

FROM CIVIL WAR DEFENSES OF WASHINGTON TO FORT CIRCLE PARKS:  
MAKING COMMUNITY-DRIVEN ARCHAEOLOGY PART OF  
THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CONFLICT ARSENAL

By

Tamara Androniki Mihailović

Submitted to the

Faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences

of American University

in Partial Fulfillment of

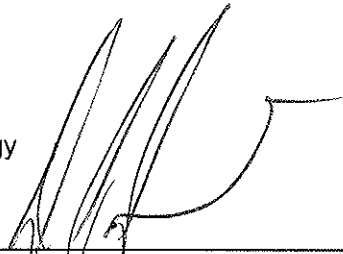
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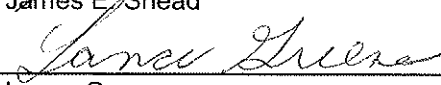
In


Public Anthropology

Chair:

  
Dr. Daniel O. Sayers

  
Dr. James E. Snead

  
Dr. Lance Greene

  
Dean of the College

Date

July 31, 2011

2011

American University

Washington, D.C. 20016

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## DEDICATION

For Miha, who infected me with the unquenchable thirst for knowledge.

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ABSTRACT

*Community-Driven Archaeology* is an important tool in giving voice to marginalized groups and neighborhoods; it has the power to engage and inform communities of their past, as well as strengthen ties and stewardship to public lands, cultural resources and national heritage. It is a particularly effective approach when engaging contexts within which various groups interacted in times of crises. As components of the region's Civil War heritage the Civil War Defenses of Washington (CWDW) represent some of the more overt manifestations of conflict associated with the city. In addition to their original defensive character CWDW also have long associations within the African-American community, beginning with their construction and extending to the present day. Applying *Community-Driven Archaeology* to CWDW would allow us to examine a landscape created by the African-American community within the larger context of military use of land and resources in the city.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	iii
Chapter	
1.INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. ARCHAEOLOGY OF CONFLICT .....	6
3. COMMUNITY-DRIVEN ARCHAEOLOGY .....	16
4. CIVIL WAR DEFENSES OF WASHINGTON HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.....	23
5. FORT CIRCLE PARKS ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS.....	32
6. A COMMUNITY-DRIVEN APPROACH TO THE FORT CIRCLE PARKS .....	38
7. SUMMARY .....	45
REFERENCES .....	47

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

*The trend of all knowledge at the present is to specialize, but archaeology has in it all the qualities that call for the wide view of the human race.*

– Margaret Murray

Archaeology is, by necessity, a field of specialization. No one person can hope to gain in-depth knowledge of all topics spanning the human experience, nor all of the time periods covered by human history. As a result, practitioners of the discipline focus on a variety of more narrowly defined themes, including Diasporic<sup>1</sup> studies, Southwestern societies, and Native American artifact assemblages. Within the past thirty years, a small subset of archaeologists has started to concentrate on past conflicts in what has come to be known as both *Battlefield Archaeology* and *Archaeology of Conflict*.<sup>2</sup> With the continued development and refinement of the archaeological approach to the question of conflict, the professionals in the field have begun adopting methods from other disciplines, as well as other specialties within archaeology. The addition of community-driven archaeology, an “effort to involve communities in a dialogue over the past” (Kelly 2003:viii), would further aid archaeologists in their quest to understand past conflicts. Would this further expansion of the *Battlefield Archaeology* methodological arsenal, however, translate into the ability of the field to provide important insight into larger issues within anthropology? This thesis proposes that community-driven *Archaeology of Conflict* can improve upon a simple martial understanding of sites associated with conflict by incorporating valuable archaeological

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<sup>1</sup> Diaspora, as used in this document, means “the movement, migration, or scattering of a people away from an established or ancestral homeland” (Merriam-Webster Dictionary N.d.b.). The definition is further refined to denote a relocation of a substantial population from an established “homeland” (the South), that shared a common cultural identity (African) and experience (chattel slavery). Finally, Diasporic Studies are understood to include the consideration of the “historical processes of culture, economics, gender, power, and racialization operating within and upon African descendant communities” (ADAN 2010).

<sup>2</sup> The two terms are interchangeable and will be so used throughout the document.

information regarding the complex social forces and cultural systems involved in the creation and subsequent use of those sites.

According to Tim Sutherland and Malin Holst (2005), *Archaeology of Conflict* and *Battlefield Archaeology* are terms that refer to the practice of applying archaeological methods to the study of ancient or historical conflict. Rather than focusing solely on physical landscapes and structures associated with war, conflict archaeologists study the events themselves. In addition to being able to simply confirm or disprove the historical records, excavated artifacts can provide valuable information regarding the social interactions at the site and the day-to-day lives of the people who created the archaeological deposits. In order to build the most complete picture of the conflict, archaeologists cannot rely exclusively on written historical records and archaeological deposits, but must also incorporate oral histories of descendant communities. In the process, they should seek to shift focus from the management of cultural resources and promote social justice and civic responsibility by including “community building, the creation of social capital, and active citizen engagement in community and civic life” (Little and Shackel 2007:1).

Community-driven archaeology has become an important tool in reaching out to people that have been marginalized in historical discourse. “Inviting community involvement in archaeological research early on, and keeping local communities involved throughout the process, not only builds public support for the stewardship of archaeological sites but also enriches the quality of the archaeological research” (Malloy 2003:ix). Given a voice through archaeology, communities are empowered to engage with their own past as they strengthen their ties to the national heritage. In this way community-driven archaeology has the ability to become an especially valuable tool in working within contexts where various groups interacted in times of crises.

As a locale where different American<sup>3</sup> communities vied for coexistence, particularly during the time of the Civil War, Washington, District of Columbia (D.C.) provides a rich setting for

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<sup>3</sup> Although this document refers to the Caucasian and African American communities within the United States of America (U.S.A), the broader term American is employed to recognize the fact that Native

a forthright and comprehensive community-driven *Archaeology of Conflict*. Evolving and complex relationships between people and places within the city are still evident in historically African American neighborhoods suffering the disruptions of gentrification (Lewis 2010). This complex cultural landscape came into existence as the various elements of the community worked to mitigate the threat of attack. The Civil War Defenses of Washington (CWDW), with the National Park Service (NPS) holdings referred to as Fort<sup>4</sup> Circle Parks (FCP), serve as overt manifestations of this conflict. Employing community-driven archaeology to explore the parks would allow for an examination of a landscape created by the Diasporic African American community within the larger context of military use of land and resources in the city.

Due to its location between the Union state of Maryland and the Confederate state of Virginia, Washington, D.C. was vulnerable to attack (Cooling 1971/1972; NPS 2004a; NPS 2004b:11; NPS 2010a; Williams 2001:415). To protect the city a series of defenses, consisting of 68 forts, and a combination of 93 wooden blockhouses, stockaded bridgeheads, picket stations, rifle pits, detached batteries, and military roads, were constructed during the course of the Civil War (Cooling 1971/1972:319-326; Little 1995:242; Little 1968; NPS 2004a; NPS 2004b:6; NPS 2010a; Potomac Heritage 2007; Williams 2001:415).

As the War progressed thousands of African American slaves were freed by Union troops and impressed into service in Washington, D.C. Along with the thousands of African Americans who escaped chattel slavery they joined freedmen already settled in the capital city (Committee of 100 2006:4; Meringolo 2005:3-4; NPS 2004a; NPS 2010a). Declared contraband of war and not allowed to engage in combat, the members of this Diasporic African American community worked on building the defenses, which became the physical embodiments of freedom represented by the Union (Meringolo 2005:3; NPS 2004a; NPS 2010a). Civil Engineer Edward Frost wrote to General William Denison Whipple that “the contrabands were important to the construction and

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American people, who did not necessarily self-identify as participating or willing members of the U.S.A, were active participants in the struggle for coexistence in the nation’s capital.

<sup>4</sup> A fort is a relatively large self-sustaining defensive work that is completely enclosed and capable of being defended from attack on all sides (Little 1968:169).

maintenance of the defense of Washington [and that w]ithout the contrabands' numbers and labor, the defenses would not have been as successful as they were" (NPS 2004a; NPS 2010a). This vital contribution was soon forgotten and the African Americans received no more than modest acknowledgements (NPS 2004a; NPS 2010a).

With the end of the Civil War, the now obsolete fortifications were left to decay until the McMillan Plan in 1902 called for their rehabilitation as public recreation areas (NPS 2004a; NPS 2004b:6-7; NPS 2010a). Although the fortifications themselves are no longer prominent in the Washington landscape, the resulting parks have come to serve as natural and cultural oases that augment the lives of local communities (Committee of 100 2006:1; NPS 2004a; NPS 2004b:12).

Archaeological excavations have already been conducted on several forts in the FCP system. NPS conducted a survey of the FCP holdings in 1995, with some of the forts (Davis, DuPont, and Mahan)<sup>5</sup> undergoing archaeological excavations (Little 1995:245-248). Additional archaeological work resulted from the 2004 Final Management Plan (NPS 2004b). Most recently, NPS contracted out excavations on the Rock Creek Park FCP holdings. Archaeological examination of the sites would yield material vestiges of military and communal life allowing for interpretations that work toward answering the questions posed jointly by community members and scholars, in an effort to help descendant communities explore their history (Committee of 100 2006).

In cooperation with NPS and descendant communities, archaeologists should pose a series of questions that best represent the needs of all of the parties represented by the FCP. Possible lines of inquiry include the construction of the forts and evidence of individuals and groups involved in the process, interactions between Union military forces and African American community members, the presence of African American troops in the forts, and the ways in which the communities have used the landscape from the time that the forts were converted into public lands. Working together with community members to excavate and interpret the data,

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<sup>5</sup> Although the report also shows that excavations were conducted at Forts Lincoln and Washington, these forts are not part of the National Park Service Fort Circle Park holdings.

archaeologists should then cooperate with NPS and the communities on developing an educational program that would provide the most complete and accurate representation of local history. Furthermore, a public outreach program should be developed to ensure that the once marginalized African American communities have an opportunity to present their own history in a way that reaches the greatest possible audience.

The FCP holdings provide an exceptional opportunity to study the role of the forts in the protection of the capital city and the relationships that developed between the Civil War defenses and the surrounding communities. Archaeological research, focused on reconstructing the histories of the individual forts and their complex associations with each other and the communities, would allow for a determination of the ideological significance of the Washington, D.C. landscape to the Diasporic African American community. The descendant community, as direct stakeholders in local history, should be given an opportunity to get thoroughly engaged with archaeological excavations and interpretations, while developing a deeper understanding of how local events tied into the greater national heritage.

## CHAPTER 2

### ARCHAEOLOGY OF CONFLICT

*In order to assess the importance of battlefield archaeology, one must first understand the way in which archaeology, as a discipline is carried out. It can be argued that there are few historical events which so thoroughly encapsulate the importance of change between periods, as do invasions, wars, and particularly individual battles. Battlefields can therefore be studied as sites of social and political transition, and the events that took place upon them are the essence of the contemporary determination for change or stability. It was on these sites that lives were laid down for a cause.*

– Tim Sutherland and Malin Holst, “Battlefield Archaeology: A Guide to the Archaeology of Conflict” (2005)

*Archaeology of Conflict*, commonly referred to as *Battlefield Archaeology*, is a study of archaeological deposits and historical processes associated with human conflicts. Proven a viable focus of study through the excavation of the Little Bighorn battlefield in Montana, *Archaeology of Conflict* has since expanded to cover terrestrial and aquatic conflicts throughout human history. As the discipline continues to grow, increasingly sophisticated questions and theoretical approaches are developing as a way to provide insight into the larger issues within anthropology, such as the nature and history of violence, social and cultural relations, ideology, and memorialization. Furthermore, *Battlefield Archaeology* has proven a valuable tool in the discovery, study and repatriation of human remains associated with conflict. With more recent conflicts, such as the two World Wars, this has helped provide the families of the deceased with answers as to the ultimate faith and final moments in the lives of their loved ones. In at least one case, *Archaeology of Conflict* has helped rewrite history itself.

Richard A. Fox, Jr. (1993), Douglas D. Scott and Melissa A. Connor (1986), and Douglas D. Scott et al. (1989) describe how on June 25, 1876, Brevet Major General George Armstrong Custer led a battalion of the 7<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Regiment, consisting of 700 men, into an attack on a camp of Lakota, Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho Native Americans. Fought near the Little Bighorn River in eastern Montana Territory, the battle resulted in a potent historical narrative that

spoke of the courage of United States cavalrymen. While Major Reno and Captain Benteen, leading the A, D, G, H, K and M companies of the battalion, found themselves pinned down in a defensive formation on a nearby hill, General Custer and companies C, E and F were massacred to a man on a bluff that came to be known as the Little Bighorn battlefield. Upon finding the bodies of their comrades, the remainder of the 7<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Regiment deduced that a great battle was fought and that Custer and his men perished in a courageous Last Stand against the savage forces of the Native Americans. This version of history became official through frequent repetition and Brevet Major General George Armstrong Custer and his three companies of men were remembered as heroes whose selfless sacrifice helped further the Manifest Destiny of the United States.

Scott et al. (1989), Fox (1993), and Scott and Connor (1986) relate how in August of 1983 a wildfire raced across parts of Montana, burning away the brush that had covered the Little Bighorn battlefield. The National Park Service (NPS), custodians of the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, decided to make use of the natural disaster to determine what could be learned from the newly exposed artifact deposits on the site. The multi-disciplinary study that resulted led to the debunking of the Last Stand myth and the realization that battlefield studies allow archaeologists to determine troop movements down to the actions performed by an individual soldier, as well as apply those findings to a larger anthropological and historical framework.

Fox (1993), Scott and Connor (1986), and Scott et al. (1989) started the study of the Little Bighorn Battlefield with the examination of historic documents, including the testimonies of Native American braves and soldiers from the 7<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Regiment. During the course of this research it was found that the accounts of the combatants from opposing sides varied greatly, with Native American braves describing Custer's attacking forces disintegrating into a confused and disordered rout rather than an organized defensive action. Further research included an attempt to track down many of the metal detecting enthusiasts and landowners who may have removed



artifacts from the site. Finally, the archaeological excavations at the site uncovered a great wealth of material, including bullets and scattered human remains.

According to Scott et al. (1989:49-88), Fox (1993:73-77), and Scott and Connor (1986) the remainder of the 7<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Regiment, who arrived the day after Custer and his forces perished, buried the bodies of the 210<sup>6</sup> fallen soldiers where they were found. Due to the public outcry at the perceived negligence toward the fallen soldiers, in 1877 the bodies of the officers were exhumed for reburial according to the wishes of their families. Another series of exhumations and reburials was conducted in 1879. Amidst the continued public critique of the handling of the Little Bighorn dead, the United States army sent out a detail in 1881 to collect all skeletal remains for re-internment in a mass grave atop Custer Hill. A granite obelisk memorial was placed at the grave. An additional commemoration of the soldiers in 1890 resulted in marble markers being placed on what were determined to be the original grave sites, with further markers added in later years. In the end 252 markers, 42 more than the number of fallen soldiers, were placed on the battlefield.

Fox (1993), Scott and Connor (1986), and Scott et al. (1989) were able to determine that the 42 extra markers were mistakenly placed around grave shafts belonging to 21 single burials. With whole and fragmented bones found between the marble stones, it became obvious that the disinterment of human remains and the subsequent erosion of soil had turned some of the original grave shafts into depressions that led the men in charge of placing memorial markers to conclude that the resulting mounds of earth on either side were the original burial shafts. This determination in turn led to the realization that the historical reconstructions of the battle, which relied on pairs of men fighting against the enemy, were erroneous as they considered the additional markers to be actual combatants. The study of bullet distributions further showed that Custer's forces fired only sporadically, at best. In the end the reconstruction of the battle from historical, ethnographic, forensic, faunal, geologic and archaeological research showed that

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<sup>6</sup> The exact number of soldiers who died at the Little Bighorn battlefield is open to speculation as eyewitness accounts vary, but the figure of 210 individuals is considered the most representative of the actual number. (Fox 1993:73).

rather than participating in a famous and organized Last Stand the United States forces disintegrated, with the soldiers slain during a disorganized rout featuring pockets of organized resistance.

While the correction of the historical record is an undeniable benefit of the Little Bighorn study, Fox (1993) points out that the research had a far more important effect on the understanding of the Native American experience within the United States. The eyewitness accounts of the Native Americans were dismissed as factually wrong as the braves were asked leading questions that characterized the United States soldiers as “brave” and “courageous.” Combined with the reconstruction of the battle by the burial detail, these modified accounts resulted in a heroic narrative that glorified the fallen cavalry soldiers while demonizing their enemies as savage barbarians. It was only through the archaeological excavations and the multi-disciplinary research and interpretation of *Archaeology of Conflict* that the silenced Native American voices were heard and the violence inflicted upon their reputation and history was brought to light.

The battlefield pattern analysis conducted at the Little Bighorn battlefield (Fox and Scott 1991) provided a theoretical model of how to do *Archaeology of Conflict*. Furthermore, it served as an example of the type of information that can be gained through the study of conflict sites. Soon other archaeologists started conducting battlefield studies in hopes of providing more intricate information about the past. Many studies focused on comparing eyewitness accounts and oral traditions to archaeological assemblages, in an attempt to determine the veracity and utility of subjective evidence.

When archaeologists uncovered the site of the Battle of Teutoburg Forest in Kalkriese, they not only demonstrated how the hubris of Roman legions led them into a sophisticated ambush, but also the power of the ancient Roman publicity machine which spun the devastating loss into a story portraying the Germanic tribes as duplicitous savage barbarians (Wells 2004). Archaeologists excavating battlefields associated with the Jacobite Rebellions specifically set out to test politically charged stories of atrocities committed against the Jacobite soldiers at Culloden,

as well as seeking to test the veracity of eyewitness accounts regarding the rout of government forces during the Killiecrankie battle (Pollard 2011). Excavations at Towton, seeking to solve the puzzle of how a physically intensive Medieval battle could continue seemingly unabated for ten hours, shed additional light on the subjectivity of historical perception by showing that what was mistakenly remembered as a single engagement was actually a series of three separate battles that spanned an entire day (Sutherland 2009).

Stephen W. McBride and Kim A. McBride (2011) showed how use of various methods can yield results when searching for sites whose exact location has been lost. Combining historical research, interviews with local historians and landowners, land and pension records, oral traditions, metal detecting and test pitting led the archaeologists to the locations of Colonial Frontier Forts. This methodology, which relies on comparing information and ensuring that more than one source agrees upon the likely location, is applicable to all historical sites whose wooden infrastructure decayed, leaving little to no trace above ground. Applying similar methods but relying more heavily on oral tradition and eyewitness accounts, archaeologists located the site of the 1877 Battle of the Big Hole between the Nez Perce and the Seventh Infantry in Montana, showing the accuracy of traditional ways of recounting history (Scott 1994).

Some archaeologists sought to shed light on parts of history that traditionally leave little to no physical evidence. Frank G. Cantelas and Lawrence E. Babits (2011) focused on the wreck of the wooden sidewheel paddle steamer *The Maple Leaf*, which sank on St. Johns River after hitting a torpedo placed by Confederate troops. At the time of its sinking, the steamer was carrying camp and garrison equipage of two brigades, the baggage of three regiments, the brigade headquarters equipment and the property of two army suppliers. The careful excavation of these well preserved materials has helped to shed light on aspects of conflict that normally “do not survive in written accounts and only in museum collections with poor provenience” (190). On the Western Front, between Ypres and Armentières, archaeologists have taken the study of silent aspects of conflict even further by examining the effectiveness of training provided to the

Australian Division during World War I as part of an attempt to reconstruct the various phases that resulted in the creation, destruction and rehabilitation of the area (Plugstreet Project 2009).

As the field has grown, *Archaeology of Conflict* expanded beyond discussions of conventional battlefields. Randall H. McGuire (2008:188-221) demonstrated how archaeology can be used to study class warfare through discussion of exploitative labor systems, class and structural violence, ethnocentrism, hegemonic ideologies, racism and modes of production. In 1913 in Ludlow, Massachusetts, during the Colorado Coalfield War of 1913-1914, the Colorado National Guard troops attacked a tent colony occupied by armed strikers and their families. Several people, including women and children, were killed when the troops set the colony on fire. In retaliation for the Ludlow Massacre, strikers killed Rockefeller-owned Colorado Fuel & Iron Company (henceforth “company”) employees throughout Southern Colorado and burned down company towns.

McGuire (2008:188-221), Philip Duke and Dean Saitta organized the Ludlow Collective, a collaborative effort meant to mirror the cooperative spirit of the Union (United Mine Workers of America or UMWA) that maintains the site of the Ludlow Massacre. With faculty and students from various Universities, UMWA representatives, and company and striker descendants, the Ludlow Collective set out to archaeologically examine and interpret the physical evidence of the massacre.

Historical evidence led McGuire (2008:188-221) and the rest of the Collective to conclude that the company imposed a certain way of life on its employees and integrated the hegemonic ideology, built on class and structural violence that allowed for direct exploitation of worker’s labor, into the fabric of the towns. Employees were forced to live in company owned houses, shop in company stores, and spend leisure time in company run recreation facilities. Requirement that the workers send their children to company schools ensured that the hegemonic ideology was passed down to children through primary labor and experiential routine. Furthermore, employees spent their days laboring in guarded mines that were not properly ventilated or secured. The workers eventually rebelled against the repressive system and refused to return to the mines until

they were granted greater workplace protection and personal freedom. Rather than giving in to the demands the company evicted the offending employees, along with their families, from company housing. The strikers and their families set up a tent colony nearby and continued the struggle against company oppression.

Through comparisons of archaeological deposits at Ludlow and Berwind, McGuire (2008:188-221) and his associates first realized the importance of domestic life in making the strike possible. The wives of the employees brought in ethnic diversity through renting out of rooms, selling of food and interaction with wives of workers from different ethnic background. Therefore, while men chose to work alongside family members and friends, the women helped them overcome ethnic differences to create a class consciousness. Once relocated to the tent colony, women and children took on the role of equal partners and worked alongside the men to make their temporary home into a physical embodiment of equality and order. Precise rows led to a central meeting and recreation area, reflecting a democratic organization that eradicated class differences promoted by the company's capitalist ideology.

As the previous example makes clear, archaeological interpretation can do much to shed light on complex human behavior that leads to the available artifact assemblages. Archaeologists often interpret the primacy of fortifications and defensive structures on the landscape as evidence of endemic warfare (LeBlanc 2003; Pauketat 1999; Rabinovich and Silberman 1998; Starbuck 1993; Vogel and Allan 1985). The lack of such edifices despite their prevalence in contiguous time periods, however, can be taken to signify an interlude in which the society considered itself powerful enough to do away with defensive structures altogether (Pauketat 1999). Discrete violent episodes, on the other hand, can be represented by the presence of seemingly cannibalized human remains (Bower 2000; Preston 1989).

Not limited simply to demonstrating the possible presence or absence of conflict, archaeological data can also help clarify motivation behind warfare. Pursuit of power (Pauketat 1999; Popson 2002; Starbuck 1993; Suhler and Freidel 1998; Zimmerman and Whitten 1980), religious ritual and sacrifice (Anawalt 1982; Bahn 1997; Brunaux 2001; Cunliffe 1988; Popson

2002; Suhler and Freidel 1998), resistance (Anawalt 1982; Haecker et al. 2009; Mandzy 2009), and the availability of resources (Kusimba 2006; LeBlanc 2003; Popson 2002; Preston 1989; Vogel and Allan 1985; Zimmerman and Whitten 1980) are the most commonly recognized reasons for widespread conflict. Additionally, archaeological interpretation can shed light on psychological tactics, such as torture, cannibalism, and souvenir display, that might have been used to terrorize potential enemies or entire target populations (Brunaux 2001; Cunliffe 1988; Pauketat 1999; Popson 2002; Preston 1989; Suhler and Freidel 1998).

Such complex studies of human behavior are still relatively rare within *Archaeology of Conflict*. Far more common are the discussions of specific types of artifacts associated with war (Murray 2004; Murray and Petsas 1988; Murray and Petsas 1989; Scott and Haag 2009; Sivilich 2009). Deceptively simplistic and narrow, these studies have applicability to broader questions within anthropology. William Murray and Photios Petsas (1988; 1989) integrated a discussion of the ways in which archaeological data reflects the intricate politics of the Roman Empire, an exploitative system that relied on slave and conflict labor to man its war machines, into their description of the types and sizes of ships represented by the battering rams once mounted on the Actium memorial. Murray (2004) later expanded these interpretations while exploring the political implications of the battle and the monument.

Even the most innocuous and commonplace battlefield artifacts, such as musket balls, can provide a wealth of information that goes beyond the shape and size of available munitions. Dan Sivilich (2009:91-96) discussed the early days of combat surgery, and the fact that soldiers were known to bite down on objects in an attempt to manage pain during medical procedures. Examples of chewed musket balls were found in Monmouth Battlefield State Park, showing that the figurative expression “bite the bullet,” which has become an accepted part of everyday language, likely had a much more literal meaning prior to the development of anesthesia. Other recovered munitions serve as evidence of soldiers cutting through bullets, piercing them with nails, and other modifications meant to cause fragmentation and more severe injury to the enemy, thus presumably enhancing the psychological effects of weapons fire.

Doug Scott and Lucien Haag (2009) demonstrated the ways in which detailed studies of materials used, the quality of manufacture, and the variety of munitions, can provide valuable information on supply networks and logistics of weapon production. While the type and make of munitions available can answer specific questions about the mode of production and trade networks employed by the societies involved, archaeologists can also use available data to study the amount of pressure exerted upon the home base to deliver adequate ammunition provisions.

As the studies of the psychological effects of conflict expand, *Archaeology of Conflict* can be used to discuss the social, political-economic and ideological implications of war in modern society. Nearly a century after the Great War, the people in the Belgian city of Ypres regularly face the ghosts of the past as they continue to coexist with cemeteries, monuments, unexploded ordnance, and undiscovered bodies (Silberman 2004). The wreckage of the U.S.S Arizona, a sunken battleship that serves as the last resting place of 1,177 crewmen who died in the attack on Pearl Harbor, fulfills the complex triple role of a cemetery, a memorial, and a tourist attraction (Lenihan 1991). The Cold War left a visible scar on the Nevada Test Site, where hundreds of nuclear weapon tests created a broken landscape saturated in residual radiation (Johnson and Beck 1995).

Within all of these varied contexts, archaeology was used to discuss the effect that the war had on the physical landscape and the people who later made use of that landscape (Carman and Carman 2009; De Meyer and Pye 2009; Pratt 2009; Rost 2009). Just as importantly, archaeology has been able to show how the visual reminders of conflict have shaped the perceptions of nations (Burt et al. 2009; Johnson and Beck 1995; Silberman 2004) and the ways in which individuals and nations are using memorialization to reclaim war-torn spaces (Burt et al. 2009; De Meyer and Pye 2009:375-376; Lenihan 1991; Johnson and Beck 1995; Silberman 2004).

With the continued expansion of the field, further focus on memorialization will provide valuable insight into the process of valorization through which individual battles, particularly significant losses, can gain power over the psyche of entire nations (Burt et al. 2009; Mandzy

2009). Addition of studies looking at community dispersion and formation as a result of or in preparation for conflict will allow for a greater understanding of the concept of diaspora.

*Archaeology of Conflict* will continue to develop exponentially, so long as archaeologists are determined to find ways of answering more and more complex questions about human behavior through excavations of conflict sites (Allen and Arkush 2006; Scott et al. 2009).



## CHAPTER 3

### COMMUNITY-DRIVEN ARCHAEOLOGY

*We do archaeology – and spend public money on it – because archaeology provides benefits not only for professional archaeological research but also for the many participants and publics who use and value it.*

– Barbara J. Little, “Public Benefits of Archaeology” (2002)

When the field of archaeology was first developed, it was primarily used as a tool of legitimation. By proving the superiority of ancient civilizations (Greece, Rome, Egypt, Sumeria, Mesopotamia, Persia, etc.), the European colonizers, who saw themselves as the cultural descendants of these “Classical” societies, could show their natural right to control and “civilize” the “inferior” people they encountered on other continents. Over time, as archaeologists encountered resistance within descendant communities and became conscious of the impediments caused by the way in which the field was used by those in power, they began modifying their approach in an attempt to champion and give voice to those people who were previously silenced by history and their academic predecessors. These efforts eventually led to community-driven Public Archaeology, in which archaeologists cooperate with the public in order to develop and implement projects that will provide the most benefit to the greatest variety of communities.

As David Hurst Thomas (2001) and Eric Wolf (1997) show, archaeology has long been complicit in practices that promoted the ideals of Manifest Destiny. From the moment that Thomas Jefferson sank his trowel into the earth to try and determine who built the mounds that dotted the North American landscape (Jefferson 1787: 156-162; MNSU 1999), archaeology became a field used to legitimate the subjugation of colonized subjects. Although Jefferson meant for his results to be part of an impartial scientific inquiry, the exercise itself was based on the premise that Native American people were part of the natural rather than the cultural landscape

(Jefferson 1787: 156-162). As a result Native American remains and cultural artifacts were treated with little respect and exhibited alongside the flora and fauna of the New World.

According to Thomas (2001) it was only after the passage of the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)<sup>7</sup> in 1990 that most archaeologists were forced to confront the role that archaeology had played in building up the myth of the vanishing “Noble Savage.” As Native American numbers dwindled in the face of European expansion, government persecution, and disease, archaeologists collected Native American remains and artifacts, often in illegal ways, in an attempt to study the “vanishing” tribes. Physical anthropologists used cranial measurements to assign Native Americans a lower evolutionary position, as well as diminished power of comprehension and reasoning. The ethnographers then created the Noble Savage by portraying Native Americans as innocent natural beings regrettably swept away by progress. The tribes that maintained their traditional way of life were pitied as ethnographic and archaeological descriptions of the people and the artifacts depicted a noble race of warriors doomed in the face of civilization. Just like the mammoths and dinosaurs next to which their remains and artifacts were exhibited, Native Americans were seen as destined for extinction.

The passage of NAGPRA forced archaeologists to collaborate with tribes in all cases where they wished to work with Native American sites or materials. As Thomas (2001) illustrates, some archaeologists wholeheartedly embraced this new practice, finding that “[i]nviting community involvement in archaeological research early on, and keeping local communities involved throughout the process, not only builds public support for the stewardship of archaeological sites but also enriches the quality of the archaeological research” (Malloy 2003:ix). As a result, public archaeology expanded beyond the legal requirements of NAGPRA in an attempt to give voice to varied communities silenced through historical, ethnographic, and scientific narratives.

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<sup>7</sup> This landmark piece of legislation gave Native American tribes the right to exercise their traditional responsibilities toward the dead, including the right to reclaim the bones and artifacts of their ancestors from federally owned institutions in the United States of America (Thomas 2001).

Studies of the past, previously used to oppress, could now demonstrate how people structured their lives and societies in ways relevant to modern societies and social struggles. In order to excavate at the site of the Ludlow Massacre Randall H. McGuire (2008) and Philip Duke and Dean J. Saitta (1998) approached the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), the union responsible for the maintenance of the Ludlow massacre monument, with a proposal to use emancipatory politics and archaeology to show the ways in which the UMWA resisted the oppression of the Rockefeller-owned Colorado Fuel & Iron Company. The resulting excavations and the comparison of the materials from the Ludlow tent colony and the Berwind company town showed that it was the concerted actions of families and the egalitarian spirit of the colony that led to pan-ethnic and cross-class alliances which proved decisive in affecting social change. Once the analysis was complete, archaeologists worked with UMWA to develop an educational program that would make this new, richer history of the Ludlow Massacre available to the public in an effort to make more people aware of the legacy of Ludlow and the history of the United States (U.S.) labor conflicts.

In addition to shedding light on social struggles, public archaeology became a community partner in helping to redress social injustices of the past and the present. Michael Blakey worked with Cheryl La Roche (1997) and Warren Perry (1999) on a highly contentious New York City archaeological site that pitted the Cultural Resources Management (CRM) archaeologists and the Federal Government against the local African American population. In 1991 the General Services Administration (GSA) contracted a CRM firm to conduct archaeological excavations of a historic "Negroes Burial Ground," in order to make way for the construction of a new government office building. The CRM firm excavated more than 400 burials over the period of a year, with the remains sent to the New York Metropolitan Forensic Anthropology Team (MFAT) for a study of morphometric measurement<sup>8</sup>. Not consulted prior to excavations, the members of the local African American community were deeply distressed by the plan which sought to emphasize the

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<sup>8</sup> Morphometric, or skeletal, measurements are used to develop refined racial identification methods from skeletal materials (La Roche and Blakey 1997).

racial characteristics of the deceased. The disrespectful treatment of the remains, which were wrapped in newspapers and stacked on top of each other for storage in unsuitable environmental conditions, further complicated the situation. Seeking to participate in the production of knowledge about their past and to protect the integrity of their history, community members demanded that one of the few African American forensic anthropologists, Michael Blakey, and a historically African American institution, Howard University in Washington, District of Columbia (DC), be given the remains for preservation and study.

From the moment that Blakey, along with La Roche (1997) and Perry (1999), became part of the African Burial Ground project, he worked with the local African American community to develop a project that would address questions relevant to the African Diasporic history. Rather than focusing on the removal of human remains, the archaeologists sought to find evidence of the biological and cultural shift from African to African American identities, physical representations of the ways in which African American people resisted their enslaved condition, and the physical quality of life, as well as the exact origins of the population represented at the burial ground. In this way, despite resistance, local African American communities won the right to reclaim, preserve, and memorialize a small part of their past.

The lessons learned from the failure of CRM archaeologists to work with the local community in New York were implemented in Alexandria, Virginia (VA). The City of Alexandria Archaeology Office, housed in the Alexandria Archaeology Museum (2011), is responsible for all archaeological work done in the City of Alexandria. Before a construction project can be undertaken on public land, the City archaeologists must complete surveys that determine whether any archaeological site would be impacted by the anticipated construction. Because of this clause archaeologists were called in to survey the area when the proposed expansion of the Woodrow Wilson Bridge threatened to impact a historic cemetery housing African American Freedmen burials. While burials were detected through remote sensing and test excavations, the City archaeologists felt that they were inadequately equipped to store and study the interred remains with the respect and care they warranted.

In an effort to get the local community involved with the preservation of the cemetery, the Alexandria Archaeology Museum (2011) and Friends of Freedmen's Cemetery (2010) organized an illumination ceremony. In 2007 Museum volunteers and children from local elementary schools spent weeks decorating paper bags that held the candles during the ceremony. For the permanent commemoration of the site a competition was opened to the public and a committee chose a memorial design felt to best represent the African American Freedmen history. Thus, through the effort of archaeologists and the local community, this important landmark that was once nearly forgotten and destroyed was rehabilitated and once again made part of the rich history of the City of Alexandria.

Over time, archaeologists moved to become even more inclusive of the local and descendant communities. An example of this new approach to public archaeology is the New Philadelphia Project, a collaborative effort in which communities took on an active role in the excavation and interpretation of archaeological materials.

Paul A. Shackel (2011) considers New Philadelphia to be "a compelling and heroic narrative about freedom and the entrepreneurship of an African American family" (1). A former slave, Free Frank McWorter had purchased his own freedom, as well as the freedom of his pregnant wife. Remaining in Kentucky until he was able to trade his saltpeter business for his eldest son's freedom in 1829, McWorter decided to move his family to Pike County, Illinois. In the state which had denied African Americans basic civil and political rights and required proof of freedom and a \$1,000 bond, Frank was able to buy 160 acres of land for \$200. Keeping a portion of the land for his own use, McWorter divided the remainder into 144 parcels for sale to new settlers, including several African American families. The money obtained through the sale of land went toward purchasing the freedom of Frank's three remaining children and two grandchildren. New Philadelphia proved such a success that McWorter's will stipulated for enough funds to allow for the purchase of six more grandchildren.

Shackel (2011) describes how archaeologists approached the New Philadelphia Association (NPA) in 1998 with a plan to conduct archaeological excavations within the limits of

the historic town. At the time NPA consisted solely of local white community members but has since become racially integrated, with several African American descendants joining as board members. Having gained the support of the community, developed a proposal, and obtained the necessary permits and a National Science Foundation (NSF) grant, archaeologists sought out two prominent descendants of Frank McWorter – his great-great-grandson, Abdul Alkalimat (Gerald McWorter), a sociologist, and his great-great-granddaughter, Juliet Walker, a historian – in order to discuss their possible participation in the project. This step would highlight the problems that public archaeologists may encounter when trying to develop community-driven projects.

Shackel (2011) explains that while Gerald McWorter responded favorably, Juliet Walker felt slighted because she was not consulted during the proposal process. Furthermore, Juliet felt that she should have been offered the opportunity to be a principal investigator due to her expertise in the history of Free Frank and New Philadelphia. This highly negative response led the archaeologists to conclude that they should have made an attempt to reach more descendants before developing a proposal based on the support of the available local and descendant communities. Despite this unfortunate obstacle, the archaeologists found that they had to continue their efforts “because of the persistent energy and enthusiasm demonstrated by the many other descendants and the local community” (58). In the end, the desire of one individual could not outweigh the importance of helping “the community to work toward making all of New Philadelphia and its many histories part of the national public memory” (58).

Although Juliet Walker refused to have anything to do with the archaeology project, Shackel (2011) describes how local and descendant community members rallied to show their support. Sharing and collecting oral histories, excavating alongside the archaeologists, and lending their expertise to the interpretation of historical and archaeological materials, the communities became collaborators in the project. The combined effort led not only to a deeper understanding of the history of New Philadelphia and Free Frank McWorter but also to a McWorter family reunion, bringing together generations of Frank’s descendants in the town he

founded. In the true spirit of community-driven Public Archaeology the local and descendant communities were no longer cast in the role of simple bystanders, taking instead an active role in the discovery and production of their own history.

## CHAPTER 4

### CIVIL WAR DEFENSES OF WASHINGTON

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

*There is nothing new in the world except the history you do not know.*  
– Harry S. Truman

Washington, District of Columbia (D.C.) was set up as the permanent national capital of the United States of America (U.S.A. or U.S.), in order to create an independent bipartisan governing center that could not be dominated by any one political faction. Protected by a one-gun battery and a single fort, the capital easily fell to the British during the War of 1812. After the war the fort was strengthened but no further attempts were made to fortify the city until the American Civil War made obvious its highly vulnerable position. With the government that championed the Northern cause, and physically located adjacent to a Southern state, Washington, D.C. became a target for military aggression. As a result, a series of fortifications were erected to protect the city from the anticipated attack. Following the war these defenses were left to decay before some of them were reclaimed as leisure space for the neighboring communities. Today, many of the forts that once protected the capital have been turned into parks, maintained by the National Park Service (NPS).

Established through the colonization of the American continent by the representatives of the British government, U.S.A did not start out as a sovereign country. Instead, the Northern portion of the continent, with the exception of the land that later became Canada, was divided into a series of individually governed colonies that were subservient to the British Crown. After the British troops that fought to protect the Crown's colonial assets in the Seven Years War (Corbett 1907) were permanently stationed in the North American colonies in 1763, the government passed the 1765 Stamp Act to help pay for their upkeep (Morgan and Morgan 1995). When the colonists objected to this taxation of documents, due to the lack of colonial representation in



Parliament that made them unable to participate in decisions about their own governance, the British government repealed the Act almost exactly a year after it had voted it into existence (Morgan and Morgan 1995). At the same time, however, the government passed a Declaratory Act that affirmed its right to pass binding laws, including taxation, in the colonies (Weeden 1890:720).

When the British government imposed a tax on tea in 1773 and the Boston officials refused to force the return of the ships carrying the taxed product to Britain, colonists boarded the ships and threw the offending goods into the Boston Harbor (Labaree 1964). In retaliation the British government passed a series of laws that became known as the “Intolerable Acts,” including a forced closure of the Boston Harbor, until the colonists responsible paid for the destroyed product. Furthermore, the government restricted the activities of the Massachusetts legislature while giving greater administrative power to the governor of the colony (Drucker-Hunsaker et al. 1999). In September 1774 the representatives of every British colony in the Americas, other than Georgia, gathered in Philadelphia to protest the passage of these acts (Bonwick 1991:80-82; Crew et al. 1892:64).

On October 14, 1774 the First Continental Congress (1774) voted to cut off trade with Britain unless Parliament did away with the Intolerable Acts and established the Continental Association as a body that would enforce this trade embargo (AOC N.d.; Bonwick 1991:80-82; Drucker-Hunsaker et al. 1999). Furthermore, the decision of the Crown to keep a standing army in the colonies was deemed illegal and attempts were made to place limits on the power of the Parliament (AOC N.d.; Bonwick 1991:80-82; Drucker-Hunsaker et al. 1999). This Declaration and Resolves on Continental Rights led to hostilities with Great Britain (Bonwick 1991: 82-83; Crew et al. 1892:65; Drucker-Hunsaker et al. 1999). The adoption of the Declaration of Independence and Articles of Confederation by the colonists led to outright war (Crew et al. 1892:65). Upon the completion of the eight-year Revolutionary War the former colonies, now the United States of America, became independent from Great Britain (Bancroft 1868; Bonwick 1991:84-115).

According to Harvey W. Crew et al. (1892:64-86), the fledgling country found itself in immediate need of a permanent national capital, especially after the June 1783 incident in which Congress was threatened by a mob of discontented soldiers while meeting in its temporary quarters in Philadelphia. The Southern States felt that the seat of government should be located in the part of the country that would be friendly to slave-holding agricultural interests (NPS 2004a). After much debate with the Northern States, who wanted the new Federal Government to assume the war debt, a compromise was reached and a site convenient to all was chosen on the Potomac River (NPS 2004a). Established by the Constitution of the United States, Washington, D.C. was founded on July 16, 1790 (NPS 2004a).

NPS (2004a) states that during the construction of the new capital the architect, Pierre L'Enfant, set aside land on Greenleaf Point<sup>9</sup> for a military district meant to hold a fortification. Earth breastworks and a one-gun battery were set up sometime between 1791 and 1794 in what later came to be known as Fort McNair. In 1794, with war raging throughout Europe, Congress voted to erect coastal fortifications at twenty sites throughout the country. Jones' Point, on the south side of the Potomac River and near Alexandria, was chosen for its strategic position which allowed for the defense of portions of Virginia and Maryland, as well as Washington, D.C. A fort capable of holding 12 pieces of artillery was built before being abandoned a mere two years later, in 1796.

When the crew of the British vessel Her Majesty's Ship (H.M.S.) Leopard attacked and boarded the United States Ship (U.S.S.) Chesapeake in 1807<sup>10</sup>, Congress, fearing another war with England, passed a new fortification appropriation bill (NPS 2004a; TJE N.d.). NPS (2004a) describes how the government chose Digges Point, located across from Mount Vernon, as the

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<sup>9</sup> Greenleaf Point is also referred to as Turkey Buzzard Point (NPS 2004a).

<sup>10</sup> Crew et al. (1892:203-206) and TJE (N.d.) describe the event commonly referred to as The Chesapeake Affair. Three American citizens who had been impressed into British service escaped and sought refuge on U.S.S. Chesapeake. When the crew of H.M.S. Leopard attempted to board U.S.S. Chesapeake in order to search for deserters, they were denied access. In a clear violation of American sovereignty, the captain of H.M.S. Leopard ordered his crew to open fire, as the result of which three American seamen were killed and eighteen injured before the crew of U.S.S. Chesapeake surrendered. The three escaped seamen and a deserter hiding on the ship were taken back to H.M.S. Leopard.

site on which to construct Fort Warburton<sup>11</sup> in 1809. Despite the fact that continued aggression by the British navy led to war in 1812 (Crew et al. 1892:206-207), the still vulnerable capital was not further fortified by the Secretary of War. Instead, local militias were used for defense while Fort Warburton was provided with additional guns and the Secretary of the Navy placed some defensive vessels in the Potomac. In August of 1814 the British troops defeated the District militia at Bladensburg, entered Washington, D.C and set fire to government buildings. Rather than risk the Navy Yard and the arsenal at Greenleaf Point falling into enemy hands, the retreating U.S. forces chose to burn them. Fort Warburton was evacuated after the troops within became surrounded by the British naval and ground troops. Shortly after it was vacated the fort suffered a massive explosion.

According to NPS (2004a), as soon as the British troops left the capital James Monroe, U.S. President and acting Secretary of War, ordered that Fort Warburton be rebuilt. From its completion in 1824 until the Civil War, Fort Washington alternated between periods of light and heavy armament, as well as active defense and inactivity. At the onset of the war in 1861, the national capital was defended by 41 men stationed in a fort built to repel waterborne attacks (Louis Berger Group 2008:50).

NPS (2004a) states that when Abraham Lincoln was elected president in 1860, Washington, D.C. was predominantly inhabited by people who sympathized with the slave owning Southern states. With the Southern states seceding from the Union to form the Confederate States of America (Crew et al. 1892:242) the Inspector General of the District of Columbia distrusted the District militia and ordered the Army Regulars to guard the principal government buildings. Furthermore, he set up defensive barricades, establishing strongpoint centers at City Hall hill. In addition to this, Commander John A. Dahlgren of the U.S. Navy outfitted 4 steamers for the defense of Washington, D.C. waterways while Commander James H. Ward organized the defense of the Chesapeake Bay area by assembling the three-ship Potomac Flotilla.

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<sup>11</sup> Fort Warburton is also referred to as Fort Washington (NPS 2004a).

With the issuance of Lincoln's Call for Troops in 1861 (Lincoln 1861), NPS (2004a) describes how the area around the capital became saturated with militiamen and Army Regulars. While many of the Union troops camped outside of the urban areas of Washington, once Virginia seceded from the Union a portion of the military force was transferred to Northern Virginia and housed at newly constructed forts, in order to enforce the Union occupation of that portion of the state (Crew et al. 1892:254-258). Major John G. Barnard referred to the Virginia forts, including Forts Albany, Bennett, Corcoran, Ellsworth, Haggerty, Jackson, and Runyon, as the first fortifications in the Defenses of Washington.

NPS (2004a) and Louis Berger Group (2008a) state that after the Confederate army won the Manassas battle Major General George B. McClellan was put in command of the troops in the vicinity of Washington, D.C. McClellan immediately gave Barnard, the chief engineer of the Army of the Potomac, instructions on how to complete the defensive fortifications and ensure the protection of the capital. In addition to building more defensive earthworks to supplement those already existing, a series of forts was built to close gaps between the already existing Northern Virginia forts. Furthermore, additional fortifications were built in Washington, D.C. and Maryland (Little 1968). With the Northern Virginia forts, these fortifications formed the Defenses of Washington, a defensive ring that encircled the nation's capital. All of the 48 forts were placed on heights, so as to provide the best possible vantage point for surveillance of the surrounding area.

According to NPS (2004a), the forts were placed on land that fell under private ownership. "Most of the individuals [...] basically lost possession of part or all of their land for the duration of the Civil War and for some, months or years after the conflict ended[.]" Since the Army razed any structures that stood in the way of construction, including private homes, most of the landowners had to arrange for alternate housing. Given that only a few of the landowners received any compensation before the end of the war, some were also forced to find other ways of making enough money to survive until they could return to their land. One of these landowners is thought to have been a free African American woman by the name of Elizabeth, Betsy, or Betty Thomas. An unsubstantiated report states that when the Army tore down her house President

Lincoln himself consoled her, ensuring her that she would reap great rewards for her sacrifice. No actual records have been found that confirm her ownership of land, although she is believed to have lived in the area.

Betty Thomas was not the only African American whose story was tied to the history of the Civil War Defenses of Washington (CWDW). NPS (2004a) and Louis Berger Group (2008a) make clear that while the construction of the forts was primarily carried out by soldiers in the U.S. Army,<sup>12</sup> civilians were employed whenever enough funding could be secured (Louis Berger Group 2008a). Since the African American contrabands worked for smaller wages, earning 40 cents and rations for a days work to a white laborer's 1 dollar and rations, they were most often employed for the construction of the fortifications. Due to their poor living conditions and the general lack of funding to actually pay their wages, the Civil Engineers provided the contrabands in their employ with clothing whenever possible. Although their exact locations are no longer known, there are records of several contraband camps around the Washington, D.C. area, including a shanty village at Fort Albany, a contraband settlement at Battery Kemble, and Freedmen's Village at Arlington Estate.<sup>13</sup> Contrabands that did not live in these camps took residence in some of the forts, including Fort Lyons, and were often employed as cooks, laundresses, or in performance of other duties necessary for the everyday comfort of the soldiers.

According to NPS (2004a), being made of perishable materials the forts required constant maintenance. Furthermore, the defensibility of the fortifications required that the surrounding brush be cleared away on regular basis. Finally, soldiers and civilians were put on sod duty because the grass not only added to the appearance of the forts but also impeded the speed of would be attackers. This vigilance in keeping the fortifications in prime defensive shape

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<sup>12</sup> NPS (2004a) discusses the fact that members of the United States Colored Troops (USCT) were stationed in the vicinity of Washington, D.C. and also took part in the construction of the forts. Convalescents, Confederate deserters, prisoners, and conscripts were also used for manual labor whenever enough guards could be spared to keep watch over them. Their work, however, was often considered subpar.

<sup>13</sup> The part of the Arlington Estate that housed the Freedmen's Village is now part of the Arlington National Cemetery and is believed to be in the southern section of the cemetery (ANC Website 2000)

was useful in keeping Colonel John Singleton Mosby's Confederate guerillas in check during their numerous raids. The true importance of the fort upkeep became clear when Confederate Lieutenant General Jubal A. Early led his Army of the Valley in an attack on Washington, D.C.

The NPS Historical Resource Study (2004a) and Louis Berger Group (2008a) detail the story of Early's attack. Having been ordered to attack Washington, D.C., Early and his men boarded a train from Charlottesville, Virginia (VA) to Lynchburg, VA. From Lynchburg to Monocacy in Frederick, Maryland (MD) the Confederate forces engaged in a number of skirmishes and minor battles with the Union troops. After their decisive victory at the Monocacy Battlefield, Early and his men started their final advance on Washington, D.C. Plagued by the heat and minor skirmishes, the Confederate forces still managed to beat out the reinforcements, primarily made up of wounded soldiers drafted from area hospitals, sent to bolster the Defenses of Washington's sparse troops. General John McCausland headed toward Fort Reno, in the process driving back forces defending Forts Bayard, Simmons, and Mansfield. In the meantime Early led his forces toward Fort Stevens. Noting the inadequate number of defenders, Early dispatched his infantry but had to recall them when Union reinforcements flooded the fort before his men could reach the outer walls. Once it became clear that the forts were now adequately manned, Early and his men gave up all hope of capturing Washington, D.C. Instead the Confederate troops took to harassing the Union forces in the field and shooting at any man who would expose himself within the walls of the fort. With Union troops actively advancing out of the forts and attacking his forces, Early and his men withdrew, bringing to end the only real Confederate threat to the safety of the nation's capital. While the extended fighting took place around Fort Stevens, Forts De Russy, Totten, Slocum, Reno, and Bunker Hill, as well as Batteries Kingsbury, Sill, and Totten, were also involved in the conflict.

According to NPS (2004a), once Early's attack was repelled the Defenses of Washington were once again brought down to skeleton crews. After the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia surrendered on April 9, 1865, the War Department issued General Orders meant to reduce military expenses. Some of the fortifications (Forts Greble and Carroll, and Battery Rodgers) were

kept active for a few years. Fort Foote served as a coastal fortification until 1878. Fort Whipple was turned into the Signal School of Instruction for Army and Navy officers before it was renamed Fort Myer. By and large, however, by July 1866 most of the Defenses of Washington had been closed down, with the land and fortifications either returned to the landowners or sold at auction.

A review of historical documents by NPS (2004a) and Louis Berger Group (2008a) showed that about 30,000 African Americans migrated to Washington, D.C. during and immediately following the war. Since few were able to own property, the Army provided government housing at Freedman's Village at Arlington Estate. Following the war the settlement fell under the jurisdiction of the newly created Army administered Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. The Bureau was incapable of handling the great influx of freedmen and refugees into the capital and many newly arrived families started using abandoned Defenses of Washington fortifications as convenient living quarters (Little 1968:6).<sup>14</sup> Over time areas around many of the former fortifications started developing into urban neighborhoods. At least one of the fortifications, Fort Reno, was turned into building lots which were sold off and became known as Reno City. While the area was never declared a freedmen's village and was not a wholly African American community, a fair number of African Americans settled there. According to NPS (N.d.) in at least one working class neighborhood, Anacostia, the laws prohibiting sale to Negroes, Mulattos, Africans and Irish were relaxed and then finally suspended. By 1880 15 percent of Anacostia's residents were African American.

Creating NPS (2004a) in 1916 as a federal institution charged with preserving the history and prehistory of the U.S., the federal government started purchasing land that contained historically significant cultural remains. Limiting the purchases of the Defenses of Washington holdings to Washington, D.C., the government acquired land associated with many of the forts. Wanting to return the land to public use and make its history readily available to local communities and tourists, NPS turned its Defenses of Washington holdings into Fort Circle Parks

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<sup>14</sup> As the NPS (2004a) report makes clear, while there are many references to squatters living in the forts, there are no clear examples of which forts were in question, making documentation of this practice through purely historical research difficult.

and set up various public installations, such as a national park, an ice skating rink and picnic grounds (Louis Berger Group 2008a). Originally intended to be a continuous tourist attraction connected by a single roadway, these reclaimed fortifications have become individual oases that form an important part of everyday community life in the nation's capital.



## CHAPTER 5

### FORT CIRCLE PARKS ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

*For me archaeology is not a source of illustrations for written texts, but an independent source of historical information, with no less value and importance, sometimes more importance, than the written sources.*

- Michael I. Rostovtzeff

During World War I, the War Department conducted chemical weapons testing at American University, built on land that once housed Fort Gaines (AU 2009). Further weapon testing was conducted during World War II, when the students shared the campus with the United States (U.S.) Navy (AU 2009). As a result, the U.S. Army became concerned about the impact on the historic locations of Civil War forts. Following World War II, National Park Service (NPS) started conducting archaeological excavations at the locations of former Civil War Defenses of Washington (CWDW) fortifications.

J. Glenn Little II (1968) conducted the first archaeological survey of earthworks, encompassing Forts Davis, Mahan, and DuPont. The purpose of the excavations was to aid the National Capital Region NPS restoration and reconstruction plans. At Fort Davis, the plan was to restore portions of the earthworks. Fort DuPont was supposed to be restored in full, while Fort Mahan had been mostly destroyed, with some features remaining. Rather than attempting to restore the entire fort, NPS plans called for a partial restoration of the fortifications.

Little (1968) was unable to identify the documented repairs and modifications conducted on Fort Mahan but easily found the rifle pits added to strengthen the vulnerable approaches. Bastionete<sup>15</sup> additions provided the only other evidence of Civil War fortification construction on

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<sup>15</sup> Derived from bastion, bastionete is a fortified area or position that projects from the remainder of the fort to provide flanking fire, or make the forward fire of the fort's guns most effective (Little 1968:169; Merriam-Webster Dictionary N.d.a.).

the site. At Fort DuPont, however, the land retained the appearance associated with the earthworks once housed there, with some of the modifications aimed at guarding the deep ravine visible in the archaeological record. Excavations within the walls of the fort uncovered the communal well but failed to yield any evidence of the flagstaff. No testing was done to determine where the various fort buildings were located. While it is likely that all of the buildings were located immediately outside of the main gate, on land that shows evidence of later disturbance, a possibility exists that they were placed further away.

It is clear from Little's report (1968) that excavations at Fort Davis provided the greatest amount of information. In fact, "[a]rchaeological research has provided enough data from the six trenches to conjecture drawings which allow complete restoration of the entire Fort" (18). In addition, the magazine appears to have been destroyed by fire before being dismantled, as the building collapsed upon itself and preserved much of the interior. Although archaeology does not provide an answer as to the cause of the fire, historical documentation suggests that it may have been the result of freedmen or other people using the magazine building for shelter. Archaeological evidence consisted of a variety of materials, including nails, decomposed wood, ammunition, and horse riding equipment. Furthermore, the location of buildings was confirmed through the presence of logs, pieces of tar, construction nails, and post molds and depressions.

While Little (1968) gathered a variety of archaeological evidence at Fort Mahan, including ceramics and pieces of metal, he concluded that further excavations would be necessary to confirm historical accounts of the fort's appearance. Specifically, extensive excavations of the bastionete would have to be undertaken in order to test whether the structure was separated from the fort's parapet<sup>16</sup> wall. If the bastionete was a separate structure, a large area excavation would be required in order to determine whether the movement of troops between the defensive structure and the main fort was accomplished through a series of doors located in both scarps.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> A parapet is "a wall, rampart or elevation of earth or stone" that provides protection for soldiers (Merriam-Webster Dictionary N.d.c.).

<sup>17</sup> A scarp is "the inner side of a ditch below the parapet of a fortification" (Merriam-Webster

Christopher Goodwin, et al. (1991) conducted a Phase I intensive archaeological survey<sup>18</sup> of Forts Carroll and Greble, as well as Battery Carroll, in order to determine the potential impact of the ASR-9 radar facility planned by the Information Systems and Network Corporation. A mixture of topographic and geographic analysis, pedestrian surface examination, shovel testing, feature mapping and photography, and unit excavation were used to record potential Civil War era features.

At Fort Carroll Christopher Goodwin, et al. (1991) concluded that there was little chance of intact cultural deposits due to a long history of disturbance by wheeled and foot traffic. Furthermore, a small area of the original interior of the fort has been preserved, with portions of the external earthen wall presenting the only visible features. Although a possible isolated bastion was identified in the vicinity of the fortification, the heavy presence of scrub vegetation that destroyed the details of surface features led the team to conclude that the potential for intact archaeological resources within the feature was low to moderate. Citing Leedecker and Friedlander's assertion that deep features would contain the only intact archaeological deposits, a similar evaluation was given of Fort Greble. Here, the area enclosed within the visible embankments had been disturbed by domestic and agricultural activity, as well as the construction of the adjacent recreational fields. As the historically documented position of Battery Carroll has been turned into domestic structures, no identifiable surface features were observed.

Christopher Goodwin, et al. (1991) reported finding a single isolated feature consisting of an earthen embankment in the vicinity of Fort Greble. The approximate date of the feature is uncertain, however, and it may be of a more recent date. A probable rifle pit, marked by a discernible embankment, was identified during the survey. Apart from this feature, no evidence of military activity or mid-nineteenth century occupation was recovered. Since the Phase I survey

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Dictionary N.d.d.).

<sup>18</sup> Phase I archaeological survey consists of determining the presence or likelihood of archaeological resources in an area using pedestrian surface examination, ground penetrating radar and other non-invasive methods, as well as shovel testing and limited unit excavation (D.C. Preservation League 1998:5-12).

was limited to the potential radar footprint sites, the archaeological potential of the surrounding areas remains unknown.

The Louis Berger Group (2007) followed up on a 2006 Phase I geophysical prove-out (GPO)<sup>19</sup> site inspection of Fort Foote by the Baltimore District U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. This earlier investigation determined that a fill deposit had been intentionally placed on the location, with artifacts dating the process post 1932. Although NPS has no record of the fill episode, it is possible that it took place while the U.S. Army used the property as a training area during World War II.

The Louis Berger Group's (2007) follow-up Digital Geophysical Mapping (DGM) survey identified ferrous objects considered potential munitions and Explosives of Concern (MEC). Following safety protocols when handling MEC, established by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the archaeologists excavated numerous metal artifacts and some military objects, including a uniform button and an iron artillery fuse, but no ordnance. Analysis of soil within the grounds where World War II testing was conducted showed disturbance from plowing. Other locations within the fortification, however, were deemed potential sites of future research as there is a possibility that military materials could have been deposited in the area during abandonment, to avoid the need for transport.

Louis Berger Group (2008b) also performed excavations in Rock Creek Park, searching for the remnants of the Battle of Fort Stevens. In addition, archaeologists conducted testing of several small and large fortification sites and a search for a contraband camp.

Using metal detectors, Louis Berger Group (2008b) located a dump dating to the Civil War. Designated Site 51NW159, the dump is located adjacent to a Civil War fort. Shovel testing "showed that the dump site is extensive and contains at least one area of very high artifact density" (150). Artifacts collected include military buttons, a bayonet scabbard tip, bullets, and an assortment of building materials. As no buildings stood on the steep incline where the testing was

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<sup>19</sup> A geophysical prove-out (GPO) is a site-specific geophysical survey performed to detect surface and subsurface anomalies on sites suspected of containing unexploded ordnance (UXO) and/or discarded military munitions (EPA N.d.).

conducted it is likely that the materials were deposited during a destruction episode when building remains were pushed down the slope. Given the limited nature of the archaeological analysis, no testing was done in areas where barracks buildings and external infantry camps are believed to have been located.

Louis Berger Group (2008b) spent 3 years metal detecting and shovel testing at Site 51NW163, looking for remnants of the Battle of Fort Stevens. In addition to artifacts not related to the Civil War, archaeologists found evidence of the battle between Confederate and Union forces, including Minié balls and fragments of exploded artillery shells. An examination of historical documentation and consultation with Dr. Stephen Potter of NPS has allowed for interpretation that points to Union troops targeting a Confederate skirmish line, located at the crest of a hill. The location of the troops was determined using a single unfired bullet of Confederate issue that can only have been dropped from the top of the hill. Furthermore, the approximate location of the remaining military forces was determined through calculation of the firing capabilities of the artillery pieces that produced the shell fragments.

Louis Berger Group's (2008b) metal detector surveys of Sites 51NW168 and 51NW169, two unarmed auxiliary batteries with gun platforms, yielded no nineteenth century military artifacts. Likewise, shovel testing at Site 51NW175, the location of an unnamed Civil War battery, produced no artifacts related to military use of the land. The search for the contraband camp also proved fruitless, as documentary research indicated that the free back community developed outside of the limits of today's Rock Creek Park. No Civil War artifacts were found during the metal detector survey of the adjacent battery. Although it was expected that the historically marked location of fort barracks now buried under a community picnic grounds would prove too disturbed for archaeological survey, shovel tests at Site 51NE37 uncovered Civil War-era artifacts. The quality and quantity of the artifacts has led the archaeologists to determine that the historical landscape in the area is largely intact and a candidate for future excavations.

Given the number of Civil War Defenses under NPS ownership, the archaeological survey and excavation of the holdings has not been extensive. While all of the remaining

fortifications should be evaluated for archaeological viability some, like Fort Stanton, are unlikely to yield Civil War-era artifacts due to cultural and natural formation processes that have taken place since the U.S. Army abandoned the Civil War Defenses. It is clear from the work done so far, however, that the Fort Circle Parks have enough archaeological potential to justify a multi-year community-driven Archaeology of Conflict project.

CHAPTER 6  
A COMMUNITY-DRIVEN APPROACH TO  
FORT CIRCLE PARKS

*Archaeology can contribute a unique sense of place, as well as pride of a shared history, for a community. Enhanced interpretation of historic and prehistoric sites, provided by archaeological research, can increase awareness of the past for the visiting public and local residents.*  
- Elizabeth Anderson Comer

National Park Service (NPS) Fort Circle Parks (FCP) holdings provide a significant opportunity for a research project aimed at uncovering the African American Diasporic past within the military environment of the Civil War Defenses of Washington (CWDW). In order to gain the utmost understanding of the history represented by the archaeological deposits, and to provide the greatest benefit to the various stakeholders, archaeologists cannot work in isolation. It is only through full cooperation with local and descendant communities that a complete picture of African American and military life in Civil War-era Washington, District of Columbia (D.C.) can be formed.

Before any local or descendant community can be approached, permits for archaeological work must be obtained through the proper channels. A general project proposal should be written up in such a way as to allow for a wide variety of research questions that may be posed once archaeologists begin meeting with the communities. This proposal must, however, clearly outline the methodology that will be employed during research, as well as clarify the role of each principal researcher and supervisor. Furthermore, archaeologists should use the historical research conducted as part of proposal preparation to identify sites most likely to contain archaeological deposits.

After all of the required permits have been acquired, archaeologists should immediately seek to establish contact and develop a working relationship with local and descendant communities. While this stage sounds deceptively easy, it is probably the most difficult step undertaken during the entire process. Although town halls, historical research, and personal

contacts may provide avenues of approaching the stakeholders in the project, convincing them of the merits of the research might prove more challenging. A comprehensive and clear presentation of the benefits to the community's present and future interests, as well as the ability to integrate the local events of the past into the greater national narrative, should be prepared before seeking to establish contact. Likewise, merits of an educational program, meant for consumption by academic institutions and the public, which was developed through cooperation between archaeologists and the communities need to be highlighted. Finally, and most importantly, the focus needs to be placed on the youth outreach component and the benefits to be derived from participating in an archaeological excavation, the curation of objects, and the interpretation of data.

Once support has been gained from the local and descendant communities, archaeologists must start developing viable research questions. These should be the result of discussions with the stakeholders. Once formulated, the research questions must be presented to all stakeholders, whether individually or as a group, for approval or modification. At the end of the process cooperative effort between archaeologists and stakeholders will lead to questions that are formulated in the way that best serves the interests of all interested parties. Based on the research questions posed, a comprehensive project plan can be developed that details the methodological approach for each specific research site. Furthermore, this plan must address the ways in which community members, particularly the youth, will be trained in archaeological methods; data collection and recording; artifact identification, preservation and cataloguing; and data interpretation.

Before any work can begin on the sites, all of the participants must undergo a historical overview and methodological training session. During this time the official history of the CWDW, the research questions, and the planned course of action should be presented. Furthermore, the participants would be given a description and demonstration of archaeological methods to be employed throughout the duration of fieldwork. Only upon the completion of this training should individuals be allowed to participate in the project. Since it is unlikely that everyone would be



available to attend the training at the same time and allowing for the fact that participants are expected to join the project throughout its duration, these sessions should be offered as needed.

Upon the completion of training, the fieldwork would commence. Participants should be divided into small groups, consisting of two to five individuals, to allow every person present the greatest opportunity for hands-on experience. Having already identified the sites most likely to contain archaeological deposits, the archaeologists should consult with community members on which among those would be expected to contain artifacts relevant to the research questions. Having thus ranked the sites, the archaeologists would take the teams to the best site candidate to conduct surveys. Each team member should be taught both the intensive (covering parallel straight lines along the landscape, or transects, on foot) and extensive (shovel testing metal detector finds) survey methods. As part of hands-on training, the participants would be taught how to properly bag artifacts found during this phase of work, as well as how to place markers identifying artifact locations. Should the chosen location fail to provide a viable excavation environment, the teams should evaluate each following candidate on the list until an appropriate site is found.

Once the survey is completed and a suitable site identified, the excavation of the archaeological deposits can proceed. Before any dirt can actually be moved, however, a site datum point<sup>20</sup> needs to be determined. The participants would then be taught how to develop and set up an excavation grid,<sup>21</sup> with each individual square's datum point<sup>22</sup> located in the SW corner. While the actual dimensions of the individual units<sup>23</sup> will have been determined during research

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<sup>20</sup> A site datum point is a fixed point near the site where two perpendicular grid axes intersect and from which all elevations for the site are measured (Brauer 2006).

<sup>21</sup> A rectangular grid is superimposed over the site, with each grid square marked on a map and delineated by rope on the site, so that all recovered objects can be recorded in the appropriate grid square in order to allow inferences about past events and human activities (Brauer 2006).

<sup>22</sup> Similar to the site datum point, the grid datum point is a fixed point in the corner of the unit from which all elevations for the unit are measured.

<sup>23</sup> Calculated in the Imperial system, the size of the units will be measured in derivatives of feet.

planning, the Imperial system of measurement must always be utilized when discussing distance and size, in order to allow for clear correlation to historical documents.

With the excavation grid superimposed over the site, the teams of participants will each be assigned to a single excavation square. Depending on the size of the teams, there should be one two three excavators paired with one to two screen sifters. The team members must switch roles frequently, to ensure that every individual gains all relevant hands-on experience and that no single person is subjected to undue physical strain. Finally, each individual participant should be prepared to discuss the history of the Civil War defenses and the ongoing excavations with any interested members of the public who may visit the site.

Prior to excavating the square, each team would fill out relevant paperwork, taking unit opening measurements.<sup>24</sup> An artifact bag labeled with the site number, site name, unit grid location, layer designation, layer description, date, and excavator initials must be created to hold any artifacts found during excavation of the layer. The top soil of each square should be removed using shovels and deposited in excavation buckets. When buckets are half full, they should be emptied into a screen for sifting. The participants would screen the dirt for cultural materials, checking with a supervisor before discarding any materials from the screen. In this way all of the dirt should be removed and screened until the excavators reach the next soil layer. All artifacts found in the top soil must be placed in the artifact bag. The team members should then take closing measurements.<sup>25</sup> At this time the floor of the unit would be mapped (drawn to scale and containing all visible artifacts and features) in order to provide a visual record of the excavation. Likewise, at least one wall of the unit must be mapped to keep a record of the stratigraphy. Finally, a photograph of the unit should be taken with a board that provides the site number, site

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<sup>24</sup> Consisting of elevation information, these measurements help archaeologists recreate the appearance of the landscape prior to excavations. The exact points (NW corner, SW corner, NE corner, SE corner and unit Center) at which elevation is taken are determined by the supervisors. The opening measurements are taken each time archaeologists open a new natural (distinguished by clear difference of color or texture of soil) or arbitrary (pre-determined height measurement) stratigraphic layer.

<sup>25</sup> Similar to opening measurements, the closing measurements provide elevation information. Together, the two sets of measurements allow archaeologists to recreate the appearance of the stratigraphic layer.

name, unit grid location, layer designation, date, and excavator initials. This procedure would then be repeated for each subsequent layer, until the excavators reach sterile soil.<sup>26</sup>

Should a team come upon a feature,<sup>27</sup> a separate set of paperwork and artifact bag must be created. Each feature will also receive a unique number that will allow archaeologists to keep track of it in relation to the remainder of the site, particularly as it is possible that some features may cut across more than one square. Photographs of the features should include the entirety of the feature and may require the photographer to make use of ladders or other equipment to gain a good vantage point. All paperwork and artifacts associated with features will be kept with those belonging to the units that house them.

Should a large artifact be found within a unit, it must be mapped and photographed in situ before being removed. No artifact should ever be forcibly taken out of the ground, instead being slowly excavated around until it is no longer supported by the surrounding layer. Although a small or large portion of an artifact may appear at an earlier stage of excavation, the archaeological context must always be the layer from which the artifact is finally removed, as all consequent layers formed after initial deposition.

While excavations are still on-going, participants would have lab days during which artifacts will be washed, sorted, identified, catalogued, and stored. These artifact curation days should occur when the weather is not conducive to excavation, whether due to precipitation or other uncomfortable weather conditions. Each participant in the lab must be given an equal opportunity to take part in all of the tasks associated with the preservation and cataloguing of artifacts. As part of lab activities the team members would also be taught how to properly label artifacts, collect relevant data about them, and enter the information into a database. In a final step, once excavations have been completed, the entire site should be permanently closed down by backfilling the units with sand or excavated dirt. Should the participants desire to do so, they

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<sup>26</sup> Sterile soil is devoid of cultural artifacts and evidence of human modification.

<sup>27</sup> A feature is non-portable evidence of human activity.

can create a token which can be placed on the bottom of each excavation unit as a “time capsule” for any future archaeologists who might wish to reexamine the site.

Although ongoing interpretation should be encouraged as excavations proceed, it is not until the excavations are completed, all of the artifacts curated, and all of the relevant data collected and entered into a database, that in-depth interpretation can begin. Supervisors should work with the project participants on unraveling the archaeological information gleaned from the excavations. Using their training in archaeological theory, the supervisors would guide the team members in interpreting the data collected from artifacts and excavation units and creating a narrative that ties the history of that particular site to the wider national heritage. An interim excavation report should be prepared for each year of the project, with a final report issued once the project has been completed. Although the report would, by necessity, be written by a small number of individuals, the whole should be read and edited by every interested participant. While the principal authors would normally have their names displayed on the cover of the report, the project participants should be asked to come up with a name to be used instead.<sup>28</sup> A special section following the cover should be created to list every single individual who has contributed to the writing process.

Once the report is completed, the participants and archaeologists should work on developing an education plan for academic instruction, ranging from Kindergarten to University levels. A plan should also be developed on how best to display artifacts and associated archaeological information in the area museums. Finally, the site itself would be marked with a board detailing the history of the site, its role in the wider national heritage, and the information on the excavations. By ensuring that the story of the African American life in the military environment of Civil War-era Washington, D.C. is shared with the widest possible audience, the academic and community members can restore the freedmen, escaped slaves, and contrabands to the pages of history. Furthermore, the descendants of these men and women who were instrumental to

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<sup>28</sup> Although the various team members published materials as individuals or in collaboration with others, Randall H. McGuire, Dean Saitta, and Philip Duke, in collaboration with others, often published materials as the Ludlow Collective (McGuire 2008).

building the Defenses of Washington would be given an opportunity to be equal partners in the discovery and production of their own history, and the creation of a narrative describing the many important accomplishments of their ancestors.

## CHAPTER 7

### SUMMARY

*Archaeology puts all human societies on an equal footing.*

- Brian Fagan

Archaeology has long been the discipline of the privileged, whose magnificent finds and sometimes outlandish theories fed the imagination of the public. Immortalized in the Indiana Jones movies, archaeologists became identified with adventurers whose primary purpose in life was to seek out exotic treasures. As archaeology matured and it became obvious that the discipline was being used to aid in the oppression of people considered inferior to those in power, archaeologists began to search for material evidence of the historically oppressed and silenced communities. Finding that there were not enough resources to conduct large scale excavations, archaeologists turned to the public for help and started asking for volunteers to work on the excavations. As volunteers gained experience archaeologists started collaborating with members of the participating communities on most, if not all, aspects of local archaeological projects. Although this community-driven Public Archaeology model has been implemented in projects like New Philadelphia, it has yet to be made part of the arsenal of *Archaeology of Conflict*.

As a locale where various groups interacted in times of crises, Washington, District of Columbia (D.C.) presents a rich setting in which to create a comprehensive community-driven *Archaeology of Conflict* project. The Civil War Defenses of Washington (CWDW) serve as overt manifestations of the complex cultural landscape that came into existence as the contemporary communities worked to mitigate the threat of attack. Employing community-driven archaeology to explore the National Park Service (NPS) Fort Circle Parks (FCP) holdings to study the landscape created by the Diasporic African American community would lead to a greater understanding of the larger context of military use of land and resources in the capital city.

The Defenses of Washington became physical embodiments of freedom represented by the Union for the members of the Diasporic African American community who moved to Washington, D.C. (Committee of 100 2006; Meringolo 2005; NPS 2004a; NPS 2010a). Declared contraband of war and forbidden to fight in the Civil War, thousands of African American slaves helped to build the defenses that would protect the capital from the Confederate incursions (Meringolo 2005; NPS 2004a; NPS 2010a). Although their contribution to the war effort was forgotten, the descendants of the Diasporic African American communities remained in the area and continued to use the fortifications as public recreation areas (Committee of 100 2006; NPS 2004a; NPS 2004b).

This thesis has sought to show how community-driven *Archaeology of Conflict* can be used to study the ideological significance of the Washington, D.C. landscape to the Diasporic African American communities. Rather than relying on archaeologists as the sole interpreters of archaeological materials, *Archaeology of Conflict* should allow the local and descendant communities to be equal partners in the discovery and production of their own history. In this way community members would be given the power to create the narrative describing the lives of their ancestors and predecessors. Most importantly, by being encouraged to actively engage in their own past and strengthen their ties to the national heritage, communities can help archaeologists improve upon a simple martial understanding of sites associated with conflict by incorporating valuable archaeological information regarding the complex social forces and cultural systems involved in the creation and subsequent use of those sites.

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