-20 cm	108	Vessel # 8; flatware	ca. 1830-1860	2 whiteware fragments decorated with unidentified, light blue transfer print Romantic pattern; 1 rim
S.P. 1N/3W	---	135	?	Post-1850 to modern	1 undecorated whiteware fragment
S.P. 2N/1W	---	126	Vessel # 7; Hollowware	ca. 1830-1860	1 unidentified pattern, light blue transfer printed whiteware rim; paneled body
S.P. 2N/3W	---	136	Vessel # 9; flatware	ca. 1840-1870	1 whiteware rim decorated with blue edge impressed (unscalloped) pattern (Miller and Hunter 1990:117)
S.P. 2N/5W	---	155	Vessel # 10; flatware	Post-1850 to modern	1 whiteware rim decorated with dark brown band
S.P. 4N/1W	---	128	Vessel # 11; ?	ca. 1880-1905	1 porcelain rim decorated with raised Art Nouveau floral motif hollowware (Majewski and O'Brien 1984:41)
S.P. 4N/4W	---	178	?	Post-1850 to modern	1 undecorated whiteware fragment
S.P. 5N/5W	---	151	Flatware	Post-1850 to modern	1 undecorated whiteware fragment
S.P. 5N/1E	---	184	?	Post-1850 to modern	1 undecorated whiteware fragment
S.P. 6N/4W	---	176	Saucer	Post-1850 to modern	1 undecorated whiteware fragment with footring
S.P. 6N/5W	---	149	?	Post-1850 to modern	1 undecorated whiteware fragment
S.P. 7N/2W	---	168	Vessel # 12; cup	Mid-19th century	3 undecorated whiteware fragments; 1 rim and 1 cup base; date suggested on basis of solid foot form (Williams 1973:15-17)
S.P. 8N/0E	---	143	?	Post-1850 to modern	1 undecorated whiteware fragment
S.P. 8N/1E	---	183	?	Post-1850 to modern	1 undecorated whiteware fragment
S.P. 8N/2W	---	169	?	Post-1850 to modern	1 undecorated whiteware fragment
S.P. 9N/1W	---	132	?	Post-	2 undecorated whiteware fragments

				1850 to modern	
S.P. 9N/4W	---	173	Saucer	?	1 undecorated rim
S.P. 10N/2W	---	170	Flatware	Post-1850 to modern	1 undecorated whiteware fragment
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<i>Provenience</i>	<i>Level or Stratum</i>	<i>Cat. Number</i>	<i>Identification</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Description/Comment</i>
Portable Illumination					
E.U. C2, N1/2	30-40 cm	7	Lamp chimney	?	Clear glass fragment
E.U. C3, N1/2	30-40 cm	40	Lamp chimney	?	Clear glass fragment
E.U. D5, N1/4	0-40 cm	118	Lamp chimney	?	Clear glass fragment
Test 1	0-20 cm	111	Lamp chimney	?	2 clear glass fragments
S.P. 5N/2W	---	166	Lamp chimney	Post-1880 to 1916	1 fragment, light purple, sun-altered; molded decoration
S.P. 6N/3W	---	139	Lamp chimney	Post-1870's	Clear glass crenulated rim fragment Decorated tops became popular during the 1870s, and a crimping machine for producing pie-crust edging was patented in 1877 (Woodhead et al. 1984:62).
S.P. 7N/4W	---	175	Lamp chimney	?	Clear glass rim (?) fragment
S.P. 8N/2W	---	169	Lamp chimney	?	2 clear glass fragments

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<i>Provenience</i>	<i>Level or Stratum</i>	<i>Cat. Number</i>	<i>Identification</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Description/Comment</i>
Construction Materials					
E.U. C3, N1/2	5-20 cm	1	Window glass	?	5 specimens; 2.19, 2.24, 2.22, 1.65, and 1.66 mm thick
E.U. C3, N1/2	20-30 cm	16	Window glass	?	4 specimens; 2.26, 1.51, 1.77, and 1.43 mm thick
E.U. C3, S 1/2	30-40 cm	21	Window glass	?	3 specimens; 2.21, 2.23, and 1.55 mm thick
E.U. D3	Surface to 30 cm	6	Window glass	?	2 specimens; 2.26 and 2.44 mm thick
E.U. D3	Surface to 30 cm	28	Window glass	?	3 specimens; 1.61, 1.62, 1.59 mm thick
E.U. D3, SE1/4	Surface to 40 cm	54	Window glass	?	1 specimen 1.66 mm thick
E.U. D3, SE1/4	Surface to 40 cm	81	Window glass	?	1 specimen 1.45 mm thick
E.U. D4, N1/4	Surface to 40 cm	102	Window glass	?	3 specimens; 1.31, 1.93, 1.82 mm thick
Trench 1	0-20 cm	106	Window glass	?	2 specimens; 1.89 and 1.51 mm thick
E.U. D5, N1/4	0-40 cm	118	Window glass	?	24 specimens; 1.34, 1.66, 1.81, 1.90, 1.65, 2.08, 1.92, 1.81, 1.44, 1.69, 1.79, 1.98, 1.44, 2.23, 1.44, 1.44, 1.45, 1.82, 2.73, 1.51, 1.41, 1.49, 1.90, and 1.41 mm thick
E.U. D5, N1/4	40-50 cm	125	Window glass	?	9 specimens; 1.52, 1.83, 1.51, 1.67, 1.69, 1.97, 1.86, 1.92, and 1.40 mm thick
S.P. 2N/0W	---	141	Window glass	?	1 specimen 2.30 mm thick
S.P. 3N/1E	---	145	Window glass	?	1 specimen 1.71 mm thick
S.P. 4N/1W	---	128	Window glass	?	1 specimen 1.25 mm thick
S.P. 5N/1W	---	129	Window glass	?	1 specimen 2.28 mm thick
S.P. 5N/2W	---	166	Window glass	?	1 fragment 2.53 mm thick
S.P. 6N/2W	---	167	Window glass	?	1 specimen 1.72 mm thick
S.P. 6N/3W	---	139	Window glass	?	2 specimens; 2.20 and 1.40 mm thick
S.P. 8N/5W	---	148	Window glass	?	1 specimen 2.02 mm thick
S.P. 10N/1E	---	159	Window glass	?	2 specimens; 1.58 and 1.74 mm thick
S.P. 7N/1E	---	160	Window glass	?	1 specimen 2.12 mm thick
S.P. 11N/2W	---	171	Window glass	?	2 specimens; 1.95 and 1.94 mm thick
S.P. 6N/4W	---	176	Window glass	?	1 specimen 1.24 mm thick
S.P. 5N/4W	---	177	Window glass	?	1 specimen 2.27 mm thick
S.P. 3N/4W	---	179	Window glass	?	1 specimen 1.67 mm thick
S.P. 3N/0W	---	180	Window glass	?	1 specimen 2.02 mm thick

S.P. 6N/0W	---	181	Window glass	?	1 specimen 2.09 mm thick
S.P. 6N/4W	---	176	Window glass	?	1 fragment 2.42 mm thick
S.P 8N/1E	---	183	Window glass	?	1 specimen 1.66 mm thick
E.U. C2, N1/2	Surface	3	Brick	?	Poor quality, hand-made fragment of reddish-orange sandy clay, 4.0 inches wide x 2.4 inches thick, length indeterminate
E.U. C3, N1/2	30-40 cm	27	Brick	?	2 fragments
E.U. D3	Surface	5	Brick	?	Poor quality, hand-made of buff-colored sandy clay, 7.7 inches long x 4.2 inches wide x 2.4 inches thick
S.P. 2N/1E	---	185	Brick	?	Fragment, gray-brown brick corner
E.U. C2, N1/2	Surface	3	Mortar	?	---
E.U. C3, N1/2	30-40 cm	27	Plaster	?	3 fragments
E.U. D2, SE1/4	20-40 cm	39	Plaster	?	6 fragments
E.U. D3, N1/2	30-40 cm	35	Plaster	?	1 fragment

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Construction Hardware					
E.U. C2, S1/2	28-40 cm	8	Cut nail	ca. 1830-1900	46 specimens; 3d (6), 4d (13), 6d (1), 8d (7), 10d (17), 12d (2) (Gillio et al. 1980:1-3 ; Nelson 1962)
E.U. C2, S1/2	28-40 cm	8	Unidentified	?	10 fragments
E.U. C3, N1/2	5-20 cm	1	Cut nail	ca. 1830-1900	2 8d specimens
E.U. C3, N1/2	20-30 cm	2	Cut nail	ca. 1830-1900	3 8d specimens
E.U. C3, N1/2	30-40 cm	3	Cut nail	ca. 1830-1900	68 specimens; 3d (26), 4d (6), 6d (11), 8d (12), 10d (6), 12d (6), 16d (1)
E.U. C3, N1/2	30-40 cm	3	Wire nail	1875-present	2 specimens; 4d (1), 20d (1) (Gillio et al. 1980:1-3)
E.U. C3, N1/2	30-40 cm	3	Unidentified	?	3 fragments
E.U. C3, N1/2	40 cm	90	Wire nail	1875-present	1 8d specimen
E.U. C3, N1/2	20-30 cm	14	Cut nail	ca. 1830-1900	14 specimens; 4d (1), 6d (1), 8d (9), 10d (3)
E.U. C3, N1/2	20-30 cm	14	Wire nail	1875-present	1 7d specimen
E.U. C3, S1/2	17-30 cm	18	Cut nail	ca. 1830-1900	1 3d specimen
E.U. C3, S1/2	30-40 cm	19	Cut nail	ca. 1830-1900	47 specimens; 3d (4), 4d (6), 6d (3), 8d (25), 10d (4), 12d (3), 30d (1), 40d (1)
E.U. C3, S1/2	30-40 cm	19	Cut brads	?	2 6d specimens
E.U. C3, S1/2	30-40 cm	19	Unidentified	?	6 fragments
E.U. C3, N1/2	30-40 cm	24	Cut nail	ca. 1830-1900	43 specimens; 3d (1), 4d (3), 6d (4), 8d (11), 10d (11), 12d (9), 16d (4), 20d (1)
E.U. C3, N1/2	30-40 cm	24	Unidentified	?	5 fragments
E.U. C3, N1/2	30-40 cm	42	Cut nail	ca. 1830-1900	7 specimens; 8d (2), 10d (3), 20d (1), 30d (1)
E.U. C3, N1/2	30-40 cm	42	Unidentified	?	1 fragment
E.U. D2, SE1/4	0-40 cm	53	Cut nail	ca. 1830-1900	3 specimens; 8d (2), 12d (1)

E.U. D2, SE1/4	20-40 cm	36	Cut nails	ca. 1830- 1900	56 specimens; 3d (4), 4d (14), 6d (2), 8d (27), 10d (22), 12d (6)
E.U. D2, SE1/4	20-40 cm	36	Cut brad?	?	2 specimens; 10d (1), 16d (1)
E.U. D2, SE1/4	20-40 cm	36	Wire nail	1875- present	4 specimens; 4d (1), 5d (2), 10d (1)
E.U. D2, SE1/4	20-40 cm	36	Unidentified	?	9 fragments
E.U. D3	0-30 cm	28	Cut nail	ca. 1830- 1900	2 specimens; 8d, 10d
E.U. D3, N1/2	30-40 cm	35	Cut nails	ca. 1830- 1900	24 specimens; 3d (2), 4d (7), 6d (3), 8d (9), 10d (3)
E.U. D3, N1/2	30-40 cm	35	Unidentified	?	3 fragments
E.U. D3, SW1/4	12-40 cm	79	Cut nail	ca. 1830- 1900	69 specimens; 3d (1), 4d (7), 6d (7), 8d (33), 10d (10), 12d (7), 16d (1), 20d (2), 30d (1)
E.U. D3, SW1/4	12-40 cm	79	Cut brads	?	3 specimens; 8d (2), 16d (1)
E.U. D3, SW1/4	12-40 cm	79	Wire nail	1875- present	2 specimens; 4d (1), 9d (1)
E.U. D3, SW1/4	12-40 cm	79	Unidentified	?	23 fragments
E.U. D3, N1/2	0-40 cm	86	Cut nail	ca. 1830- 1900	12 specimens; 3d (4), 4d (1), 8d (5), 10d (2)
E.U. D4, N1/4	0-40 cm	100	Cut nail	ca. 1830- 1900	6 specimens; 4d (1), 6d (1), 8d (2), 10d (1), 20d (1)
E.U. D4, N1/4	0-40 cm	100	Wire nail	1875- present	2 specimens; 8d (1), 12d (1)
E.U. D4, N1/4	0-40 cm	100	Unidentified	?	6 fragments
E.U. D5, N1/4	0-40 cm	121	Cut nail	ca. 1830- 1900	8 specimens; 4d (1), 8d (2), 10d (2), 16d (2), 30d (1)
E.U. D5, N1/4	0-40 cm	121	Cut brad	?	1 8d specimen
E.U. D5, N1/4	0-40 cm	121	Unidentified	?	14 fragments
E.U. D5, N1/4	40-50 cm	124	Unidentified	?	1 fragment
Trench 1	0-20 cm	105	Cut nail	ca. 1830- 1900	1 10d specimen
Trench 1	0-20 cm	110	Wood screw	?	Ferrous, broken midshaft, size = No. 18 (0.25 inch diameter)
S.P. 1N/3W	---	135	Cut nail	ca. 1830- 1900	1 10d specimen
S.P. 1N/3W	---	135	Wire nail	1875- present	1 20d specimen
S.P. 1N/1E	---	162	Cut nail	ca. 1830- 1900	1 8d specimen

S.P. 3N/0W	---	180	Cut nail	ca. 1830- 1900	1 6d specimen
S.P. 3N/0W	---	180	Unidentified	?	1 fragment
S.P. 4N/0W	---	156	Unidentified	?	1 fragment
S.P. 4N/1W	---	128	Cut nail	ca. 1830- 1900	6 specimens; 8d (5), 12 d (1)
S.P. 4N/1W	---	128	Unidentified	?	1 fragment
S.P. 4N/4W	---	178	Unidentified	?	1 fragment
S.P. 5N/2W	---	166	Cut nails	ca. 1830- 1900	2 specimens; 8d (1), 10d (1)
S.P. 5N/2W	---	166	Unidentified	?	3 fragments
S.P. 5N/4W	---	177	Unidentified	?	1 fragment
S.P. 6N/1W	---	130	Cut nail	ca. 1830- 1900	6 specimens; 4d (2), 8d (1), 10d (3)
S.P. 6N/1W	---	130	Cut brad	?	1 8d specimen
S.P. 6N/1W	---	130	Wire nail	1875- present	1 9d specimen
S.P. 6N/1W	---	130	Unidentified	?	1 fragment
S.P. 7N/0W	---	158	Cut nail	ca. 1830- 1900	1 8d specimen
S.P. 7N/2W	---	168	Cut nail	ca. 1830- 1900	10 specimens; 3d (1), 4d (1), 8d (6), 10d (2)
S.P. 7N/2W	---	168	Wire nails	1875- present	8 specimens; 4d (6), 5d (2)
S.P. 7N/2W	---	168	Unidentified	?	5 fragments
S.P. 7N/4W	---	175	Cut nail	ca. 1830- 1900	1 8d specimen
S.P. 7N/1E	---	161	Cut nail?	ca. 1830- 1900	1 8d specimen
S.P. 7N/1E	---	161	Staple	?	1 specimen
S.P. 8N/1W	---	131	Cut nail	ca. 1830- 1900	1 8d specimen
S.P. 8N/1W	---	131	Unidentified	?	1 fragment
S.P. 8N/2W	---	169	Cut nails	ca. 1830- 1900	2 specimens; 4d (1), 10d (1)
S.P. 8N/2W	---	169	Unidentified	?	2 fragments
S.P. 8N/4W	---	174	Unidentified	?	3 fragments
S.P. 8N/1E	---	183	Unidentified	?	2 fragments

S.P. 9N/1E	---	144	Cut nail	ca. 1830- 1900	1 20d specimen
S.P. 9N/1E	---	144	Unidentified	?	1 fragment
S.P. 10N/2W	---	170	Cut nails	ca. 1830- 1900	2 specimens; 4d (1), 8d (1)
S.P. 11N/2W	---	171	Unidentified	?	1 fragment
S.P. 11N/3W	---	140	Cut nail	ca. 1830- 1900	1 10d specimen
S.P. 11N/4W	---	172	Cut nail	ca. 1830- 1900	1 10d specimen

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Transportation					
E.U. C3, N1/2	30-40 cm	25	Rivet	?	Cuprous, 14.59 mm head diameter, 4.89 mm shaft diameter, 11.98 mm total length
E.U. D3	0-30 cm	28	Horseshoe	?	Severely corroded and broken in center; approximately 5 inches long x 4 1/4-inches wide
Surface	---	4	Buckle	?	Heavy, cast brass; stain suggests missing ferrous tongue; dimensions = 38.69 mm long x 26.80 mm wide
S.P. 3N/0W	---	180	Mule shoe	?	5.75 inches long x 4.2 inches maximum width
S.P. 7N/0W	---	157	Trace chain?	?	Ferrous chain with 1 3/4 inches x 1 inch links, replacement/repair link on one end and snap hook on the other
S.P. 9N/5W	---	147	Swivel	?	Ferrous, severely corroded
S.P. 9N/5W	---	147	Buckle tongue	?	Ferrous, severely corroded
Firearms/Martial					
E.U. C3, N1/2	20-30 cm	10	.22 Short	Post-1857 to modern	Fired condition, no headstamp (Logan 1959:63) casing
E.U. C3, N1/2	20-30 cm	11	Gunstock inlay?	Early to mid-19th century	Sheet copper cut out with two wire loops on back; dimensions = 36.54 mm long x 25.66 mm wide x 0.62 mm thick
E.U. D3	0-30 cm	28	.45 Bullet	Post-1870 to modern	Subconical, no grease ring, slightly cupped base (Logan 1959:92-93, 139-147)
S.P. 3N/1W	---	127	.54 Bullet	1865	Burnside bullet, rifling marks

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Glass Objects Unidentified Function					
E.U. C2, S1/2	28-40 cm	9	Curved glass	?	1 light green, melted fragment
E.U. C3, S1/2	17-30 cm	17	Curved glass	Post-1880 to 1916	1 fragment, light purple, sun-altered
E.U. D2, SE1/4	20-40 cm	37	Curved glass	?	1 clear fragment
E.U. D3, N1/2	30-40 cm	35	Curved glass	?	3 fragments; 2 clear, 1 light green, melted fragment which mends with Cat. 87 (see entry below)
E.U. D3, N1/2	30-40 cm	87	Curved glass	?	1 light green, melted fragment; mends with Cat. 35 (see entry above)
E.U. D3, SW1/4	12-40 cm	81	Curved glass	?	1 clear fragment
E.U. D5, N1/4	0-40 cm	102	Curved glass	Post-1880 to 1916	1 fragment, light purple, sun-altered
E.U. D5, N1/4	0-40 cm	102	Curved glass	?	1 very light green fragment
E.U. D5, N1/4	0-40 cm	118	Curved glass	Pre-1870	2 light green fragments, one with a blowpipe pontil mark (Jones 1971:69-71 ; Jones et al. 1985:45)
E.U. D5, N1/4	0-40 cm	118	Curved glass	?	4 clear fragments
E.U. D5, N1/4	40-50 cm	125	Curved glass	?	2 fragments; 1 clear, 1 light green
Trench 1	0-20 cm	111	Curved glass	Post-1880 to 1916	1 fragment, light purple, sun-altered
Trench 1	0-20 cm	111	Curved glass	?	5 fragments; 4 clear, 1 light green
Trench 1	20-40 cm	116	Curved glass	?	2 fragments; 1 green, 1 very light aqua neck/shoulder element
S.P. 3N/2W	---	165	Curved glass	?	1 light green fragment
S.P. 3N/1E	---	145	Curved glass	Post-1880 to 1916	1 fragment, light purple, sun-altered
S.P. 3N/1E	---	145	Curved glass	?	3 light aqua fragments; 2 from rectangular bodied vessel with flat chamfers; 1 from cylindrical bottle with raised "NU"
S.P. 3N/3W	---	137	Curved glass	?	1 clear fragment
S.P. 4N/1W	---	128	Curved glass	?	2 light green fragments
S.P. 4N/4W	---	178	Curved glass	Post-1880 to 1916	1 fragments, light purple, sun-altered
S.P. 4N/5W	---	153	Curved glass	?	1 light green fragment

S.P. 5N/0W	---	142	Curved glass	?	2 fragments; 1 light aqua, 1 clear
S.P. 5N/2W	---	166	Curved glass	?	4 fragments; 3 clear, 1 amber
S.P. 6N/2W	---	167	Curved glass	?	3 fragments; 2 semi-melted clear, 1 light green
S.P. 6N/3W	---	139	Curved glass	?	2 fragments; 1 clear, 1 light green
S.P. 7N/2W	---	168	Curved glass	?	6 clear fragments
S.P. 8N/1E	---	183	Curved glass	?	2 fragments; 1 light green, 1 clear
S.P. 8N/2W	---	169	Curved glass	?	1 light green fragment
S.P. 9N/0W	---	182	Curved glass	?	1 fragment - lost in processing
S.P. 10N/1E	---	159	Curved glass	?	1 clear fragment
S.P 11N/1W	---	134	Curved glass	Post-1880 to 1916	1 fragment, light purple, sun-altered
Plastic Objects Unidentified Function					
Trench 1	0-20 cm	107	Plastic	?	Opaque, yellow, celluloid fragment
Metal Objects Unidentified Function					
E.U. C3, N1/2	20-30 cm	13	?	?	5 unidentifiable, ferrous fragments
E.U. C3, S1/2	30-40 cm	23	?	?	Folded and smashed lead cylinder (?)
E.U. C3, S1/2	30-40 cm	24	?	?	Tapered cast iron rod with 9.10 mm diameter ball (part of ball joint) on smaller end; other end (maximum diameter = 8.48 mm) appears snapped off
E.U. D3, N1/2	30-40 cm	36	?	?	22.48 mm (0.88 inch) square ferrous nut threaded for 9.86 mm (0.39 inch) diameter bolt
E.U. D3, SW1/4	0-40 cm	82	Ferrule?	?	2 ferrous fragments
E.U. D3, SW1/4	0-40 cm	82	?	?	5 unidentifiable, ferrous fragments (possible tin can?)
E.U. D4, N1/4	0-40 cm	104	Sheet metal	?	Ferrous band approximately 5 1/2 inches long x 0.6 inches wide; rectangular hole suggests piercing by cut nail
E.U. D5, N1/4	0-40 cm	120	Sheet metal	?	9 irregularly shaped fragments
Trench 1	55 cm	52	Wire	?	Ferrous wire fragment, approximately 10 inches long x .15 inches diameter
S.P. 3N/1E	---	145	Sheet metal	?	1 ferrous fragment
S.P. 5N/4W	---	177	Sheet metal	?	3 fragments
S.P. 6N/1W	---	130	Sheet metal	?	1 ferrous fragment
Stone Objects Unidentified Function					

E.U. C3, N1/2	20-30 cm	12	Slate	?	Roofing material or writing slate
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Chronology

A number of artifact categories were studied to determine when they were produced and used. The three, white, Prosser buttons are similar in form to specimens recovered in other archeological contexts dating from circa 1850 to 1870 ([Hunt 1986:26-27, 33](#); [McLeod 1983:225](#); [South 1964:122](#)). One of the stoneware jug fragments (Cat. 113) is of a form typical for vessels made prior to 1850. The crock fragment (Cat. 152) appears to be from a cylindrical vessel, a form which was most commonly produced after 1850 ([Ketchum 1970](#)). Many of the specimens exhibit surface treatments typical of the 19th century. None are glazed with the white to cream glazes which became extremely popular from the start of the 20th century on. Decorations exhibited in the tea and tableware are typical of those produced from the 1840s to present (undecorated paneled and unpaneled whiteware), the 1830s to circa 1860 (handpainted sprig and transfer-printed patterns), circa 1840 to 1870 (blue edge decorated, impressed), and circa 1905 (Art Nouveau) ([Majewski and O'Brien 1984:23, 34, 41-42](#); [Miller and Hunter 1990:117](#)). These essentially represent the probable time range for the site's occupation.

The sample from Test Area A was recognized as containing fragments from at least two lamp globes. One specimen (Cat. 166), though originally clear, is light purple in color, a product of exposing glass clarified with manganese to the ultraviolet rays of the sun. The clarifying agent was used by glass manufacturers between post-1880 to 1916 ([Munsey 1970:55](#)). The unaltered, clear color of one globe suggests that it was produced prior to 1880 or clarified using some other additive. One of the clear fragments (Cat. 139) is a crenelated rim. Decorated tops became popular during the 1870s, and a crimping machine for producing pie crust edging was patented in 1877 ([Woodhead et. al 1984:62](#)).

Window glass is increasingly being used by historical archeologists to date sites. It is known that pane size and thickness increased at a fairly regular rate through the greater portion of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The trend toward greater thickness halted when automation and governmental regulation standardized window thicknesses between 1910 and 1930 ([Moir 1982:37](#)).

[Karl Roenke \(1978\)](#) used an approach to flat glass in which the modal thickness of the flat glass population correlates to the mean decade of a structure's occupation. Roenke's method was developed using flat glass from 19th century sites in the Northwest. To use Roenke's method, one can construct a histogram to review modal thickness frequencies of a flat glass population. The flat glass population from the Monroe House area (n= 76) is multimodal with peaks at 1.4 mm, 1.7 mm, and 2.2 mm ([Figure 20](#)). Using Roenke's correlations, the peak at 1.4 mm correlates with a temporal range of 1835-1845.

This range conforms with Charles M. Monroe's acquisition of the Rocky Mount Plantation from his father in 1832. According to a deed search by [Lofthield \(1979:28\)](#), the farm was settled for an unstated period prior to that date, and there was a dwelling on the farm at the time of the exchange. The flat glass date suggests the possibility that the farm house transferred to Charles from his father was at another location and that Charles built his own home when he acquired the farm. The peak at 1.7 mm suggests a date between 1855 and 1865, possibly a period of building addition or repair.

Finally, the 2.2 mm thickness peak suggests a late 19th century date. Pane thicknesses of 2.29 (+ 0.25) mm has been the standard for modern, single-strength, window glass since

1924 (Moir 1982:16). Therefore, the small increase in distribution above 2.2 mm suggests that minor replacement of window panes may have taken place sometime prior to the site's acquisition by the U.S. Army as a part of the Fort Bragg Military Reservation.

Regression analysis formulas for mean flat (window) glass thickness were also considered in this analysis, largely to test methods employed by Randall Moir (1982) and Christopher Schoen (1990) to determine an approximate date for building construction. Moir's study of window glass suggested that there may be some regional specificity of dates due to regional variations in window glass manufacture and supply. This led Moir to develop regression formulas for both the southern and northeastern United States. The southern sample is drawn almost exclusively from Texas, a considerable distance from the Monroe's Crossroads Battlefield. The northeastern sample was also drawn from sites some distance from the study area. Because there seems to be no regression formula developed for the extreme southeastern portion of the United States, both of Moir's regression formulas will be used.

Dates derived from the regression formula may be useful where one follows four basic precautions (Moir 1982:15-17). When dating a site as a whole, one should obtain small samples from a number of locations rather than use a large sample from one location. One should also review other artifact categories to be sure that the structure was built between 1810 and 1920.

Moir further cautions that one should take great care to remove bottle glass, the latter characterized by curved forms or distinctive coloration. He also determined that flat glass thicker than 3.2 mm probably did not represent window glass and should be excluded from the analysis. Finally, to be reliable, regression analysis requires a fairly substantial number of specimens. Moir indicates that he has successfully dated sites with samples as few as 20 or 30 sherds, although 50 or more specimens provide much more reliable results (Moir 1982:15).

For the southern United States, the coefficient developed by Moir is based upon data from 28 southern sites dating from circa 1810 to 1920. The regression coefficient derived by Moir for the northeastern part of the United States used data from sixteen sites or structures occupied between 1812 and 1915. Moir's regression coefficients are: [SOUTHERN SITES] $ID = 77.38(TH) + 1727.3$ [NORTHEASTERN SITES] $ID = 89.78(TH) + 1702.7$ where ID is the initial date of construction and TH is the mean thickness measured to the nearest 0.01 mm (Moir 1982:23-29).

No flat glass specimens had to be deleted from the sample for being more than 3.2 mm thick. The sample size ($n = 78$ specimens) is also well above the minimum advised by Moir. As per Schoen (1990), an average of three thickness measurements for each glass fragment was used in the computations. Using the mean thickness of Test Area A window glass (1.89 mm), the northeastern coefficient, $ID = 89.78(1.89) + 1702.7$ correlates with a date of 1872.4. That same mean thickness used with the southern coefficient, $ID = 77.38(1.89) + 1727.3$ derives a date of 1873.5. These dates are surprisingly similar.

This is quite close to an expected mean date for a site occupied from the early 1830s to circa World War I.

Schoen developed another correlation coefficient following Moir's methodology for

central and northern Plains sites. Although these are at a considerable distance from the Monroe House site, they do provide another potential basis for interpretation. This is stated as $Y = 1725.664 + 1713.008(X)$ "where Y is the estimated date of initial construction/occupation and X is the mean thickness value in inches" ([Schoen 1990:68](#)).

The Monroe House site sample has a mean thickness of 0.074 inch. Application of Schoen's formula using this thickness results in a date of 1852.43, a date much too early for the expected mean occupation date and much later than the building's assumed construction in the early 1830s.

Cut nails were manually manufactured during the last decades of the 18th century and the first two decades or so of the 19th century. Machine-made, cut nails were introduced during the mid-1820s, a technical achievement that brought an end to the extensive use of forged nails, for the most part, except for specialized construction or where building occurred in the frontier. Cut nails were, in turn, rapidly displaced by wire nails after the introduction of machinery in 1886 that could produce wire nails much faster and cheaper than cut nails could be made.

By the turn of the century, builders virtually ceased to use the cut nail, except for specialized construction such as floor installation ([Gillio et. al 1980](#); [Nelson 1962](#)).

The lack of forged nails on the site suggests that the structure at 31HK248 was built sometime after 1825. Because cut nails are the overwhelming majority nail type at the site (n=479, 95.6% of identifiable nails), it seems likely that construction of the building at 31HK248 occurred prior to 1885. The relatively small number of wire nails (n=22, 4.4% of identifiable nails) suggests their use in small-scale structural repairs sometime after 1885.

Several firearm-related objects were recovered from Test Area A. Of these, the .45 caliber bullet (Cat. 28) became very popular after the Civil War and may relate to the occupants of the farm rather than the combatants. An object cut from sheet copper (Cat. 11) is similar to devices used to decorate the stocks of pre-Civil War-era rifles. It is impossible to determine whether the object comes from a gun owned by the Monroe or Blue families or from a firearm used by one of the battle participants. A .22 short casing (Cat. 10) may post-date the battle because such ammunition continues to be made and used today.

However, the .22 short was first developed in 1857 by Daniel Wesson for use with the Smith and Wesson First Model revolver ([Logan 1959:63](#)). It is possible that the weapon was carried by an officer of one side or the other in the battle at Monroe's Crossroads. A .54 caliber bullet (Cat. 127) is from a Burnside cartridge, an early metallic cartridge patented in 1856 by Ambrose E. Burnside. It was used solely with the Burnside Breech Loading Carbine, a weapon which used tape primers, and later percussion caps, for ignition. After 1860, the bullet was modified by adding a grease chamber. It is this modified cartridge that was purchased in large numbers by the military and used throughout the Civil War ([Garavaglia and Worman 1987:187-188](#); [Logan 1959:38](#)) and is a projectile likely associated with the engagement at Monroe's Crossroads.

Several curved glass fragments of unidentified function had physical features which are temporally significant. Six (Cat. 17, 102, 111, 145, 178, and 134) are light to deep purple in color. This is a characteristic of manganese-clarified glass exposed to ultraviolet wavelengths of sunlight. Public concern with the purity of preserved foodstuffs brought about a great demand for clarified glass from around 1880 on. This forced glass

manufacturers to clarify the normally light green glass used in food containers. The most prominent method used added manganese to the glass mixture. This practice was continued until about 1915 when World War I cut off the United States' primary source for manganese, Germany. After 1916, other decolorizing agents were used. Therefore, sun-colored, purple glass had to be manufactured sometime between circa 1880 and 1915 ([Munsey 1970:55](#)).

Another temporally significant fragment, recovered from the test excavation at the location of the collapsed chimney, was a bottle base (Cat. 118) exhibiting the mark characteristic of a blowpipe pontil. Blowing bottles has been a method for producing glass containers since circa 100 B.C. ([Munsey 1970:39](#)). The commercial use of the blowpipe as the pontil, the device holding the bottle during its final shaping, more or less ended around 1870 ([Jones 1971:69-71](#); [Jones et. al 1985:45](#)). Therefore, the pontil-marked fragment from the ruins of the Monroe House had to be manufactured prior to that date.

One celluloid item was recovered at the site. Commercial development of celluloid in the United States did not occur until 1869 ([Gilman et. al 1904](#)). Celluloid continued to be used until after World War II when the development of plastics produced better replacements.

TEST AREA B

Test Area B is located 503 m to the southeast of Datum 1 on the northerly edge of a swampy area believed to be the same location where Union troops sought refuge from the initial Confederate assault on their camp. Two, partially buried, bone fragments were noted during the initial walkover of the site. At that time, it was considered probable that all battlefield burials were not relocated by recovery teams dispatched to the site long after the battle. Therefore, a decision was made to place a 1 x 1 m test unit at the bone discovery location to try to identify the fragments. This work immediately exposed the margins of a small pit within which the bones were situated. Four, relatively modern, rectangular (meat?) can bottoms and a rectangular can lid were recovered from the pit's fill. Full exposure of the bones also indicated that these were the weathered foot bones of a large ungulate, possibly a cow or horse. This suggested the objects were associated with World War I to World War II-era training exercises rather than the Civil War. None of the objects were collected and all were redeposited at the recovery location.

TEST AREA C

Excavation

Test Area C is the largest of five marked cemeteries at the battlefield. The cemetery is rectangular (7.6 m northwest-southeast x 12.5 m northeast-southwest) and bounded by a cable line held in place with sixteen concrete pylons ([Figure 21](#) and [Figure 22](#)). Rectangular grave markers bearing the legend "NINE UNKNOWN/U.S. SOLDIERS" on a recessed shield occur in three of the four interior corners of the cable boundary ([Figure 23](#) at right). A fourth identical stone at Test Area F, a much smaller cemetery, may have been moved from Test Area C some time in



the past.

The entire area inside the cable fence was systematically probed using a solid rod probe. Two locations of extremely soft ground were identified in the vicinities of the northern and western grave markers. Shovel shaving exposed dark soil stains at each location.

Test Unit 1 was placed on the southwestern side of the north grave stone. Shovel shaving here cleared a 3 m north-south x 2.5 m east-west rectangular area near the northern stone and revealed a dark brown rectangular (1 m north-south x 1.9 m east-west) stain. The stain was centered about 1.2 m southwest of the middle of the marker. This was interpreted as a possible grave. In the southeastern corner of this stain was a dark orange clay (0.4 m x 0.35 m) ovoid area which appeared to be an intrusive disturbance. At first, an attempt was made to remove the intrusive fill separately from the darker grave fill, but at 64 cm below datum (BD) the strata became too mixed with one another to continue with this method. All materials were subsequently removed together. Excavation continued to 91 cm BD, at which point the dark fill was no longer recognized. The moist, reddish, mottled sand which replaced it at this point was considered as noncultural, undisturbed subsoil.

No human remains were located in Test Unit 1, although the recovery of nails throughout the exposed feature suggests that it may actually represent a grave. The ovoid area of dark, orange clay in the eastern end of the "grave" is interpreted as a byproduct of removing the body, either through legitimate action or grave robbing.

Shovel shaving in the western corner of the cable-fenced enclosure at Test Unit 2 revealed a large, diffuse, ovoid stain which was approximately 2.8 m north-south by 2.3 m east-west. A 35 cm diameter circular feature of reddish-colored sand in the east-central portion of the stain (centered about 0.70 m in front of the grave marker) was a post hole.

Initially, the excavator attempted to remove only the dark organic fill as a means of identifying the feature boundaries. Its margins soon proved to be too diffuse to follow while viewing horizontally. The excavator turned to use of a 2 m (east-west) x 0.8 m (north-south) exploratory trench in an attempt to define the feature in vertical profile. This proved more successful, and as excavation progressed, a variety of artifacts were recovered, despite the increasing homogeneity of soil color. Soil texture proved to be the greatest ally of the excavator in following feature boundaries. In some instances, however, only positive signals from a metal detector enabled determination of whether further excavation was necessary.

Excavation ended at the upper surface of a yellowish, brown hardpan below which the metal detector received no positive signals. The pit boundaries were somewhat more evident when viewed in profile. These suggested that a grave pit with gradually sloping

sides had been excavated only about 0.60 m (2 feet) into culturally sterile, compact, reddish sand. The shallowness of the grave feature suggests that burial was a relatively informal and hurried event.

No bone was encountered in the feature fill. Nevertheless, a variety of artifacts were piece-plotted on excavation maps. Among these were nails, a variety of buttons from Union and Confederate uniforms, a tinned spoon, firearms projectiles, and unidentified organic and ferrous metal objects (see "Historic Artifacts" below). Their presence in the feature suggests that at least one and perhaps two people may have been interred. The lack of human remains is probably a natural result of burial within highly acidic soil rather than because of past authorized or unauthorized excavation. The circular intrusion into the grave pit appears to represent activities of the farm's inhabitants sometime after the battle but prior to the property's acquisition by the U.S. Army.

As Test Units 1 and 2 were being explored, portions of the cemetery area inside and outside the cable fence were cleared using a front end loader mounted on a tractor in an attempt to locate additional Civil War-era burials. This technique quickly removed the upper 3-5 cm of soil from relatively large portions of a cemetery area. Cleared portions were then shovel shaved and examined for dark soil stains in the lighter yellow, brown, loamy sand and reddish-brown, clay subsoils. Only one such stain was observed during this procedure, centered about 2.5 meters west of the eastern grave stone.

The amorphous stain was somewhat rectangular in shape (about 1 m northwest-southeast x 1.5 m northeast-southwest). This became the location of Test Unit 3.

At first, the excavator tried to follow the boundaries of the stain as it went down into the soil but found that the stain became too diffuse to trace below 10 cm from the surface.

A 1.7 m north-south x 0.4 m east-west test trench was then placed across the stain to see whether the feature could be distinguished more clearly in cross-section.

A very compact subsoil was quickly encountered, however, which suggested that no cultural disturbance had occurred below this point. The only exception was a small (about 8 cm diameter) circular area of soft fill. A fencing staple in this feature quickly identified it as a post hole. This may be related to the fence post discovered in Test Unit 2. With the discovery of the compact subsoil, metal detectors were brought in to determine whether additional metal was in or near this feature. The unit was closed when there was no "hit."

Chapter 4 (continued)

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The Attack on the Camp

The opening salvo of the Battle of Monroe's Crossroads came from the Confederates as they charged the sleeping Union camp (Figure 52). Stanley Dahl has suggested a Union camp organization that is modified somewhat here. Colonel Way's command and the wagons were probably at the north end of the camp near the Monroe House. The wagons may have been parked along the old Blue's Road alignment. Kilpatrick and Spencer and their respective staffs were in and around the Monroe House. The 5th Ohio Cavalry may have encamped along the ridge to the south of the house, perhaps as much as 100 to 150 meters south and perhaps to the east as well. This unit may have taken advantage of the farmstead outbuildings, with members probably billeting themselves in the barn and other structures. Some undoubtedly took advantage of fence rails, using them as tent poles for their shelter halves and tents. The 5th Kentucky Cavalry (U.S.) appears to have encamped at the south end of the ridge, about 150 to 200 meters south of the house. The 10th Wisconsin Battery was also in this area. Finally, the 1st Alabama (U.S.) encamped on the west side of the ridge, about 150 meters southwest of the house. Although there may have been some discrimination of camping areas among units, there is little doubt that individual soldiers made their shelters fit the available terrain rather than deploying in a formal and regulation camp layout.

The Confederate units (Figure 53) were apparently well organized at the beginning of the attack, and most participants were veterans of the long struggle. *Butler's* men appear to have been stationed north of the current firebreak road and perhaps as far north as the current Morganton Road. *Butler* mentions a walk, trot, and charge order being given as the Confederates began their attack. Cavalry tactics of the day would have required that distance to execute the walk, trot, and charge. *Wheeler's* command was on the west side of Nicholson Creek. *Allen* was to the north, with *Hagen's 51st Alabama Cavalry* in the lead. *Humes* was to the south, probably across from the 1st Alabama (U.S.) camp. Apparently *Butler's* command used pistols, sabers, and the famous rebel yell to overwhelm the Union camp totally in a matter of minutes.

The surprised Union troops were unable to respond effectively, at least those sheltered in tents and, perhaps, in the Monroe farmstead outbuildings along the ridge line adjacent to Blue's Road. The Union troops appear to have responded to the attack with essentially tactical disorganization. They were, for the most part, veterans. Individually they grabbed their weapons and cartridge boxes, but little order appears to have followed (Figure 53).

Way's command appears to have fled south and east, helter skelter. They fled through the 5th Ohio camp. The 5th Kentucky (U.S.) may have suffered the least because they were at the far south end of the camp.

The 1st Alabama (U.S.) took the brunt of *Humes'* attack. However, the swamp and a possible rapid response by the Alabamians blunted the attack from the western quarter.

Movements to the Swamp

The archeological evidence for a general retreat to the east and south into swampy ground is nearly nonexistent. The historical accounts agree that this retreat occurred. However, archeological evidence is unavailable because the current landscape has been

so disturbed in these areas or is not totally accessible because of the Coleman Artillery Impact Area.

The Fight on Nicholson Creek

The 1st Alabama (U.S.), perhaps supported by some elements of the 5th Kentucky (U.S.), engaged in a significant fire fight along the banks of Nicholson Creek. *Humes* may have had trouble crossing the swampy creek because of possible dense vegetation, but it appears that his units also encountered heavy Union fire intended to blunt the Confederate assault.

When *Wheeler* decided to disengage from the western attack, he unwittingly freed the Union units in this sector of the battlefield. His decision, perhaps more than any other, may have allowed Union troops engaged in the fire fight on Nicholson Creek to fall back to the camp and join the 5th Ohio in repulsing *Butler*.

Retaking the Artillery and the Camp

The 5th Ohio and Way's command may have faded into the swamp in tactical disarray, but they soon regrouped and pushed back into the camp at its south end (Figure 54). Stetson may have been a catalyst in this movement or just a visible player. In any case, the Spencers of the 5th Ohio, and perhaps the muskets of the Fourth Provisional Brigade (dismounted), allowed Stetson to regain his guns.



About the time Stetson retook the guns (Figure 55 at left), perhaps half an hour into the battle, the fight on Nicholson Creek ended, and the Burnside's of the 5th Kentucky (U.S.), and possibly the 1st Alabama (U.S.), were added to the 5th Ohio's Spencer fire power.

The Burnside armed units rallied at the guns, apparently forming a skirmish line, again perhaps assisted by elements of the Fourth Provisional Brigade (dismounted). The combined fire power, coupled with a Union

command tactically reorganized, was enough to push the Confederates out of the camp.

It appears that the Confederate tactical organization, so well laid out at the beginning of the battle, fell into disarray as the fight spread through the camp. *Wright* had no support from Nicholson Creek and, as expected in the initial charge, his command became scattered. Without *Law's* support as reserve, *Butler* had no way to reorganize in the face of the enemy.

It was at this time *Wheeler* found *Butler* to notify him that his command could not negotiate Nicholson Creek. Even with *Wheeler* now available, *Butler* had a tactical mess on his hands. As Stetson's guns boomed into play, throwing a round of canister into the midst of the Confederates in the camp and around the wagons, further disorder resulted (Figure 56). At least one canister ball found a mark, if the evidence of the ball in the Confederate grave is an indication.

With artillery in action and a regrouped Union defense shifting to the offensive,

Hampton decided to disengage and withdraw. *Dibrell*, acting as rear guard for the withdrawing Confederates, appears to have executed his protective action with good order. The concentration of Enfield bullets north of the house and firebreak road may indicate *Dibrell's* withdrawal route. The Union troops followed in pursuit. If the *Spencers* indicate the 5th Ohio, then these troops and a unit armed with Sharps carbines gave *Dibrell's* men a good send off. They certainly followed them up Blue's Road at least 400 meters and to the east perhaps another 200 meters before breaking off the action (Figure 57).

CONCLUSIONS

The archeological evidence presented concerning the fight is supported, more often than not, by the testimony of battle participants. With the eyewitness accounts available, it might seem the archeological data would be redundant or superfluous. However, the archeological data is important precisely because it can be directly correlated with historical accounts.

Comparison of archeological data and interpretations with the historical accounts provides a means to assess the accuracy of interpretations drawn from the archeological record. In essence, if the interpretations of the archeological record demonstrate positive correlations with the historical record, then the archeological interpretations are strengthened. A second point is that where the historical record is incomplete or even silent on individual movements, the archeological data can sometimes elucidate those levels of individual movements or participation.

The archeological investigations were guided by a research design developed at the outset of the project. A number of research questions were identified that seemed reasonable for inquiry. The research questions were divided into historical battle-related questions, questions of particularism, and matters of refining archeological theory.

Because of the archeological and historical data, locations of various components of the battle can be refined. These include the placement and extent of the gun battery site and the location and extent of the Union camp organization, as well as lines of attack, lines of retreat, and the extent of the battle area.

The approximate boundary of the main battle can be reasonably defined based on the physical evidence distribution. The domestic trash of pre- and post-battle eras associated with the brick rubble in Test Area A marks the location of the Monroe House. The distribution of cut nails to the south of the house site most likely identifies the location of the barn and other outbuildings associated with the Monroe farm complex.

The pieces of equipment and detritus of battle—the bullets, percussion caps, and cartridge cases—identify the primary combat zone. This zone encompasses an area about 400 meters north to south and about 350 meters east to west, approximately 140,000 square meters in total. If the Confederate assembly area and line of retreat could be more precisely identified, the area extent would undoubtedly be enlarged.

The archeological evidence agrees with the historic accounts that the Union camp was situated around and to the south of the Monroe House site. And there is further agreement between the two data sets that the Confederate attack came from the north and west. The western element does not appear to have crossed Nicholson Creek, while

the northern element entered the camp. The archeological evidence from the camp clearly indicates a mixing of combat-related materials. Perhaps the most significant departure between the historical and archeological records is the location of the gun battery. Historic accounts suggest the gun battery was about 15 to 25 meters from the house site. Much of the archeological evidence places it about 150 meters south of the house. Ballistic evidence of burst case shot allowed a reconstruction of the cannon field of fire, which also seems to place the guns at the friction primer finds, 150 meters south of the house site. The possible gun locations are south and west of Test Area C, the presumed Confederate grave.

The firearms evidence-gun parts, bullets, percussion caps, and cartridge cases-provides a glimpse of the armament of both combatant groups. Both sides were well armed with a variety of firearms. The Union troops were armed with Joslyn carbines, Spencer carbines, Burnside carbines, possibly Sharps carbines, .58-caliber rifled muskets, Colt revolvers, Remington revolvers, and probably sabers. The Confederate armament reflected a great variety of firearms. These included Sharps carbines, possibly Hall carbines or rifles, various Enfield rifles or carbines, Spencer carbines, .58-caliber rifled muskets, shotguns, Colt revolvers, Remington revolvers, possibly the Confederate copy of the Colt revolver, and, according to historic accounts, sabers. The available historic records support this eclectic variety, reflecting the dire straights of Confederate supplies in 1865.

The lines of attack and retreat were identified and interpretations posited on the tactical organization as seen in the archeological record. Clearly the archeological data enlarges and enhances the historical documentation. The archeological data also demonstrate that physical evidence can be used to identify combatant organization and/or fighting tactics.

House Site Testing

Test Area A:

The goal of testing in this area was to identify the location of the Monroe House and associated outbuildings. Objects recovered from the site are typical of a rural agrarian occupation ranging from as early as the 1830s to perhaps as late as the 1940s. The overwhelming majority of the materials appear to date from the 1840s to the turn-of-the-century, a period that clearly reflects the occupancy period of the Monroe and Blue families at the site. The chimney ruins appear to be from a domestic structure and, given the probable construction period, the chimney was likely located on one end of the house. A probable hearth feature was identified on the north side of the excavations among a pile of bricks, rubble that may once have been part of the house's brick hearth and chimney foundation. This suggested that the remainder of the house may lie east of the chimney ruins. The overall distribution of nails at this site, determined through metal detecting, demonstrates a cluster that goes well beyond the area that a typical house would occupy. This suggests that a number of other structures stood nearby. The archeological investigations did not result in adequate data to identify the precise size or orientation of the house or outbuildings.

In short, the period and range of object functions are similar to those expected for a domestic occupation. The testing did suggest that the south end of a structure is marked by the chimney ruins. However, the testing failed to prove that this was indeed the

Monroe House or to provide the precise locations for farm Structures.

Non-Battle Area Testing

Test Area B:

Objects identified in this area proved to be relatively modern military debris buried in a small garbage pit. This material has no bearing on the historical archeological site and was not collected.

Presumed Grave Site Testing

Test Area C:

Extensive testing inside and around the cable-fenced enclosure revealed at least two graves. Only the feature explored in Test Unit 2 was undisturbed, however. The feature, revealed during excavation of Test Unit 1, was fully excavated but contained only a few nails. Its contents appear to have been severely disturbed either by a vandal or through relocation of the burial by authorities.

Test Unit 2 contained a variety of materials and their undisturbed context suggests that the feature, despite the lack of human bones, represents an intact grave. This grave was only partially excavated. Nevertheless, a variety of artifacts was encountered. Clothing is suggested by buttons similar to those used on civilian shirts, and by a pants button, a variety of buttons from Confederate and Union uniforms, and a rubber button that may have once been attached to rain gear. The presence of both types of uniform buttons could suggest that at least two individuals were buried here.

However, the grave's shallowness, the buckles from a single set of suspenders, a possible mess kit, and the mixture of uniforms more likely point to only one individual being buried in this grave site. If a single individual were buried here, it seems unlikely that a member of the well-supplied Union forces would have worn items of the Confederate uniform.

On the other hand, it may have been quite likely for an individual on the Southern side of the conflict to have been wearing Union uniform elements given the materially reduced condition of the Confederate forces by the end of the war. This reduced material condition may also be reflected in the informal clothing repairs. The cause of death for this individual may have been traumatic injuries caused by a .44 caliber weapon and cannon fire (artifact numbers 64 and 28). Wounds from the latter weapon would be consistent with accounts of "Rebel" troops being on the receiving end of "Yankee" cannons at some point during the battle.

Test Areas D, E, and "Confederate Cemetery" Area:

No evidence was found to suggest that any of these areas were used to bury the dead after the battle. The area marked as the Confederate Cemetery was discovered to be a relatively modern feature, possibly created as a large gun or tank emplacement during an Army training exercise.

Test Area F:

Testing within this small cemetery's enclosure revealed the probable location of a single grave. Artifacts recovered indicate that this was a Union soldier's final resting place. The grave feature was not fully explored. Like Test Area C, however, no human bones were encountered. This is probably a by-product of interment in the extremely acidic soils.

Other Feature Testing

Test Area G:

This area was added for investigation near the end of the field work due to discovery of a rock alignment initially believed to be a possible building foundation. A 100 square meter area was shovel tested using a 2 meter grid, resulting in no subsurface materials being encountered. A very light scatter of cultural materials was identified on or immediately below the ground surface by excavators and through the efforts of a volunteer operating a metal detector. These procedures were inadequate for identifying either the rock alignment's function or its derivation.

An Old Farm Road and Blue's Road:

Backhoe trenches dug across two linear features believed to be remnants of a likely farm road or trail and Blue's Road failed to demonstrate through their stratigraphy that these were indeed wagon roads. Nevertheless, their linear nature, proximity to one another, and similar orientation and location with an old farm road or trail and Blue's Road on historic maps leads to the conclusion that these are indeed remnants of the 19th century transportation network.

Battlefield Modeling

Testing and refinement of the Post-Civil War Battlefield Archeology Model was proposed in the research questions based on [Scott et al. \(1989\)](#) and [Fox and Scott \(1991\)](#). The model states that individual, unit, and battlefield movements can be reconstructed using pattern recognition techniques. The model also predicts certain types of behavior will be present depending on the culture, training, and organization of the combatant groups.

Archeological studies of historic sites are often used in a confirmation role ([Noel Hume 1969](#)). Validation studies have been undertaken to determine correlation levels of archeological and historical data. Several studies ([Scott 1977; 1972](#)) have shown archeology techniques to be valid for reconstructing past events. These studies have also shown that no precise or one-to-one correlation between an event's historical documentation and the archeological record is likely. The level of correlation is often excellent, but the two sources provide information not contained in the other. This is when the value of historical archeology becomes apparent. Historical archeology can add new details to the story, but its real value is in the fact that it is not history but anthropology. Historical archeology is a way to study the recent past with an eye toward gaining greater understanding of social and cultural behavior. In the case of battlefields,

the study focus becomes cultural approaches to conflict.

At Monroe's Crossroads, the bullets and cartridge cases are clustered in spatially discrete units that are easily defined. These discrete spatial patterns clearly correlate with the historically documented elements of the battle, and more important, they assist in identifying specific units occupying those positions.

The archeological data correlates with the historic documentation at an exceptional level for the Monroe's Crossroads study. There is evidence of combat at the site and it appears to have been conducted between two different groups trained in similar combat techniques. The discrete spatial data correlates with the historic accounts on nearly every point, except the gun emplacement site.

There are no significant conflicts between the two data sets. The gross pattern analysis and the identification of unit patterns that can be ascribed to identified unit positions validate the archeological record's ability to interpret historic events correctly.

Archeological investigations at Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument provided a new perspective on the various elements of the Battle of the Little Bighorn. Those investigations led to the development of a Post-Civil War Battlefield Model (Fox and Scott 1991). The Monroe's Crossroads battlefield study demonstrates the utility of that model and pushes back the chronological threshold by at least a decade. Combatant positions have been identified, firearms identified and quantified, the sequence of events elucidated, and history enhanced, and, in some instances, revised.

In addition, the Monroe's Crossroads study adds new dimensions to the Post-Civil War Battlefield Pattern-the role of artillery and the use of firearms identification techniques and ballistic reconstruction. Artillery positions and fields of fire can be recovered using these techniques. In the case of the artillery, there was direct evidence of its presence in the form of friction primers, possible carriage parts, and exploded shell and canister. Also, the pattern recognition technique has now been pushed back in time to study an American Civil War site, another important contribution to battlefield modeling.

The Union camp is not well represented, although a few artifacts suggesting a variety of personal and camp equipage are intriguing.

Archeological investigations are a part of the field of anthropology. The goal of anthropology is to define the broad patterns or rules of a culture-how the people use their environment and how they interact with other social groups. This study has focused on the historical reconstruction of battle events using archeological methods. In the field of historical archeology, this is known as historical particularism. It is a valid goal of research, but it is not the only goal.

Fox and Scott's (1991) definition of a Post-Civil War Battlefield Pattern is predicated upon an axiom basic to archeological investigation-human behavior is patterned. Behavioral patterns are expressed through individual actions constrained by the norms, values, sanctions and statuses governing the group within which the individual operates. Among standing armies, military groups are rigidly defined and hierarchically ordered; they are less well-defined among guerrilla forces, and individual behavioral roles are structured accordingly. Thus in warfare, tactical operations, both defensive and offensive, precipitate individual behaviors that are carried out within and on behalf of the military unit to which the individual belongs. War tactics, which represent patterned

behavior, include establishment of positions and the deployment and movement of combatants. The residues of warfare tactics-artifacts, features and their contextual relationships-should also be patterned and reflect details of battlefield behavior.

Patterned behavior is clearly reflected at Monroe's Crossroads. The distribution of cartridge cases and bullets attests to the structured organization of the military units at the beginning of the battle. The archeological data shows that both commanders employed their men according to the prescribed tactics of the day. The archeological evidence also demonstrates that the Union tactical organization was nonexistent as the attack on the camp began. Some semblance of order was restored during the initial stages of the retreat to the swamp, but order was significantly regained as the artillery came into play. Order and tactical resolve are evident in the organization of the Confederate forces during the initial stages of the attack. However, it is also evident that this structure broke down during the fight, particularly when *Humes'* units disengaged and moved to the north. This allowed the Union troops in that area to join the main body in the camp. This movement, as well as confusion among Confederate troops (probably related to the attempt to liberate supplies from Union wagons), resulted in a breakdown of tactical stability. This breakdown of stability caused *Hampton* to disengage his troops and withdraw.

The integration of individual patterns provided the basis on which unit patterns were constructed. This involved tracing positions and movements but at the unit pattern level. In effect, the deployment of combat units during the battle was identified and traced archeologically.

The Battle of Monroe's Crossroads provides a relevant application of the Post-Civil War Battlefield Pattern for several reasons. The artifact inventory, including ammunition components, was readily amenable to the kind of analyses necessary in establishing the pattern. The Monroe's Crossroads Battle also furnishes a test of the Post-Civil War Battlefield Pattern as it applies to two types of military organizations trained in essentially the same manner.

It is important to reiterate that the archeological evidence of patterning is in recognizable form on a field of battle where organization is supposedly least likely to exist. In this case, the organizations and culturally opposing forces are recognizable. This study then becomes another step in defining the archeological aspect of the anthropology of war.



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